Yoonsun Choi · Hyeouk Chris Hahm
Editors

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Family Process and Intervention

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Rising Challenges and Opportunities of Uncertain Times for Asian American Families

Yoonsun Choi

The United States of America has long been the destination of choice for Asian immigrants. Since 2009, Asian immigrants have outnumbered immigrants from every other racial-ethnic group, including, most notably, Hispanics (Semple, 2012). The Pew Research Center (2015) has projected that by 2055, Asians will comprise the largest share of foreign-born residents in the U.S.

As much as Asians have seen America as a land of opportunity, so America has benefited from its newcomers. Asian Americans as a group are the best-educated racial-ethnic group in the U.S. (Lee & Bean, 2010; Pew Research Center, 2013), and Asian countries-of-origin vie with the U.S. to counter the "brain drain" (Tung, 2008). Asian Americans have among the highest naturalization rates in the U.S. (Shore, 2015), and are less likely to leave America than other groups (Pew Research Center, 2013).

The journey from Asia to the U.S. is not without casualties. The persistent efforts that laud and attempt to decode the "Asian advantage" (Kristof, 2015), while may be well-intentioned and sometimes utilized even within Asian communities, obscure the urgent vulnerability of several Asian subgroups (Choi, 2008) and the economic stress that characterizes many immigrant families. Overlooked, too, are the troubling psychosocial costs of acculturation and enculturation as Asian American families negotiate their collectivist heritage within an individualistic, and sometimes hostile, culture. The costs manifest, among other ways, in the disproportionately high percentage of psychologically distressed Asian American adolescents and young adults who struggle with suicide and self-harming behaviors (NAMI, 2011), and in a dramatic increase of substance use and abuse (Grant et al., 2004; Hasin et al., 2015; Wechsler et al., 2002). Finally, simplistic sobriquets like the "Asian

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advantage" and the more familiar "model minority" are too often political tools used in racializing heterogeneous peoples and marginalizing minority positions within the aggregate Asian culture (see, e.g., Wu, 2015).

Immigration is not a discrete event; it continues even after the immigrant has landed on distant shores. This edited volume explores the dynamic processes at work within Asian American communities, and the chapters within survey understudied interstices of socioeconomic status, family processes, culture, and racial-ethnic socialization. The authors span a range of disciplines and include 1st-, 1.5-, and 2nd-generation Asian American scholars. Using various research approaches, including in-depth qualitative interviews, focus groups, micro-longitudinal daily diaries, survey data, and history reviews, the authors herein add to the growing and much-needed area of research on Asian American families. The chapters examine Asian Americans as an aggregate if appropriate and as subgroups when needed and possible, collectively advancing knowledge in Asian American family processes with both depth and breadth.

In Chap. 2, Juang, Yoo, and Atkin provide a thoughtful critique of both qualitative and quantitative studies on Asian American parental racial-ethnic socialization, with attention to measurement. Their unique contribution is their proactive adoption of a critical race perspective and integration of reviews of the relevant historical context of immigration and racialized experiences of Asians in America. The history of migration, exploitation, and exclusion is pinpointed as an ignored linchpin of Asian American socialization. The authors call for the increased attention to viewing family socialization as a dynamic, two-way process that integrates developmental perspective and context, and examining parenting in tandem with other sources of socialization. They also underscore the critical role of history in the ethnic-racial socialization of all families, not just Asian Americans. Congruent with a critical race perspective, the authors urge an increased "critical awareness" of Asian American history and heritage culture history, White racism, racial inequity in institutions and society, and the intersection of racism with gender, class, and sexual orientation, noting that these topics will be salient to even "new" Asians who do not necessarily identify with Asian Americans. As the authors point out, voluntarily or not, all Asian immigrants will soon be racialized as Asian Americans. Most importantly, Juang, Yoo, and Atkin suggest how parents can help translate what critical awareness means for youth personally ("reflection") and how they might encourage youth to actively resist inequitable systems ("activism").

Chapter 3 forcefully challenges the common practice of applying to Asian Americans, without explicit verifications of validity and reliability, conventional parenting measures founded on Eurocentric parenting practices and theories. Filipino and Korean Americans are among the two largest subgroups of Asian Americans, and we implemented a rigorous protocol of identifying, constructing and empirically testing indigenous cultural notions of parenting with respect to each group. A series of conventional measures were examined along with the indigenous measures. Preliminary demographic analyses suggested that Filipino American parents are more acculturated than their Korean counterparts on non-parenting measures, including language use and nativity. However, we found that Filipino

American parents retain more heritage values and parenting practices than do Korean American parents. Intriguingly, relative to their endorsement of conventional measures, both Filipino and Korean American parents were reticent when it came to indigenous parenting behaviors, suggesting that they may be socialized to suppress traditional behaviors, especially negative ones. Alternatively, Korean and Filipino American families may be acculturating faster than existing literature suggests. Using the same dataset reported here, Choi et al. (in press) found that, although they may be willing to modify traditional parenting behaviors, Filipino and Korean American parents remain strongly attached to core familism values, with Korean American families more readily trending towards change. Taken with the present chapter, the data show that Filipino and Korean American parents are gradually, even if reluctantly, modifying parenting behaviors and core family values, and actively constructing Asian American family process that is a unique hybrid of cultural elements from both heritage cultures and host society.

Despite continual challenges, over two decades, to monolithic portrayals of Asian American families as "model minorities" ruled by—more recently—the "tiger mother," these simplistic stereotypes persist. In Chap. 4, Su Yeong Kim and her colleagues provide evidence, through an integrated and systematic summary of their recent three studies, that Chinese American parents exhibit not only within-group heterogeneity in their parenting styles (with "tiger parenting" adopted by a minority of parents), but also that parenting styles themselves change considerably as their children develop. Likewise, the authors find that Chinese American adolescents displayed variability in their academic and socioemotional adjustment both within the group and across developmental stages. Kim et al. identify four parenting profiles: most prevalently, *supportive* (high levels of positive and low levels of negative parenting), followed by *tiger* (high levels of both positive and negative parenting), *easygoing* (low on both positive and negative parenting), and lastly *harsh* (low levels of positive and high levels of negative parenting). They also identified three adolescent profiles: *well-adjusted* (high levels of academic and socioemotional well-being), followed by *paradoxically adjusted* (high levels of academic and low levels of socioemotional well-being) and *poorly adjusted* (low levels of academic and socioemotional well-being). Using longitudinal data, the authors' finding on how *tiger* parenting was related to a stable *paradoxically adjusted* adjustment profile, suggest that *tiger* parenting may promote academic success, but at the cost of psychological well-being across the course of adolescence. The empirical, longitudinal data that the authors collect across different informants (mothers, fathers, and children) provide important corrections and nuance to enduring notions of a homogeneously overachieving Asian American population. Just as importantly, the authors provide practical guidance towards the development of targeted interventions more likely to be effective with Asian American families.

Family socioeconomic status (SES) is one of the strongest determinants of youth outcomes. However, standard SES measures such as education, income, and occupational prestige do not predict youth outcomes among Asian Americans in the same way as for Whites. Qin and her colleagues in Chap. 5 tackle this conundrum through a stepwise review of relevant literature. Relying on published studies, the

authors first present an historical overview of the SES backgrounds of Asian Americans. Qin et al. then review the role of SES in both academic and psychological outcomes, as well as family processes, and explicate how and why existing theories and findings may not be generalizable to Asian American youths' development. Noting that Asian American youth from low SES families have significantly higher achievement than did their White counterparts, the authors integrate past research, including their own, to propose several possible protective factors particular to Asian American families. Their theories include a deeply ingrained emphasis on education that traces back to early Chinese dynasties, the role of education as the main tool for social mobility, and the strong immigrant ethnic networks that enable pooling of resources and information. One notable finding, as corroborated in Chap. 4, is that Asian American parents' rigid adherence to traditional parenting methods may alienate their children and cause mental distress. More remarkable is the ability of parents, regardless of their SES backgrounds and barriers as immigrants, to become flexible in parenting methods, which in turn strengthened family cohesion and parent–child bonding and buffered the negative associations of low SES. These findings provide insight into the complex role of SES among Asian American families and have meaningful implications for the empowerment low-income families across ethnicities, particularly as socioeconomic mobility has decreased in the U.S. and low SES has become generational.

Asian American youth report the highest rate of physical and verbal peer harassment due to their race and ethnicity (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) and both Asian American adults and youth report frequent instances of bias, stigma, and racial microaggressions (Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007). Prior studies, including those reviewed in Chap. 2, have focused on how parents, through fostering positive family relations and practicing racial-ethnic socialization, can prepare children for racial discrimination and structural barriers. Reversing the typical directionality of associations, i.e., from family processes to external variables such as racial discrimination, Kiang and Witkow in Chap. 6 test several competing hypotheses to examine how children's experiences of both positive and negative race-related events outside of the home influence family interactions inside the home, including relationships, activities, and engagement in the family. Kiang and Witkow utilize micro-longitudinal daily diaries to provide in-depth glimpses into adolescents' day-to-day lives and analyze the "spillover" effect of external race-related events into the family. The authors found that both positive and negative race-related events may increase family activities and engagement but neither had much impact on family relations. That Asian American children are drawn closer to their families when they experience race-related events, either positive or negative, suggests that family is a source of comfort and empathy for Asian American children. Family can help cope with negative experiences, as the authors postulated, by providing a safe space to decompress or derive social support. The authors' finding that the impact of race-related events may linger longer among U.S. born youth than among foreign-born youth underscores the differential needs of second-generation Asian Americans. Research on the emerging new parent generation of Asian Americans is the next frontier for Asian American scholarship as the current population ages.

The psychosocial interventions available to Asian Americans have much room for improvement, as the next three chapters of this edited volume accurately point out. These last three chapters focus on the application of intervention development and testing to praxis. Notwithstanding the findings in Chap. 6, the family conflict remains a challenge for Asian American families. Lee et al. delve into this topic in Chap. 7, beginning with an evaluation of contrasting models of family conflict. The authors challenge a simplistic dichotomy of collectivistic and individualistic cultures in the family and endorse the *embedded contexts model* (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993) that emphasizes compounding interactions between normative intergenerational conflict during adolescence and conflict due to cultural differences. The authors suggest that cultural gaps between parent and child per se do not necessarily lead to family conflict but, unlike parent–child conflict that is specific to a child's adolescence, conflictual struggles from the cultural gap can persist beyond adolescence. Accordingly, the authors introduce an individual-level expressive writing intervention designed to help Asian American young adults address long-lasting Asian American family conflict and mitigate the attendant psychological distress. Their pilot study findings were promising that an expressive, affirmative (or cathartic), and self-reflective writing exercise can help young adults make meaning of their family conflict and, through perspective-taking strategies, reduce the association between family conflict and psychological distress.

A consistent theme throughout the chapters in this volume has been the paradoxical adjustment of Asian American youth: despite an aggregate picture of achievement and health, a significant portion of Asian American youth and young adults suffers from psychological distress. In particular, self-harming behaviors and suicidal ideations and attempts among Asian American young women occur at alarmingly disproportionate rates (NAMI, 2011). Hahm and her research team have worked diligently to address this serious public health concern through conducting qualitative and quantitative research on Asian American young women with a history of self-harm, and developing an intervention called Asian Women's Action for Resilience and Empowerment (AWARE). Hahm's team has identified ABCDG parenting (Abusive, Burdening, Culturally Disjointed, Disengaged, and Gender prescriptive), as one of the main family processes linked to self-harm (Hahm, Gonyea, Chiao, & Koritsanszky, 2014). In Chap. 8, the authors introduce the concept of a fractured identity which, combined with low self-worth, characterizes Asian American women who self-harm. ABCDG parenting precipitates low self-worth and a fractured identity, and Hahm et al. present several qualitative interviews that illustrate the seven distinct factors that lead to such parenting: mental and physical health concerns, marital discord, sociocultural linguistic barriers, job-related stress, a fragile support network, trauma from the country of origin, and vague transmission of personal history. These risk factors often coexist, and are prompted or exacerbated by immigration and post-immigration social and cultural isolations and contribute to conflictual family dynamics. This chapter verifies that daughters of Asian immigrants struggle to balance individual desires against a sense of filial obligation and the burden of upholding cultural traditions. The internal conflict increases the likelihood of poor self-image, negative mental health, risky behavior,

and suicidality. Integrating these specific factors in their intervention content, Hahm et al. point to online mental health intervention and tele-mental health services for immigrant parents as one response to the urgent needs of this community.

Miwa Yasui, in Chap. 9, conducts a bottom-up qualitative study to explore prevailing beliefs, attitudes, and preferences toward mental health services. By surveying both providers of mental health clinics serving Chinese Americans, as well as Chinese American parents and youth, Yasui generates a 360 perspective on the underutilization of mental health services within the Chinese American community, as well as effective interventions for Asian American youth. Mental health struggles were expressed by both Chinese American youth and adults through the use of culturally specific idioms and as somatic symptoms, presenting a challenge to Western-based diagnostics and treatment. In Yasui's study, the mental health service providers (95% of whom identified as of Chinese descent) were attuned to the culturally specific ways their Chinese American clients may present their psychological distress, and movement toward such cultural competency regardless of ethnicity is warranted. Yasui found Chinese American parents perceived mental health problems as essentially un-Chinese and atypical. Unsurprisingly, youth did not often share their internal struggles with their parents. Both adults and youth were reluctant to seek the help of a mental health service provider, but more readily sought help from peers, and even teachers, with self-reliance being the primary mode of coping for both adults and youth. Finally, both parents and youth believed that admission of a mental health issue of an individual family member would bring shame upon the whole family. Yasui's intimate look at Chinese Americans' beliefs and behavior regarding mental health provides an important culturally specific grounding for closing gaps in mental health service utilization among Asian Americans.

With the 2008 election of President Barack Obama, following nearly a century of the predominating "melting pot" ideology, over 80% of Whites believed that America had arrived at its post-racial moment (Bobo, 2011). At the time of this writing, early 2017, minority groups find their communities threatened as those in positions of power invoke a restoration of America as an embodiment of White, Judeo-Christian cultural identity and being (Caldwell, 2017). Hate crimes against Asian Americans have tripled between 2015 and 2016 bolstered and legitimized by strident political rhetoric during and after one of the most divisive presidential elections in history (Chen, 2017). The inevitability of America's cultural pluralism is no longer assumed and a push for the canonical assimilation toward "the middle-class cultural patterns of white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins" (Gordon & Gordon, 1964), once thought to be outdated, have found new proponents in positions of power.

Although the chapters in the book were mostly prepared before the political and cultural turmoil of 2016 and 2017, they can provide timely guidance for Asian American parents as their children navigate contemporary political and cultural challenges to their identity. As shown in Chap. 2, Asian American parents have emphasized ethnic socialization over racial socialization. They are more likely to emphasize the values of diversity and equality within their households than to address the negativity of discrimination, or to promote mistrust and outgroup avoidance among their children. The authors of Chap. 2 observe that, broadly, too much

or too little preparation for bias and discrimination is harmful to adolescent development; the former, because Asian American adolescents are then primed to feel discriminated against, the latter because they cannot appropriately interact with discrimination when it happens. Promotion of mistrust was consistently associated with poor youth adjustment. However, the research in Chap. 2 necessarily does not take into account the current political climate. Does the balance of optimistic socialization (that Asian American youth belong here and should be proud of their heritage) and preparation for hostility now include promotion of mistrust? Would that balance be different depending on the environment and, if so, how? Similarly, Asian American parents who had been on an acculturating trajectory with respect to culturally indigenous parenting practices and behaviors, such as those discussed in Chap. 3, may see the necessity of resisting the recent rise of populism and nativism through a return to their heritage traditions. A return to heritage traditions may widen the intergenerational gap and, as Chap. 7 indicates, has the potential to increase Asian American family conflict.

Race–ethnicity is a social construction and its related identity can take a different form and content depending on the context (Downey, Eccles, & Chatman, 2005). The wholly unexpected success of the current administration destabilizes the future of Asian American identity. We do not know whether and to what extent the central power and its policies will be able to thwart the flow of globalization, immigration, demographic shifts, and cultural pluralism that have prevailed in the last few decades. Projections of Asian Americans' demographic size and their presence may be challenged by exclusionary policies that curtail the number of immigrants. Asian American youth growing up today will bear the brunt of this uncertainty. Unlike their first-generation immigrant parents, Asian American youth are largely born in this country or came at such a young age that the epithet "go back to your country!"—hurled with more impunity in recent months (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017)—is laughably absurd. Socially sanctioned racism and discrimination leave Asian American youth without a country.

On a more optimistic note, these many unanswered questions and challenges of the precarious current may also bring about opportunities. Critical awareness, reflection, and activism, suggested by Juang, Yoo, and Atkin in Chap. 2, may occur sooner and more broadly and strongly than speculated; today's adversarial events may in fact empower racial-ethnic minorities and immigrants as they have throughout U.S. history, and we may see an unprecedented number of Asian American youth become activists. The research in this volume speaks loudly to the enduring strength of Asian Americans. There is expansive ground for hope that the threat of nativism and anti-immigrant sentiments will not and cannot extinguish Asian American identity, but will rather galvanize Asian Americans to committed action.

Last, but not least, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Hyeouk Chris Hahm, the co-editor of this volume, for her hard work and terrific energy. I also would like to thank each and every author of the chapters for the wonderful contribution. And my special thanks go to Jeanette Park Lee who helped me with incredibly thoughtful copy-editing.

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Chapter 2
A Critical Race Perspective on an Empirical Review of Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Linda P. Juang, Hyung Chol Yoo, and Annabelle Atkin

Bay, a Vietnamese American mother of two children, ages 6 and 10 living in the Midwest recalled, "My mom would try to go talk to the parents [of the boy who bullied Bay because of her race], but her English wasn't so good. The parents would say, "Did you do that?" And the son would say, "No, I didn't." And, the parents would believe the son. We just felt powerless. And, I hated that feeling, of feeling powerless, that we lacked the language and also the, how to say, the energy to pursue it. Now, I'd say I have to do anything I can in my power to change things." (Juang et al., under review)

Parental racial socialization of children arises, in part, out of personal experiences with one's own parents. Bay's feelings of powerlessness that she and her mother felt have shaped how Bay parents her own children. She is determined to raise her children to resist and challenge racist behaviors by providing them with the support and skills to do so. As a parent, she has moved from feeling powerless to feeling empowered. In a demographically diverse country such as the United States where racial minorities will become the majority in 2044 (Colby & Ortman, 2014) and with Asian Americans as the fastest growing population (E. Lee, 2015), it is important to understand how Asian-heritage parents socialize their children to navigate and deal with issues related to race and racism (Chang, 2016; Coll et al., 1996).

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Notably, Asian American adolescents report the highest level of racial discrimination by peers compared to other racial groups (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Asian American adolescents who experience discrimination report greater anxiety, somatization, depressive symptoms, and lower self-esteem, school engagement, school belonging, and academic performance (Benner & Graham, 2013; Benner & Kim, 2009; Juang & Alvarez, 2010; Juang & Cookston, 2009; Sangalang & Gee, 2015; Seol, Yoo, Lee, Park, & Kyeong, 2016). These studies, along with several reviews of discrimination literature that include diverse samples and methodologies, show strong evidence that greater experiences of racial discrimination are detrimental to physical, psychological, and social adjustment (Lee & Ahn, 2011; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Umaña-Taylor, 2016).

Given the challenges of growing up as a racial minority, it is vital to understand how Asian American parents contribute to how their children learn about, make meaning of, and actively cope with discrimination. In today's political and social climate where some of the major issues affecting the health and survival of communities (e.g., Standing Rock, Black Lives Matter, Flint) are tightly linked to race and where bias-based hate crimes are primarily motivated by race (U.S. Department of Justice, 2016), teaching children to be aware of and deal with these realities necessitates a clearer understanding of what parents are already doing or could do. Research on how and what Asian-heritage parents do regarding racial socialization and what that means for youth development, however, is still quite limited.

The purpose of our chapter is to clarify what we currently know about Asian American parental racial socialization and provide historical context as well as an outlook for future directions. We define racial socialization from a Critical Race perspective and briefly review the relevant historical context of immigration and racialized experiences of Asians in America, present a thorough review of empirical literature on Asian American parental socialization with attention to measurement, and highlight key limitations of this literature. Finally, we conclude by offering directions for future research to advance scholarship on Asian American parental racial socialization that is based on a Critical Race perspective.

Definitions of Racial and Ethnic Socialization

Critical Race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012) maintains that race is a socio-political construct based on perceived physical differences (e.g., skin color, facial features, and hair type), rather than inherent biological differences. It differs from ethnicity, which emphasizes traditions, values, language, and history attached to a particular social group (Cokley, 2007). From a Critical Race perspective, race and racial differences were created and maintained to promote power and privilege attached to "whiteness" even though science has long debunked any notion of meaningful and distinct racial group differences, finding more within-group than between-group variations in phenotypic and biological characteristics (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Nevertheless, individuals are racialized as race shapes group membership, meaning, experiences, and treatment of others (Helms, 1990; Omi & Winant, 1994).

Therefore, race and racism—a system of privilege and oppression based on racial hierarchy—are inextricably linked today and throughout history. Importantly, racialized experiences also intersect with other forms of oppression including, but not limited to, sexism, classism, and heterosexism (Crenshaw, 1991).

It is critical to understand how Asian American families navigate this complex, fluid, multilevel, and intersectional system of race and racism, as it will have consequences for their children's development (Chang, 2016; Coll et al., 1996). In developmental science, *parental racial-ethnic socialization* generally refers to the transmission of information from adults to children regarding race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2006). While the two aspects of "racial" and "ethnic" parental socialization have been well-studied for African American families, scholars have only more recently begun to differentiate between racial and ethnic socialization processes for Asian Americans (Juang, Shen, Kim, & Wang, 2016; Seol et al., 2016).

Racial socialization refers to the ways in which parents teach their children about the meaning that is associated with being of a certain race, such as the fact that one's racial group may be devalued in society, and preparing children for challenges due to stereotyping and racism. For instance, Asian American parents may talk to their children about how to effectively deal with stereotypes of being treated as a foreigner or too smart, explain why Asian faces are not seen (or voices heard) in mainstream media, or teach active coping strategies when faced with discrimination. *Ethnic socialization*, in contrast, refers to the preservation and transmission of cultural values, practices, traditions, language, and history. For instance, Korean American parents may teach their children about the history of Korea, Korean traditions and culture, and how to speak Korean. While these two aspects of socialization can be distinguished, they also overlap. A parent could encourage ethnic pride, for instance, as a way for their children to cope with being the target of racism.

We argue that understanding Asian American parental racial-ethnic socialization has been largely constrained in the literature by its over-reliance on primarily framing Asian American parenting through the lens of the acculturation process (i.e., the process of living and negotiating between at least two cultures—one's heritage culture and the majority culture), often only emphasizing the extent of ethnic (heritage culture) socialization. Furthermore, studies of Asian American racial-ethnic socialization (and youth development in general, see Kiang, Tseng, & Yip, 2016; Lee, Kim, & Zhou, 2016) rarely consider the relevance and long history of Asians being racialized in the United States. Asian Americans have long lived within a system that disadvantages racial and ethnic minorities, and yet, they have consistently challenged and resisted this system. This history has implications for the content and focus of parental racial socialization that has not yet been systematically studied.

Brief Review of Relevant Asian American History and Identity

In the history of Asian America, the diverse ethnic groups across Asia did not originally arrive in the US thinking of themselves as "Asian" or "Asian American." They came instead with identities tied to their nationality, ethnicity, and tribes from back

home (E. Lee, 2015). Indeed, Asian Americans are extremely diverse. The top ten countries of origin/ethnicities are from China (24.5%), India (20%), the Philippines (17.1%), Vietnam (10.3%), Korea (9.3%), Japan (5.2%), Pakistan (2.5%), Cambodia (1.6%), Hmong (1.4%), Laos (1.3%), and Other (1.7%) (Pew Research Center, 2016). Each of these groups has distinct histories, patterns of migration, and relations to the US, resulting in variations in how racism and discrimination is experienced. For instance, Cambodian American adolescents may be targeted because of language issues and stereotypes regarding refugees (Sangalang, Chen, Kulis, & Yabiku, 2015), while for Filipino Americans, language is less likely to be an issue but colonial mentality might (David & Nadal, 2013).

Regardless of their background, however, all Asian immigrants became racialized within a white racial framework to initially meet the need for inexpensive and exploitable labor in the developing U.S. capitalist economy (Chan, 1991). Asians in the US became racialized in three ways: (1) Asian ethnic groups across nationalities, ethnicity, and socioeconomic statuses were impelled to cross the Pacific to arrive in the US as subjects of colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism, (2) Asian ethnic groups were repeatedly denied naturalized citizenship by court rulings and legislations, leaving all Asians in America "aliens ineligible for citizenship," and (3) Asian ethnic groups similarly experienced systemic racism in the US based on shared phenotypic characteristics (Maeda, 2009). Thus, Asian Americans found themselves in a repeated loop in U.S. history between migration, exploitation, and exclusion.

This cycle of oppression has been fueled and maintained by racializing all Asians in America as "oriental"—an "alien body and a threat to the American national family" (R. G. Lee, 1999, p. 8). The construction of the oriental is a complex racial representation of ever-changing, contradictory popular images, including perpetual foreigner, model minority, and sexual deviant stereotypes (R. G. Lee, 1999; Wu, 2002). The *perpetual foreigner stereotype* is the racial representation of Asians in America as foreign, regardless of their citizenship, generational status, or length of residency in the US (Wu, 2002). The *model minority stereotype* is the racial representation of Asians in America as the more academically, economically, and socially successful group in comparison to other racial minority groups, because of their hard work and belief in the "American dream" (Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010). The *sexual deviant stereotype* is the racial representation of Asian American men as hyposexualized and less "manly" and Asian American women as hypersexualized and exotic, setting up contrasting forms of gender and sexuality that diverge from the "normal" white male heteronormativity (R. G. Lee, 1999; Park, 2013).

These stereotypes of Asian Americans are neither new nor simple overgeneralizations. Rather, they are the racialized construction of the oriental to maintain and rationalize power and privilege attached to "whiteness," which dates back well before the U.S. Constitution was ratified (see R. G. Lee, 1999, for details). For instance, Asian Americans have always been the perpetual foreigner in the US, stereotyped as the Yellow Peril that threatened white power and privilege. This image normalized the wide range of exclusionary and naturalization laws that limited Asian Americans from fully and equally participating in U.S. society and culture

(Takaki, 1989; Wu, 2002). The Asian American model minority stereotype, contrary to its complimentary connotations, has always been used to maintain the racial status quo by pitting minority groups against one another, dating back to the end of the American Civil War and renewed during the 1960s Civil Rights movement (Wu, 2002). Each time, Asian Americans were pitted against African Americans as an exemplar case of hard work, "ethnic assimilation," and a model for non-political upward mobility (R. G. Lee, 1999). Using sexual deviant stereotypes, gendered and racist U.S. exclusionary laws were also passed in efforts to control the family formation and settlement of Asians in America (Park, 2013).

It is important to remember that Asians in America have always resisted and fought against these stereotypes and white supremacy, often in collaboration across ethnic, racial, gender, and class lines (Takaki, 1989). In contrast to the perpetual foreigner stereotype, Asians have been in America well before the United States became a republic, have fought in every American war since the War of 1812, and have significantly contributed to and shaped the development of the U.S. economy (E. Lee, 2015). Asian Americans also routinely protested in the courts to achieve full citizenship, setting enduring, legal U.S. precedence on the right of entry and naturalization (e.g., Fong Yue-Ting on immigration, Wong Ark Kim on citizenship through birth), equal protection and economic rights (e.g., Yick Wo on equal protection, Toyota on land ownership), and the right to fully participate in the U.S. society (e.g., Fred Korematsu on internment) (Chan, 1991). Dispelling the model minority myth of Asian Americans simply being docile and hard workers who do not complain, history is filled with illustrations of almost every Asian ethnic group fighting back against individual, institutional, and cultural forms of racism (E. Lee, 2015; Takaki, 1989). Asian Americans have also historically challenged, resisted, and creatively navigated the sexual deviant stereotypes that limited normative family formations, including developing transnational families and thriving in industries that were non-threatening labor for White men such as laundry service and restaurants (E. Lee, 2015).

From the 1960s onward, then, a new intentional "Asian American" racial identity was born. It grew out of political participation and activism focusing on the need for self-determination and social justice. The Asian American racial identity was and is defined by: (1) multiethnic unity across Asian ethnic groups because of their shared racialization and oppression, (2) interracial solidarity and collaboration with other racial minorities and "Third World people" (reclaiming the term as people with alternative values, rather than less industrialized and civilized as the term originally intended), and (3) anti-U.S. imperialism and systemic racism that have hurt people of color all over the world (Maeda, 2009). Illustrations of these tenants practiced are visible across the Asian American movement in the late 1960s and 1970s. As activist and musician Chris Iijima reflected, "Asian American identity was only constructed as a means to organize other Asians for political purposes, to highlight aspects of racism, to escape the hegemony of Whites in progressive movements, to support other progressive racial formations, to establish alternative forms of looking at society/history…I'm hoping that someday racial identity becomes a political identity again—not an ethnic marker" (Maeda, 2009, p. 141).

Consequently, from a Critical Race perspective, racial socialization for Asian American families must include learning about and teaching the origin and history of race and racism in the US, racial formation of stereotypes and history of Asians in America, and radical, political resistance in creation of the Asian American racial identity. It is through these many lessons of confronting and combating systems of oppression across and intersecting race, gender, class, and sexuality, where children may develop critical consciousness, stronger racial identity development, and adaptive frameworks and coping strategies to deal with racism (Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Unfortunately, there are limited empirical studies investigating how Asian American parents are racially socializing their children, whether they include narratives of oppression and resistance of Asians in America, and if sharing these narratives relate to improved well-being, critical consciousness, and racial identity of Asian American youth. Still, a thorough review and critique of the empirical studies on racial socialization for Asian American families is necessary.

Empirical Review of Racial Socialization for Asian Americans

There has been a rapid growth of research on race and racism in the past 50 years, with greater emphasis on the experiences of both risks and resiliencies of people of color (Winston, 2004). However, there is still little empirical work focused on the racialized experiences of Asian Americans, including racial socialization processes and outcomes. Our empirical review includes 22 peer-reviewed journal articles on racial and ethnic socialization among Asian American families (see Table 2.1 for a list of studies reviewed). First, we examine terminology and measures used in the literature by scholars studying racial and ethnic socialization. Second, we report study findings describing the prevalence of racial and ethnic socialization in Asian American families. Third, we summarize how racial and ethnic socialization is directly and indirectly related to adjustment outcomes. Finally, we discuss limitations of the reviewed literature and highlight implications for future research and directions.

Operationalization and Measurement

The terms racial, ethnic, and cultural socialization are often used interchangeably or in combination across studies. Indeed, operationalization and measurement of racial and ethnic socialization concepts often overlap such that they can be difficult to distinguish, similar to the inconsistent and interchangeable use of the terms race and ethnicity in the literature (Cokley, 2007). Thus, using the term “ethnic-racial

Table 2.1 Summary of racial and ethnic socialization studies with Asian Americans

Study	Design	Sample characteristics	Socialization measure	Associated constructs
Alvarez, Juang, and Liang (2006)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	254 Filipino and Chinese college students	Harrell (1997) RaLES Socialization Subscale	Racial identity, perceived racial discrimination
Benner and Kim (2009)	Quantitative; longitudinal	444 Chinese American parents and youth	Preparation for Bias subscale (parent report; adapted from Hughes and Johnson, 2001)	Adolescent cultural misfit, parent experiences of discrimination, parent perpetual foreigner stress
Brittian, Umaña-Taylor, and Derlan (2013)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	507 Asian/White and Latino/White biracial college students	Familial Ethnic Socialization measure—revised (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001, 2004)	Ethnic identity
Brown and Ling (2012)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	114 Asian American emerging adults	Cultural Socialization-pluralism subscale (Hughes & Johnson, 2001)	Ethnic identity, self-esteem
Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, and Ezell (2007)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	17,372 participants, 499 Asian kindergarteners	Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale, 1 item	Warmth of parent–child relationship, situational correlates
Choi, Kim, Pekelnicky, and Kim (2013)	Mixed methods; measurement development	291 Korean American families	Measures of Korean immigrant family socialization (Choi et al., 2013)	N/A
Else-Quest and Morse (2015)	Quantitative; longitudinal	85 Asian, 102 White, 99 African American, 84 Latino parents and youth	Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997)	Ethnic identity
Gartner, Kiang, and Supple (2014)	Quantitative; longitudinal	147 Asian American youth	Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997)	Ethnic identity, American identity, self-esteem

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Study	Design	Sample characteristics	Socialization measure	Associated constructs
Huynh and Fuligni (2008)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	180 Mexican, 180 Chinese, 164 European youth	Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997)	Academic motivation, academic achievement
Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, and Foust (2009)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	58 Chinese, 62 Black, 50 Latino mother-adolescent pairs	Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001)	Ethnic-racial identity
Juang et al. (2016)	Quantitative; measurement development	575 Asian emerging adults	Asian American Parental Racial-ethnic Socialization Scale (Juang et al., 2016)	Ethnic identity, perceived discrimination, pluralistic orientation
Juang and Syed (2010)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	225 Asian, Latino, White, and Mixed-ethnic college students	Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001)	Ethnic identity
Liu and Lau (2013)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	253 Asian, 142 African American, 275 Latino young adults	Overt subscale (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001); Preparation for Bias and Promotion of Mistrust subscales (Hughes & Johnson, 2001)	Optimism, pessimism, depression
Moua and Lamborn (2010)	Qualitative; interviews	23 Hmong American youth	N/A	N/A
Nguyen, Wong, Juang, and Park (2015)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	970 Asian American college students	Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001)	Ethnic identity, psychological well-being
Phinney and Chavira (1995)	Qualitative; interviews	18 Japanese, 16 African American, 26 Mexican parents and youth	N/A	Self-esteem
Rivas-Drake, Hughes, and Way (2009)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	86 Chinese, 58 Black, 37 Puerto Rican, 28 Dominican, 99 White youth	Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias subscales (Hughes & Chen, 1997)	Ethnic identity, perceived discrimination
Rollins and Hunter (2013)	Qualitative; interviews	73 biological mothers of multiracial children - less than 13 Asian mothers.	N/A	N/A

Seol, Yoo, Lee, Park, and Kyeong (2016)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	233 adopted and 155 nonadopted Korean American youth	Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias subscales (Tran & Lee, 2010)	School belonging and engagement, perceived racial discrimination
Tran and Lee (2010)	Quantitative; measurement validation	166 Asian American youth	Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (adapted from Hughes & Johnson, 2001)	Ethnic identity, social competence
Tran and Lee (2011)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	146 Asian American youth	Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (adapted from Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Tran & Lee, 2010)	Number of same-race friends, number of cross-race friends, social competence
Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, and Shin (2006)	Quantitative; cross-sectional	639 Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Salvadoran youth	Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001)	Ethnic identity

socialization"[1] to capture this broad construct or, preferably, using terms for specific aspects of each, has been advocated (Hughes et al., 2006). Historically, the type of socialization emphasized has depended on the racial group being studied. In particular, the term "racial socialization" is used almost exclusively with African Americans, while "ethnic and cultural socialization" are used more often with Latinx and Asian Americans (Hughes et al., 2006). The inconsistent use of different terms and definitions make it challenging for researchers to tease apart specific psychological effects and integrate findings from past research. Consequently, our review will organize findings by each specific racial and ethnic socialization measure as measures and definitions slightly differ across studies.

A recent review of racial and ethnic socialization measures found that at least 41 scales exist (Yasui, 2015). However, few of these have been used with Asian Americans. The measures most commonly used in studying the racial and ethnic socialization of Asian Americans include several variations of the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Tran & Lee, 2010), and the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). However, none of these measures were originally developed with Asian American populations. Thus, we present a new measure, the Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale (Juang et al., 2016) at the end of this section, and discuss other types of measurement that quantitative studies have utilized.

The most commonly used measure for studying the racial and ethnic socialization of Asian Americans is the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Tran & Lee, 2010), which has three versions all based on the ethnic-racial socialization model by Hughes and Chen (1997). Eleven of the 19 quantitative studies included in our review used a version of this measure. The ethnic-racial socialization model consists of four dimensions: (1) *cultural socialization*, which involves messages about the history and traditions of one's own ethnic and racial groups and emphasizing pride; (2) *pluralism-egalitarianism*, which includes awareness of other ethnic and racial groups and viewing them as equal to one's own; (3) *preparation for bias*, which includes discussions about ethnic and racial prejudice and discrimination; and (4) *promotion of mistrust*, which emphasizes warnings about interactions with other ethnic and racial groups.

Hughes and Chen (1997) first developed a 12-item measure derived from this model that assessed how often parents engage in three of these dimensions—cultural socialization (3 items), preparation for bias (7 items), and promotion of mistrust (2 items)—across their child's lifetime and over the past year. The measure was later modified by Hughes and Johnson (2001), incorporating the pluralism-egalitarianism dimension into the cultural socialization factor. This modified measure consists of

[1] Hughes et al. (2006) and others use the term "ethnic-racial socialization" but we chose to also use "racial-ethnic socialization" in this chapter for two reasons. One is to accentuate the racial aspect as most studies of Asian Americans have focused on ethnic, and not racial socialization. Two, the main contribution of the chapter is to highlight and discuss in detail the racialization of Asian Americans and what this means for parental socialization. Therefore, we thought it was appropriate to have this term "racial" appear first.

ten items and three subscales—cultural socialization/pluralism (4 items), preparation for bias (4 items), and promotion of mistrust (2 items). Tran and Lee (2010) adapted the Hughes and Johnson (2001) measure, adding new items and testing the factor structure with Asian Americans. This resulted in a 16-item measure with subscales along the same dimensions—cultural socialization/pluralism (5 items), preparation for bias (8 items), and promotion of mistrust (3 items). In summary, there are three published measures derived from the ethnic-racial socialization model with similarly named subscales, but different items associated with each.

Another measure used with Asian Americans is the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001), which was originally developed with Latinx. This measure uses adolescent report to assess overt/intentional ethnic socialization by parents (e.g., "My family teaches me about our family's ethnic/cultural background") and covert ethnic socialization (e.g., "Our home is decorated with things that reflect my ethnic/cultural background"). The Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure was used in five of the studies in our review (Brittian et al., 2013; Juang & Syed, 2010; Liu & Lau, 2013; Nguyen et al., 2015; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006). The study by Liu and Lau (2013) used subscales from both the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure and the Ethnic Racial Socialization Scale.

The first scale developed for Asian Americans, the Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale, measures seven aspects of racial-ethnic socialization, including maintenance of heritage culture, becoming American, awareness of discrimination, avoidance of outgroups, minimization of race, promotion of equality, and cultural pluralism (Juang et al., 2016). These subscales measure aspects of both racial and ethnic socialization. For instance, the maintenance of heritage culture subscale focuses on ethnic socialization (e.g., "Encouraged you to be proud of your culture"), while the minimization of race subscale has items assessing racial socialization (e.g., Told you racism doesn't exist). Other subscales, such as promotion of equality and cultural pluralism, allow respondents to answer with either their racial or ethnic group in mind (e.g., "Told you that race or ethnicity is not important in choosing friends"). Overall, this scale is the first to cover a broad range of racial and ethnic socialization dimensions and take into account experiences specific to Asian American families.

The final three quantitative studies in our review measured socialization in other ways. One study utilized the socialization subscale from Harrell's (1997) Racial and Life Experiences Scale (Alvarez et al., 2006), another used a 1-item measure of familial ethnic/race socialization (e.g., "How often does someone in your family talk with {CHILD} about (his/her) ethnic/racial heritage?"; Brown et al., 2007), and the last employed a new measure of family ethnic socialization for Korean immigrants (Choi et al., 2013).

In summary, our review shows an inconsistency in how racial and ethnic socialization are defined and measured across studies. Further, there is limited empirical research with valid and reliable measures of racial and ethnic socialization that are unique to the history and racialized experiences of Asian American families. Therefore, it is important to carefully examine how each study defines and measures the constructs under investigation and to recognize differences across studies that must be taken into account when integrating findings.

Frequency of Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Measures of racial and ethnic socialization attempt to capture how often children receive socialization messages. Recall that the original Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997) asks for parent report. However, of the 11 studies in our review using this scale, only two used parent report (Benner & Kim, 2009; Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). The other nine studies adapted the scale for use with adolescents and emerging adults to assess the frequency of received racial and ethnic socialization messages from parents. One of the nine included both parent and adolescent report (Hughes et al., 2009). Children's perceptions of parental socialization practices are important to consider as they reveal how parenting is directly experienced by the child (Blyth, 1982). Furthermore, capturing both parent and child perspectives is important because they potentially diverge. What some parents may see as explicit efforts to teach their children about the importance of being aware of discrimination and being proud of their own heritage culture and history, may not be perceived and interpreted in the same way by their children (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).

Studies may also utilize different reference time points and response options for measurement, adding another challenge to comparing results across studies. Some studies in our review asked participants to report the frequency with which their parents engaged in socialization messages over the past year (e.g., Gartner et al., 2014), while growing up (e.g., Tran & Lee, 2011), and across their lifetime (e.g., Hughes & Johnson, 2001). In addition, item response options ranged from 3- to 5-point scales, with anchors varying widely across studies.

With these variations in mind, we now turn to factors related to the frequency of racial and ethnic socialization messages passed from parents to children and the types of messages children are more likely to receive. A study of Asian American college students (predominantly Hmong American) using the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale found that being foreign born, Hmong American (versus other Asian-heritage), and having a more educated mother was associated with higher reports of youths' racial and ethnic socialization experiences (Tran & Lee, 2010). Another study with Chinese American adolescents found that females were likely to report receiving more cultural socialization than males, but that parental education did not affect racial and ethnic socialization frequencies (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). In contrast, a study with Chinese American, Black, and Latinx adolescents found that college-educated mothers aged 35–44 engaged in more cultural socialization than less educated mothers over age 55, while boys and girls both reported receiving cultural socialization "sometimes" (Hughes et al., 2009). This study also found that mothers reported giving preparation for bias messages "never" to "rarely" and that boys reported receiving more preparation for bias messages than girls (Hughes et al., 2009). In a longitudinal study, Benner and Kim (2009) found that Chinese-heritage parents who experienced more discrimination reported engaging in more preparation for bias with their adolescents 4 years later. In addition, every study that used all three subscales of the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale found that Asian American adolescents were more likely to report receiving cultural socialization/

pluralism messages from their parents than preparation for bias or promotion of mistrust messages (Gartner et al., 2014; Huynh & Fuligni, 2008; Tran & Lee, 2010, 2011).

Using the Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale, Juang et al. (2016) found that parents were most likely to teach their children about their heritage culture, and also "somewhat likely" to emphasize becoming American, teach appreciation for other cultures, and promote equal treatment of all races and ethnicities. In contrast, parents rarely engaged in minimizing race and teaching children to avoid outgroups. Consistent with studies using the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale, Asian American parents seem to engage in higher levels of ethnic socialization than racial socialization.

Among five studies using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001), the three that reported overall mean scores showed that ethnic minority college students typically received "some" to "much" ethnic socialization (Brittian et al., 2013; Juang & Syed, 2010; Nguyen et al., 2015). In the study with Korean immigrant families, parents believed "much" to "very much" that good parents endorse traditional Korean parent virtues, and teach their children enculturation of familial and cultural values and traditional Korean etiquettes (Choi et al., 2013). Overall, Asian-heritage parents seem more likely to share socialization messages passing along heritage culture and emphasizing diversity and equality rather than more "negative" messages regarding discrimination, promoting mistrust and avoiding outgroups, or minimizing race.

Racial-Ethnic Socialization and Adjustment

Different aspects of racial-ethnic socialization are linked to a wide range of youth adjustment outcomes. Cultural socialization/pluralism is generally associated with positive adjustment for Asian Americans. More frequent messages regarding this dimension are positively linked to higher levels of ethnic identity (Brown & Ling, 2012; Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Gartner et al., 2014; Hughes et al., 2009; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Tran & Lee, 2010), more academic motivation (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008), higher self-esteem (Gartner et al., 2014), more school engagement (Seol et al., 2016), stronger family cohesion (Liu & Lau, 2013), and having more same-race friends (Tran & Lee, 2011).

Other studies investigating indirect relations test how racial-ethnic socialization may act as a moderator or precursor to other variables to indirectly affect adjustment. Importantly, cultural socialization/pluralism was a protective factor against the negative effects of discrimination for non-adopted Korean American adolescents, but a vulnerability factor for adopted Korean American adolescents (Seol et al., 2016). Liu and Lau (2013) found that among young adult racial minorities (African American, Latinx, and Asian American), more frequent cultural socialization/pluralism related to higher levels of optimism and subsequently, to lower levels of depression. Several studies also show that cultural socialization is linked to higher levels of ethnic identity, which then links to better adjustment including self-esteem (Brown & Ling,

2012; Gartner et al., 2014) and social competence (Tran & Lee, 2010). Another study found a stronger relation between cultural socialization and ethnic exploration for girls than for boys (Hughes et al., 2009). These findings suggest the need to move beyond testing direct effects of racial and ethnic socialization and adjustment to show how parental socialization simultaneously influences and is influenced by other aspects of development and for whom.

In contrast to the generally consistent positive relation between ethnic socialization and well-being, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust have been associated with both positive and negative adjustment for Asian Americans. Among Chinese American families, the more parents engaged in preparation for bias with their adolescents, the more adolescents felt like they did not fit in with American culture (Benner & Kim, 2009). Greater preparation for bias was also related to perceiving that others have negative perceptions of one's ethnic group, greater perceptions of discrimination by peers and adults (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009), and higher levels of pessimism, which in turn was related to higher levels of depression (Liu & Lau, 2013). However, preparation for bias has been positively associated with ethnic centrality (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009), ethnic exploration, and engagement in ethnic behaviors (Hughes et al., 2009). Preparation for bias was also a moderator, such that for those reporting high levels (but not low levels) of preparation for bias, there was a positive relation between cross-race friendships and social competence (Tran & Lee, 2011). Interestingly, preparation for bias was found to have a curvilinear relationship with school engagement, such that a moderate level was linked with positive school engagement, while low and high levels predicted negative school engagement (Seol et al., 2016). This finding suggests that discussing discrimination too little or too much are both detrimental to school engagement.

Meanwhile, greater promotion of mistrust is generally related to more negative adjustment for Asian Americans in terms of less social competence (Tran & Lee, 2010, 2011), poorer academic achievement (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008), lower levels of ethnic identity (for those who are foreign born; Gartner et al., 2014), and less family cohesion (Liu & Lau, 2013). These findings are consistent with previous research that deems promotion of mistrust to be a negative socialization message, as it may encourage inter-ethnic hostility and is typically associated with negative social and psychological outcomes (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Joseph & Hunter, 2011). However, one study did find that promotion of mistrust was positively associated with self-esteem 2 years later for Asian American adolescents (Gartner et al., 2014). One explanation for this finding could be the context of the study's sample that drew from a new immigrant community in the Southeastern US. Living in an area where Asian Americans are such a small minority, parents' promotion of mistrust may be protective in the short term (Gartner et al., 2014). More research taking context into account will be important for understanding the developmental outcomes associated with promotion of mistrust.

Using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001), ethnic socialization was positively related to ethnic identity (Nguyen et al., 2015; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006), with this link being stronger for females than males (Juang & Syed, 2010). Stronger ethnic identity, in turn, related to greater psychological well-being (Nguyen et al., 2015). For biracial Asian Americans, ethnic

socialization was associated with stronger ethnic identity exploration and resolution, but not affirmation (e.g., a sense of belonging to one's ethnic group; Brittian et al., 2013). These findings are consistent with studies using the cultural socialization subscale of the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale that show links to more positive adjustment.

The Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale study (Juang et al., 2016) found that maintenance of heritage culture was positively correlated with ethnic identity and ethnic identity centrality while awareness of discrimination was positively correlated with perceived discrimination. In addition, promotion of equality was correlated positively with a pluralistic orientation, while avoidance of outgroups was negatively correlated. Finally, Alvarez et al. (2006) found the relation between racial socialization and perceived racial discrimination was mediated by racial identity schemas (perception of self as a racial being) using the Racial and Life Experiences Scale (Harrell, 1997).

Given the evidence that both racial and ethnic socialization are linked to such a wide range of academic, social, and psychological adjustment for Asian American youth, it will be important to continue to examine how and why these different aspects of racial and ethnic socialization, individually and together, contribute to these important areas. In general, passing along and encouraging pride in heritage culture and encouraging appreciation for diverse peoples and perspectives are related to more positive adjustment. Promoting awareness of discrimination and preparation for bias are related to both positive and negative adjustment, with evidence that no preparation or too much emphasis on discrimination is related to poorer adjustment. Finally, highlighting mistrust and avoidance of outgroups seems to be the most consistently related to negative adjustment. Taken together, these studies suggest it is useful to consider specific dimensions of racial and ethnic socialization as the dimensions are differentially related to adjustment both directly and indirectly.

Qualitative and Mixed Methods Studies

Three qualitative studies examined the racial and ethnic socialization of Asian Americans. One study interviewed 23 Hmong American adolescents regarding their perceptions of parental ethnic socialization practices (Moua & Lamborn, 2010). Ten ethnic socialization practices were identified, with the most frequently mentioned ones being participation in cultural events, sharing history, preparing traditional foods, speaking the language, and wearing traditional clothes.

Another study examined the racial and ethnic socialization of Japanese American, African American, and Mexican American families using mixed methods (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Eighteen Japanese American adolescents and parents from Los Angeles were interviewed. The majority of Japanese American parents (67%) reported that they taught their children about cultural practices. In contrast, 22% said that they tried to teach their children about mainstream American culture or how to deal with experiences of name calling or discrimination, and only

17% tried to prepare their children for living in a culturally diverse society. Responses to open-ended questions suggested that the most frequently mentioned socialization themes among Japanese American parents included culture (94%) and achievement (56%), followed by adaptation (39%), coping with prejudice (28%), prejudice as a problem (17%), and pride (6%). In this study, parents emphasized ethnic socialization over racial socialization. Yet, with 39% of Japanese American adolescents reporting experiences of verbal racial slurs, racial discrimination is clearly a problem they faced.

The final qualitative study investigated racial socialization of biracial youth (Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Ten of the participants were biracial Asian Americans; six were Asian/White, two were Black/Asian, one was Asian/American Indian, and one was Asian/Latinx. However, Asian biracial youth were grouped with "other minorities" in the presentation of socialization approaches, obscuring what socialization practices may have been unique to Asian biracial youth. The only finding applicable to Asian biracial youth was that parents of White biracial youth (including Asian/Whites) were more likely to be silent with regard to racial socialization than parents of Black biracial youth. As Rollins and Hunter (2013) point out, little research has been done addressing racial socialization among non-Black/White biracial families.

Our review reveals that most studies employ quantitative self-report surveys to study parental racial socialization. Yet self-report quantitative surveys have their limitations: the response scale is forced-choice, the range of parental racial socialization behaviors are constrained, and context is lost (Hughes et al., 2008). From a Critical Race perspective, qualitative methods and narratives are preferred for capturing the complex and contextualized experiences of Asian American individuals (R. M. Lee et al., 2016). Moving forward, it will be important for researchers to clearly define and describe multiple dimensions of racial and ethnic socialization and consider expanding beyond self-report surveys to include qualitative, observational, and mixed-methods approaches to best capture these nuanced constructs and relations.

Five Main Limitations That Point to Future Research Directions

Our review of the Asian American racial and ethnic socialization literature reveals both the challenges and importance of studying this topic. Racial and ethnic socialization clearly play a key role in the development and adjustment of Asian American youth. However, research on racial socialization for Asian Americans is sparse. Here, we highlight five main limitations when considering the 22 studies reviewed: lack of attention to socialization as a dynamic, two-way process, lack of a developmental perspective, lack of attention to context, lack of attention to parenting in tandem with other sources of socialization, and lack of attention to history.

The first main limitation is that most studies have framed parental socialization as happening in only one direction. The most oft-used definition of parental racial socialization by Hughes et al. (2006, p. 78) emphasizes "transmission of informa-

tion from adults to children." From a transactional perspective (Sameroff & Mackenzie, 2003), however, socialization is a dynamic process that must consider the child's role in how and what his/her parents do. Characteristics of the children determine the content and process of how parents socialize. The personality of child, the developmental age, gender, whether the child has a disability or not, all influence the way parents socialize their children regarding racial-ethnic issues. Reactive parenting (e.g., responding to a child when s/he tells a parent about a racist incident) highlights the important role of the child in drawing out parental racial socialization behaviors (Chang, 2016; Juang et al., under review). Indeed, children are self-determining agents who actively interpret and elicit parental racial socialization. And, as children get older, some may actively teach and socialize their parents over issues of race, for instance, admonishing and educating their parents if their parent voices a racist remark or if their parent encourages them to avoid certain racial groups, such as who not to date (Juang, Munez, & Gee, 2014). Thus, examining how racial socialization is a dynamic, reciprocal process is necessary in order to move beyond a simplistic one-way transmission view of racial socialization.

The second main limitation of the studies reviewed is the lack of developmental perspective and exclusion of young children. Most studies of Asian American parental racial socialization either focus on adolescent experiences (e.g., Gartner et al., 2014; Seol et al., 2016) or ask young adults to retrospectively report how their parents socialized them (e.g., Alvarez et al., 2006; Juang et al., 2016; Tran & Lee, 2010). It is important, however, to understand how Asian American parents modify the content and way they socialize their children depending on the child's cognitive and social development (Brown & Bigler, 2005). Racial and ethnic socialization messages are likely to change throughout childhood and adolescence as parents adjust to their children's age, maturity, and experiences (Hughes et al., 2006). Chang's (2016) ethnographic study of parenting Asian-heritage multiracial children is one of the few that explicitly focuses on younger children. Her findings show that over half of her sample (43 of 68 families) did not talk to their young children about racial issues, despite evidence that their children were recipients of explicit comments about their race. Parental racial socialization starts early, even if parents themselves are not aware of it. Importantly, young children observe, learn, and actively form beliefs about race based on the interactions with their parents, family members, and the world around them (Brown & Bigler, 2005).

The third main limitation of the studies reviewed is the lack of attention to setting (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994), referring to the places where parental racial-ethnic socialization occurs. Racial and ethnic composition in a particular area can influence the experiences Asian American families have and how parents socialize their children. Juang et al.'s (under review) qualitative study of 34 second-generation Asian American parents across seven cities in the US found that parents adjust their socialization practices depending on the particular neighborhood in which they live. Living in a predominantly white neighborhood led some parents to more consciously and proactively emphasize ethnic socialization and seek out cultural organizations or language schools for their children to strengthen ties and identity with their heritage culture. Parents living in an ethnically concentrated Asian area led some to deemphasize aspects of racial socialization (e.g., awareness of discrimina-

tion) as they believed their children were not likely to experience racial discrimination in such a highly diverse environment with many Asians. It is important to note that many of the studies of parental racial socialization that we reviewed were conducted in cities where Asian Americans make up a larger proportion of the local population relative to the general U.S. population. While it may be difficult to recruit Asian Americans that are the small minority in their community, it is also important to understand how parents socialize their children in contexts where resources and opportunities supporting ethnic and racial socialization (e.g., access to ethnic media, food, institutions, and same-ethnic community networks) may be few. Thus, future studies should include participants from settings and contexts with different racial compositions and regions of the US and carefully select and measure the most important characteristics of the setting to better understand how parental racial-ethnic socialization may be tied to the specific place in which it occurs.

The fourth main limitation is that Asian American parental racial socialization is presented as isolated behaviors or practices, without attention to how parenting is embedded within a particular network of relationships and communities. It will be important to investigate how parental racial and ethnic socialization happens in tandem with other sources of socialization, such as with friends, peers, media, extended family, and school context. In doing so, we gain a better understanding of how parents develop their racial socialization beliefs and practices in line with, or in contrast to, other sources. A model of parental racial socialization should also incorporate the parent's own process of becoming critically conscious, which does not happen in isolation. How do parents themselves reflect on their own identities of being of Asian-heritage in the US? Have parents also internalized negative Asian stereotypes and if so, how may this be communicated to their children both explicitly and implicitly? How do parents learn the lost voices of Asian American history if it was not part of their schooling or their own immigrant parents' histories? It will be important for researchers to understand parental racial socialization as both an individual and community effort.

The fifth main limitation is the lack of attention to Asian American history. In the next section, we expand on this critique and discuss alternate avenues for studying Asian American parental racial socialization to address this particular limitation.

Alternate Avenues for the Study of Asian American Parental Racial Socialization

A review of the literature of Asian American parental racial socialization reveals the disconnection to Asian American history. Parental racial socialization is informed by the migration history of each specific group from their countries of origin (Kiang et al., 2016; Okazaki, Lee, & Sue, 2007) but also by the history of Asian Americans as a racialized group in the US (Omi & Winant, 1994). Most studies (in psychology) of Asian American parental racial-ethnic socialization, however, tend to overlook these important histories. Notably, the brief review in the first section of this chapter, documenting a long legacy of Asian American resistance and resilience living in

a racially inequitable society, is not clearly connected or systematically considered in studies of Asian American parental racial-ethnic socialization.

Here, we consider what aspects of Asian American history from a Critical Race perspective may be particularly important to focus on to better understand Asian American parental racial socialization. Asian American history shows the formation of an Asian American identity emphasizing multiethnic unity, interracial solidarity, and anti-imperialism (Maeda, 2009). It will be important to uncover whether and how these concepts show up in parental racial socialization practices.

Current measures and conceptualizations of parental racial socialization include parental encouragement of cultural pluralism, which emphasizes appreciation for people with diverse backgrounds and perspectives and the importance of building relationships with diverse peoples (Juang et al., 2016). This conceptualization, however, only superficially taps into the idea of multiethnic unity. A fuller approximation of socializing for multiethnic unity would be to focus on what parents do to encourage their children to recognize not only the tremendous diversity and perspectives across Asian ethnic groups, but what parents do to communicate about the shared history, oppression, and resilience and challenging the stereotypes that target all Asian ethnic groups (Yoo et al., 2010).

Concerning interracial solidarity, studying how Asian American parents communicate the shared struggles and common goals of resistance that cut across racial groups will be important. Future research could study how parents encourage alliances across racial lines to emphasize solidarity so that children identify not just with their own ethnic group but also as Asian Americans and people of color. Finally, research could explore what parents do to help their children understand that racism is tied to global, transnational, capitalist motivations and understand consequences of U.S. imperialism and colonialism. Such themes are not captured in current conceptualizations of Asian American parental racial socialization.

History shows that Asian American individuals have, from the earliest time of migration to the US, engaged in active resistance to sometimes violent racial inequities (R. G. Lee, 1999; Takaki, 1989). Research could explore how Asian-heritage parents foster a critical consciousness beyond an awareness of interpersonal and institutional racism and discrimination, but also resistance to the internalization of pervasive stereotypes and action to push back against people and institutions that perpetuate and reinforce those stereotypes. Studying parental racial socialization without linking it to history may miss a large part of what and how parents socialize. For Filipino American parents, for instance, the legacy of Spanish and U.S. colonization, internalized oppression, and colonial mentality will have implications for what and how parents communicate to their children concerning race-related issues (David & Nadal, 2013).

Drawing from socio-political and civic engagement literature and a Critical Race perspective, we propose that Asian American parental racial socialization could focus on three dimensions that highlight process: critical awareness, reflection, and activism. *Critical awareness* refers to how parents create awareness of Asian American history and heritage culture history, awareness of how white racism operates, of racial inequity in institutions and society, and awareness of how racism intersects with gender, class, and sexual orientation (Chang, 2016; Feagin, 2009). In

general, critical awareness provides children with a broader context in which to situate their own experiences, emphasizing history, systems, and institutions to understand the sources of injustices. Some aspects of critical awareness are accounted for in current racial socialization measures (e.g., awareness of discrimination, preparation for bias)—but these measures primarily focus on interpersonal discrimination, less on systemic and institutional discrimination, and not at all on how racism intersects with, for instance, gendered heteronormativity. Including an intersectional lens to understand racism also allows children to connect their own experiences and identities related to gender, class, and sexuality with others beyond their racial background. Researchers could study how parents emphasize the systemic and intersectional nature of racial inequities to build critical awareness.

Reflection refers to how parents help translate what critical awareness means for youth personally. Researchers could explore how parents guide their children to think about the relevance of race-related issues to their everyday lives, to who they are and to who they want to be. Reflection can lead to feelings of efficacy—the perceived capacity to affect racial and social inequities by individual and/or collective action (Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011). Studies have found that adolescents whose parents and family members supported and actively modeled resisting injustice were also more likely to believe they could initiate change in their sociopolitical environments (Diemer, Kauffman, Koenig, Trahan, & Hsieh, 2006). We know little of how Asian American parents facilitate reflection that may lead to feelings of efficacy and agency to resist stereotypes and injustices. This aspect of reflection is missing in Asian American racial socialization literature.

Critical awareness and reflection can lead to *activism*—actively resisting inequitable systems (Watts et al., 2011). We argue that parents who promote critical awareness and reflection are more likely to have children who will stand up to racial inequities, engage in political actions, and participate in their communities. Studies of African American youth show that parents and family members, both implicitly and explicitly, engage their children in a variety of forms of activism, including role modeling, sharing knowledge, and discussing and building relationships with others to fight for social justice (Watts et al., 2011). Identifying how Asian American parents socialize children for activism against racial injustices is needed. If, for instance, a child encounters racial discrimination, how do parents engage the child in developmentally appropriate, specific, and concrete activities to address the injustice? Importantly, parents themselves must be continually engaged in the development of critical consciousness in order to be a strong and knowledgeable source of positive racial socialization for their children.

In sum, we offer these three processes—promoting critical awareness, reflection, and activism—as a starting point for further research into areas that have not yet received attention in Asian American parental socialization research. These processes may provide Asian American families with valuable skills in navigating and coping with systemic forms of racism. Our review also brings up potential barriers for parents to engage in active racial socialization, such as possible difficulty communicating due to language differences with their children, lack of opportunity to have learned about Asian American history or developed critical consciousness, and

not having similarly shared experiences or understanding of race and racism. Thus, identifying barriers to active socialization efforts will also be important to better understand how to best support parents to engage.

Finally, we want to highlight that for new Asian immigrants, although they may not identify as "Asian" or "Asian American," they will still be subjected to being racialized as such. They will become part of the history of Asian Americans and therefore have a rightful claim to this history. In other words, the historical and contemporary actions and contributions that Asian Americans have made and are making are important aspects of a bigger story that both old and new immigrants from Asia are a part of. More recent immigrant groups (and those born in the US who were not taught Asian American history) may not readily identify with this history in order to be able to apply it in a meaningful manner to their racial socialization practices. Nonetheless, we argue that Asian American history is ours to claim and is relevant for all of us—from new immigrants to those who have been here for multiple generations—to inform how we engage in racial socialization with our children.

Conclusion

Understanding how Asian American parents socialize their children to become aware of issues of race, racial oppression, and resistance will continue to be a critical area for youth development. More studies are needed to illuminate how Asian American parents implicitly and proactively prepare their children to confront racism, develop a critical consciousness, and cultivate appreciation for diverse people and perspectives, beyond simply passing along heritage culture to their children. Studies also need to consider how Asian American parenting is grounded in historical and contemporary struggles and accomplishments to better understand the foundations of parental racial and ethnic socialization. As Bay, the mother who is quoted at the beginning of the chapter, expresses, even if as children felt powerless to address racial injustices, as parents we can use these experiences to provide our own children with the support, skills, and energy to overcome this powerlessness. To do so, we must know our history and (counter)narratives of our people to develop resilience, resist harmful stereotypes, and act against systems of oppression. The eloquent words of Sharon Chang and her hope for children of Asian-heritage parents are a fitting closing to this chapter:

> They [our children] must be able to gain the strength of collective resistant heritage from us, their family, and community networks. They must be stimulated to think critically, taught to see complexity and nuances in all people, raise their consciousness through self-inquiry and parallel dialogue with others…. They must be able to reject myths of white superiority and refocus their energies to raise celebrations of who they are…. We must discuss the work of activists with them, help them to learn anti-racist counter-framing aimed at the white racial frame and gain strategies of protest which may be passed across many generations. (Chang, 2016, p. 217).

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Chapter 3
Culture and Family Process: Examination of Culture-Specific Family Process via Development of New Parenting Measures Among Filipino and Korean American Families with Adolescents

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Adolescence and young adulthood are marked by seismic shifts across domains. Rapid changes in neurobiology, psychosocial functioning, and cognitive development set youth on trajectories that have lifelong implications (Arnett, 2006). Despite the surging importance of peers and outside home contexts, family processes—characterized by parenting behaviors, beliefs about parenting, and parent–child relationships—remain highly significant during adolescence and young adulthood (Bornstein, 2002). There is strong evidence that parenting is the single most predictive and protective factor in adolescent outcomes (Donath, Graessel, Baier, Bleich, & Hillemacher, 2014; Galambos, Barker, & Almeida, 2003; Hoskins, 2014).

In the U.S., more than 40% of all youth under age 18, and over half of all births, are comprised of racial/ethnic minorities (U.S. Census, 2012). Until recently, Hispanics were the fastest growing minority group in the U.S. In 2009, Hispanics were surpassed by Asians, largely due to a drop in immigration from Mexico (Semple, 2012). By 2010, 36% of all new American immigrants were from Asia. Research has not yet caught up with the burgeoning population of Asians in America. Though race

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and ethnicity are the locus of a growing body of social science research, studies specifically regarding Asian American youth are rare, and analyses of Asian American subgroups are rarer still (Choi, 2008). Further, parenting measures founded on Eurocentric parenting practices and theories have been generalized to Asian Americans without explicit verifications of validity (for exceptions; Choi & Harachi, 2002; Crockett, Veed, & Russell, 2010; Wu & Chao, 2011). Dynamic pathways of enculturation and acculturation are interweaved into Asian American family processes in culture-specific ways that may not be captured by conventional measures (Choi, Kim, Pekelnicky, & Kim, 2013) and the dearth of culture-specific constructs poses a methodological challenge to the study of Asian American families.

Asian American youth exhibit uniquely complex etiology. While outcomes among Asian American youth can vary greatly across subgroups (Choi, 2008), Asian American youth as an aggregated group typically exhibit fewer instances of externalizing behaviors that are harmful and disruptive to others than do youth of other race-ethnicities (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Choi & Lahey, 2006). The relative absence of visibly problematic behavior obscures the substantial evidence for a high frequency of internalizing problems, including depression and anxiety, and suicidal thoughts, among various subgroups of Asian American youth. The extent to which culturally derived family processes moderate these outcomes is unclear (Ahn Toupin & Son, 1991; Shibusawa, 2008).

Filipino Americans and Korean Americans are the second and fifth most populous groups of Asian Americans, respectively, in the U.S. (U.S. Census, 2012). They share global indicators of social economic status (i.e., middle income and highly educated parents) but differ in family process and acculturation (Choi, 2008; Min, 2005; Russell, Crockett, & Chao, 2010). Moreover, there is evidence that Filipino American youth and Korean American youth diverge in academic outcomes and externalizing behaviors, while sharing internalizing behaviors (Choi, 2008). Strategic comparisons of the two groups would yield important associations between bicultural family processes and youth development. To date, no study has directly compared associations between parenting and adolescent developmental outcomes between Filipino American and Korean American youth. The Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (ML-SAAF) addresses this gap in the literature. ML-SAAF traces the development of Filipino American and Korean American family processes and adolescent developmental outcomes over 5 years. In so doing, ML-SAAF tests Western parenting measures for generalizability to Korean and Filipino families and develops new constructs that measure Korean and Filipino family processes with specificity.

Family Process and Culture-Specific Measures

There is widespread consensus that family processes are among the most enduring and influential forces in adolescent development (Elkin & Handel, 1978; Youniss & Ruth, 2002). Baumrind's threefold typology of parenting prevails in the literature

(Baumrind, 1971, 1978; see Batool, 2013). In authoritarian parenting, the will of the parent dominates and insubordination is met with punishment. Permissive parenting grants the child unrestrained freedom with the parent forgoing responsibility for the child's ongoing and future behavior. In authoritative parenting, the parent affirms the child's individuality while setting standards for the child's conduct; dialogic reasoning and reinforcement, rather than dictatorial restraint and punishment, are used to achieve parental objectives (Baumrind, 1978). A preponderance of studies finds that authoritative parenting and its associated warmth and acceptance is most strongly predictive of positive outcomes in adolescent wellbeing, whereas authoritarian parenting correlates to behavioral problems and negative outcomes among adolescents (Baumrind, 1971; Stewart et al., 2000).

Asian American families undergo the protean processes of enculturation and acculturation as they continuously integrate and shed aspects of both their collectivist culture of origin and the individualist mainstream culture over time (Bornstein and Cote, 2006; Choi et al., 2013). Baumrind's typology and consequent research have been noted for their foundation on Western subjects as well as Western, individualist ideals of parenting that do not capture the complex nature of Asian American families, and recent research challenges the cross-cultural generalizability of Baumrind's typology to Asian families (for example, see Chao & Sue, 1996; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Choi, Kim, Pekelnicky, et al., 2013). Chao and Tseng (2002) questioned the applicability of Baumrind's typology to collectivist cultures, which emphasize interdependence, conformity, emotional self-control, and humility. Chao (1994) elsewhere rejected authoritative parenting, upheld by Baumrind as the ideal parenting stance, as the prototype for Asian Americans, finding it was not associated with better outcomes among the Chinese participants in her study. Chao further concluded that authoritarian parenting was not associated with negative outcomes among adolescents in collectivist cultures because, unlike their counterparts in individualist cultures, they interpreted strict control as necessary for hierarchical order and harmony. Similarly, Jose et al. (2000) distinguished between Western notions of authoritarian parental control, which is dominating and punitive, with Asian applications of parental control, which is "order keeping," directive, and warm. The former is more likely than the latter to produce negative adolescent outcomes. In contrast, Sorkhabi (2005) contends that Baumrind's typology is reliable in both collectivist and individualist cultures, but concedes that the extent to which cultural constructs account for child-rearing effects on child development is unclear.

We propose that a more accurate portrayal of family processes within the Asian immigration context may be captured through verifying the validity of conventional measures for Asian American subgroups and developing culture-specific constructs for Asian American family processes (Choi, Kim, Pekelnicky, et al., 2013). Simply applying Western-based family measures to Asian American families fails to take into account culture-specific meanings and indicators of the constructs. Rather, family process measures that were formulated using Western families should be subject to comparative psychometric testing to evaluate their generalizability to non-Western families. Of even more importance than this *imposed-etic* approach is the development of new, *emic* (indigenous) measures that capture culturally unique

constructs that are not contemplated by conventional Western measures. Chao (1994), for example, operationalized the concepts of *chiao shun*, or training children in a supportive, highly involved mother–child relationship, and *guan*, caring governance, which are both specific to Chinese American parenting. Choi and her colleagues (2013) have developed new measures that assess major components of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*, a process of family socialization specific to Korean American families. In both cases, the process of developing new measures specific to each target group was laborious; it included extensive and systematic literature review, including a review of the culture of origin and immigrant history, in-depth qualitative and focus group interviews with target groups to tap unmeasured content and unrecognized nuances in measured content, and an empirical psychometric property test of the newly developed measures. These steps indiscriminately used both qualitative and quantitative methods and sought active participation and feedback from the community. Taking a similar approach, the present study is a continued effort to develop new measures of parenting styles and practices that are specific to the family processes of Korean Americans and Filipino Americans while testing the validity of conventional measures. Our combined *emic-etic* approach provides comprehensive data on how conventional and indigenous family processes overlap and diverge among Asian American families.

Filipino and Korean Parenting

The Philippines were a Spanish colony from 1565 until the Spanish American War in 1898, when Spain ceded the Philippines to America. The Philippines were not recognized as an independent country until 1946. Spanish and American colonial influences remain evident in the Philippines today. The two official languages of the Philippines are Tagalog and English, with the former strongly influenced by Spanish. The Philippines are also over 80% Catholic, the predominant religion of Spain, compared to 3% in the rest of Asia, and 65% of Filipino Americans identify as Catholic (Center, 2013a). Further, the American occupation established health care training institutions for Filipinos to aid U.S. military stationed in the Philippines (Choy, 2003), which ensured a steady supply of trained Philippine emigrants to fill shortages in the U.S. health care sector. As recently as the mid-1980s, Filipino nurses comprised 75% of all foreign nurses in the U.S, and Filipino nurses comprised more than half of all foreign graduates taking the U.S. licensure exam in 2001 (Brush, Sochalski, & Berger, 2004).

These twin colonial legacies account for positive variances in linguistic and residential assimilation in the U.S. as well as acknowledged affinity with Latino culture among Filipino Americans (Ocampo, 2014). Filipino Americans are the least likely among Asian American subgroups to have limited English proficiency (Ramakrishnan & Ahmad, 2014) and also least likely, along with Japanese Americans, to live in a homogenous ethnic enclave (Ling & Austin, 2015).

In contrast, Korea was occupied by Japan from 1910 until the end of World War II in 1945, whereupon the U.S. occupied the southern half of the country and the Soviet Union the northern half. The Korean War (1950–1953) saw the official establishment of North Korea and South Korea. The travails of postwar recovery and a military dictatorship prompted many Koreans to take advantage of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which abolished the quota system that had theretofore restricted immigrants from Asia. Today, the U.S., after Japan, is home to the largest Korean diaspora, with the vast majority of Korean Americans emigrating from South Korea (Zong & Batalova, 2014). Koreans, along with the Vietnamese and the Chinese, are the most likely of all major Asian subgroups to report limited proficiency in English (Ramakrishnan & Ahmad, 2014). Koreans are also more likely than Filipinos to live in segregated residential areas (Ling & Austin, 2015).

Filipino and Korean Americans have the second and third highest rates for intermarriage among Asian Americans, with Filipino Americans reporting a 54 percent rate of intermarriage, and Korean Americans reporting 39% (Pew Research Center, 2013b). Despite high rates of intermarriage, Korean Americans are perceived to be the most socially and culturally segregated ethnic group among Asian Americans (Min, 2005).

The contrasting histories of Korea and the Philippines manifest in the cultural gap between Korean American and Filipino American family processes. Filipino families have been found to be more egalitarian and less patriarchal in parent–child relations than other Asian American subgroups, markers of a more Western, individualized culture (Russell et al., 2010). However, Filipino American families still retain core cultural values of strong parental control and filial obligations, blending collectivist and individualist strains of parenting (Espiritu, 2003). Filipino American parents, like other Asian American parents, are less likely than White parents to openly express affection toward their children (Choi & Kim, 2010; Russell et al., 2010). Still, Filipino Americans are accepted to be the most acculturated Asian American subgroup (Zhou & Gatewood, 2000).

Korean American families have largely conserved Confucian ideals in continuing to emphasize family hierarchy, age veneration, and gender roles in family processes (Hurh, 1998; Shrake & Rhee, 2004). The prepotency of education and academic achievement is more evident among Korean American families than among other subgroups (Zhou & Kim, 2007). Korean American parents emphatically cultivate a strong sense of ethnic attachment and enculturation among their children (Min, 2006; Park, 1997).

Notwithstanding these differences, Korean American and Filipino American families share a legacy of colonialism as well as status as ethnic minorities in the U.S. Further, apparent overlaps in ethnic constructs such as the Filipino *hiya*, or a sense of shame and proprietary that motivates family conformity, and Korean *chemyun*, or saving face, suggest fertile ground for comparisons. Acculturation and enculturation remain dominant factors in adolescent development among Korean Americans and Filipino Americans, and this study aims to operationalize the salience of family acculturation to adolescent development among Filipino Americans and Korean Americans.

The Current Study

To develop as comprehensive a representation of the construct of Filipino family processes as possible, as well as integrate indigenous cultural notions of parenting, the current study began with extensive literature review, followed by multiple focus groups of Filipino Americans to learn what family processes were most salient to them. These themes were then reflected in the consequent item set, which included both existing scales of Filipino psychology (del Prado & Church, 2010; Enriquez & Guanzon-Lapeña, 1985) and new items that measure central Filipino values, parent–child relations, and family obligation. In addition, the research team used the primary investigator's prior research to develop the preliminary measures for Korean American families. The preliminary measures were then translated into Korean and Tagalog.

Five-member panels from Korean American and Filipino American communities were recruited to review the preliminary survey measures of existing and new measures of indigenous Korean American and Filipino American family processes. The criteria for review included (1) the etic/emic nature of the questions; (2) the situational context or examples within the questions and whether they apply for their community; and (3) the terminology and issues related to translation across cultures. The research team, including the principal investigator, the co-investigators, and several consultants of the project, further refined items to ensure the quality of each item (e.g., redundancy, length, level of difficulty, double-barreled, and ambiguity) (DeVellis, 1991). A team of translators from both ethnicities translated and reviewed together the translated measures in an iterative process until there was consensus on the accurate translation of each item. The pilot test of items including translated versions was conducted with parents and youth (five dyads for each subgroup), through which items were further revised or removed.

This chapter reports basic psychometric properties of underused and newly developed measures of family process among Filipino and Korean American families and further examines their relations to several existing conventional measures of family process to describe culturally unique as well as universal aspects of family process among the target subgroups of Asian American families. In so doing, this study will provide a unique understanding of how Filipino and Korean American parenting styles converge and diverge from mainstream culture while modifying traditional cultural elements of the parenting process. Immigrant parents, even those who are most resistant to assimilation, do make changes and show signs of constructing a hybrid culture (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Park, 2013). Thus, we expect a coexistence of indigenous and Western parenting indicated by moderate to high endorsement of the scale items. Based on the literature, we anticipate that Filipino American parents will endorse Western parenting measures higher than Korean American parents, and expect the opposite patterns in indigenous parenting measures. In terms of the relationships between indigenous and conventional Western measures, we expect indigenous parenting measures to be positively correlated with aspects of both authoritative and authoritarian parenting, a unique pattern found among Chinese and Korean American parents (Chao, 1994; Choi, Kim, Kim, et al., 2013).

Methods

Overview of the Project

This study uses data from the Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (ML-SAAF). The data used for this paper were collected in 2013, the first year of ML-SAAF, with the aim of developing and testing a series of existing and new measures that capture culture-specific family process among Filipino- and Korean American families with children between 12 and 17. In this first year of the study, ML-SAAF surveyed 203 Korean American youth and 201 Korean American parents (198 families were parent–child dyads) and 140 Filipino American youth and 136 Filipino American parents (118 families were parent–child dyads)—a total of 680 individuals living in Chicago and surrounding Midwest areas. This paper uses parent data only. Self-administered questionnaires, available in English, Korean and Tagalog and both in paper-pencil and online, were distributed to eligible participants and collected in person, by mail, or online. Adult respondents were compensated $40 and youth respondents were compensated $20 upon completion of the survey.

Sample Characteristics

The average respondent age was 15.60 (SD = 1.77) for Filipino American youth and 15.28 (SD = 1.81) for Korean American youth, with a larger proportion of high school students (78.1% Filipinos and 65.6% Koreans) than middle school students. Gender distribution among youth was about equal (49% Filipinos and 52.2% Koreans were girls). Nearly 70% Filipino and 57.2% Korean youth were U.S.-born and the average years of living in U.S. among foreign-born were 6.42 (SD = 4.92) for Filipinos and 8.08 years (SD = 4.28) for Koreans.

The average age of parent respondents was 46.72 (SD = 6.81) for Filipinos and 46.56 (SD = 4.32) for Koreans. The parent respondents were predominantly mothers (83.2% of Koreans and 76% of Filipinos). One hundred percent of Korean and 90% of Filipino parents were foreign-born, with an average of 19.43 years (SD = 11.78) of living in U.S. for Filipino and 16.11 years (SD = 9.01) for Korean parents. The level of parental education was fairly high in both parent groups. Nearly 60% Korean mothers and 80% of Filipino mothers achieved college education or more, whether in Korea, the Philippines or in the U.S. Over 90% of Korean parents and 67% of Filipino parents reported being currently married. More Filipino than Korean parents reported being divorced, separated, or widowed (20.7% vs. 7.5%). The majority of parents worked full time or part time and 33.8% of Korean mothers, 9.7% of Korean fathers, 7% of Filipino mothers and 5.6% of Filipino fathers reported being currently unemployed. Only 11.3% of Filipino and 17.2% Korean families have received free/reduced-price school

lunch. These data show that, overall, ML-SAAF participants come from highly educated middle income families, which is consistent with the demographics of Filipino and Korean American families in Census or national-level data such as Add Health (Harris, 2009).

Measures

Indigenous Parenting Measures

A full list of scales and their items are provided in Table 3.1. To avoid redundancy, we define each construct and how it was developed or found, without providing example items. Unless noted, scales were constructed such that higher scores indicate higher rates of the construct. The majority of response options employed the Likert scale, i.e., 1 (not at all), 2 (not much), 3 (somewhat), 4 (much), and 5 (very likely). Exceptions are described in the text.

Parental Behaviors Promoting Ideal Cultural Traits. This scale assesses the level of parents' socialization efforts to reinforce several traits idealized in Asian culture, such as humility, modesty, suppression of negative emotions, and compliant behaviors. The items were derived from ML-SAAF focus group interviews and from the literature (de Guzman, 2011; del Prado & Church, 2010; Guanzon-Lepeña, Church, Carlota, & Katigbak, 1998; Lim, 2011; Silk, Morris, Kanaya, & Steinberg, 2003).

Family Obligation Expectation on Child. A set of four items assesses the extent to which parents expect their children to assist in aspects of family life, including living in close proximity. A high level of family obligation, particularly among Filipino families, is noted in the literature (de Guzman, 2011; Espiritu, 2003; Nadal, 2011; Wolf, 1997) and was echoed in ML-SAAF's youth focus groups.

Gender Roles. Five items ask about the parental attitudes toward gender roles, particularly in regard to restricting girls' activities and behaviors, including maintaining virginity. This scale, too, was developed using both ML-SAAF focus groups and extant literature (de Guzman, 2011; Espiritu, 2003; Nadal, 2011; Wolf, 1997).

Expectations on Daughters. This is a two-item scale that Fuligni and Zhang (2004) developed based on urban and rural Chinese families, and was included here as part of the indigenous scales to assess parental expectation that their daughters carry out family obligations. ML-SAAF focus groups as well as the literature attest to high filial expectations of daughters among Filipino families. This set of questions was limited to parents with a daughter.

Commitment to Child's Education. Two items measured parental willingness to support and sacrifice for their child's education. Wu and Chao (2011) and Chao (2000) developed these items to capture Asian parental level of commitment to the education of offspring, which is often thought to be higher than other racial/ethnic groups.

Table 3.1 Indigenous parenting measures

Constructs	Mean (SD)		Alpha item-total	
Items	Korean	Filipino	Korean	Filipino
Parental behaviors promoting ideal cultural traits	**3.03 (0.58)**	**3.00 (0.74)**	**0.75**	**0.79**
How true is it for you?				
1. I discourage my child's expressing negative feelings such as anger, anxiety.	2.62 (0.92)	2.52 (1.35)	0.39	0.53
2. I tell my child to accommodate others' needs before their own.	2.86 (0.93)	2.62 (1.08)*	0.57	0.49
3. I discourage my child to confront adults.	3.58 (0.92)	3.10 (1.22)***	0.58	0.51
3. I discourage my child to confront adults.	3.32 (1.07)	3.33 (1.25)	0.31	0.54
5. I encourage my child to be humble and modest.	3.98 (0.88)	4.37 (0.93)***	0.43	0.33
6. I encourage my child to be dependent on me and the family.	2.51 (1.06)	2.24 (1.17)*	0.28	0.43
7. I encourage my child to give in on arguments rather than make people angry.	2.34 (0.90)	2.62 (1.14)*	0.58	0.59
8. I tell my child his/her actions should not bring shame to me.	3.06 (1.07)	3.13 (1.28)	0.47	0.50
Family obligation expectation on child	**2.73 (0.079)**	**3.14 (0.92)*** **	**0.83**	**0.80**
How much do you expect the following from your child?				
1. I want my child to stay close to home after s/he graduates high school.	3.25 (1.03)	3.72 (1.13)***	0.43	0.37
2. I expect my child to help out for the family.	2.63 (0.95)	3.24 (1.23)***	0.74	0.71
3. I want my child to live close so that s/he can help me.	2.50 (0.94)	2.68 (1.14)	0.82	0.83
4. I expect my child to take care of me when I get old.	2.52 (0.95)	2.94 (1.14)***	0.70	0.60
Gender roles	**3.04 (0. 82)**	**3.38 (0.79)*** **	**0.76**	**0.75**
How do you feel about the following statements?				
1. Girls should not date while in high school.	2.81 (1.14)	3.41 (1.08)***	0.51	0.57
2. Girls should not stay out late.	3.70 (1.01)	4.09 (0.98)***	0.56	0.62
3. Girls should live with their parents until married.	3.05 (1.18)	3.33 (1.11)*	0.55	0.57
4. It is not okay for girls to express negative feelings (e.g., anger, frustrations).	2.36 (1.06)	2.43 (1.13)	0.51	0.30
5. Maintaining virginity matters more for girls than for boys.	3.26 (1.26)	3.64 (1.25)**	0.53	0.56

(continued)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Constructs	Mean (SD)		Alpha item-total	
Expectation on daughters	**2.94 (0.92)**	**3.37 (1.04)****	**0.65**	**0.63**
If you have a daughter, how much do you expect the following from your daughter?				
1. I anticipate my daughter to take care of me when I get older.	2.72 (0.99)	3.19 (1.19)**	0.48	0.46
2. I want my daughter to live or go to college near home.	3.16 (1.14)	3.57 (1.20)**	0.48	0.46
Emphasis on education	**3.52 (0.73)**	**4.30 (0.66)*****	**0.40**	**0.42**
How much do you agree with the following?				
1. I work very hard to provide the best for my child's education.	3.69 (0.89)	4.61 (0.64)***		
2. Parents need to do everything for the child's education and make any sacrifices.	3.35 (0.94)	4.02 (0.94)***		
Interdependence	**2.73 (0.071)**	**3.25 (0.75)*****	**0.75**	**0.69**
How much do you agree with the following?				
1. Parents should decide important matters for children (e.g. college, career, and marriage).	2.56 (0.91)	2.97 (1.07)***	0.57	0.53
2. I'd rather do things for my child than seeing him/her make mistakes or struggle.	2.66 (1.05)	3.34 (1.19)***	0.55	0.45
3. I tend to do things that my child can and need to do (e.g., cleaning up their room, helping with school projects).	2.57 (0.93)	2.98 (1.00)***	0.57	0.53
4. Children must obey parental advice on education and money.	3.13 (0.84)	3.75 (0.89)***	0.48	0.38
Shaming	**2.16 (0.65)**	**2.57 (0.76)*****	**0.63**	**0.63**
How much do you agree with the following?				
1. Shaming is an effective way to discipline a child.	1.55 (0.72)	1.80 (0.94)**	0.31	0.26
2. One should not praise one's children in public.	2.02 (0.87)	2.05 (1.02)	0.23	0.41
How often do you do the following?				
3. I teach my child what not to by using examples of bad behaviors in other youth.	2.58 (1.09)	3.23 (1.23)***	0.55	0.52
4. I teach my child by pointing out other youth that I think are successful.	2.50 (1.07)	3.23 (1.24)***	0.59	0.46
Academically orientated parental control	**2.84 (0.76)**	**3.56 (0.71)*****	**0.78**	**0.77**
How often you do the following?				
1. Make sure your child does homework.	3.44 (1.16)	4.64 (0.70)***	0.44	0.42

(continued)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Constructs	Mean (SD)		Alpha item-total	
2. Purchase extra workbooks or other materials for your child's schooling or education.	3.09 (1.17)	3.75 (1.21)***	0.57	0.50
3. Have rules about doing homework (e.g. your child is allowed to watch TV only after s/he is done with his homework).	3.19 (1.40)	4.06 (1.08)***	0.58	0.49
4. Involve your child in after-school study programs or tutoring.	2.63 (1.28)	3.20 (1.38)***	0.54	0.64
5. Enroll your child in music classes/ lessons outside of school.	3.33 (1.28)	3.40 (1.34)	0.44	0.45
6. Limit my child's social activities (e.g. meeting his/her friends or partying) so that s/he can work (e.g. studying or practicing musical instruments).	2.17 (1.05)	2.98 (1.22)***	0.47	0.49
7. Punish if your child's grades are down.	1.79 (1.02)	2.36 (1.29)***	0.44	0.32
8. Reward if your child's grades are up.	3.09 (1.19)	4.05 (0.97)***	0.45	0.46
Parental indirect affection (indirect, item 10)				
1. I express my affection rather indirectly (e.g. sacrificing for my child's needs, making my child's favorite food, putting my child's needs before mine, being there for them when s/he has hard times).	3.85 (0.96)	4.28 (0.89)***		

***$p < 0.001$
**$p < 0.01$
*$p < 0.05$

Interdependence. A total of four items measures parental perception of and behaviors that cultivate interdependence between parents and children. With the exception of the child's obedience item, which was adopted from the Enculturation scale (del Prado & Church, 2010), three items were newly constructed mainly from ML-SAAF parent focus group responses to the question of how parents foster interdependence among their children and how they perceive they differ from their Caucasian counterparts.

Shaming. In keeping with the literature, youth participants in ML-SAAF focus groups perceived use of shaming as more "Asian (or Filipino or Korean)" parenting behaviors. Accordingly, a set of four items asking about parental beliefs and actual practices of shaming behaviors was compiled from the Enculturation scale (del Prado & Church, 2010) and from Chao and Wu (2001).

Academically Orientated Parental Control. Asian parents' controlling behaviors can be motivated by their strong emphasis on education and should be distinguished from other types of parental controlling behaviors. Thus, an eight-item scale was

adopted from Chao and Wu (2001) to assess the level of parental control specific to academic-related child's behaviors (e.g., homework, grade, and programs). ML-SAAF focus groups confirmed these parental behaviors as common.

Parental Indirect Affection. One item on parental affection was separated from other more explicit Expression of Affection items to better capture the ways Asian parents express their love to their children. Previously developed as a multiple-item scale (Choi, Kim, Pekelnicky, et al., 2013), here it is simplified to one item because of the wide variance of behaviors (e.g., some parents cook their child's favorite food, while others work several jobs to provide more to the children).[1]

Conventional Measures

Several conventional measures were selected to examine how they are endorsed by Filipino and Korean American parents and also how they relate to indigenous parenting measures. They include *Authoritarian Parenting Style* and *Authoritative Parenting Style* (Buri, 1991), *Parental Explicit Affection* (Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart, 1995) including explicit verbal and physical affection, *Psychological Control* in which two items came from Silk et al. (2003) and Wang, Pomerantz, and Chen (2007), *Autonomy* (Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Silk et al., 2003) assessing the degrees in which parents foster a sense of independence and freedom in their children, *Child-based Worth* from Parental Contingent Self-Worth Scale (Pomerantz & Eaton, 2001) that measures the level of parental self-appraisal based on their child's success or failure, *Parental Rules and Restrictions* which are a compilation of rules and disciplinary behaviors often asked in the literature (response options were YES and No), and *Parental Monitoring and Supervision*, e.g., parental knowledge of child's whereabouts that are commonly used in studies. Finally, *Parental Expectation on Child's Performance* was included; two items came from Add Health (i.e., parental expectation about their child's graduation from high school and college) and additional two were added in regard to post-college degrees and academic excellence, to test differences in Filipino and Korean parental expectations as described by youth participants in ML-SAAF focus groups. A full list of scales and items is presented in Table 3.2.

[1] We reduced this multiple-item scale to a single item scale by creating a binary item in which 0 indicates no use of any indirect expression of affection behaviors and 1 indicates one or more use of the described behaviors. Although each item of the scale was highly endorsed and is a valid indicator of the construct, the multiple item scale had Cronbach alpha of 0.436 and is not likely to work as a coherent scale. In other words, inter-item correlations were low, indicating that parents widely vary in how they express their affection indirectly (Choi, Kim, Pekelnicky, et al., 2013).

Table 3.2 Conventional parenting measures

Constructs	Mean (SD)		Alpha item-total	
Items	Korean	Filipino	Korean	Filipino
Authoritarian parenting style	**2.67 (0.61)**	**3.03 (0.70)*** **	**0.80**	**0.81**
How do you feel about the following statements?				
1. It is for my child's good to be forced to conform to what I thought was right, even if my child doesn't agree with me.	3.11 (0.93)	2.97 (1.10)	0.56	0.58
2. Whenever I tell my child to do something, I expect him/her to do it immediately without asking any questions.	3.23 (0.88)	3.20 (1.09)	0.62	0.57
3. I do not allow my child to question any decision I make.	1.87 (0.85)	2.34 (1.02)***	0.47	0.42
4. I would get very upset if my child tries to disagree with me.	2.79 (0.85)	2.83 (0.90)	0.58	0.47
5. I always feel that most problems in society would be solved if we could get parents to strictly and forcibly deal with their children, when they don't do what they are supposed to do as they are growing up.	2.10 (0.92)	3.56 (1.07)***	0.50	0.50
6. I often tell my child exactly what I want him/her to do and how I expect him/her to do it.	3.42 (0.84)	3.26 (0.97)	0.27	0.64
7. I let my child know what I expect of him/her and I insist that s/he confirms to those expectations simply out of respect for my authority.	2.17 (1.00)	3.05 (1.01)***	0.69	0.65
Authoritative parenting style	**3.64 (0.60)**	**3.84 (0.67)****	**0.76**	**0.81**
How do you feel about the following statements?				
1. When family policy (rule) is established, I discuss the reasoning behind the policy with my child.	3.77 (0.78)	4.00 (0.90)*	0.57	0.69
2. I always encourage verbal give-and-take whenever my child feels that family rules and restrictions are unreasonable.	3.84 (0.81)	3.69 (1.00)	0.62	0.61
3. I direct the activities and decisions of my child through reasoning and discipline.	3.57 (0.93)	3.64 (0.90)	0.65	0.62
4. I consistently give my child direction and guidance in rational and objective ways.	3.34 (0.89)	3.94 (0.84)***	0.53	0.61
5. I take my child's opinion into considerations when making family decisions, but I would not decide for something simply because my child wants it.	3.65 (0.77)	3.92 (0.82)**	0.31	0.49

(continued)

Table 3.2 (continued)

Constructs	Mean (SD)		Alpha item-total	
Items	Korean	Filipino	Korean	Filipino
Parental explicit affection	**3.85 (0.80)**	**4.38 (0.69)*** **	**0.91**	**0.92**
How often do you do the followings?				
1. I tell my child that I love him/her.	3.70 (1.05)	4.39 (0.90)***	0.67	0.67
2. I express affection by hugging, and holding my child.	3.75 (1.03)	4.40 (0.86)***	0.74	0.77
3. I tell my child that I appreciate what he/she tries or accomplishes.	4.01 (0.88)	4.41 (0.81)***	0.65	0.78
4. I encourage my child to talk about his/her troubles.	4.04 (0.97)	4.36 (0.82)**	0.73	0.75
5. I show sympathy when my child is hurt or frustrated.	3.96 (0.94)	4.38 (0.81)***	0.79	0.83
5. I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset.	3.72 (1.00)	4.37 (0.80)***	0.72	0.86
6. I am responsive to my child's feelings and needs.	3.81 (0.96)	4.38 (0.82)***	0.70	0.78
Autonomy	**3.72 (0.59)**	**3.56 (0.61)***	**0.85**	**0.80**
1. How often do you do the following?				
2. I emphasize to my child that every member of the family should have some say in family decisions.	3.75 (0.82)	3.51 (0.92)*	0.46	0.44
3. I emphasize to my child that it is important to get his/her ideas across even if others don't like it.	3.77 (0.83)	3.58 (0.94)$^{+}$	0.44	0.55
4. I keep pushing my child to think independently.	3.61 (0.85)	3.75 (1.03)	0.70	0.52
5. I let my child make his/her own plans for things that s/he wants to do.	3.79 (0.77)	3.68 (0.87)	0.71	0.64
6. I admit that my child knows more about some things than adults do.	3.58 (0.86)	3.28 (0.92)**	0.57	0.45
7. I, whenever possible, allow my child to choose what to do.	3.79 (0.78)	3.58 (0.78)*	0.72	0.68
Parental rules (number of answers chosen)	**3.38 (1.76)**	**4.35 (1.78)*** **	N/A	N/A
Please read each example carefully and mark all that apply to you. I as a parent set rules on and check _____ (check ALL that applies)				
1. How much my child can spend time with his/her friends	93 (50%)	114 (75.5%)		
2. How my child spends money	99 (53.2%)	114 (75.5%)		
3. How much my child helps with house chores	106 (57%)	120 (79.5%)		

4. Cell phone use	90 (48.4%)	93 (61.6%)		
5. Computer use	127 (68.3%)	111 (73.5%)		
6. Curfew	113 (60.8%)	105 (69.5%)		
Restrictions when rules are not observed (number of answers chosen)	**3.09 (1.81)**	**3.95 (2.15)*** **	N/A	N/A
What do you do when your child does not follow the rule that you set? (check ALL that applies)				
1. Lecture at him/her	129 (69.4%)	123 (81.5%)		
2. Yell at him/her	77 (41.4%)	49 (32.5%)		
3. Being mad at him/her	116 (62.4%)	63 (41.7%)		
4. Use minor physical punishment (e.g. lightly hitting on the wrist or back, pinching, [KR only] both arms up for a prolonged time)	21 (11.3%)	10 (6.6%)		
5. Use physical punishment (e.g. spanking, slapping, hitting with bare hands [KR only] or with a stick)	9 (4.8%)	10 (6.6%)		
6. Ground him/her	45 (24.2%)	86 (57%)		
7. Take away computer	63 (33.9%)	73 (48.3%)		
8. Take away cell phone	55 (29.6%)	74 (49%)		
9. Take away other privileges	44 (23.7%)	94 (62.3%)		
10. Embarrass/shame him/her in front of others	2 (1.1%)	5 (3.3%)		
11. Other	13 (7%)	10 (6.6%)		
Parental monitoring and supervision	**4.08 (0.57)**	**4.18 (0.66)**	**0.56**	**0.62**
How do you supervise your child?				
1. When my child is not at home, how often do you know where s/he is and who s/he is with?	4.34 (0.67)	4.50 (0.74)*	0.47	0.43
How much the following statements apply to you on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very well)				
1. How well do you know the parents of the friend that your child spends the most time with?	3.39 (0.98)	3.63 (1.02)*	0.24	0.38

(continued)

Table 3.2 (continued)

Constructs	Mean (SD)		Alpha item-total	
Items	Korean	Filipino	Korean	Filipino
2. How well do you know where your child is most afternoon after school?	4.50 (0.64)	4.40 (0.84)	0.48	0.50
Psychological control	**2.32 (0.77)**	**2.38 (0.90)**	**0.67**	**0.65**
How true are the following for you?				
1. I act cold and unfriendly if my child does something I don't like.	2.78 (0.91)	2.64 (1.10)	0.50	0.49
2. I tell my child that s/he should feel guilty when s/he does not meet my expectations.	1.86 (0.86)	2.13 (0.98)**	0.50	0.49
Child-based worth	**2.68 (0.85)**	**3.26 (0.83)*** **	**0.81**	**0.77**
How true are the following for you?				
1. When my child fails, I feel badly about myself.	2.20 (1.00)	2.85(1.10)***	0.65	
2. When my child succeeds, I feel good about myself.	2.97 (1.09)	4.03 (0.96)***	0.60	
3. When my child does something bad, I feel ashamed.	2.96 (1.07)	2.91 (1.13)	0.56	
4. My child's failures or successes are a reflection of my own worth.	2.56 (1.08)	3.26 (1.11)***	0.70	
Parental expectation on child's performance	**3.56 (0.72)**	**3.72 (0.67)***	**0.80**	**0.63**
Please answer the following questions by choose the one that best describes you.				
1. How disappointed would you be if your child does not graduate high school?	4.45 (0.72)	4.62 (0.76)*	0.54	0.40
2. How disappointed would you be if your child does not graduate from college?	4.04 (0.88)	4.30 (0.92)**	0.73	0.52
3. How disappointed would you be if your child does not obtain advanced degrees (e.g., master's (MA, MS) or Ph.D.)?	2.69 (1.00)	2.54 (1.09)	0.53	0.30
4. How disappointed would you be if your child does not excel academically?	3.08 (1.03)	3.40 (1.06)**	0.66	0.47

***$p < 0.001$
**$p < 0.01$
*$p < 0.05$
$^{+}p < 0.1$

Analysis

Using SPSS (v.22) and Mplus, the measures were tested for various components of basic psychometric properties, including means, standard deviations (SD), item-total correlation, and reliability. We also examined pair-wise correlations to take a preliminary look at content and construct validity of the scales. Analyses were conducted first separately for each group, and then compared across Filipino and Korean subgroups.

Results

Means and standard deviations at the item- as well as the scale-level are reported in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. To avoid redundancy, we mainly report notable patterns and group differences of items and scales. The overall pattern was that, except for Parental Behaviors Promoting Ideal Cultural Trait, which did not differ across the groups, Filipino American parents reported stronger endorsement of indigenous parenting values and practices than did Korean American parents. Interestingly, with the exception of Psychological Control, Parental Monitoring and Supervision, and Autonomy, Filipino American parents also reported stronger endorsement of conventional measures of parenting values and practices.

Indigenous Parenting Measures

Parenting that Promotes the Ideal Cultural Traits scale was endorsed moderately by both groups (i.e., the average was 3 which corresponds to "somewhat" in the response options). Although the scale mean was not statistically different, several significant differences were noted at the item level. For example, not confronting adults were strongly endorsed among Koreans (3.58 vs. 3.10, $p < 0.05$). Conversely, while humility and modesty was strongly encouraged in both groups, Filipino parents reported significantly higher endorsement (3.98 vs. 4.37, $p < 0.001$). Although reliability as a scale was good for both groups ($\alpha > 0.75$), some items with low item-total correlation (<0.3) (e.g., encouraging dependence among Korean Americans) may be considered for exclusion from this scale.

Except one item, the mean of all items of Family Obligation Expectation on Child was higher among Filipino parents than Korean parents. Filipino parents, more so than Korean parents, want their children to stay close to home after high school and expect them to help the family. Although the mean of expecting their child to take care of aging parents was not high in both groups, it was significantly higher among Filipino parents (2.52 vs. 2.94, $p < 0.001$). The preliminary psychometric properties (i.e., item-total correlation less than 0.3 and $\alpha > 0.8$) seem good in both groups for this scale.

Similarly, Gender Roles was higher among Filipino American parents (3.04 vs. 3.38, $p < 0.001$). In other words, Filipino parents more strongly, than Korean parents, believe that girls should not date in high school, not stay out late, live with parents until married, and maintain their virginity. The item on disapproving girls to express negative feelings did not differ across groups. In fact, this item showed low item-total correlation among Filipino parents and may be excluded from the scale.

Expectation on Daughters was also more strongly endorsed by Filipino parents who expected their daughters to provide care and wanted them to stay close to home, more so than Korean parents. Reliability was a correlation between the two items in this case.

The endorsement of Emphasis on Education was notably high among Filipino parents and significantly higher than for Koreans (3.52 vs. 4.30, $p < 0.001$). Filipino parents report working very hard and doing everything for their children's education, more so than Korean parents. The two items were moderately correlated in both groups (0.40 and 0.42).

Interdependence was significantly higher among Filipino parents both at scale and item levels. Though both groups of parents endorsed child's obedience to parental advice on education and money, it was notably higher among Filipino (3.13 vs. 3.75, $p < 0.001$). Reliability of this scale was good for Koreans and fair for Filipino parents (0.75 vs. 0.69).

Although Shaming was higher among Filipino parents (2.16 vs. 2.57, $p < 0.001$), both groups endorse Shaming the lowest. At the item level, although parents do not seem to believe that shaming is an effective disciplinary method, Filipino parents in particular report teaching their children by comparing them to others, which youth perceived as "shaming," as expressed in ML-SAAF focus groups. Reliability was only moderate (0.63 in both groups), probably due to low-item correlations of certain items. Those with <0.3 item-total correlations (i.e., not praising child in public for Koreans and shaming as an effective method among Filipinos) should be considered for exclusion.

With the exception of enrolling children in music classes, the rates of all items of Academically Orientated Parental Control were higher among Filipino parents. In sum, Filipino parents reported being more likely to supervise, restrict, punish, and reward academic behaviors of their children. The reliability as a scale is good (0.78 and 0.77) in both groups with a no item-total correlation <0.3.

The one-item construct, Parental Indirect Affection, was endorsed highly by both groups but significantly higher by Filipino parents.

Conventional Parenting Measures

The conventional measures had good reliability (>0.76) and showed no item with <0.3 item-correlation, with the exception of a couple of situations (e.g., Parental Monitoring and Supervision in both groups and Parental Expectation among Filipino parents). Below, we describe the group differences in these scales and later focus on the interrelations between indigenous and conventional measures.

Both Authoritarian Parenting Style and Authoritative Parenting Style were endorsed higher by Filipino parents than Korean parents (2.67 vs. 3.03, $p < 0.001$ and 3.64 vs. 3.84, $p < 0.01$), while Authoritative Parenting Style was endorsed strongly and higher than Authoritarian Parenting Styles in both groups. The item-level findings suggest a coexistence of approval of unquestioned and strict parenting and use of inductive reasoning, particularly among Filipino parents. Autonomy was higher among Korean than Filipino parents (3.72 vs. 3.56, $p < 0.05$), the only scale that was statistically significantly higher among Korean parents. At the item level, Korean parents reported granting more autonomy and were more likely to acknowledge their child's knowledge. With respect to Parental Explicit Affection, the mean was significantly higher among Filipinos than Korean parents at the scale and item levels and in all items.

Parents in both groups reported low use of Psychological Control and the scale mean was not statistically different across groups, although one of the items (i.e., telling child to feel guilty) was significantly higher among Filipino parents. The Child-based Worth scale was significantly higher among Filipino than Korean parents. Filipino parents in particular feel good about themselves when their children succeed, and take their child's success and failure as a reflection of their own worth.

In terms of Parental Rules and Restrictions, similar to Academically Oriented Control, Filipino parents reported higher use of rules and restrictions than did Korean parents (3.38 vs. 4.35, $p < 0.001$ and 3.09 vs. 3.95, $p < 0.001$). Filipino parents scored most highly on house chores while Korean parents scored most highly on restricting computer use. Parental Monitoring and Supervision scale was highly endorsed by both groups (4.08 vs. 4.18, *n.s.*) but did not work well as a scale (i.e., poor reliability and low item-total correlation).

Parental Expectation on Child's Performance was fairly highly endorsed by both groups (3.56 vs. 3.72, $p < 0.05$) but was significantly higher among Filipino parents than among Korean parents. Filipino parents seem less concerned about advanced degrees, and this item in fact showed a poor item-total correlation among Filipino parents.

Intercorrelations

Pair-wise correlations among the scales are summarized in Table 3.3 (Filipino samples) and Table 3.4 (Korean samples). We separated Commitment to Child's Education into two items (Working Hard vs. Sacrifice) because the two did not work well as a scale.

Among Filipino parents, indigenous scales overall were positively correlated with one another, providing preliminary evidence of discriminant and convergent validity. Indigenous parenting constructs are interrelated and should be significantly correlated (i.e., convergent validity) but not too high (i.e., $r < 0.8$ to indicate discriminant validity) (Table 3.5). It was noted that the correlation between Family Obligation and Expectation on Daughters was highly correlated ($r = 0.766$,

Table 3.3 Correlation between conventional and indigenous constructs (Filipino)

	1. Ideal traits	2. Obligation	3. Gender roles	4. Daughters	5 (1). Working hard	5 (2). Sacrifice	6. Interdependence	7. Shaming	8. Academic control	9. Indirect affection
1. Authoritarian	0.423***	0.531***	0.372***	0.389***	0.251**	0.183*	0.434***	0.474***	0.522***	0.163
2. Authoritative	0.042	0.028	0.129	−0.0443	0.271**	0.226**	−0.031	0.098	0.295***	0.144
3. Explicit affection	−0.168*	−0.094	0.009	−0.204*	0.192*	0.0182	−0.128	−0.125	0.213*	0.376***
4. Autonomy	−0.022	0.129	−0.0550	−0.0335	0.209*	0.0394	−0.023	0.174*	0.053	0.159
5. Rules	0.064	0.036	0.0320	−0.010	−0.058	−0.005	−0.031	0.060	0.139	0.087
6. Restrictions	0.036	0.071	−0.102	−0.046	−0.032	−0.045	−0.036	0.085	0.176*	−0.049
7. Monitoring	0.009	−0.054	0.0122	−0.111	0.033	−0.019	−0.105	−0.061	0.130	0.162
8. Psychological control	0.356***	0.267**	0.302***	0.229*	−0.010	0.033	0.117	0.391***	0.203*	−0.035
9. Child-based worth	0.303***	0.281***	0.422***	0.087	0.121	0.141	0.199*	0.378***	0.263**	0.139
10. Child's performance	0.144	0.157	0.279***	−0.030	0.055	0.135	0.118	0.161	0.212*	0.195*

***$p < 0.001$
**$p < 0.01$
*$p < 0.05$

Table 3.4 Correlation between conventional and indigenous constructs (Korean)

	1. Ideal traits	2. Obligation	3. Gender roles	4. Daughters	5 (1). Working hard	5 (2). Sacrifice	6. Interdependence	7. Shaming	8. Academic control	9. Indirect affection
1. Authoritarian	0.396***	0.234**	0.325***	0.172*	0.113	0.234**	0.467***	0.530***	0.393***	0.058
2. Authoritative	0.105	−0.188*	−0.072	−0.116	0.331***	0.008	−0.038	0.005	0.125	0.082
3. Explicit affection	−0.068	0.006	−0.094	0.068	0.289***	0.129	0.000	−0.190**	0.186*	0.310***
4. Autonomy	0.053	−0.197**	−0.042	−0.082	0.170*	0.056	−0.122	−0.189**	−0.126	0.147*
5. Rules	−0.015	0.0189	0.0029	−0.003	0.252***	0.158*	0.048	0.093	0.329***	−0.020
6. Restrictions	0.139	0.0698	0.010	0.006	0.156*	0.228**	0.117	0.233**	0.371***	−0.056
7. Monitoring	0.025	−0.046	−0.085	0.133	0.197**	−0.014	0.005	−0.042	0.192**	0.178*
8. Psychological control	0.253***	0.180*	0.177*	0.106	0.068	0.112	0.336***	0.480***	0.317***	−0.058
9. Child-based worth	0.193**	0.269***	0.259***	0.207*	0.164*	0.359***	0.315***	0.367***	0.273***	−0.035
10. Child's performance	0.065	0.285***	0.178*	0.299***	0.164*	0.275***	0.281***	0.222**	0.302***	−0.024

***$p < 0.001$
**$p < 0.01$
*$p < 0.05$

Table 3.5 Correlation among indigenous constructs (Filipino/Korean)

	1	2	3	4	5 (1)	5 (2)	6	7	8	9
1. Ideal traits	1	0.144	0.476***	−0.053	0.184*	0.343***	0.432***	0.311***	0.175*	0.047
2. Obligation	0.440***	1	0.335***	0.701***	0.045	0.186*	0.414***	0.274***	0.208**	0.090
3. Gender roles	0.402***	0.370***	1	0.090	0.041	0.315***	0.496***	0.266***	0.032	0.117
4. Daughters	0.282**	0.766***	0.308***	1	−0.063	0.079	0.238**	0.208*	0.199*	0.101
5 (1). Working hard	0.248**	0.275***	0.155	0.189*	1	0.247***	0.267***	0.069	0.365***	0.133
5 (2). Sacrifice	0.242**	0.324***	0.364***	0.157	0.282***	1	0.520***	0.265***	0.249***	0.098
6. Interdependence	0.381***	0.479***	0.400***	0.351***	0.156	0.368***	1	0.474***	0.333***	0.133
7. Shaming	0.470***	0.497***	0.358***	0.267**	0.083	0.249**	0.338***	1	0.263***	0.014
8. Academic control	0.227**	0.345***	0.179*	0.195*	0.327***	0.231**	0.338***	0.334***	1	0.052
9. Indirect affection	0.161	0.179*	0.258**	0.052	0.324***	0.170*	0.153	0.092	0.236**	1

Below the diagonal are correlations for Filipinos and above for Koreans
***$p < 0.001$
**$p < 0.01$
*$p < 0.05$

$p < 0.001$), indicating a near multicollinearity. In terms of intercorrelations between indigenous and conventional measures, Authoritarian Parenting Style was positively correlated with all indigenous parenting constructs except one (Indirect Affection), while Authoritative Parenting Style was positively correlated with child's education-related item/scale (i.e., Working Hard, Sacrifice, and Academically Orientated Controls). In addition, Indirect and Explicit Parental Affection was positively correlated. Psychological Control and Child-based Worth were positively correlated with some of the indigenous constructs (i.e., Promoting Ideal Cultural Traits, Family Obligation, Gender Roles, Shaming, and Academically Oriented Controls), which was also positively correlated with Authoritarian Parenting Style. Autonomy was positively correlated with Authoritative Parenting Style and Explicit Parental Affection but also positively correlated with Shaming. Lastly, the correlation between Authoritarian and Authoritative Parenting Styles was positive and significant ($r = 0.201$, $p < 0.05$) among Filipino parents (Table 3.6).

The correlations among Korean parents were in several ways similar to those among Filipinos with a few notable differences. Specifically, they are similar in that the correlations among indigenous constructs were largely positive and the correlation between Family Obligation and Expectation on Daughters was high ($r = 0.701$, $p < 0.001$). Authoritarian Parenting Style was positively correlated with the majority of indigenous parenting constructs, while Authoritative Parenting Style was negatively correlated with Family Obligation ($r = -0.188$, $p < 0.05$) but positively correlated with Working Hard for education item ($r = 0.331$, $p < 0.001$). Psychological Control and Child-based Worth were positively correlated with indigenous constructs (more extensively than Filipino parents), which was also positively correlated with Authoritarian Parenting Style ($r = 0.537$, $p < 0.001$ and $r = 0.375$, $p < 0.001$). Unlike Filipino parents, however, Psychological Control was positively correlated with Explicit Parental Affection among Korean parents ($r = 0.304$, $p < 0.001$), which was negatively correlated among Filipino parents ($r = -0.182$, $p < 0.05$). Expectation on Child's Performance was extensively correlated with indigenous construct. Lastly, the correlation between Authoritarian and Authoritative Styles was not significant among Korean parents (Table 3.6).

Discussion

Baumrind's conceptualization of parenting styles has been the subject of ongoing debate as to its applicability to collectivist cultures (for further discussion, see Nelson, Hart, Yang, Olsen, & Jin, 2006). This study presents evidence that the characteristics of presumed collectivist cultures in America are highly variable, and that Baumrind's typology does not necessarily correlate with expected parenting practices within such collectivist cultures.

According to their self-reports, Filipino American parents tend to have higher expectations and exercise greater control over their children than do Korean American parents. While filial obligation is often cited as a strongly shared value

Table 3.6 Correlation among conventional constructs (Filipino/Korean)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Authoritarian	1	0.023	−0.214**	−0.225**	0.107	0.322***	−0.032	0.537***	0.375***	0.118
2. Authoritative	0.201*	1	0.380***	0.450***	0.141	0.036	0.304***	−0.056	0.081	−0.033
3. Explicit affection	−0.196*	0.364***	1	0.375***	0.167*	−0.030	0.411***	−0.304***	−0.072	0.130
4. Autonomy	−0.039	0.289***	0.299***	1	−0.024	−0.170*	0.188*	−0.207**	−0.055	−0.006
5. Rules	0.136	0.099	0.057	−0.079	1	0.518***	0.188*	0.174*	0.160*	0.136
6. Restrictions	0.201*	0.062	−0.133	−0.024	0.489***	1	0.123	0.361***	0.248***	0.175*
7. Monitoring	−0.116	0.179*	0.413***	0.133	−0.044	−0.057	1	−0.096	−0.093	0.079
8. Psychological control	0.338***	−0.020	−0.182*	−0.044	0.103	0.141	−0.176*	1	0.588***	0.211**
9. Child-based worth	0.359***	0.103	0.059	0.098	0.189*	−0.018	−0.048	0.470***	1	0.449***
10. Child's performance	0.287***	0.140	0.111	0.118	0.183*	0.081	0.052	0.146	0.397***	1

Below the diagonal are correlations for Filipinos and above for Koreans
***$p < 0.001$
**$p < 0.01$
*$p < 0.05$

across Asian cultures, the study results above show that Filipino Americans have stronger family obligation expectations of their children than do Korean American parents. When asked about the Boundary of Family,[2] the findings from this study sample (3.28 vs. 6.05, $p < 0.001$) were also consistent with past research on the expansive boundaries of Filipino American families. The greater number of family members renders the construct of family obligation more significant for Filipino Americans than for Korean Americans. Preeminent emphasis on family obligations, together with higher scores on the measure of Child-based Worth, is evocative of the greater pressures that Filipino American parents may place on their children. The variance is particularly notable on the item of how strongly parents desired their children to remain close to the family home upon reaching adulthood. Filipino Americans strongly endorsed this item, while Korean Americans only weakly so. The motivations for such desire are unclear—both Filipino American and Korean American parents scored lowly on filial assistance as a motivation for wanting their children close to the family home, but youth in focus groups used to help formulate these indigenous measures revealed that they felt pressure to care for their parents in the near and long term. Youths' perceptions of parental expectations are pertinent to youth developmental outcomes; family obligation can serve as a protective factor against risky adolescent behavior, but can also serve as a vulnerability factor, particularly for poor mental health, when youth feel overburdened by competing expectations or are experiencing many negative life events (Milan & Wortel, 2015; Wilkinson-Lee, Zhang, Nuno, & Wilhelm, 2011). As further discussed below, this association may be particularly salient for Filipino American girls, who report high rates of depression (Javier, Lahiff, Ferrer, & Huffman, 2010). Though not reported here, ML-SAAF tracks youth correlates on the same measures reported above, and future publications will explore interactions between parental values and beliefs and youth outcomes.

Family obligation expectations were higher for daughters of Filipino American parents than for those daughters of Korean American parents. Besides, Filipino American parents were more likely to agree with gendered statements about the role of girls and boys wherein girls' behaviors were strictly circumscribed, particularly with respect to romantic relations. Greater demands on daughters, combined with a restrictive view of proper feminine behavior, suggest that Filipino American girls are socialized in more onerous ways than their male or Korean American counterparts. Further refinement of these scales, together with analysis of ML-SAAF's youth data in conjunction with the parent data presented here, may elucidate the association between family socialization of Filipino American girls and their higher rates of depression.

[2] The survey asked participants "When you say "my family," I mostly mean _____ (Check ALL that applies)." The response categories were my spouse/partner and children, my parents and siblings, my spouse's/partner's parents and siblings, my grandparents of father side, my grandparents of mother side, uncles and aunts, cousins, distant relatives (e.g., cousin's cousin, in-law's cousin's children, my or your child's godparents, and close family friends (not-blood or marriage related but very close to my family). The mean of the boundary was obtained by summing the number of categories checked divided by the sample size.

Filipino American parents also expressed higher degrees of behavioral control over their children, regardless of child's gender, than did Korean American parents overall. Through the measure of Academically Orientated Parental Control, Filipino American parents' endorsed greater managerial and structural involvement in their children's education than did Korean Americans parents. At the same time, ML-SAAF youth data indicate that Filipino American youth tend to have lower grades than their Korean American counterparts, which raises questions about whether and how parents' involvement may adversely affect youth achievement. There is a large body of research that finds positive associations between parental involvement in education and children's academic achievement, but a significant number of studies have differentiated the type of involvement, as well as the timing of involvement, as critical to associated outcomes (Jiang, Yau, Bonner, & Chiang, 2011; Sy, Gottfried, & Gottfried, 2013). Alternative explanations are also plausible. Filipino American youth report being frequently mistaken for Hispanic adolescents, and subsequently experience racial discrimination typically directed at Latinos. Filipino American adolescents also report discrimination from other Asian subgroups because of their darker skin color. The possibly higher rate of racial discrimination may explain lower academic achievement among Filipino youth. Alternately, given that Filipino Americans countenance more expansive boundaries of family and maintain a strong obligation to support family members through remittances (Espiritu, 2003), it is plausible that although Filipino parents report comparable or higher income than Korean parents, their actual resources may be limited. Filipino American youth may essentially experience lower SES than reported on paper, which may explain the academic outcomes among Filipino youth despite their higher rate of academically orientated parental control and involvement.

Filipino American parents' had high scores on indigenous measures relative to Korean American parents, but they also scored higher than Korean American parents on conventional measures. For example, Filipino American parents were more likely to see shaming as an effective method of socializing their children, but also much more likely to use explicit expressions of affection than Korean American parents. Filipino American parents also reported higher rates of both authoritarian and authoritative parenting, contrary to studies that attempt to clearly categorize Asian American subcultures into one of several traditional parenting typologies. Past studies have shown that authoritative and authoritarian parenting are inversely correlated for Caucasian parents, and positively correlated for Korean American parents (Choi, Kim, Kim, et al., 2013).

Here, the results of pair-wise correlations reveal an intriguing interrelation between indigenous and conventional measures. Namely, indigenous parenting constructs are positively correlated with authoritarian parenting, partially validating the popular perception of Asian American parenting as authoritarian (see Nelson et al., 2006). However, authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles are either positively correlated among Filipinos or not related among Korean parents (but not negatively related, as is the case among Caucasians). Indeed, some of the indigenous parenting scales such as the education-related scales, were positively correlated both with authoritarian and authoritative parenting in one or both of the Asian American subgroups.

Indigenous parenting constructs were positively correlated with Psychological Control, Child-based Worth, Parental Expectation on Child's Performance as well as Shaming. Youth have expressed their distaste for many of these parental behaviors in ML-SAAF focus groups. Shaming and psychological control were raised as ineffective and even hurtful parenting methods, and high scores on measures of child-based worth and parental expectations suggest a familial relationship that places high pressure on youth. These indigenous measures were often positively correlated with authoritarian parenting. The emerging correlative patterns in this study may partially explain why Filipino American youth feel negatively toward indigenous parenting and feel pressured by their parents, as evidenced in ML-SAAF youth data. This set of findings supports the notion that Asian American parenting does not squarely fit the Western typology and further illustrates how Asian American subgroups differ in their parenting behaviors.

An exception to the overall high scores of Filipino American parents on conventional measures is the higher scores on items of autonomy for Korean American parents. While granting their children more autonomy than do Filipino American parents, Korean American parents indicated that they are also more likely to discourage their children to confront adults. Scores on the latter measure, rather than contravening the former, may be evidence for an enduring observance of family hierarchy and age veneration among Korean Americans. Additionally, there was no difference between Filipino Americans and Korean Americans on measures for Promoting Cultural Traits, Psychological Control, and parental knowledge of whereabouts of children.

This study has several limitations. First, the majority of parents (100% Korean parents and 90% Filipino parents) surveyed were foreign-born, first-generation immigrants. Although this demographic makeup is an accurate reflection of the current national demographics of Filipino and Korean parents in the U.S., the study results may not be generalized to second and later generation of Filipino and Korean American parents. Second-generation Filipino and Korean Americans now coming of age as young parents can provide important data in future studies on the extent to which the culture of origin is retained through subsequent generations of Asian Americans. Second, because this study used ML-SAAF pretest data collected primarily to develop and test parenting value measures that are absent in the literature, this study utilized, with the exception of measures of parental rules and controls, more psychological measures than behavioral ones. As ML-SAAF progresses in its longitudinal study with a wider selection of measures, the research team will expand its investigation to include behavioral indicators as well.

This study adds to the limited body of scholarship that differentiates among Asian American subgroups. Filipino American parents appear to practice an authoritative style of parenting, reporting more explicit and implicit expressions of affection and showing more hands-on involvement in their children's socialization than do Korean American parents. At the same time, they also score more highly on restrictive and authoritarian measures than Korean Americans. Filipino Americans' higher scores on almost all measures, both indigenous and conventional, may indicate a preference for the higher end of the Likert scale generally. Yet, Korean Americans' higher scores on specific items within measures, such as more strongly

endorsing enrolling their children in music or other after school class and no difference on other measures, confound the evidence for response bias. Further, scores on indigenous measures were lower than those for conventional measures for both Filipino American and Korean American parents.

Filipino American parents seem to retain more cultural values and parenting practices than do Korean American parents, even as preliminary demographic analyses suggest that Filipino American parents are more acculturated on other measures, including language use and nativity. Filipino Americans' stronger endorsement of indigenous measures is suggestive of reactive culture retention, wherein more acculturated families intentionally inculcate cultural values and practices to protect against the accretion of the majority culture. Notwithstanding parents' self-reports, youth participating in ML-SAAF focus groups stated their adamant opposition to the use of certain indigenous practices, such as shaming as a socialization tool. These youth provide insight into how the more expressive, but concomitantly more restrictive and expectative, parenting practiced by Filipino Americans may be negatively interpreted by youth and therefore adversely affect youth outcomes. This is especially true for Filipino American girls, who may feel the most pressure when it comes to family obligation and cultural expectations.

What is clear is that, even as conventional measures alone do not fully capture the parenting beliefs and practices of Filipino and Korean American parents, parents in both groups are reticent when it comes to indigenous measures. The lower scores on indigenous measures raise several questions. It could be that universal family processes are dominant and easily measurable in Asian American families, while indigenous parenting processes require more refined instruments capable of capturing its subtlety. Alternatively, it is plausible that in a globalized and increasingly interconnected world, Asian American parents recognize the normative value placed on conventional patterns of parenting and become less willing to openly endorse indigenous measures. Accurately identifying Asian American parenting practices is important but, whatever the case, youth perceptions of their parents' parenting is more determinative of youth outcomes than parents' self-report. Discerning differences between the two will provide important information about family processes and their effects on youth development. It is essential that future research carefully explicate the distinct pathways by which both indigenous and conventional parental constructs operate in relations between Asian American parents and their youth over time. ML-SAAF's unique longitudinal data on both parents and youth will yield important information on this front.

Psychometric Properties

The preliminary results from this study show that the majority of the measures and scales have good psychometric qualities. Impending in-depth and advanced methods to establish the psychometric properties will further ensure their quality. While every effort will be made to maintain all items used in this study for the purpose of

comparative analyses, items with low item-total correlations (<0.3) will be considered for exclusion. Specific examples include the item of encouraging dependence on parents and family from the scale of Parental Behaviors Promoting Ideal Cultural Traits among Koreans; Knowing parents of child's friend may also be dropped from the scale of Parental Monitoring and Supervision. Other items may be moved from one scale to another.

As a next step, content validity and construct validity (both discriminant and convergent validity) will be examined using confirmatory factor analysis and exploratory factor analysis. All scales will be run in a single measurement model and, when possible, measurement invariance will be tested across Filipino American and Korean American participants. Correlative analyses examining how indigenous and conventional parenting behaviors and values are related to youth perception of parenting and youth outcomes will also be run and shared in future publications.

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Chapter 4
Stability and Change in Parenting and Adjustment Profiles Across Early, Middle, and Late Adolescence in Chinese American Families

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Asian Americans are the fastest-growing immigrant population (Pew Research Center, 2013), with Chinese Americans representing the largest subgroup of Asian Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The literature on the adjustment of this prominent ethnic group of Asian Americans has been fraught with widespread stereotypes about their parenting style and adolescent adjustment. On the one hand, Chinese American parenting is often perceived as harsh, strict, authoritarian, and demanding (Lau & Fung, 2013). The descriptive term "tiger parenting" has become colloquially tied to Chinese American parents after the publication of the book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (Chua, 2011). Tiger parents, as described by Chua (2011), push their children to strive for academic success while neglecting their psychological well-being. Contrasting this negative stereotype of Chinese American parenting is the positive stereotype of Chinese American adolescents as "model minorities," perceived to have higher educational attainment and fewer behavioral problems despite their disadvantaged minority status (Lee, 2009). However, both stereotypes, "tiger parenting" and "model minority," fail to recognize the

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within-group differences among Chinese Americans. Thus, it is important to examine empirically whether, and to what extent, "tiger parenting" and "model minority" can represent Chinese Americans' parenting style and adolescent adjustment, respectively.

As adolescents traverse through early, middle, and late adolescence, their physical, cognitive, and social development undergoes many changes. In addition, they go through significant transitions from middle school to high school, and for some, to college. When families navigate these transitions, parents often adapt their parenting practices to meet their children's evolving developmental needs. For example, relative to early adolescence, parents may be more authoritative and grant their children more autonomy in late adolescence as they become more self-reliant and independent (Nelson, Padilla-Walker, Christensen, Evans, & Carroll, 2011). The trajectory of adolescents' adjustment may also depend on whether parents can adopt parenting styles that meet children's changing needs as they negotiate the transitions of adolescence. Some adolescents may successfully navigate these transitions and stay relatively well-adjusted throughout the course of adolescence. Other adolescents may start off as well-adjusted but falter in navigating these transitions and end up as relatively poorly adjusted. Another group of adolescents may start out as relatively poor in their adjustment but gradually catch up to their better-adjusted peers. Thus, it is important to understand the stability and change of parenting profiles and adolescent adjustment and how they associate with each other across the course of early, middle, and late adolescent development periods (Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013; Kim, Wang, Shen, & Hou, 2015).

This chapter highlights the most recent findings on stability and change in Chinese Americans' parenting style and adolescent adjustment across early, middle, and late adolescence. We have three main sections. The first section focuses on parenting profiles of Chinese American parents across multiple developmental periods of adolescence. The second section centers on Chinese American adolescents' adjustment profiles, taking into account both academic and socio-emotional domains, and examines how these adjustment profiles unfold during the transitions across early, middle, and late adolescence. The third section addresses the association between parenting profiles and adolescent adjustment both concurrently and longitudinally. Throughout the chapter, we discuss the strengths and weaknesses of two commonly used approaches to study the focal research topic: variable-centered and person-centered approaches.

Variable-Centered Versus Person-Centered Approaches to Studying Parenting

Two approaches are typically used to examine within-group heterogeneity in parenting: the variable-centered approach (Park et al., 2004) and the person-centered approach (Luyckx et al., 2011). To date, most studies on parenting have used a

variable-centered approach, in which each parenting dimension is investigated in isolation to examine its implication for child outcomes (Ayon, Williams, Marsiglia, Ayers, & Kiehne, 2015). However, this approach ignores the fact that parenting is multifaceted, which means that the effect of one dimension of parenting may depend on other dimensions. For example, the effect of high levels of parental warmth may be different when accompanied by high levels of control versus low levels of control (Keijsers, Frijns, Branje, & Meeus, 2009). To take into account the multifaceted nature of parenting, it is important for researchers to adopt a person-centered approach, which examines parenting profiles with varying levels of multiple parenting dimensions. This approach offers a more holistic view of overall parenting styles and how each parenting style associates with different adolescent outcomes.

Baumrind (1966) and Maccoby and Martin (1983) took a person-centered approach and conceptualized four predominant parenting styles based on two dimensions, warmth and control. Warmth (responsiveness) is defined as parents' support, involvement, and acceptance toward their children (Ayon et al., 2015). Control (demandingness) is defined as parents' supervision, monitoring, and discipline toward their children (Ayon et al., 2015; White, Zeiders, Gonzales, Tein, & Roosa, 2013). Authoritative parenting (high in both warmth and control) is the most common style. It is viewed as supportive and it is also associated with the best developmental outcomes in children (Carlson, Uppal, & Prosser, 2000; Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, & Keehn, 2007; Spera, 2005). Authoritarian parenting (low warmth and high control) is viewed as harsh, with parents using absolute standards with little input from children (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Children whose parents use this style are more likely to exhibit lower levels of self-esteem and more depressive symptoms (Nelson et al., 2011). Permissive parents (high warmth and low control) are characterized as highly supportive, but avoid setting boundaries or asserting power (Baumrind, 2012). This parenting style is associated with conduct problems and substance use in adolescents (Milevsky et al., 2007). Neglectful parents (low in both warmth and control) are viewed as uninvolved in the responsibility of child-rearing (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Children whose parents are neglectful tend to have a low level of psychosocial competence along with a high incidence of behavioral and psychological problems (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991).

Even though the four above-mentioned parenting styles have been widely adopted to categorize parenting styles in the literature, there are limitations to using arbitrary cutoffs of the two dimensions, or in other words a median split approach, to generate the four parenting styles. For example, parents who score close to the median can be misclassified into the wrong parenting style (White et al., 2013). In addition, by focusing on only two dimensions, most of the extant literature does not capture culturally specific parenting dimensions, which may better illustrate the variation in parenting profiles for ethnic minority groups. Hence, researchers have questioned the generalizability of the above-mentioned parenting styles for ethnic minority populations (Domenech Rodriguez, Donovick, & Crowley, 2009; White et al., 2013).

Chinese American Parenting Profiles: A Person-Centered Approach

Kim, Wang, and colleagues (2013) took a person-centered approach to test the emergence of specific parenting profiles in a sample of Chinese American families. This three-wave longitudinal study recruited adolescents and their parents from seven middle schools in Northern California and gathered data every 4 years. The sample size of families is 444 at Wave 1 (Year 2002), 350 at Wave 2 (Year 2006), and 330 at Wave 3 (Year 2010). At Wave 1, adolescents' ages ranged from 12 to 15 (M = 13.03, SD = 0.73). Most adolescents (75%) were born in the U.S., while the majority of parents (91% of mothers and 88% of fathers) were born outside of the U.S. The majority of the families hailed from Hong Kong or southern provinces of China. The median family income was in the range of $30,001–$45,000 across all three waves, and the median parental education level was some high school education. The occupation of parents ranged from professional occupations (e.g., banker or computer programmer) to unskilled laborers (e.g., construction worker or janitor). The majority of families speak Cantonese at home, with less than 10% of families speaking Mandarin.

Kim et al.'s study moved beyond prior studies to address several gaps in the literature. First, it simultaneously examined eight parenting dimensions, including both universal and culturally specific dimensions. Second, it used latent profile analysis to explore potential parenting profiles. Compared to using arbitrary cutoff scores, such as a median split, a latent profile approach allows naturally existing groups with a constellation of parenting practices to emerge from the data (Bergman, 2001). Third, Kim, Wang, and colleagues (2013) sampled multiple informants, including the mother, father, and adolescent child within each family. Parents and adolescents may have different perceptions of parents' parenting styles (Wu & Chao, 2011). Hence, using multiple informants allows for a comparison of different perceptions of parenting among various family members. Fourth, Kim, Wang, and colleagues (2013) used an 8-year longitudinal design, which allows an assessment of parenting profiles across early, middle, and late adolescence (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013). As analyzing multiple parenting dimensions can be more meaningful, Kim, Wang, and colleagues' study (2013) used eight different parenting dimensions to explore the emergence of potential Chinese American parenting profiles. These eight parenting dimensions were grouped into two categories: positive measures (parental warmth, democratic parenting, parental monitoring, and inductive reasoning); and negative measures (parental hostility, psychological control, punitive parenting, and shaming). The classic dimension of warmth was expanded to include hostility as a way to differentiate low warmth from hostility. Specifically, parental warmth was assessed with eight items about affective parenting, such as whether parents acted lovingly, listened carefully, and acted supportively (Conger, Patterson, & Ge, 1995); parental hostility was measured with seven items about parents' hostile behavior toward children, such as whether parents shouted, insulted, or swore at children (Conger et al., 1995).

The classic dimension of control was expanded to include both positive and negative forms of control. Specifically, positive control was assessed with three parental monitoring items (e.g., know whereabouts of children; know who children are with; know when children come home) (Conger et al., 1995), as well as five democratic parenting items about parents' autonomy granting (e.g., allow children to give input into family rules, encourage children to freely express themselves, and take into account children's preferences) (Robinson, Mandleco, Olson, & Hart, 1995). Negative control was divided into items measuring psychological control and punitive control. Specifically, psychological control was assessed with eight items about parents' attempts to regulate their children's psychological experiences, including whether parents changed the subject whenever children had something to say, whether parents avoided looking at children if disappointed, and whether parents became less friendly when children did not see things in the parents' way (Barber, 1996). Punitive parenting was assessed with four items about parents' use of punitive strategies to discipline their children, including whether parents disciplined first and asked questions later, whether parents punished the children by taking privileges away with little or no explanation, and whether parents used threat of punishment with little or no explanation (Robinson et al., 1995). Parents' effective communication was measured by four inductive reasoning items, including whether parents gave reasons for decisions, whether parents asked for children's opinions before making decisions, and whether parents disciplined by reasoning, explaining, or talking (Conger et al., 1995).

Additionally, a culturally specific dimension, shaming, was also included. It was assessed with five items about parents' attempts to induce the feeling of shame as a way to socialize their children, such as whether parents taught their children what not to do by using examples of bad behavior in other youths, whether parents taught their children by pointing out other youths that they think are successful, and whether parents told their children to bring respect and honor to the family through their actions. Shaming plays an important role in parental socialization in Chinese families (Fung, 1999). Chinese-origin children are often asked to internalize feelings of shame when they fail to meet parents' expectations or disobey cultural norms (Fung, 1999).

To explore potential parenting profiles, Kim, Wang, et al.'s (2013) study conducted latent profile analyses separately for each informant and for each developmental period (early, middle, late adolescence). Up to four parenting profiles were identified: *supportive parenting*, *easygoing parenting*, *tiger parenting*, and *harsh parenting*. Multivariate analyses of variance were conducted to examine mean differences of parenting dimensions across these four emergent parenting profiles. As presented in Table 4.1, *supportive parenting* scored relatively high on positive parenting dimensions and low on negative parenting dimensions; *easygoing parenting* scored low on both positive and negative parenting dimensions; *tiger parenting* scored high on both positive and negative parenting dimensions; and *harsh parenting* scored low on the positive dimensions and high on the negative dimensions of parenting. The results also showed that *supportive parents* had higher scores in shaming than *easygoing parents*, but lower than *tiger* and *harsh parents*. This

Table 4.1 Significant contrast from Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) for differences in parenting dimensions among parenting profiles

	Parenting dimensions							
	Positive parenting dimensions				Negative parenting dimensions			
	Warmth	Reasoning	Monitoring	Democratic	Hostility	Control	Shaming	Punitive
W1 maternal parenting (A)	S > T > E > H	S > T > E > H	S > T > E > H	S,T > E,H	S,E < T < H	S,E < T < H	E < S < T,H	S,E < T < H
W2 maternal parenting (A)	S > T > E > H	S > T > E > H	S,T > E,H	S,T > E,H	S < E < T < H	S < E < T < H	S,E < T,H	S < E < T,H
W3 maternal parenting (A)	S > T > E > H	S > T > E > H	S,T > E,H	S > T,E > H	S < E < T,H	S < E < T < H	S,E < T,H	S < E < T < H
W1 paternal parenting (A)	S > T,E	S > T,E	S > T > E	S > T > E	E < S < T	E < S < T	E < S < T	E < S < T
W2 paternal parenting (A)	S > T > E > H	S > T > E,H	S > T > E,H	S > T > E,H	S,E < T < H	S,E < T < H	E < S < T,H	S,E < T < H
W3 paternal parenting (A)	S > T > E	S > T > E	S,T > E	S > T > E	E < S < T	S,E < T	E < S < T	S,E < T
W1 maternal parenting (M)	S > T > E > H	S > T,E > H	S > T,E > H	S > T,E > H	S < E < T,H	S < E < T,H	S,E,H < T	S < E < H < T
W2 maternal parenting (M)	S,T > E	S > T > E	S > T > E	S,T > E	S < E < T	S,E < T	E < S < T	S,E < T
W3 maternal parenting (M)	S > E	S > E	S > E	S > E	S < E	S < E	S,E	S < E
W1 paternal parenting (F)	S > E	S > E	S > E	S > E	S < E	S < E	S,E	S < E
W2 paternal parenting (F)	S > E	S > E	S > E	S > E	S < E	S < E	S < E	S < E
W3 paternal parenting (F)	S > T > E	S > T > E	S > T > E	S > T,E	S,E < T	S,E < T	E < S < T	S,E < T

W wave, *A* adolescent report, *M* mother report, *F* father report, *S* supportive, *E* easygoing, *T* tiger, *H* harsh, Bonferroni correction was used in assessing the significance of group differences, $p < 0.05$

suggests that shaming is an important, culturally specific dimension for distinguishing the variations in Chinese American parenting. Three of the four parenting profiles that emerged were similar to the classic parenting styles featured in much of the extant literature. Specifically, *supportive parenting* was akin to the classic authoritative parenting style, *harsh parenting* was akin to the authoritarian parenting style, and *easygoing* parenting was akin to the indulgent parenting style. *Tiger parenting* has been described as the merger of the classic authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013).

Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) showed the emergence of various parenting profiles by informant across early (Wave 1), middle (Wave 2), and late adolescence (Wave 3, see Fig. 4.1). In general, *supportive* parenting represented the largest group, *tiger* and/or *easygoing* parenting represented the second or third largest group, and *harsh* parenting represented the smallest group. This suggests that there is substantial within-group variability in Chinese American parenting practices. In other words, the popular perception of Chinese American parents as a homogeneous group of tiger parents is inaccurate.

In terms of variations in parenting profiles across informants, Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) found the following: The proportion of the sample categorized as *harsh* or *tiger* parents was larger in adolescent reports; whereas the proportion of sample categorized as *supportive* parents was larger in parent reports. This finding is consistent with previous research showing that relative to child reports of parenting, parental self-reports are more positive about parenting, family functioning, and the quality of the parent–child relationship (Korelitz, 2016; Sher-Censor, Parke, & Coltrane, 2011).

Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) also found variations in parenting profiles across waves. Even though the same four parenting profiles (Fig. 4.1a) emerged across three waves for adolescent-reported maternal parenting, *harsh* parenting emerged only in middle adolescence, but not in early or late adolescence, for adolescent-reported paternal parenting profiles (Fig. 4.1b). For mother-reported maternal parenting profiles (Fig. 4.1c), *harsh* parenting emerged only in early adolescence, and *tiger* parenting did not emerge in late adolescence. For father-reported paternal parenting profiles (Fig. 4.1d), *tiger* parenting emerged only in late adolescence. In terms of the group size of each parenting profile across developmental periods, the percentage of *tiger* parenting among mothers decreased but the percentage of *tiger* parenting among fathers increased, based on both adolescent and parent reports. These shifts indicate that the roles of fathers and mothers change over the course of children's developmental stages. In Asian American culture, mothers are responsible for educating children at home (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007), whereas fathers are expected to assure children's future success outside the home (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). Thus, mothers are more likely to exert a *tiger* parenting style during early developmental stages, when children spend the majority of their time at home. Fathers are more likely to exert a *tiger* parenting style as children enter adulthood and start to have more connection with the outside world.

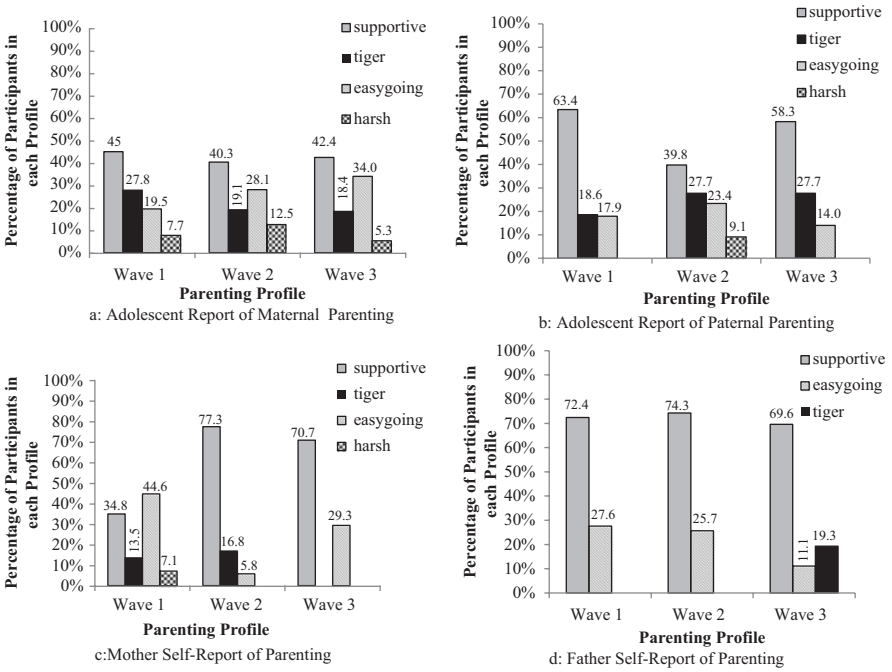

Fig. 4.1 Adolescent and parent-reported parenting profiles across three waves. (**a**) Adolescent report of maternal parenting, (**b**) Adolescent report of paternal parenting, (**c**) Mother self-report of parenting, (**d**) Father self-report of parenting

Chinese American Adolescent Adjustment Profiles

A common stereotype of Chinese American adolescents is that they are model minorities, which carries implicit assumptions about their adjustment. First, it assumes that they are all academic overachievers, which overlooks the heterogeneity among Chinese American adolescents (Lee, 2009). Although some studies show that at the mean level, Chinese American adolescents' academic achievement is higher than that of other ethnic groups, not all Chinese American adolescents excel in the academic domain; in fact, some experience academic struggles (Hsin & Xie, 2014; Qin, 2008). Second, the model minority stereotype assumes that Chinese Americans' high academic achievement accompanies high levels of adjustment in other domains, such as their socioemotional well-being. Counter to this assumption, studies have found that Chinese American adolescents exhibit vulnerability to socioemotional problems, such as high levels of parent–child alienation and conflict, and depressive symptoms (Kim, Chen, Wang, Shen, & Orozco-Lapray, 2013; Qin, 2008; Qin, Rak, Rana, & Donnellan, 2012). In other words, academic and socioemotional adjustment may not always go hand in hand. For example, there

may be a group of adolescents who do well academically but experience low levels of socioemotional well-being (Hsin & Xie, 2014; Qin, 2008).

To provide a more holistic understanding of Chinese American adolescents' adjustment, it is important to move beyond prior studies that used a variable-centered approach and focused on mean-level comparisons of separate adjustment domains. A person-centered approach that explores subgroups of Chinese American adolescents with various adjustment patterns, and simultaneously considers academic and socioemotional domains, may be more effective at uncovering within-group differences in adjustment patterns in Chinese American adolescents. A more comprehensive understanding of adolescent adjustment should also examine whether the profiles of adjustment that emerge show stability or change across the early, middle, and late adolescent developmental periods (Kim et al., 2015). For example, among the well-adjusted Chinese American adolescents who exhibit high academic and socioemotional adjustment in early adolescence, some may show a stable well-adjusted profile across middle and late adolescence, whereas others may experience declines in either the academic or the socioemotional domain, or both, in later adolescence.

Kim et al. (2015) took a person-centered approach to consider the academic and socioemotional domains together to create adjustment profiles for Chinese American adolescents across the developmental periods of early to middle to late adolescence, using the same dataset as Kim, Wang, et al. (2013). They used three indicators for the academic domain, including adolescents' school performance, school engagement, and hours of study on a typical weekday; and three indicators for the socioemotional domain, including academic pressure, depressive symptoms, and sense of parent–child alienation. Three distinct groups of Chinese American adolescents emerged at each developmental period during adolescence: *well-adjusted*, *paradoxically adjusted*, and *poorly adjusted* (see Fig. 4.2a). Multivariate analyses of variance were conducted to examine mean differences of adjustment indicators across these three emergent adjustment profiles (Table 4.2). The *well-adjusted* Chinese American adolescents scored relatively high in both the academic and the socioemotional domain; *paradoxically adjusted* Chinese American adolescents scored relatively high in the academic domain and low in the socioemotional domain; *poorly adjusted* Chinese American adolescents scored low in both domains. In early adolescence (Wave 1), 57% of the sample was *well-adjusted,* while the remaining participants were almost evenly split across the *poorly adjusted* (21%) and *paradoxically adjusted* profiles (22%). Similar results were found in middle adolescence (Wave 2). However, in late adolescence (Wave 3), the largest proportion of participants was classified into the *paradoxically adjusted* group (50.0%), followed by *well-adjusted* (43.7%), with the smallest proportion of participants in the *poorly adjusted* profile (6.3%).

Based on the three adjustment profiles that emerged in each wave, Kim et al. (2015) also identified stability and change in adolescent adjustment profiles from early to middle to late adolescence using latent transition analyses, which explored subpopulations with different patterns of the indicators and simultaneously allowed groups of individuals to transition across time (Collins & Lanza, 2010) (Fig. 4.2b).

Slightly above half of the adolescents stayed in the same adjustment group across the three waves (55%). Specifically, a significant proportion (38%) stayed in the *well-adjusted* group, 15% remained in the *paradox* group, and 2% had *poor adjustment* over the entire period studied. However, there was notable change in adolescent adjustment profiles as well, with slightly less than half of the sample (45%) showing variation across the three time points. As seen in Fig. 4.2b, 22% of all Chinese American adolescents reported improvements (adolescents moved from *poor* to *paradox* or *well,* or from *paradox* to *well*) while 18% of the sample showed declines (adolescents moved from *well* to *paradox* or *poor,* or from *paradox* to *poor*). The remaining 5% showed both improvements and declines over time, fluctuating between different profile types in the study. In summary, adolescent adjustment profiles may not necessarily remain stable over the adolescent period. Instead, profiles can be categorized into six possible groups based on trajectory: stable *well*, stable *paradox*, stable *poor*, *improving, declining*, and *fluctuating*.

Kim et al.'s (2015) study revealed a significant amount of psychological distress experienced by Chinese American adolescents. Although more than half of the adolescents were classified into the *well-adjusted* profile in early and middle adolescence, the *paradox* profile was the largest group by late adolescence. Moreover, the proportion of *paradox* (22–50% across waves) and *poorly adjusted* (6–21%) profiles, both characterized by low levels of socioemotional well-being, was not inconsequential. In terms of change across time, slightly less than half of all adolescents in the sample (43.8%) started off with high levels of socioemotional distress (comprising of both *paradox*- and *poorly* adjusted); yet, we see this proportion increased to more than half (56.3%) of the entire sample in late adolescence. These findings underscore the need for interventions aimed at reducing psychological distress in subgroups of Chinese American adolescents who reveal *paradoxically* or *poorly adjusted* adolescent profiles (Kim et al., 2015; Qin, 2008). In particular, the *paradox* group may require more attention. Despite their high levels of academic achievement, they reported the highest levels of socioemotional distress, even when compared to *poorly adjusted* youths. Had researchers focused solely on academic adjustment, the high levels of psychological distress in the *paradox* group would have been masked by their relatively high academic adjustment (Kim et al., 2015) and interventions for this subgroup of Chinese American adolescents would have been neglected.

Kim et al.'s (2015) findings highlight the importance of examining overall patterns of adjustment across time. One important question to ask is: What factors influence adolescents' adjustment and set up adolescents to embark on various adjustment trajectories? Understanding this question can possibly allow us to glean additional information on how to improve adolescent adjustment through intervention. One influential factor may be the parenting strategies adopted by Chinese American parents.

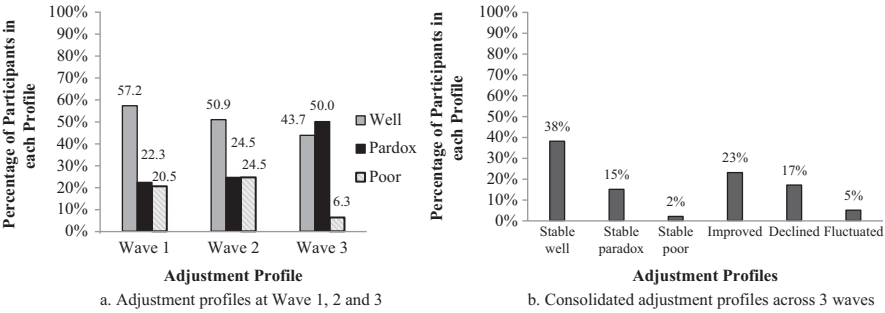

Fig. 4.2 Adolescent adjustment profiles across Wave 1 (early adolescence), Wave 2 (middle adolescence), and Wave 3 (late adolescence). "Stable well" = adjustment profiles remained well-adjusted across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Stable paradox" = adjustment profiles remained paradoxical across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Stable poor" = adjustment profiles remained poorly adjusted across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Improved" = adjustment profiles improved across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Declined" = adjustment profiles declined across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Fluctuated" = adjustment profiles changed without a clear trend across Wave 1, 2, and 3. (**a**) Adjustment profiles at Wave 1, 2, and 3, (**b**) Consolidated adjustment profiles across three waves

Parenting Profiles and Adolescent Adjustment

Cross-Sectional Associations Between Parenting Profiles and Various Adolescent Outcomes

Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) sought to examine the relationship between the four parenting profiles (*tiger parenting, supportive parenting, harsh parenting,* and *easygoing parenting*) and Chinese American adolescent adjustment cross-sectionally in early, middle, and late adolescence. Their study aimed to examine whether *tiger* parenting indeed relates to positive academic outcomes, as suggested by Chua (2011), and how the other parenting profiles they found among Chinese American parents may relate to a range of adolescent outcomes concurrently in three developmental periods of adolescence.

Regression analysis was conducted to assess multiple adolescent outcomes, including academic achievement, educational attainment, academic pressure, depressive symptoms, parent–child alienation, and family obligation. Table 4.3 shows the positive, negative, or insignificant associations between the various parenting profiles and adolescent developmental outcomes across parent and child reports cross-sectionally, for each wave. Despite some variation by wave, in general, supportive parenting was associated with the best developmental outcomes, including low academic pressure, high GPA, high educational attainment, low depressive symptoms, low parent–child alienation, and high family obligation. To some extent, these results corroborate the finding that the traditional authoritative parenting style is associated with the best adolescent developmental outcomes (Lamborn et al., 1991). Ironically, the findings of this same study indicate that *tiger*

Table 4.2 Significant contrast from Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) for differences in Wave 1 early adolescence, Wave 2 middle adolescence, and Wave 3 late adolescence among adjustment indicators

	Academic adjustment			Socioemotional adjustment		
	GPA	School engagement	Hours of study	Academic pressure	Depressive symptoms	Parent-child alienation
Wave 1 (early adolescence)	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W, PX > P	W < P < PX	W < P < PX	W < P < PX
Wave 2 (middle adolescence)	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W, P < PX	W < P < PX	W, P < PX
Wave 3 (late adolescence)	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W < PX < P	W < P	W < P

Students who were not in school at Wave 3 had significantly higher depressive symptoms (M = 1.80, SD = 0.56) and parent–child alienation (M = 2.92, SD = 0.90) than the well-adjusted group

"*W*" well-adjusted adjustment profiles, *PX* paradoxically adjusted adjustment profiles, *P* poorly adjusted adjustment profiles

parenting, which was believed to produce the highest degree of academic achievement (Chua, 2011), is associated with lower educational attainment, high academic pressure, depressive symptoms, and high parent-–child alienation when compared to *supportive* parenting. Relative to *tiger* parenting, *easygoing* parenting is associated with similar or better outcomes, and *harsh* parenting is associated with similar or worse outcomes.

Although Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) study showed some significant associations between parenting profiles and a range of academic and socioemotional outcomes, it remains unclear how each parenting profile relates to adolescent overall adjustment patterns over time. Building on their earlier study (2013), Kim et al. (2015) took a further step to examine the relationship between parenting profiles in early adolescence and adolescents' adjustment across early, middle, and late adolescence.

Longitudinal Associations Between Parenting Profiles and Adolescent Overall Adjustment across Time

Kim et al. (2015) examined how Chinese American parenting profiles in children's early adolescence relate longitudinally to adolescent overall adjustment profiles across the course of adolescence. Table 4.4 lists the proportion of adolescent-identified parenting profiles in early adolescence against adolescent adjustment profiles across the three waves. This parenting profile information was based on the Chinese American parenting profiles identified by Kim, Wang, et al. (2013). Adolescent adjustment profiles were categorized as either stable (stable *well,* stable *paradox,* or stable *poor*) or changing (*improved*, *declined,* or *fluctuated*) as identified by Kim et al. (2015) and discussed in the previous section.

Kim et al. (2015) tested for significant longitudinal relationships across all combinations of the four parenting profiles, as identified by the adolescents, and three types of stable or three types of changing overall adjustment profiles. Relative to other longitudinal relationships between various types of parenting profiles and adolescents' overall adjustment over time, the following three results stand out. First, adolescents who perceived their parents to be *supportive* in early adolescence were more likely to stay in the *well-adjusted* group (46.4% and 54.2% for fathers and mothers, respectively, in Table 4.4), while adolescents who perceived their parents to be *tiger* parents (31.2% and 24.5% for fathers and mothers, respectively, in Table 4.4) stayed in the *paradox* group. Second, Chinese American adolescents who perceived their parents as *tiger* parents in early adolescence were more likely to show improvements (e.g., moving from *paradoxically adjusted* to *well-adjusted*) in their overall adjustment profile (32.8% and 30.9% for fathers and mothers, respectively, in Table 4.4) from early adolescence to late adolescence. These findings are consistent with the literature on multifinality, revealing that children with the same starting point may ultimately end up with different developmental outcomes (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1996; Nolen-Hoeksema & Watkins, 2011). Third, early ado-

Table 4.3 Parenting profiles and adolescent adjustment

		Adolescent report of maternal parenting					Adolescent report of paternal parenting					Mother self-report parenting					Father self-report parenting		
Reference		Supportive			Tiger		Supportive			Tiger		Supportive			Tiger		Supportive		Tiger
Parenting profile	Wave	Easy	Tiger	Harsh	Easy	Harsh	Easy	Tiger	Harsh	Easy	Harsh	Easy	Tiger	Harsh	Easy	Harsh	Easy	Tiger	Easy
GPA	w1	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	–		
	w2	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	–	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
	w3	n/s	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	–		n/s		n/s					n/s	–	n/s
Academic pressure (A)	w1	n/s	+	+	–	n/s	n/s	+		–		n/s	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		
	w2	+	+	+	–	n/s	n/s	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
Depressive symptoms (A)	w1	+	+	+	n/s	n/s	+	+		n/s		n/s	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s		
	w2	n/s	+	+	n/s	+	+	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
	w3	n/s	+	+	–	n/s	n/s	+		n/s		n/s					n/s	+	n/s
Depressive symptoms (P)	w1	n/s	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		+	+	+	n/s	n/s	+		
	w2	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
	w3	n/s	+	+	–	n/s	n/s	+		n/s		+					n/s	+	n/s
Alienation (A)	w1	+	+	+	n/s	+	+	+		–		n/s	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s		
	w2	+	+	+	n/s	+	+	+	+	n/s	+	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
	w3	+	+	+	n/s	+	+	+		n/s		+				n/s	+	n/s	
Alienation (P)	w1	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		+	+	+	–	n/s	+		
	w2	n/s	n/s	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	+	n/s	n/s	+	+		n/s		+		
	w3	+	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	+		n/s		+					+	+	n/s
Family obligation (A)	w1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		n/s		n/s	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s		
	w2	–	n/s	–	n/s	–	–	n/s	–	n/s	–	n/s	n/s		n/s		–		
	w3	–	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	–	–		n/s		n/s					n/s	n/s	n/s

Easy easygoing, *A* adolescent report, *P* parent report, *n/s* not significant, + indicates positively correlated, – indicates negatively correlated, blank cells indicate the particular parenting profile did not emerge

Table 4.4 Parenting profiles at Wave 1 and adolescent adjustment profiles across three waves

	Stable						Changing							
	Well		Paradox		Poor		Improved				Fluctuated		Total	
Parenting profiles	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Father-adolescent dyads														
Supportive	126	29.4	24	5.6	5	1.2	49	11.4	54	12.6	14	3.3	272	63.4
Tiger	17	4.0	25	5.8	2	0.5	26	6.1	9	2.1	1	2	80	18.6
Easygoing	25	5.8	14	3.3	3	0.7	20	4.7	13	3.0	2	0.5	77	17.9
Total	168	39.2	63	14.7	10	2.3	95	22.1	76	17.7	17	4.0	429	100
Mother-adolescent dyads														
Supportive	108	24.4	9	2.0	3	0.7	31	7.0	42	9.5	6	1.4	199	45.0
Tiger	32	7.2	30	6.8	2	0.5	38	8.6	14	3.2	7	1.6	123	27.8
Easygoing	22	5.0	15	3.4	4	0.9	22	5.0	18	4.1	5	1.1	86	19.5
Harsh	6	1.4	13	2.9	1	0.2	8	1.8	4	0.9	2	0.5	34	7.7
Total	168	38.0	67	15.2	10	2.3	99	22.4	78	17.6	20	4.5	442	100

"*Well*" adjustment profiles remained well-adjusted across Wave 1, 2 and 3, "*Paradox*" adjustment profiles remained paradoxical across Wave 1, 2, and 3, "*Poor*" adjustment profiles remained poorly adjusted across Wave 1, 2, and 3, "*Improved*" adjustment profiles improved across Wave 1, 2, and 3, "*Declined*" adjustment profiles declined across Wave 1, 2, and 3, "*Fluctuated*" adjustment profiles changed without a clear trend across Wave 1, 2, and 3

lescent perceptions of maternal *harsh* and *easygoing* parenting showed some specific effects: early adolescents who perceived their mothers as *harsh* were more likely to be found in the stable *paradox* group (37.7%) from early adolescence to late adolescence. In addition, early adolescents who perceived their mothers as *easygoing* (17.4%) in contrast to *supportive* were more likely to stay in the stable *paradox* group as opposed to the stably *well-adjusted* group or *declined* adjustment group.

In light of these findings, it stands to reason that *supportive* parenting is an optimal parenting strategy for Chinese American parents. Although Chinese American adolescents who perceived their parents to be *tiger* parents showed the highest rates of improvement in overall adjustment over the three waves, this does not indicate that *tiger* parenting is more beneficial than *supportive* parenting. Chinese American adolescents in the *well-adjusted* group were already classified into an optimally adjusted profile during early adolescence. Therefore, the high rank order to which *well-adjusted* adolescents belong from the onset makes it difficult for them to show improvements over time. Though it may appear that *tiger* parenting benefits Chinese American adolescents because it is correlated with academic achievement and improvement over time, it has deleterious effects on their socioemotional well-being (Kim et al., 2015). In fact, early adolescents who perceive their parents as *supportive* consistently showed better overall adjustment when contrasted with adolescents who reported the *tiger* parenting style.

Discussion

Chinese American parents show heterogeneity in the type of parenting they use with their adolescents, and adolescents also demonstrate heterogeneity in their adjustment patterns. It appears that Chinese American parenting is a key contextual factor that influences adolescent adjustment both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. Specifically, parenting profiles at early adolescence possess predictive ability in helping us understand both concurrent adolescent adjustment profiles and the transition in adjustment profiles that takes place from early to middle to late adolescence.

Interventions aimed at Chinese American families should take into account the evolving roles that Chinese American parents play across the course of their children's adolescence. For example, mothers were less inclined to adopt a tiger parenting strategy from early to late adolescence, but the reverse pattern was observed in fathers—fathers were more likely to adopt tiger parenting in late adolescence (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013). This suggests that interventions that take a uniform approach to the role that mothers and fathers play during different periods of their children's development may need to be reconsidered, as the role of mothers and fathers may evolve to meet the changing developmental needs of their adolescents.

Despite the popular perception of Chinese American adolescents as model minorities, they would benefit from interventions focused on alleviating the academic and

socioemotional stressors they experience. This is in light of substantial variability in Chinese American adolescent adjustment patterns (Kim et al., 2015). Specifically, we witnessed the existence of *paradoxically adjusted* and *poorly adjusted* profiles, suggesting that Chinese American adolescents, like their non-Chinese peers, do sometimes struggle with socioemotional and academic difficulties. Additionally, the fact that almost half of all Chinese American youths in our studies demonstrated some level of socioemotional distress across all periods of adolescence highlights the need for interventions aimed at improving outcomes for children with less than optimal adjustment profiles. Appropriate programs should be administered to ameliorate Chinese American adolescents' susceptibility towards socioemotional distress in particular. Additionally, it may prove beneficial to equip parents with skill sets that help them remain supportive in their childrearing strategies.

Longitudinal studies could potentially pinpoint more effective time periods for implementing interventions for Chinese American adolescents. Drastic changes in adolescent adjustment profile membership may provide clues about the best possible time to intervene and improve the effectiveness of intervention programs. For example, Kim and her colleagues (2015) revealed substantial decreases in the number of *well-adjusted* adolescents and a significant increase in those classified as *paradoxically adjusted* from middle to late adolescence. It may be that developmental changes occurring during this time period, such as transitioning from high school to college, account for the greater degree of socioemotional distress in older Chinese American adolescents. For this reason, intervention programs implemented during this transition period may prove to be more effective in improving the adjustment of Chinese American youths.

While most of the existing research on parenting and adjustment uses either a cross-sectional or a short-term longitudinal design, it is important to go beyond this conventional approach by adopting a longitudinal methodology that spans multiple developmental periods. Kim and colleagues (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2015) took this approach with a longitudinal study design that spanned 8 years. Parents' parenting profiles exhibited considerable change across the course of their children's adolescence (43.8% and 44.5% for fathers and mothers, respectively), and approximately half (45.0%) of the adolescents in the study demonstrated substantial shifts in adjustment profile membership from early to middle to late adolescence. Future research can move beyond the time frame of adolescence and explore how parenting and adjustment profiles stay stable or change later in development. In addition, it may be important to extend this time bracket so as to determine the downstream effects of various parenting strategies across generations and a longer time span. Are children of *tiger* parents, for example, more likely to adopt this particular practice as their own childrearing strategy in the future? Some literature on intergenerational continuity in parenting suggests that the answer is yes (Neppl, Conger, Scaramella, & Ontai, 2009). However, research on the intergenerational continuity of Chinese American parenting is lacking. Considering the detrimental influence of *tiger* parenting, it may be important to investigate whether this parenting style is perpetuated over time and, if so, what effects it may exert over successive generations.

This chapter indicates that it is necessary to move from a variable-centered approach to a person-centered approach that captures the multiple dimensions of parenting and adjustment. By taking a person-centered approach, our work demonstrates that maternal and paternal parenting profiles relate distinctively to adolescent adjustment profiles (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2015). Nevertheless, in light of the Chinese way of socializing children—for example, fathers are usually the head of the household (Qin & Chang, 2013)—are we likely to observe discrepancies in Chinese American adolescent development, depending on the combined patterns of mothers' and fathers' parenting styles? Future studies can examine maternal and paternal parenting practices simultaneously to find out whether there are different family parenting styles, and how different combinations of maternal and paternal parenting may relate to adolescent adjustment.

In summary, Chinese Americans exhibited considerable variability in both parenting and adolescent adjustment profiles. We refuted the popular perception that *tiger* parenting is the most common parenting style among Chinese Americans. For adolescent adjustment, a dual focus on academic and socioemotional well-being revealed a group of *paradoxically adjusted* adolescents who may not fit the stereotype of Chinese American adolescents as model minorities. Despite the popular perception that *tiger* parenting contributes to future success, the current findings suggest, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally, that it is in fact *supportive* parenting that drives optimal outcomes in Chinese American adolescents.

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Chapter 5
Socioeconomic Status and Child/Youth Outcomes in Asian American Families

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The term "socioeconomic status" (SES) refers to the relative position of a family in a hierarchical social structure, based on the family's access to wealth, prestige, and power (Mueller & Parcel, 1981). In child development literature, it is operationally defined with measures of the educational levels, occupational prestige, and income of the children's parents (Willims & Tramonte, 2014). Decades of research has established the important role of SES in children's education and psychosocial outcomes. Nevertheless, systematic research on the role of SES in families from immigrant backgrounds remains limited. The role SES plays in Asian American families is particularly complex, intriguing, and worth examining. For example, recent research suggests that the role of family SES in determining child educational achievement appears weaker for Asian American children than expected (Liu & Xie, 2016). Why is this the case? How has family SES been conceived in Asian societies and how may this notion of SES have influenced Asian American families and child/youth educational outcomes? And what is the role of family SES in Asian American children's psychosocial outcomes? In this chapter, we first examine SES backgrounds of Asian Americans. We then review research on the role of SES in Asian American children's educational outcomes, including protective cultural factors that may mitigate the negative effect of low SES on Asian American families and child/youth outcomes. In particular, we trace the role of SES in ancient Chinese history to understand the East Asian folk concept of SES. Next, drawing on past research including our own, we highlight the significant role that SES plays in Asian American children's psychosocial

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outcomes and family dynamics in immigrant families. We conclude with recommendations for future research on SES and Asian American families.

SES of Asian Americans

Asian Americans are the fastest-growing racial/ethnic group in the United States. Immigrants from Asia have overtaken Latino immigrants and become the largest group of recent immigrants to the U.S., accounting for 36% of total new immigrants arrived in 2010 (Pew Research Center, 2013). The SES of Asian Americans measured by education, occupational status, and income has shifted dramatically in the last century. Earlier records show that they fell far behind Whites in educational attainment (Siu, 1996). In 1940, for example, Chinese Americans finished an average of 5.5 years of education (compared to 8.7 years for Whites) and were only half as likely to complete high school or college as Whites (Weinberg, 1997). Today's Asian Americans, including newly arrived immigrants, however, are among the most highly educated and professional segments of the U.S. population (Liu & Xie, 2016). The 2010 Community Survey census data revealed that approximately 49% of Asian Americans (aged 25 and older) obtained at least a bachelor's degree, surpassing the share in the whole U.S. population (28%), European Americans (31%), African Americans (18%), and Hispanics (13%) (Pew Research Center, 2013). In terms of professional status, a century ago, most of the older generations of Asian immigrants worked in mining, farming, and railroad construction (Liu & Xie, 2016). Today, it is estimated that over 50% of Asian Americans have occupations in management, business, science, and arts (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). In terms of income, Asian Americans exceed in median annual household income ($66,000) when compared to the whole U.S. population ($49,800), European Americans ($54,000), African Americans ($33,300), and Hispanics ($40,000) (Pew Research Center, 2013). Asian Americans also lead other racial/ethnic groups in terms of per capita income: the annual per capita income for Asian Americans, European Americans, African Americans, and Hispanics are $34,399, $32,910, $20,277, and $17,433 respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

Within the general Asian American community, Indian Americans led Asian groups in educational attainment: approximately 70% of Indian Americans have obtained college degree or more, compared to Korean (53%), Chinese (51%), Filipino (47%), Japanese (46%), and Vietnamese Americans (26%) (Pew Research Center, 2013). Indian Americans also had higher median household income ($88,000) than other Asian groups ($75,000 for Filipino, $65,390 for Japanese, $65,050 for Chinese, $53,400 for Vietnamese, and $50,000 for Korean Americans) (Pew Research Center, 2013).

Family SES and Children's Educational Achievement

SES is essential if we want to understand the interaction between micro-level context such as family and children's developmental outcomes (Gottfried, Gottfried, Bathurst, Guerin, & Parramore, 2003). Scholars have documented strong

relationship between family SES and children's cognitive development and educational outcomes. Children from higher SES families are likely to have better long-term cognitive functioning and academic performance, e.g., language development, literacy levels, IQ, and achievement test results when compared to those from lower SES families (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Crane, 1996; Korat, 2011; McLoyd, 1998; Noble, McCandliss, & Farah, 2007).

How specifically does family SES influence children's cognitive and academic outcomes? We review three models below. First, in the *Wisconsin model* proposed by Sewell and colleagues (Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969), family SES influences children's achievement by affecting their attitudes and behaviors. Sociologist Lareau (2002, 2011), for example, found that White and Black middle-class parents are more likely to have attitudes and behaviors that are conducive to children's educational success. Second, in the *family investment model*, families from different SES backgrounds invest different levels of financial, human, and social capital in children's cognitive development and education (Willingham, 2012). Financial capital or family income impacts children's educational outcomes through structuring access to cognitive stimulating material including the availability of books and the number of trips for intellectual purposes, as well as the quality of physical home environment conducive to education (Guo & Harris, 2000). Human capital, defined as "the knowledge and skills of the parents that can be imparted to their children" (Willingham, 2012, p. 35), is also important for children's education. For example, in language development, SES-related differences can be found in parent-to-child speech in terms of the length, quantity, and quality of the conversations as well as vocabulary used (Hoff, 2003; Rowe, 2008). Social capital, i.e., the social connections to people with resources, also powerfully shapes child educational outcomes. For example, Sirin (2005) pointed out that high-SES families are more likely to live in wealthy school districts with social benefits related to school success, such as schools with more experienced teachers or good instructional arrangement when compared to low-SES families. Finally, in the *family stress model*, low SES may expose both parents and children to chronic stress, which is likely to lead to negative effects on children's brain development directly and indirectly through the impact on parents' psychological health and parenting behaviors (Willingham, 2012). Yamauchi (2010) pointed out that mentally healthier parents are more able to adopt parenting practices conductive to children's development. Additionally, nurturing parents act as protective factors from negative effects of economic hardship on children (Mosley & Thomson, 1995; Yeung, Linver, & Brooks-Gunn, 2002). Ludy-Dobson and Perry's (2010) work on "poverty of relations" also suggests that the wealth of relationships, e.g., parental love and genuine investment on, can moderate the negative effects of material poverty on child outcomes.

The effects of family SES on children's cognitive and academic outcomes may differ by ethnic groups. For Asian Americans, and likely other groups (e.g., Lopez, 2001) as well, effect of SES on children's educational outcomes may not be as clear-cut as the three models suggest. On the one hand, Asian American families have higher average SES than other families, which may explain why their children have higher educational outcomes than children from other ethnic groups in the U.S. On

the other hand, family SES background, interestingly, only partially explains Asian American children's higher educational attainment than their White and other ethnic minority peers (Harris, Jamison, & Trujillo, 2008; Liu & Xie, 2014). Below, we examine research findings on the role of SES in children's educational outcomes in Asian American families.

Family SES, Culture, and Asian American Children's Educational Achievement

Education patterns of Asian Americans have changed dramatically since they first arrived in the U.S. Earlier records show that they fell far behind Whites in educational attainment (Siu, 1996). However, since the 1960s, students from Asian American families, particularly Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students, have been documented to outperform students from other ethnic groups, including the Whites, in aggregate data on standard testing, college enrollment rates, and educational attainment (Aldous, 2006; Hsin & Xie, 2014; Kao, 1995; Lee & Zhou, 2014; Pearce & Lin, 2007; Pong & Hao, 2007; Xie & Goyette, 2003). Their English aptitude test scores have consistently been higher than other minorities and their math aptitude test scores have been higher than their White and minority peers as well (ACT National Scores Reports, 1997 to 2004; College Bound Seniors Report, 1996 to 2004; Xie & Goyette, 2004). Asian American students also enroll in Ivy-League 4-year universities at disproportionally high rates (Thernstorm & Thernstorm, 2003).

Scholars believe that the important role of SES among Asian American immigrants is often masked in the discussion of education of Asian American children (Louie, 2003). Most Asian American immigrants before WWII came to "meet low-wage, low human capital labor needs," while post 1965 immigrants came to meet the scientific and technical personnel needs of the U.S. labor market (Nee & Wong, 1985). Even in the last few decades, there has been a significant increase in SES of Asian immigrants coming to the U.S. For example, in 1980, there were 35% of Asian immigrants aged 25–64 with at least a bachelor's degree and the number was almost double (61%) in 2010 (Pew Research Center, 2013). With the exception of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian refugees, most Asian immigrants also have high-salary jobs in the fields of science, engineering, and finance after their arrival in the U.S. (Pew Research Center, 2013). This selectivity may contribute to high educational achievement in children through positively influencing parental attitudes and behaviors, family human, and social capital as well as investment in children's education.

The middle- and upper-class parents tend to be more educated, have stable families, have high social capital through their jobs, can live in desirable neighborhoods, have access to better schools, enjoy more resources, and can provide additional support to their children out of school. Not surprisingly, their children tend to do well in school. For example, Weinberg (1997) reported that the Vietnamese refugee

children who came from highly literate middle- and upper-class families did not face as many obstacles in education as their working-class counterparts. Similarly, Lew (2006) found that Korean parents with economic means have greater access to social capital for assisting their children in school, tend to have strong co-ethnic network (e.g., Korean churches), can hire private bilingual tutors and college counselors, and can afford to send their children to private, tuition-based after-school academies. Similar patterns have been noted among Chinese immigrants (Li, 2006; Louie, 2004).

Challenges of Low-SES Asian American Families

It is important to note that the relative high levels of SES of Asian American families in comparison to other ethnic groups in the U.S. should not eclipse the struggles of significant portion of low-SES families in the community. SES plays an important role in structuring resources and investment. A family's SES can influence educational success by adding class-based resources, such as financial, social, and cultural capital, along with access to safe neighborhoods, quality schools, and a variety of extracurricular activities. Low SES may subject children to poverty, unsafe neighborhoods, inadequate schools, and disruptive social contexts harmful to academic achievement (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Lew's (2006) research with high- and low-achieving Korean students showed that family SES determines how much and what kind of educational resources and social networks students can gain access to, and the process of obtaining social capital differentiates the academically successful students from the dropouts even within the same ethnic groups.

In contrast to their middle-class or upper middle-class counterparts, working-class parents are likely to work for long hours, have less supervision on their children, reside in poor neighborhoods with limited access to good schools, and have limited resources and inadequate support for their children (Li, 2008; Louie, 2001, 2004; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). In a study examining Korean high-school dropouts, Lew (2006) found that the dropouts were more likely to come from households with lower socioeconomic backgrounds, single mothers, and less parental supervision at home. They tended to lack strong ties to co-ethnic networks at home and in their communities that could offer substantial economic and social resources. They were often left alone to make important decisions regarding schooling or career guidance. Similarly, drawing on longitudinal interview data collected on 72 Chinese immigrant children and their parents, Qin and Han (2014) examined challenges faced by parents in working-class Chinese immigrant families. Contrary to the popular "tiger mom" stereotype (Chua, 2011), Chinese immigrant parents in the study experienced a range of challenges in their children's educational involvement. One common challenge was the lack of time parents and children could spend together after migration. The problem was particularly pronounced in working-class families where the parents had to work very long hours in Chinese restaurants or other service sector jobs. Language barrier was another common challenge. Lack of con-

tent knowledge and knowledge of the U.S. education system further contributed to their lack of involvement in their children's education. As a result, the majority of working-class parents expressed a strong sense of powerlessness and sometimes hopelessness in their children's education.

In this study, many working-class parents did not believe in their own effectiveness and capabilities when it came to their children's education. For example, Mrs. Cheng said, "I don't know anything, I don't know English. I just hope that they follow the guidance of their teacher." In school-based engagement, parents often considered themselves as an "outsider." Another parent, Mr. Qiu said, "My comprehension ability is low. I consider my opinion as an outsider's. I do not want to express my comment to affect the school's work." Sometimes parents also had a lot of self-doubt and were worried that they might teach something wrong to the children.

When their children clearly needed help, parents often felt inadequate. For example, Lian's father commented about his daughter's schooling, "If she doesn't know the study material; there's nothing I can do. I can only tell her to work harder." In some cases, even when parents were concerned about their children's lack of progress, there was not much they could do. In Ling's family, both parents were worried about their daughters' grades in school, but felt completely at a loss in helping their children with schoolwork. With a blank expression, the father said, "I can only understand the report cards, A, B, C. Other things I don't understand…If they can't achieve at the level we hope, there's nothing we can really do." Parents also emphasized their role as the provider after migration and downplayed their role in their children's education. Mr. Lau who worked in a Chinese restaurant indicated, "I'll provide, but the rest depends on themselves." Traditionally, Chinese parents held teachers in high esteem and rarely questioned teachers nor challenged the school on issues concerning education. Immigration and the resulting feeling of powerlessness further reinforce this dynamic with the school. Other studies have found similar results (Heng, 2014; Li, 2013).

As a result of the perceived barriers and the feeling of powerlessness, parents often unintentionally left their children to cope on their own, forcing children in some families to be precociously independent after migration. In Chinese childhood socialization, there is a common mentality that parents should try to foster independence in their children, encourage them to *kao zi ji* (i.e., depend on themselves, instead of others, and be more independent). After migration, parents in this study frequently mentioned the importance for their children to "depend on themselves." Often children were pushed by their parents to "make their own decision and take the consequences as well." While in China, children may be encouraged to depend on themselves with the support of parents, after migration, children in some families found themselves being pushed to "depend on themselves" before they were ready to do so practically or psychologically. Other studies confirm the lower levels of involvement in Asian American families, especially those from working-class backgrounds (Li, 2013; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992).

Protective Factors for Low-SES Families

Asian Americans do not represent a homogenous group, but include a variety of groups from different parts of Asia, including regions where most of the families come from low-SES backgrounds. Low-SES Asian American families came with limited human capital and may face additional challenges in their educational pursuit, as reviewed above. Yet their children still outperform other peers from comparable SES backgrounds (Lee & Zhou, 2014). Indeed, recent research shows that educational achievement differences between Asian Americans and Whites persist even after controlling for parental education, household income, and family composition (Harris et al., 2008; Liu & Xie, 2016). Drawing on data on White and Asian American adolescents participating in the Education Longitudinal Study of 2002, Liu and Xie (2016) found that Asian American students' academic achievement was less likely to be influenced by their family SES than their White peers. They found that among high-SES families, there were no differences in achievement between Asian and White students; but in low-SES families, Asian American students had significantly higher achievement than White students from similar background. Our data from a longitudinal project on understanding psychosocial development of academically gifted students show (see Note 1) show that there were no significant differences between low and high-SES academically gifted Chinese American adolescents in terms of academic efficacy and performance (i.e., GPA) at either the 9th or 11th grade (see Note 2 for specific statistical results). These and many other similar findings (for a review, see Lee & Zhou, 2014) point to other important protective factors that influence Asian American children's educational outcomes.

Traditional Chinese Concept of Education and SES

In this section, we review a number of potential protective factors that may buffer the negative effect of low SES on Asian American children's educational outcomes including the traditional Asian concept of SES, parental involvement, and access to ethnic resources and social capital. First, we provide a detailed historical discussion of the concept of SES in Chinese society, especially the relations between education and social mobility, which may provide some insights into the relations between culture, SES, and education in Asian American families.

In Ancient China (*pre Qin Dynasty*; 2100–221 B.C.), individuals' social status was determined by their clan and was quite stable and hardly mobile (Hsu, 2009). Throughout Chinese history, the ruling class classified civilians into *si-min* (four groups of commoners): scholars, peasants, artisans, and merchants, and the ruling class forbade civilians to change from one group to another for a long period of time. However, during Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368–1911 A.D.), civilians' social status became much more flexible and fluid, which is attributed to a variety of factors including civil-service examination being open to all the commoners, the influence of Confucianism on education, and establishment of nation-wide school and scholarship system (Ho, 1959).

The civil-service examination system has a long history in Chinese society from Sui Dynasty (581–618 A.D.) to the end of Qing Dynasty in early twentieth century (Xu, 1990). Prior to Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 AD), the civil-service examination was primarily open to the ruling class and scholars (Ho, 1959). While peasants were allowed to take examinations, artisans and merchants were always forbidden to take the examination. In Ming times, however, the ruling class by and large recruited officials according to individual ability and meritocracy. As a result, many ordinary commoners, including peasants, artisans, and merchants, spent a lot of time studying and preparing for the examinations. Drawing from historic data of China, Ho (1959) found that in Ming dynasty, 62.4% of *jin-shi* (state doctor who prepared to become officials) came from ordinary families, including peasants, artisans, and merchants. In other words, there was great upward social mobility in Ming Dynasty. A lot of commoners took advantage of the civil-service examination system to become scholars and thus gain higher social status. In Qing times, there remained a lot of upward social mobility, although the pathway to upward mobility became slower toward the end of the period.

Confucianism places education in high regard. Confucius believed that education is not a privilege of the upper or ruling class, but should be offered to anyone; and everyone should have equal access to education (Ho, 1959). One well-known Confucius' saying is that "in education, there should be no class distinction" (有教无类; *the Analects*, 15.38). Confucius also emphasized the importance of effort in the pathway toward educational success. The interplay of civil-service examination system and Confucianism together shaped intellectual and social emancipation during Ming and Qing Dynasties (Ho, 1959). Many ordinary commoners believed that through personal effort and commitment in studying, they were able to climb up the social ladder and eventually move to the elite class.

In addition to the impact of examination system and Confucianism, establishment of both public schools and private academies also drove upward social mobility in Ming and Qing times. Although public schools were first established during Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD), the number was small and a lot of them were confined to large cities (Chao, 1953). Yet, public schools were widely established in every county and prefecture in Ming times and the widespread of public-school systems remained in the Qing dynasty. Moreover, the Ming and Qing governments provided scholarships or small monthly subsidies to those who pursued *sheng-yuan* degree (the lowest level of scholars) (Chao, 1953). Such financial subsidies served as another important channel of upward social mobility for commoners, particularly those who had limited income.

To summarize, in recent Chinese history, there was a strong belief that social class is more fluid and can be transcended by education. Civil-service examination system, Confucianism, and establishment of school system contributed to the upward social mobility of commoners in Ming and Qing dynasties and significantly influenced contemporary Chinese folk belief of relation between education and SES (Wong, Wong, & Wong, 2012). Chinese, in general, believe that individuals can climb up the social ladder through diligent study and success in examinations. There are numerous traditional Chinese sayings that communicate such sentiment; for

example, a student's 10 years of academic study is known to none, but he will become famous overnight once he passes the imperial examination (十年寒窗无人问, 一举成名天下知) or a fish leaps over the dragon gate (鲤鱼跃龙门)– a fish represents an ordinary commoner and the dragon gate presents the civil-service examination). A large body of educational research on contemporary Chinese societies suggests the belief that education serves as a key to success and upward social mobility has lasted up to the contemporary Chinese society and been rooted in the value system of regular Chinese people (Lin, H.-Y., 1999; Lin, W.-Y., 2003; Louie, 2001; Ng, Pomerantz, & Deng, 2014; Wong et al., 2012).

The above Chinese folk concept that SES can be transcended by education is also widely accepted in other Confucian-influenced Asian countries (Chen & Stevenson 1995; Liu & Xie, 2014). In most Asian countries, education has been viewed as a primary route to self-improvement, upward mobility, and family honor (Chen, Lee, & Stevenson, 1996; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Research also shows that East Asian concept of self views individuals as more malleable than does the Western concept of self (Chiu, Hong, & Dweck, 1997; Heine, 2001), individuals are expected to achieve by "molding themselves," and SES can be transcended by education (Dweck, 2006; Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). Academic success is considered the key to financial security, a measure of competence, and a reflection of family status (Schneider & Lee, 1990; Yang, 2001; Yang & Rettig, 2003). In contemporary Asian societies, the value of education continues to be high in an era of global competition (Oh, 2006). Access to quality education is unusually competitive, and families tend to invest a disproportionate amount of their resources in supplementary education to improve their kids' future life chances (Lim, 2007; Zhou & Kim, 2006). There are also signs of increasing educational disparities across social class in contemporary Asian societies such as China and South Korea. We will discuss this at a later part of our chapter.

Parental involvement. The above belief that education provides great opportunities for upward social mobility is placed in unwavering high regard among Asian immigrants (Xie & Goyette, 2003). This traditional emphasis on education is primed even more strongly after migration because structural circumstances in the US also promote pathway to social mobility through education (Lee & Zhou, 2015). After migration, many traditional Asian cultural beliefs and values are transmitted and reinforced through parental socialization and involvement (Louie, 2001; Robbins, 2004; Zhou & Bankston, 2004. Parental socialization and involvement are important protective factors buffering against the negative impact of low SES on children's educational outcomes. Research shows that Asian immigrant parents, including low-SES parents, are involved in and contribute to their children's education through a wide variety of ways including imbuing high value on education, having high expectations (Louie, 2001), sacrificing for children (Sun, 1998), providing children with favorable learning opportunities (Peng & Wright, 1994; Schneider & Lee, 1990), motivating their children's achievement through induction of guilt about parental sacrifice (Conchas, 2006; Lee & Zhou, 2014), comparison of their children with those from other families (Sue & Okazaki, 1990), and investing heavily in their children's education (Braxton, 1999; Kao, 2001, 2004; Sun, 1998).

In most Asian immigrant families, children's education often takes a center stage. For example, for Vietnamese students, academic achievement is viewed as a collective family affair, as part of family bonds and obligations (Ngo & Lee, 2007; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Further, instead of direct involvement in school settings, Asian American parents adopt direct hands-on practices at home (e.g., teaching children academic skills) and use indirect involvement with the purpose of creating good learning environment (Chao, 2000; Huntsinger, Jose, Larson, Krieg, & Shaligram, 2000). Research shows that Asian American parents are more likely to structure an environment conductive to children's learning by controlling children's time spent on activities distracting children from studying, such as requiring children to finish homework before watching TV, helping children concentrating on academic activities, and/or sending them to after-school classes (Kim, 2002a, 2002b; Kim & Rohner, 2002; Sy, 2006). Thus, Asian American parents, especially those from low-SES families, may lack in traditional measure of parental involvement in school, but manage to use direct practices at home to facilitate children's internalizing process of Asian learning virtues and parents' expectations.

Ethnic Community Resources. Another protective factor is that Asian American parents use available resources within their co-ethnic community to help their children move up the educational ladders in the U.S. society. Asian immigrant families often settle in the community where their co-ethnics live and the social network facilitates parenting and child socialization of their heritage values and traditions (Fuligni & Yoshikawa, 2003; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). Low-SES Asian American families actively obtain access to resources from their co-ethnic communities in order to override the SES disadvantage. Zhou and Bankston (1994) discovered that, in disadvantaged neighborhoods, ethnic social network helps Vietnamese families preserve traditional values, offers a path to upward mobility, and prevents their children from being Americanized into the underprivileged local environment. The social network provides families, especially low-SES families, with tangible resources such as tutoring class, intangible resources such as information relevant to school shared by middle-class co-ethnics, and high reference group in academics acted by high-achieving co-ethnics (Lee & Zhou, 2014). The shared social capital tempers the difference between low-SES and high-SES families in Asian Americans.

While access to some academic and enrichment programs can be more restricted for working-class than for middle-class families due to cost, parents from lower SES background can take advantage of after-school programs such as ethnic language schools and church-affiliated after-school programs, both being less expensive than other enrichment programs. These ethnic institutions not only provide academic and enrichment programs, but also serve as the locus of social support and control, network building, and social capital formation (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Similar to Chinese and Korean immigrant communities, the Vietnamese ethnic communities also support after-school programs for students and cultural celebrations (Centrie, 2000; Kim, 2002a; Zhou & Bankston, 1996, Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Kim (2002b) found that parents' community ties and other structural variables were significantly related to academic achievement of Vietnamese students.

Some other cultural factors, such as Asian American youths' perceptions of family obligation, were also found to be a buffer for the negative effects of family SES for low-SES families. For those Asian American adolescents who highly valued family obligation and the importance of providing family assistance, their academic expectations and perceived importance of academic success were less likely to be influenced by family financial stress (Kiang, Andrews, Stein, Supple, & Gonzalez, 2013).

SES and Psychosocial Adjustment

In the above section, we examined the role of SES in Asian American children's educational outcomes. What about psychosocial outcomes? Does SES play a role? Research indicates that SES is associated with children's socioemotional development in both direct and indirect ways. Exposure to negative life events in low-SES families such as economic hardship, unemployment, problematic family relationships, or even family dissolution likely contribute to a lack of sense of control over life, stress, and lowered level of psychological well-being (Amato & Zuo, 1992). Frustrated parents are more likely to apply ineffective parenting strategies, such as shouting at the child to show disapproval, and are less likely to provide consistent and supportive parenting (McLoyd, 1990). Further, low-SES families tend to provide fewer opportunities for children to engage in stimulating experience leading to more engagement in behaviors that elicit negative feedbacks from parents, which can be a vicious cycle (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). In direct and indirect ways through parenting, SES affects children's socioemotional functioning such as behavioral problems, depression, and self-esteem (Bradley & Corwyn, 2003; Ho, Lempers, & Clark-Lempers, 1995; Lee, Wickrama, & Simons, 2013).

However, as Bradley and Corwyn (2002) pointed out, research did not show consistent results that SES is related to socioemotional development due to different methods to assess mental illness and varying strength of the relationship with different mental disorders. For example, different reports of socioemotional well-being partially explained why some of the research did not have consistent findings of the relationship between low SES and poor adaptive functioning among adolescents (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). In addition, McCoy, Frick, Loney, and Ellis (1999) pointed out that the relationships of SES with schizophrenia and personality disorders were consistent, but its relationships with neuroses and affective disorders were inconsistent.

The effects of socioeconomic status on children and adolescents' psychological well-being may also differ across various ethnic groups. For instance, using large-scale survey data collected from public-school students (148 Asian American, 1813 Hispanics, 1755 non-Hispanic African American, and 1256 non-Hispanic White), Fradkin et al. (2014) examined ethnic differences in adolescents' perceived quality of life and found that Asian American adolescents reported lower physical, emotional, and social quality of life than their White counterparts; however, Asian

American youths experienced greater quality of life as compared to their African American and Hispanic peers. Furthermore, the authors found that the SES differences (between Asian American and other ethnic groups) effectively explained the gaps in self-reported quality of life among Asian American, African American, and Hispanic adolescents; nonetheless, the differences in quality of life between Asian American and White youths remained the same after controlling for the SES differences and may be due to factors related to their minority status.

SES and Asian American Children's Psychosocial Outcomes

Compared to research on SES and Asian American children's educational attainment, studies examining the relationships between family SES and Asian American children's psychosocial outcomes are much more limited. A number of studies investigated differences in psychological health and adjustment of children and adolescents from diverse Asian subgroups did not find significant role of family SES (Okazaki, 1997; Qin, Rak, Rana, & Donnellan, 2012; Wong, 2000). For example, drawing on survey data collected from 183 non-Hispanic White and 165 Asian American college students from fairly high-SES families, Okazaki (1997) found that Asian American university students showed greater emotional distress and higher level of social avoidance than their White peers, and that ethnicity and individual preference to independence and interdependence, rather than family SES, were significant predictors to social anxiety—college students showing preference to independence and autonomy were less likely to report social anxiety problems, compared to students who had higher interdependence self-construal (Okazaki, 1997). Similarly, drawing on data collected on 487 academically gifted Chinese American and European American high-school students, Qin et al. (2012) found that Asian American adolescents showed more depressive symptoms and anxiety as compared to their European American peers. In this sample, Chinese American participants reported lower family SES than European American participants. They also found that parent-child conflict and cohesion significantly predicted mental health of Chinese American and European American students after controlling for family SES (Qin et al., 2012).

In our new analysis of the within-Chinese group data, comparing low- and high-SES Chinese American high-achieving students from the study, we found that low and high-SES Chinese American students reported similar levels of depression, anxiety, and self-esteem at both 9th and 11th grades (see Note 2 for finding details). In another study examining generational differences within Asian Americans (335 American-born and 1193 foreign-born Asian Americans), John, De Castro, Martin, Duran, and Takeuchi (2012) found that Asian immigrants usually had lower SES and were more likely to have blue-collar and service jobs when compared to native-born Asian Americans; nonetheless, with advantages in SES and better self-rated mental health, U.S.-born Asian Americans reported more mental disorders in the past 12 months including DSM-IV anxiety and depression disorders than Asian immigrants (John et al., 2012). While this raised some measurement questions, their

findings did suggest that occupational class might not be an effective factor in predicting mental disorder, anxiety, or depressive symptoms of the Asian American population (John et al., 2012). Other socio-cultural factors, such as discrimination and marginalization in workplace (e.g., white-collar Asian Americans working in predominantly White settings), might account for the gaps in psychological disorders of foreign-born and U.S.-born Asian Americans (John et al., 2012).

It is important to note that in most of the above studies, SES was mostly used as a control variable and often not the focus of investigations. There have been some studies showing that in understanding Asian American children's psychosocial outcomes, family SES remains a critical yet often ignored factors that at least indirectly influence Asian American children's psychosocial well-being. Compared to those from higher SES families, Asian American children from lower SES families are more likely to be exposed to potential risk factors for their well-being such as parents' limited social support due to low English proficiency, lack of experiences with formal education, and lack of resources (Ngo & Lee, 2007; Wight, Aneshensel, Botticello, & Sepúlveda, 2005). Compared to their counterparts from middle-class families, Asian American children from lower SES families are more likely to be short of learning support and verbal stimulation that play key roles in their academic achievement. These factors could lead to poor learning outcomes, which in turn are correlated with behavioral and emotional difficulties (e.g., school misconduct, low self-esteem, anxiety, and depression) (Guerrero, Hishinuma, Andrade, Nishimura, & Cunanan, 2006).

One study, in particular, highlights the indirect effects of family SES on Chinese American adolescents' developmental outcomes. Drawing on the family stress model, Benner and Kim (2010) investigated 444 Chinese American families living in Northern California and illustrated the mediating mechanism of family processes in the effects of family SES on Chinese adolescents' academic, psychological, and behavioral outcomes. Particularly, low family income and financial instability among Chinese American families were related to more parental economic pressure and parents' depressive symptoms (Benner & Kim, 2010). Chinese American parents with greater perceived financial pressure and depressive symptoms were more likely to show higher levels of hostile and coercive parenting practices and less nurturing and involved parenting than their counterparts (Benner & Kim, 2010). Higher levels of maternal hostility and coerciveness and lower levels of father's nurturing and involved parenting were associated with lower academic achievement among Chinese American adolescents (Benner & Kim, 2010). Further, Chinese American adolescents with higher levels of maternal hostility and coerciveness also reported higher levels of depressive symptoms and engagement in delinquent behaviors (Benner & Kim, 2010).

Protective Factors for Low-SES Families

While low SES may be associated with more risks in mental health, it is possible that the protective factors of traditional cultural notions of SES and co-ethnic community and network also serve as indirect protective factors that mitigate the effect

of low SES on Asian American children's mental health. Besides these cultural and community factors, research suggests that in children's mental health, Asian American family dynamics such as family involvement, support, cohesion, and flexible parenting strategy may play a particularly important protective role for low-SES families (Mason, 2004). In lower SES Asian American families, parents' effective involvement in education and children's school life facilitates their children's academic adjustment that further benefits their mental health (e.g., Guerrero et al., 2006). Way and Robinson's (2003) longitudinal study on Asian American children from low-SES families shows that children whose parents provide more family support (e.g., acceptance and warmth) reported significantly fewer mental health problems (e.g., low self-esteem, high anxiety, depression). In addition, this study suggests that the protective effect of family support for children is over and above the effects of peer support and friendly school climate. Further, in Zhang and Ta's (2009) study on gaps in mental health within the Asian American group, they found that family cohesion might be a protective factor for Asian Americans with low SES. Drawing on survey data collected from 2034 Asian Americans participating in the 2002–2003 National Latino and Asian American Study (including 497 Vietnamese, 499 Filipinos, 579 Chinese, and 459 Other Asian Americans), Zhang and Ta (2009) found that although Vietnamese reported the most disadvantaged SES and the highest foreign-born rate, their self-reported mental and physical health did not lag behind other Asian American groups. The authors attributed the lack of the gaps in mental health to the protective effects of family cohesion (Zhang & Ta, 2009).

In another study drawing on a 5-year longitudinal study, Qin (2008) compared mental health of two groups of high-achieving students from mixed SES backgrounds and found that flexible parenting after migration mattered more than SES in shaping students' stress level. After migration, most Chinese immigrant parents in the study, both middle and working class, experience downward social mobility due to language barriers and a lack of social network. Many struggle to find jobs and adjust to the new social milieu which is not always friendly to them. This often limits their time, energy, and ability to parent effectively. Families in the study were coded as middle class or working class based on parents' levels of education, jobs held in China, jobs held in the U.S., and family income. Students were divided into stressed and non-distressed groups based on self-reported measures of depression, anxiety, and self-esteem. In the non-distressed group, 9 families were coded as middle class and 11 families were coded as working class. In the distressed group, 4 families were coded as middle class, while 14 families were coded as working class.

As previous research has documented (Sluzki, 1979), the great majority of parents in the sample experienced downward social mobility, which was more marked for those who had stable, middle-class jobs back home. A well-respected doctor in China, Ms. Liu struggled to put together a small acupuncture practice. A vice president of a company in Hong Kong, Mr. Tang worked in a bakery after migration. The stress and constant worry stemming from perceived economic insecurity were present in both working-class and middle-class families. Parents frequently mentioned "pressure" and "worry" related to their new living situation, including those who held professional jobs. It was not uncommon for parents to bring their pressure back

home to the children. Qin found that, importantly, parents of the two groups adopted very different modes of parenting after migration. Parents of the distressed adolescents, mostly working class but some middle class, tended to adhere to a static parenting modality, strictly and rigidly following traditional Chinese parenting tenets without making too many adaptations in the new cultural context. This approach resulted in high levels of parent-child conflict, ineffective communication, and estranged parent-child relations in these families. Parents of the non-distressed adolescents, about half middle class and half working class, on the other hand, tended to adopt the flexible and adaptive parenting modality, which considers both the developmental needs of children and the changing cultural context after migration. Their parenting strategies were characterized by parental adjustments in terms of letting go of some parental control, tuning into the emotional worlds of their children, communicating more with their children, and maintaining a moral Confucian discourse at home. These strategies allowed parents and children to remain connected emotionally after migration, which in turn provided a healthy context for adolescents' psychosocial adjustment. Findings also suggest that while SES played an important role in structuring parenting challenges in families after migration, it was the family dynamics that mattered most.

Previous research suggests that while SES may play a role in structuring parenting challenges in families after migration, it does not account for all the differences. Compared with their middle-class counterparts, parents from a working-class background are more likely to face additional barriers in building relations with their children after migration, such as lack of time together with their children due to long hours of working in service-type jobs (e.g., Qin, 2006; Sayer, Gauthier, & Furstenberg, 2004). Parents in middle-class families are likely to have time and resources to be more involved in their children's lives (Lareau, 2002) both before and after migration. The adaptation may be easier for middle-class parents who can devote more time to be thoughtful in their relations with their children. However, as some of the families illustrated, parents from working-class backgrounds can maintain positive communication and relations with their children through adopting the flexible, adaptive parenting modality. On the other hand, parents from middle-class families can negatively affect their relationship with their children when they exert too much pressure on their children for educational achievement at the cost of their psychosocial well-being.

SES and Immigrant Family Alienation and Tension

While family cohesion and support may be important protective factors for low-SES Asian American families, parent-child tension and emotional alienation may occur to both middle-class and working-class families, especially for recently arrived immigrant families. For example, using 5-year longitudinal, in-depth qualitative interview and ethnographic data, Qin (2006) compared the experiences of two families in an East Coast city: the Lai family represents the middle-class families—both parents work as professionals and have high levels of education; they came to

this country to pursue educational and professional opportunities; and their children tend to attend schools in the suburbs with mainly White students. The Zhen family represents the working-class families—both parents work in service-type jobs and have limited education; they came to this country through a family reunion visa and resided near Chinatown; and their children tend to attend urban schools with fellow co-ethnic immigrant students. In this study, Qin found that both the working-class family and the middle-class family experienced increasing parent-child emotional alienation over time after migration, marked by absence of meaningful interactions between parents and their children and a lack of communication around academic and personal issues. Interestingly, while alienation occurred in both families, the underlying reasons were somewhat different. In the middle-class family, the alienating effect of parallel dual frame of reference in parent-child relations appears more acute than in the working-class family. Asian American children from middle-class families tend to attend suburban schools with mostly middle-class White peers and thus have ample opportunities to be exposed to and thus assimilate many U.S. cultural values, beliefs, and practices. Even though middle-class parents tend to work as professionals, their exposure to the U.S. culture and language may still fall behind that of their children's, depending on both the diversity of their working environment and their social circle. In working-class families, while parents tend to have limited exposure to mainstream U.S. culture, their children's contact with the new cultural context may also be restricted because they tend to attend schools with mostly immigrant peers. Furthermore, in the middle-class family, high parental academic pressures also play a significant role in pulling the child emotionally away from the parents. In the working-class family, the effects of a parallel dual frame of reference seem eclipsed by many structural factors shaped by larger social and economic forces, e.g., increasing work demands after migration, children's loss of native language, and parent-child separation in the process of migration. These factors create both structural and linguistic barriers in connecting parents with their children and produce growing alienation over time.

Conclusion

Our review shows that family SES powerfully shapes immigrant family experiences before and after migration. It structures family resources and investment in Asian American families, which has important implications for children's educational and psychosocial outcomes. Asian Americans are the fastest-growing racial group in U.S. Their SES has shifted dramatically in the last century. Today's Asian Americans are among the most highly educated and professional segments of the US population. While their higher average SES, in comparison to other groups, may explain Asian American children's higher educational outcomes, SES does not tell the whole story for Asian American student achievement. Compared to their middle- and upper middle-class counterparts, low-SES families came with limited human capital and face additional challenges in their children's educational pursuit. Yet

their children still outperform peers from other groups with comparable SES backgrounds. Our review shows that a number of protective factors including maintaining the traditional Asian perception of the fluid nature of family SES, support from family, and co-ethnic community can buffer the negative effect of low SES on Asian American children's educational outcomes.

Relative to research on SES and Asian American children's educational attainment, studies examining the relationships between family SES and Asian American children's psychosocial outcomes are much more limited. A number of existing studies, where SES was used as a control variable, did not find any significant relationship between family SES and Asian American children's mental health. Compared to those from middle-class families, Asian American children from lower SES families are likely exposed to more direct and indirect risk factors to their mental health such as parents' elevated stress, long work hours, limited social support, and lack of resources. Nevertheless, our review suggests that in children's mental health, positive family dynamics such as family involvement, support, cohesion, and flexible parenting strategy can mitigate the potential negative effect of low SES on Asian American children's psychosocial outcomes. Overall, our review supports Portes and Zhou's (1993) segmented assimilation theory, indicating that immigrant families with limited financial and human capital can achieve upward social mobility through maintenance of the heritage culture and social capital built in the ethnic communities. It is important for clinicians, other practitioners working with immigrant families, and policymakers to develop strategies, intervention programs, and policies that foster immigrant family resilience and connection to ethnic communities.

SES is a critical factor influencing Asian American children's educational and psychosocial outcomes through different parenting and family processes. Much of existing research on Asian American families treats SES as a control variable. However, as our review shows, the role of SES in Asian American families is complex and intriguing. It is important for future research to continue examining the distinct role of SES in Asian American families. We would particularly want to highlight a few worthwhile directions. First, it is important to continue to examine other protective factors and strategies that parents in low-SES Asian American families enlist to support their children's education. Poverty-related challenges are among the biggest challenge to US education. Disproportionally high numbers of minority students are trapped in schools and communities with limited resources and dire conditions. Our review suggests that there are ways low-SES families and communities can build up social capital to help children thrive. More scholarly efforts to unpack and understand ways low-income immigrant families help their children attain educational success can yield valuable information to help low-income families beyond the immigrant communities.

Second, the traditional notions of education and SES may be shifting somewhat in contemporary Asia. As our review shows, in Asian immigrant communities in the U.S., education still plays a central role in promoting upward mobility for low-income immigrant children and their families. However, in contemporary Asia, things may be becoming more challenging for low-income families. In China, for

example, in the last few decades, there has been much discussion of the critical role of family SES in one's success, life, and even marriage harmony prospect. Some examples of this recent public discourse (mostly on social media) include "the wealthy/official second generation," "phoenix men or women" (men or women from urban, relatively well-off families), and "peacock men or women" (men or women born in the countryside and later earned professional status in the city). In contemporary China, family SES (and the related urban/rural divide) appears more salient and the belief that education can be critical in obtaining upward social mobility may be weaker compared to decades earlier (Hao, 2009; Wang & Zhu, 2009; Wen, 2005). This may also appear weaker than in Asian immigrant communities in the U.S. There may be a number of different reasons for this. First, both the relative gap and distance between low and high-SES groups may be smaller in the immigrant community compared to their country of origin. Immigrants are a selected group (Lee & Zhou, 2015) compared to their counterparts who do not have the human or social capital to immigrate. Further, ethnic enclaves and Asian communities in the U.S. facilitate exchange of information and social capital between families from different social classes that promote second-generation successful adaptation (Lee & Zhou, 2015). Immigrant optimism and their unique frame of reference, i.e., comparing their well-being with family and friends back home, also equip immigrants and their offspring with strong achievement motivation, which can translate into success in the educational realm. This can be further enabled by the receptive US social structural context where education can still play a key role for upward mobility. It is important for future research to continue to pay attention to socio-cultural changes and the ensuing role of education in contemporary Asia, which will likely influence the source of immigrants and ethos around education and upward mobility in Asian communities here.

Third, as recent demographic trends indicate, new cohorts of immigrants from Asia seem to come with higher levels of SES than their previous counterparts. However, this does not necessarily indicate that they are free of concerns in the families or in child educational and psychosocial outcomes. Research shows that there may be unique challenges in mental health for affluent youth, often as a result of excessive pressure to achieve and physical and emotional isolation from parents (e.g., Luthar & Latendresse, 2005). Qin and colleagues' most recent work with Chinese international students from well-off families suggests tremendous challenges in family dynamics back home. Analyzing survey data on 330 and in-depth interview data on 48 Chinese freshmen at a large Midwestern University, Qin and Xie (2017) found that a substantial portion of Chinese students in our sample reported multiple challenges in their family dynamics and relations with parents, including parental conflicts, fragmented family structure, and lack of parental presence and involvement in their childhood and teenage years. In particular, parent-child emotional connection was often sacrificed in the midst of parental concern for family finances and children's educational outcomes. As more and more wealthy Asian families arrive in the U.S., these family challenges will likely linger and negatively influence family dynamics after migration.

Finally, it may be worthwhile to tease out the specific components of family SES in future research. For example, immigrant family's financial resources do not necessarily guarantee children's successful connection to other resources that they need for education if parents do not have adequate education or sufficient knowledge of the local educational system. While educational level, income, and professional status may often be strongly associated measures of SES, some scholar believe that one measure of SES in a family may be disproportionately higher than other ones. Rana, Qin, McNall, and Johnson's (2014) work in a small Sikh community, for example, suggests that correlation between education and income is not necessarily strong—while many of the families in the community did quite well in their small businesses (most often family owned stores), most parents were not very educated or knowledgeable of local school systems or extracurricular activities to help children access resources they need. From a family investment view, parents may be high on financial capital, but low on human capital. It is important for future research to continue to examine the main and interactive effects of different components of family SES and their influence on Asian American family dynamics and child/youth outcomes. This is particularly important as Asian immigrants continue to grow under the current global context.

Notes

1. The data are part of a longitudinal project focusing on the psychosocial development of academically gifted students, conducted by Desiree Qin. All the participants who participated in the project were recruited from a public high school in a northeastern U.S. metropolis that served the need of academically gifted students. The school used the Specialized High School Admission Test (Krane, 2001) as the only admission criterion and enrolled fewer than 5% of the students who took the test. The entire ninth-grade cohort was invited to participate. Finally, 745 students (90% of the cohort) filled out the Time 1 survey. When the students were juniors, the students were invited to join the follow-up survey and 529 students (71%) participated. These students consisted of 40.5% Chinese American, 26.7% other Asian backgrounds (e.g., Korean, Indian), 23.6% European American, and 8.9% with other ethnicities (predominantly Black and Latino groups). The findings reported in this chapter were based on a sample of 211 Chinese American students who reported their eligibility for free school lunches (a proxy for SES). In the sample, 110 students were classified as low SES (free or reduced-price lunch) and 101 students as middle or high SES (full-price lunch). The gender distribution was almost even for both low and middle/high-SES groups (50.91% and 50.50% boy, respectively). The mean age for the overall sample in the ninth grade was 14.49 (SD = 0.31). The majority of the students were second and later generation: for low-SES group, 85.45% were second and later generation and 14.55% first generation; and for middle/high-SES group, 76.24% were second and later generation, 22.77% first generation,

and 1.00% not reporting. For both ethnic groups, the majority lived in a nuclear family (90% of the low-SES group and 84.16% of the middle/high-SES group).

2. *Means, Standard Deviations, and Cronbach's Alphas of Variables of Adolescent Outcomes by SES, and Results of Pairwise Comparisons for SES Difference in Adolescent Outcomes at 9th and 11th Grades.*

	Low SES			High SES					
Variable	*M*	SD	*α*	*M*	SD	*α*	Estimate (high SES vs. low SES)	SE	*Z*
9th Grade (T1)									
Adolescent psychological adjustment									
Depression	0.60	0.22	0.78	0.61	0.21	0.73	0.01	0.03	0.33
Self-esteem	1.91	0.57	0.90	1.86	0.60	0.90	−0.06	0.08	−0.69
Anxiety	0.40	0.20	0.85	0.43	0.21	0.85	0.03	0.03	1.09
Adolescent academic adjustment									
Academic efficacy	1.70	0.55	0.67	1.74	0.55	0.69	0.04	0.08	0.49
Academic performance (GPA)	91.01	4.09	–	89.82	5.43	–	−1.20	0.67	−1.79
11th Grade (T2)									
Adolescent psychological adjustment									
Depression	0.59	0.20	0.75	0.62	0.21	0.75	0.02	0.03	0.86
Self-esteem	1.90	0.55	0.90	1.87	0.60	0.91	−0.03	0.08	−0.40
Anxiety	0.43	0.20	0.84	0.45	0.20	0.85	0.02	0.03	0.67
Adolescent academic adjustment									
Academic efficacy	1.71	0.50	0.70	1.83	0.62	0.77	0.13	0.08	1.64
Academic performance (GPA)	90.24	7.10	–	90.55	5.13	–	0.34	0.89	0.38

(a) Considering that time was a within-subject factor in which levels of each variable of adolescent psychological and academic adjustment at T1 and T2 were interdependent within subjects (Pan, 2001), a Generalized Estimating Equations (GEE) regression model was used to examine whether the academically gifted Chinese American adolescents in the low- and high-SES families were different in each of the variables at T1 and T2. Given that the purpose of the analysis was to test SES differences in each of the variables by time and the within-subject factor (i.e., time) needed to be included as an independent variable in the model to control the dependency between times within subjects, the two-way interaction of SES and time needed to be included in the GEE models. For all the variables, the GEE models included the following predictors: SES (0 = low; 1 = high), time (0 = T1; 1 = T2), the two-way interaction of SES and time, and effect-coded controlled variables, i.e., adolescent gender (−1 = male;

1 = female), generational status (−1 = first generation; 1 = second generation or beyond), and family arrangement (−1 = nuclear family; 1 = single-parent household).

(b) To examine SES difference in levels of all the variables of adolescent psychological and academic adjustment by time, we conducted a pairwise comparison for SES difference at T1 and T2, which resulted in two pairwise comparisons for each of the variables. For all the variables, estimate was a value of difference between high-SES and low-SES groups that was generated from the GEE regression model. In addition, Bonferroni adjustment was conducted to control over the family-wise error rate across the two comparisons at 0.05 for each variable. For space consideration, we did not report the results of the GEE regression models for all the variables, but only reported the results of pairwise comparisons for SES difference at T1 and T2 separately.

(c) SE = standard error of estimate.

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Chapter 6
Daily Associations Between Adolescents' Race-Related Experiences and Family Processes

Lisa Kiang and Melissa R. Witkow

Parenting within the Asian American context has gained notoriety and research attention. Such increased emphasis on culture and parenting within Asian American families could be driven, in part, by the release of popular, and somewhat controversial, media such as Amy Chua's *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*. But, perhaps more importantly, the fastest growth rates in today's U.S. children are found among Asian American subgroups (Asian American Federation, 2014), which points to an urgent need to better understand family processes within Asian Americans. In the limited work that does exist, family constructs have been measured via both child and parent report, and the variables themselves have ranged from assessments of parenting styles (e.g., authoritative, authoritarian) to specific dyadic relationships (e.g., parent-child cohesion) to family-level attitudes, values, and behaviors (e.g., family respect, obligation) (Chao, 2001; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Qin, Rak, Rana, & Donnellan, 2012).

To date, such family processes, collectively defined, have been often discussed in terms of predictors of child outcomes, for instance, of academic achievement or well-being (Fuligni, 1997; Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013). While family interactions are sure to permeate diverse aspects of children's lives both inside and outside of the home, less is known about the reverse set of associations. That is, do children's experiences *outside* of the home, or at least outside of

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the direct family context, serve to structure family interactions *inside* of the home? This chapter explores adolescents' family lives within the context of this understudied directionality (i.e., with family experiences as outcomes). Our use of a micro-longitudinal daily diary approach extends the existing literature which has widely relied on measurements of broad-based behaviors and general perceptions and provides in-depth insight into how adolescents' family lives operate and take shape on a day-to-day basis.

More specifically, we focus on the daily interplay between adolescents' race-related experiences, both positive and negative, and how these culturally relevant interactions might cross over into the family context and subsequently predict family-level processes. Using daily diary data from Asian American adolescents, we addressed three primary questions: (1) How do race-related experiences (e.g., something positive or something negative happening because of one's ethnicity) shape same-day and next-day family dynamics (e.g., family assistance activities, family leisure time, getting along with one's family), (2) Do these daily associations vary by individual-level variables (e.g., gender, nativity, ethnicity), and (3) Do average levels of ethnic identity further add to our understanding by moderating these daily associations? Addressing how adolescents' race-related experiences might influence how their family lives unfold on a daily basis could provide crucial knowledge about their overall cultural and social development. We discuss such possible repercussions as well as key practical implications of our results.

Adolescents' Race-Related Experiences

Theoretical models have long highlighted how social stratification and its offshoots (e.g., racism, discrimination, racial rejection) can serve as central players in shaping children's developmental outcomes (García Coll et al., 1996), and a more recently proposed conceptual framework specifically targeting Asian Americans also points to primary developmental influences stemming from both economic and ethnic or racial stratification (Mistry et al., 2016). According to these models, perceptions of discrimination and unfair treatment at societal and personal levels are infused through multiple layers of the developmental context, including the community settings, social networks, and ethnic socialization of immigrant youth and families.

Empirically speaking, researchers have consistently linked adolescents' experiences of discrimination with a wide variety of outcomes including greater psychological distress, truancy, and loneliness, and lower self-esteem, peer relationship quality, and academic adjustment (Benner & Graham, 2013; Benner & Kim, 2009; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2000). These consequences are particularly troubling for youth from Asian American backgrounds, as they have reported more incidents of discrimination and bullying compared to their peers from other ethnic groups (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). In emerging immigrant communities and similar contexts where the predominant mainstream is newly adjusting to recent growth in the immigrant population, discrimination and other race-related interactions might be especially salient (Kiang & Supple, 2016).

While the vast majority of discrimination research has measured general perceptions, some work shows that Asian American adults and youth must contend with chronic and daily instances of bias and stigma (Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007). For instance, Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, and Sue (2013) found that 78% of Asian American adults reported experiencing some form of racial microaggression within a 2-week daily diary period. Similarly, Huynh and Fuligni (2010) found that over 60% of their sample of ethnically diverse adolescents reported facing some form of racial discrimination over a 2-week span; however, when examining experiences by day, incidents of discrimination occurred on less than 1% of the total days that were studied. Hence, it appears that ethnic or racial discrimination, while not consistently frequent at a daily level, are still common experiences with which many youth must cope. Researchers should attempt to continue to understand them, particularly in light of the understudied question regarding how these experiences might structure adolescents' family lives.

It is important to note that race-related experiences are not uniformly negative. All groups are associated with both positive and negative qualities and certain situations might exist whereby good things happen as a result of one's ethnic or racial background. For example, ideologies that embrace multiculturalism place great value in individuals' unique cultural differences, and positive experiences could transpire when youth are confronted with such high regard for their heritage background (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). Theoretical perspectives from symbolic interactionism (Harter, 1999) certainly suggest that individuals who perceive that others hold them in high esteem will subsequently internalize such perceptions and report similarly favorable self-opinions.

Our own empirical work with Asian American youth (Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Thompson, Kiang, & Witkow, 2016) supports associations between positive psychological and academic outcomes and perceptions of the model minority stereotype, which refers to the image of Asian Americans as hardworking, smart, quiet, and generally well-adjusted. Potentially, a negative backlash in light of this stereotyped view can occur, particularly if individuals do not live up to the generalized image or if they feel pigeon-holed and constrained. That said, our research suggests benefits of experiencing the model minority stereotype in those individuals who perceive that others treat them favorably and look positively upon them due to their ethnicity actually report similarly positive outcomes (e.g., self-esteem and other outcomes, such as academic adjustment). Yet, little is known about how these, more positively connoted, race-related interactions might affect youth at a daily level.

Taken together, while considerable research attention has directed toward understanding the varied detrimental effects of discrimination and other negative race-related experiences on youth adjustment, less is known about how these experiences might impact adolescents' lives on a daily basis. Furthermore, even less is known about the influence of daily positive race-related experiences. To address these limitations in the literature, we asked adolescents to indicate whether something bad happened to them that day because of their ethnicity, and we also asked them to indicate whether something good happened to them that day because of their ethnicity. We then explored how these negative and positive race-related experiences

correlate with other key aspects of youth's daily lives, namely, within interactions and processes within the context of their family.

"Spillover" in Daily Race-Related Experiences and Family Processes

Intersections between different contexts in individuals' lives have long been recognized in development science (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). With respect to ethnic or racial discrimination more specifically, one way that youth might respond to such daily encounters is by seeking support from their families to help them cope (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). Indeed, the family constitutes a primary source of social support, and research has shown that Asian Americans who report high levels of family cohesion and emotional support from family members tend to also report more positive mental health outcomes (Zhang & Ta, 2009). The sense of stability and comfort that individuals might derive from connecting with their family members upon experiencing a negative race-related event could provide the strength and stamina needed to withstand it, and these buffering mechanisms could be particularly salient for youth from Asian American backgrounds who tend to emphasize familism and affiliation within their collective in-group (Mossakowski & Zhang, 2014).

To provide further insight into these connections, we focused on three domains of daily family processes—activities that reflect family assistance or obligation (e.g., helping out around the house, helping take care of a sibling), family leisure interactions (e.g., watching television together, eating a meal), and getting along with the family—as possible outcomes that could be linked to either a negative or positive race-related experience that youth report on that day. These variables were selected due to their reflection of core cultural values (e.g., family obligations), as well as general indicators of family functioning and closeness (Kiang & Fuligni, 2009). Investigating such daily associations could provide crucial insight into the possible "spillover" between adolescents' race-related experiences, which presumably occur outside of the home, and the daily family processes that transpire inside of the home.

As a guiding framework, theory and research on "spillover" suggest that negative mood states derived from one context can directly transfer into another context (Almeida, Wethington, & Chandler, 1999; Repetti, Wang, & Saxbe, 2009). For example, parents' job stress has been linked to parents' irritability at home directed towards children and other family members (Repetti, 1994). Hence, spillover mechanisms suggest a youth-driven process whereby adolescents who experience negative race-related stressors or interactions might experience some direct carry over of their negative emotions around the event and subsequently have more negative interactions with family members. They might not be as willing to help out around the house, to spend quality time with their family, or get along well with their family members. The opposite effects might be found as the result of a positive race-related experience.

Indirect mechanisms related to spillover have been also investigated (Repetti et al., 2009), such as when individuals use their resources in one context to help

cope with experiences in other contexts. For example, in the face of negative race-related experiences, engaging in activities to help maintain family functioning could serve multiple functions including distracting adolescents from the event itself, helping adolescents feel socially connected, and also providing youth with a positive sense of purpose and meaning in life, which prior work has shown to be beneficial (Kiang, 2012; Kiang & Fuligni, 2009). Although simply spending leisure time with one's family might not be as effective in eliciting feelings of purpose, adolescents who report a negative race-related experience could also engage in these everyday family activities, whether due to the similar goal of distracting themselves from the negative event or in active pursuit of social connectedness, safety, or security (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). Likewise, assuming that their family is a supportive and comforting context, getting along with family members could indicate a general sense of affiliation and camaraderie that youth seek out on days in which they have negative race-related encounters.

Alternatively, social rejection has been found to drive some individuals toward social withdrawal, avoidance, or even hostility as a form of displaced aggression (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). As a result, youth who report negative race-related experiences could feel less solidarity with their ethnic group and become more distant from their family members. At the daily level, adolescents might disengage from their families and report fewer interactions with them by way of assistance or leisure activities and report that they did not get along.

The more general research on stress and spillover does suggest that experiences of work-related stress could lead to family members being more withdrawn and less socially and emotionally engaged when they come home (Repetti & Wood, 1997; Story & Repetti, 2006). Although much of the research on such effects has been conducted with adults and parents, similar associations have been found with children such that greater school or peer stress has been linked to more negative parent-child interactions at home, and these effects can even linger and predict children's conflict with parents on subsequent days (Flook & Fuligni, 2008; Lehman & Repetti, 2007). Conflict aside, it is notable that research on spillover effects has suggested that social withdrawal or emotional disengagement might not be necessarily negative, but rather used as a coping strategy which could be ultimately beneficial (Repetti et al., 2009).

In summary, there are competing hypotheses to consider in light of framing daily negative race-related experiences as predictors of family processes, or the extent to which adolescents engage in family assistance, leisure activities, and report simply getting along with their family. Direct spillover effects suggest that more negative experiences in one domain could be related to more negative interactions in another domain, such that negative race-related experiences would attenuate family processes. Alternatively, adolescents' family processes (e.g., assistance, leisure, getting along) might be enhanced due to a variety of reasons, including the possible pursuit of social support or meaning in the face of negative race-related experiences. We explored these opposing hypotheses and extended existing work on spillover, which has typically focused on negative events and stressors, by also examining daily family interactions as outcomes when positive race-related experiences occur. Within this context, we presumed that experiencing something good as a result of one's

race or ethnicity would enhance positive feelings and promote more engagement with one's family. Notably, our use of daily reports is unique from traditional single assessments in that they allow for in-depth glimpses into adolescents' day-to-day lives. Daily diaries also provide meaningful micro-longitudinal data which can determine whether any spillover effects of negative and positive race-related experiences have sustained influences on adolescents' next day's family processes.

Individual Variation in Daily Processes

Primary demographic variables, such as gender, generation, and ethnicity, could play important roles in moderating the daily associations between race-related experiences and family processes. For example, consistent evidence suggests that girls are more reactive to both general and group-related stress, perhaps due to girls' stronger socialization towards relationships, family closeness, and cultural values (Almeida & Kessler, 1998; Davies & Lindsay, 2004; Supple, McCoy, & Wang, 2010; Unger, Brown, Tressell, & McLeod, 2000). Girls might also be more vulnerable than are boys to social rejection and negative interactions with peers (Brendgen, Wanner, Morin, & Vitaro, 2005; Gavin & Furman, 1989). Given such prior work, we expected that daily associations between negative and positive race-related experiences and family outcomes would be stronger among girls than among boys.

Possible moderating effects according to generation are not as straightforward. On the one hand, some existing research evidence suggests that associations between race-related experiences and family processes might be weaker among both first- and second-generation youth. For example, the literature on and empirical evidence for the "immigrant paradox," or the idea that the foreign-born carry with them certain resources and resiliency factors that can protect them from negative experiences (McDonald & Kennedy, 2004), suggest that first-generation youth might be buffered from the ramifications and possible carry over of negative race-related experiences and subsequent family processes. Yet, from the perspective of second-generation adolescents, although ethnic or cultural identity can transcend generations and remain important over time, there is substantial evidence that the more family generations that are born in the U.S., the less cultural socialization occurs and the less open youth are to receiving cultural socialization messages (Masuda, Matsumoto, & Meredith, 1970; Tran & Lee, 2010). Hence, second-generation or U.S.-born youth might feel more removed from their cultural experiences and, as such, the impact of race-related interactions on other aspects of adolescents' lives might be weaker among second-generation Asian Americans compared to the foreign-born.

On the other hand, evidence pointing to stronger links for both first- and second-generation youth can also be gleaned from the literature. Given the multidimensional stressors associated with acculturation processes, particularly in terms of the strain of acculturation on family relationships (Hwang & Wood, 2009; Nguyen & Williams, 1989), first-generation or foreign-born youth might be more vulnerable than their second-generation counterparts with respect to negative race-related experiences, and

any daily associations with family outcomes might be particularly robust. However, some contrasting evidence suggests that second-generation Asian Americans are more sensitive to and affected by experiences of discrimination, even though the first-generation might report higher overall frequencies of such experiences (Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2000). Perhaps such greater vulnerability to negative race-related experiences among the second-generation stems from a greater awareness of U.S. race relations and exclusionary practices, or the idea that the negative race-related experiences that might communicate feelings of social exclusion are internalized and taken more personally due to their nativity and status as long-time U.S.-born citizens.

Hence, the current literature is largely inconclusive with respect to the moderating role that generational status might have in terms of the associations between racial interactions and family processes, with research supporting both strengthened and attenuated links for both first- and second-generation youth. To shed light on the growing and inconsistent literature, it thus seems imperative to continue considering the impact that generation or nativity might have in adolescents' responses to cultural processes, including both negative and positive race-related experiences that transpire on a daily basis. Given that prior work supports multiple, competing patterns of possible effects, our tests of generation (i.e., immigrant status) as a moderator of race-related experiences were conducted in an exploratory manner with no specific hypotheses.

Sometimes confounded with generational status, ethnicity is also important to consider. Although individuals with different Asian heritages might share similarities in, for instance, cultural or family values, possible intra-ethnic variation within the large, heterogeneous Asian American ethnic group must be taken into account (Mistry et al., 2016). Like other panethnic categorizations, the groups that comprise "Asian American" are immensely diverse in terms of their generational status, immigration history, socioeconomic status, and even gender (Hune & Takeuchi, 2008). For instance, reports from the National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development (2013) suggest that aggregated data from individuals with Asian American heritage could mask substantial variability in poverty and need among subgroups. Researchers are becoming more and more intentional in examining subgroup variation among Asian Americans, not only in terms of study design and recruitment, but also with respect to data analysis (Yoshikawa, Mistry, & Wang, 2016). Although such intentionality is still limited, existing work has suggested that Southeast Asian ethnicities (e.g., Hmong, Cambodian, Laotian) might be particularly vulnerable to acculturation and adjustment issues due, in part, to their possible refugee status and pre- and post-migration circumstances (Asian American Federation, 2014; Kiang, Tseng, & Yip, 2016; Ngo & Lee, 2007). Given such sensitivities, it is possible that they will either seek more support from their families when faced with negative race-related experiences, or perhaps be more willing to share their experiences with their families when positive race-related interactions occur. Our approach addresses this possibility and explores intra-ethnic variation by comparing those from Southeast Asian backgrounds to those with ancestry from other regions of Asia. Although we generally expected that Southeast Asian youth might exhibit stronger links between race-related experiences and family outcomes,

these hypotheses were largely exploratory given the limited existing work that addresses these themes.

Daily Moderation by Ethnic Identity

Above and beyond primary demographics, individual differences in ethnic identity are also important to consider in terms of potentially moderating the daily links between race-related experiences and family processes. A strong sense of ethnic identity measured across a variety of dimensions (e.g., belonging, regard, and centrality) has been found to promote psychosocial functioning (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Yip, 2005). Drawing on social identity theory (Tajfel & Forgas, 2000), a firmly established sense of ethnic identity could allow individuals to focus on positive aspects of their group membership in the face of discrimination. Among diverse samples, ethnic identity has indeed been found to protect against threats to well-being when youth are confronted with both every day and race-related stress (Greene et al., 2006; Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009).

In light of the resiliency that ethnic identity can provide, we generally expected that it would enhance beneficial associations between positive daily race-related experiences and family processes and mitigate any detrimental consequences that are found with negative race-related experiences. For example, adolescents with a strong sense of ethnic identity could use that identity to help withstand experiences of discrimination and so their family relationships might not be as strongly affected in a negative way (e.g., getting along with the family). If negative race-related experiences are associated with withdrawal from the family or less engagement, these links were expected to be attenuated for those with a strong sense of ethnic identity. At the same time, strongly identified youth might exhibit stronger associations between something good happening due to ethnicity or race and positive family processes. For youth who do not feel positively about their ethnicity or ethnic background, negative race-related experiences could make them distance themselves from their families and, as such, their in-group affiliation (e.g., family processes) could suffer. In a similar vein, adolescents with low levels of ethnic identity might not be able to reap the benefits from something good happening to them due to their race or ethnicity and therefore exhibit weaker links between these positive events and other aspects of their daily family lives that promote in-group connectedness.

Summary: Examining Daily Racial Experiences and Family Processes

The overarching goal of this chapter is to add to the growing movement recognizing the literature's neglect of Asian Americans, especially in light of how adolescents' family lives are intertwined with race-related experiences. We examined whether

negative and positive race-related experiences spillover into the family context in terms of same- and next-day processes, whether these links vary by adolescents' gender, nativity, or ethnicity, and whether individual differences in ethnic identity further moderate any daily links found. By zeroing in on these daily associations, we can move towards more complex, nuanced, and microcosmic portrayals of how race-related experiences might shape family processes among Asian American youth.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 180 ninth- (50%) and tenth-grade adolescents recruited from six public high schools (58% females, 74% U.S.-born). Data collection began in 2007–2008. The average age was 14.97 years (SD = 0.84). Based on self-report, adolescents had diverse Asian ethnic backgrounds including: 28% Hmong (n = 51), 22% multiethnic (mostly within Asian groups, e.g., Cambodian and Chinese; n = 40), 11% South Asian Indian (n = 20), 8% Chinese (n = 14), and 8% panethnic (e.g., Asian; n = 14). The remaining 23% (n = 41) represented small clusters such as Montagnard, Laotian, Vietnamese, and Pakistani. Although our sample was hugely diverse, we aggregated youth into larger sub-ethnic clusters to explore possible group variation. Specifically, the sizable representation of youth with ancestry from Southeast Asia (e.g., Hmong, Vietnamese, Laotian) allowed us to explore intra-ethnic differences between this subgroup (n = 97, 53.9%) in comparison to one aggregate of all other youth from East, South, and other regions in Asia (n = 83; 46.1%).

Procedure

In each school, all ninth and tenth graders who were identified as "Asian" according to matriculation forms were assembled in small group settings and invited to participate in a study on purpose and meaning in adolescents' daily lives. At a follow-up visit, students who returned signed consent forms (approximately 60% of those invited) were given a packet of questionnaires that took 30–45 min to complete.

Upon completion of the questionnaires, which included measures of demographics, identity, social relationships, and academic and psychological adjustment, students were given a 14-day supply of 3-page daily diaries along with a handheld electronic time stamper. Prior daily diary work has been successful with 2-week daily diary periods as well as with monitoring compliance with the use of time stampers (e.g., Flook & Fuligni, 2008; Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002). Students were instructed to complete one diary at night before going to bed, to fold the dairy in half, secure it with a seal, and stamp the seal with the current date and time using

the stamper, which was programed to be unalterable. Examination of the data revealed that 93% of the possible diaries were completed and 83% of these were considered on time, defined as being completed on the day expected or before noon the next day. Researchers returned 2 weeks later to collect all daily diary materials and to give students a $25 gift card for participating.

Measures

Daily Family Processes

For each day of the 2-week daily diary period, adolescents indicated (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*) whether they engaged in a variety of interactions, events, or activities with their family. All items were derived from prior focus group studies conducted with adolescents from immigrant backgrounds and have been used successfully in prior daily diary research (Fuligni et al., 2002; Kiang & Fuligni, 2009).

To assess family assistance or support, the following eight items were used: helped to clean your apartment or house, took care of your brothers or sisters, ran an errand for your parents or family, helped your brothers or sisters with their schoolwork, helped your parents with official business (for example, translating letters, completing government forms), helped to cook a meal for your family, helped your parents at their work, and anything else to help or assist your family. To assess activities that reflect family leisure time, affiliation, and general interactions, adolescents indicated whether they engaged in the following: ate a meal with family, spent leisure time with family, spent time with aunts, uncles, cousins, or grandparents. The number of family interactions was summed each day to reflect indicators of family assistance and leisure.

In addition to this daily summary score of activities, each day adolescents were also asked to estimate the amount of daily time spent assisting or spending leisure time with the family, if they answered *Yes* to any of the activities above. These time estimates were also used in daily-level analyses. One item that asked whether adolescents "got along with your parents" was also included as an index of family processes.

Daily Race-Related Experiences

Each day, adolescents were asked to indicate whether "something bad happened to you or you were treated poorly because of your race or ethnicity." They were then asked, "if yes, what happened?" and given space to open-endedly describe the situation. A parallel item asking adolescents to indicate and describe whether "something good happened to you or you were treated well because of your race or ethnicity" was also assessed.

Ethnic Identity

A shortened adaptation of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) used in prior work (Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006) was used to measure ethnic identity. Items were modified to be relevant to and completed by members of any ethnic group. The 4-item ethnic regard subscale measures adolescents' positive feelings toward their ethnic group. Sample items read, "I feel good about being a member of my ethnic group," and, "I feel that my ethnic group has made valuable contributions to this society." The 4-item ethnic centrality subscale assesses whether individuals feel their ethnicity is central to their self-concept. Sample items read, "In general, being a member of my ethnic group is an important part of my self-image," and, "I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group." All items are scored from 0 *strongly disagree* to 4 *strongly agree* with higher scores reflecting higher regard and centrality. The internal consistency for the regard subscale was 0.88 and, for the centrality subscale, 0.90. Given the strong correlation between regard and centrality subscales ($r = 0.82$, $p < 0.001$), we combined them to reflect a single index of ethnic identity.

Results

Preliminary Results

Basic descriptive information by way of bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations is shown in Table 6.1. The variables that are represented reflect values averaged across the entire daily diary period. As shown, race-related experiences, both negative and positive, were positively and significantly correlated with family assistance activities and time spent assisting one's family. The inter-correlations among family processes were generally as expected. For instance, getting along with the family was positively associated with both family assistance and family leisure activities. Race-related experiences were relatively infrequent. Adolescents engaged in one to two family assistances and one to two family leisure activities per day, spending approximately 2 h doing so for each, on average.

Prior to testing any of the key hypotheses, analyses were run to examine rates of reporting of something bad and something good happening because of one's race or ethnicity. Again, both experiences were relatively infrequent, with 37 participants (20.0%) reporting something bad happening on at least one day across the 2 weeks and 38 participants (20.5%) reporting something good happening. As also reflected in the correlations shown in Table 6.1, there was a significant association between reporting these two types of events, $X^2 = 14.44$, $p < 0.001$. Of the participants who reported negative experiences, 50% also reported positive experiences. However, of the participants who did not report negative experiences, only 16% reported positive experiences. There were no differences in reporting negative experiences at least

Table 6.1 Correlations among average daily behaviors

	Something bad	Something good	Num. helping behaviors	Time spent helping (h)	Num. leisure activities	Time spent on leisure (h)	Got along with family
Something bad	–	0.63***	0.21**	0.22**	0.06	−0.06	−0.09
Something good		–	0.27***	0.20*	0.07	−0.08	0.08
Num. help			–	0.38***	0.41***	0.08	0.17*
Time help				–	0.20*	0.26**	0.08
Num. leisure					–	0.10	0.40***
Time leisure						–	−0.04
Got along							–
M (SD)	0.03 (0.08)	0.03 (0.09)	1.88 (1.14)	1.96 (2.41)	1.20 (0.65)	2.34 (2.49)	0.60 (0.34)

The correlations shown here reflect averages of the daily variables across participants
*$p < 0.05$
**$p < 0.01$
***$p < 0.001$

once across the 2-week study period according to gender, $X^2 = 2.11$, $p = 0.15$, nativity, $X^2 = 0.26$, $p = 0.61$ or SE Asian status, $X^2 = 1.07$, $p = 0.30$. There were also no differences in reporting positive experiences at least once according to gender, $X^2 = 0.40$, $p = 0.53$, nativity, $X^2 = 0.03$, $p = 0.86$, or SE Asian status, $X^2 = 0.15$, $p = 0.70$.

Daily Associations Between Race-Related Experiences and Family Processes

Same-Day Associations

The first key goal of the study was to examine whether adolescents' daily processes within the family were different on days in which something bad or something good happened because of their race or ethnicity. We focused on five daily processes: (1) number of family helping behaviors, (2) time spent helping the family, (3) number of leisure activities with the family, (4) time spent on leisure activities with the family, and (5) whether the adolescent got along with family.

Using Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM; Bryk & Raudenbusch, 1992), we examined daily associations in two ways. First, we explored within-day associations between each of the two race-related experiences and daily processes. We then examined whether daily processes varied the day after a race-related experience was reported. For the same-day models, the estimated statistical model was as follows:

$$\text{Daily Process}_{ij} = b_{0j} + b_{1j}\left(\text{Something bad / good}\right) + e_{ij} \tag{6.1}$$

$$b_{0j} = c_{00} + c_{01}\left(\text{Gender}\right) + c_{02}\left(\text{U.S. - Born}\right) + c_{03}\left(\text{SE Asian}\right) + u_{0j} \tag{6.2}$$

$$b_{1j} = c_{10} + c_{11}\left(\text{Gender}\right) + c_{12}\left(\text{U.S. - Born}\right) + c_{13}\left(\text{SE Asian}\right) + u_{1j} \tag{6.3}$$

As shown in Eq. 6.1, adolescents' daily family process on a particular day (*i*) for a particular individual (*j*) was modeled as a function of the individual's average family process (b_{0j}) and whether something bad/good was reported (b_{1j}). Equations 6.2 and 6.3 show how both the average level of the outcome and the effect of whether something bad/good was experienced were modeled as a function of the adolescents' gender, nativity (i.e., U.S.-born), and SE Asian status. The level two variables were uncentered. Gender was coded as females = 0 and males = 1, born here was coded as 0 = immigrant and 1 = non-immigrant (born in the U.S.), and SE Asian was coded as 0 = not SE Asian and 1 = SE Asian. Given that whether or not the participant got along with family was a dichotomous outcome, in all analyses predicting this behavior, an additional HLM analysis was run using a Bernoulli distribution. In all cases, the results were the same and so the results with the normal distribution are presented for ease of interpretation.

As shown in Table 6.2, adolescents engaged in more leisure activities and spent more time on family leisure activities on days in which they reported something bad happening because of their race or ethnicity. They also spent marginally more time helping their family. However, all three of these associations were qualified by significant moderation according to nativity. In all three cases, the effect was reduced

Table 6.2 Hierarchical linear models predicting daily associations between something bad happening because of one's race or ethnicity and family processes

	Num. helping behaviors *b* (SE)	Time spent helping *b* (SE)	Num. leisure activities *b* (SE)	Time spent on leisure *b* (SE)	Got along with family *b* (SE)
Intercept	1.85 (0.22)***	0.89 (0.19)***	1.20 (0.13)***	1.21 (0.28)***	0.52 (0.06)***
Male	−0.01 (0.17)	−0.37 (0.17)*	0.12 (0.10)	−0.39 (0.20)*	0.02 (0.05)
U.S.-born	−0.28 (0.24)	0.40 (0.20)*	0.02 (0.13)	0.34 (0.23)	0.15 (0.6)*
SE Asian	0.47 (0.18)**	0.05 (0.18)	−0.12 (0.10)	−0.29 (0.20)	−0.04 (0.05)
Something bad	0.19 (0.46)	1.38 (0.77)+	0.53 (0.17)**	0.77 (0.37)*	0.17 (0.16)
Male	−0.34 (0.47)	0.54 (0.63)	−0.14 (0.20)	0.11 (0.26)	−0.18 (0.15)
U.S.-born	−0.06 (0.43)	−1.55 (0.67)*	−0.68 (0.16)***	−1.33 (0.34)***	−0.10 (0.14)
SE Asian	−0.15 (0.37)	−0.57 (0.49)	−0.22 (0.17)	−0.24 (0.24)	−0.02 (0.14)

All level 2 variables were uncentered
*$p < 0.05$
**$p < 0.01$
***$p < 0.001$

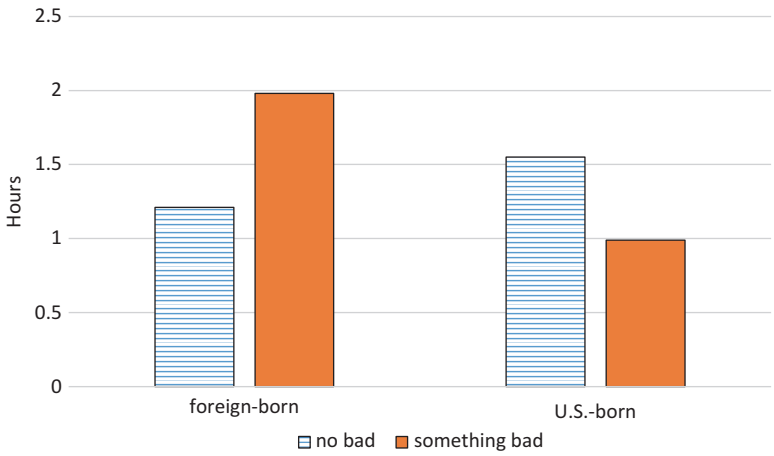

Fig. 6.1 Daily family leisure time by negative racial experiences and nativity

or reversed for those who were born here. Figure 6.1 demonstrates this pattern for time spent on leisure activities with the family. On days in which they experienced a negative event, immigrant youth spent approximately half an hour more leisure time with the family. In contrast, non-immigrant or U.S-born youth spent about half an hour less with their family on days in which they experienced a negative event. Something bad happening was not significantly associated with number of helping behaviors or likelihood of getting along with family.

As shown in Table 6.3, associations with positive race-related experiences were similar to negative ones in that many of them varied according to nativity. On days in which immigrant or foreign-born adolescents reported something good happening because of their race or ethnicity, they reported engaging in more helping behaviors and spending more time helping. However, this was reduced (albeit marginally so in terms of time spent helping) for those who were born here (see Fig. 6.2 for an example in terms of number of helping behaviors). While the link between positive experiences and leisure activities was not significant for immigrant youth, the pattern of moderation by nativity was similar to the other outcome variables, with the daily association in a more positive direction for immigrant youth than those who were born here.

In the analyses examining positive experiences, there were two other differences according to demographics. In predicting number of helping behaviors, in addition to the difference according to nativity, there was also a gender difference such that the association between something positive and number of helping behaviors was reduced for males compared to females. Additionally, in predicting number of leisure activities there was also a difference according to ethnicity, such that there was a stronger association between positive race-related experiences and number of leisure activities for those who were identified as SE Asian, compared to those who did not. Positive race-related experiences were not associated with time spent on leisure activities or likelihood of getting along with family.

Table 6.3 Hierarchical linear models predicting daily associations between something good happening because of one's race or ethnicity and family processes

	Num. helping behaviors *b* (SE)	Time spent helping *b* (SE)	Num. leisure activities *b* (SE)	Time spent on leisure *b* (SE)	Got along with family *b* (SE)
Intercept	1.83 (0.22)***	0.88 (0.19)***	1.21 (0.13)***	1.23 (0.28)***	0.53 (0.06)***
Male	0.00 (0.17)	−0.36 (0.17)*	.0.11 (0.10)	−0.41 (0.20)*	0.02 (0.05)
U.S.-born	−0.27 (0.23)	0.39 (0.21)$^{+}$	0.02 (0.13)	0.32 (0.24)	0.14 (0.06)*
SE Asian	0.46 (0.18)**	0.06 (0.18)	−0.13 (0.10)	−0.33 (0.20)$^{+}$	−0.05 (0.05)
Something good	0.76 (0.24)**	1.42 (0.61)*	0.31 (0.24)	−0.40 (1.19)	−0.17 (0.15)
Male	−0.66 (0.28)*	−0.10 (0.54)	0.14 (0.21)	1.08 (1.53)	−0.07 (0.13)
U.S.-born	−0.53 (0.24)*	−1.07 (0.56)$^{+}$	−0.47 (0.20)*	0.07 (1.07)	0.07 (0.14)
SE Asian	0.22 (0.23)	−0.52 (0.56)	0.35 (0.17)*	1.42 (1.04)	0.19 (0.13)

All level 2 variables were uncentered
$^{+}p < 0.10$
$^{*}p < 0.05$
$^{**}p < 0.01$
$^{***}p < 0.001$

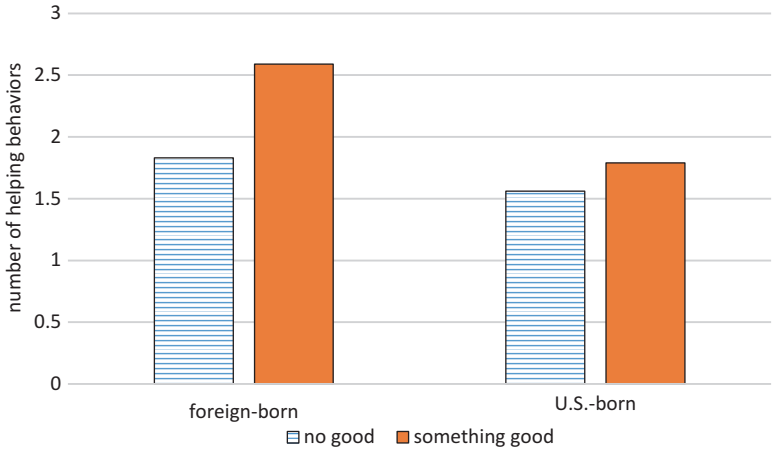

Fig. 6.2 Number of daily helping behaviors by positive racial experiences and nativity

Next-Day Associations

To examine whether these differences in daily behaviors carried over to the next day, models were next tested examining daily behaviors as predicted by whether something bad/good happened the previous day, controlling for levels of the outcome the previous day. The estimated statistical model was as follows:

Table 6.4 Hierarchical linear models predicting daily associations between something bad happening because of one's race or ethnicity the previous day and family processes

	Num. helping behaviors *b* (SE)	Time spent helping *b* (SE)	Num. leisure activities *b* (SE)	Time spent on leisure *b* (SE)	Got along with family *b* (SE)
Intercept	1.29 (0.17)***	0.49 (0.13)***	0.02 (0.12)***	0.86 (0.20)***	0.42 (0.07)***
Male	−0.02 (0.15)	−0.21 (0.14)	−0.02 (0.10)	−0.29 (0.17)+	0.01 (0.06)
U.S.-born	−0.08 (0.17)	0.41 (0.13)**	0.08 (0.11)	0.35 (0.19)+	0.17 (0.06)**
SE Asian	0.43 (0.16)**	0.11 (0.14)	−0.09 (0.10)	−0.26 (0.17)	−0.10 (0.06)+
PD something bad	−0.18 (0.31)	−0.05 (0.29)	0.26 (0.30)	−0.26 (0.39)	−0.12 (0.12)
Male	−0.31 (0.42)	0.02 (0.38)	−0.10 (0.24)	−0.26 (0.32)	−0.10 (0.19)
U.S.-born	1.15 (0.30)***	−0.06 (0.30)	−0.37 (0.26)	−0.06 (0.45)	0.11 (0.16)
SE Asian	−0.46 (0.32)	0.20 (0.25)	−0.03 (0.24)	0.70 (0.42)	0.05 (0.13)
PD outcome	0.26 (0.06)***	0.41 (0.08)***	0.23 (0.08)**	0.41 (0.07)***	0.19 (0.07)*
Male	0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.08)	0.05 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)
U.S.-born	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.20 (0.10)+	−0.04 (0.07)	−0.20 (0.08)*	−0.07 (0.07)
SE Asian	−0.05 (0.06)	−0.05 (0.08)	0.00 (0.05)	0.06 (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)

All level 2 variables were uncentered. *PD* previous day
*$p < 0.05$
**$p < 0.01$
***$p < 0.001$

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Daily Process}_{ij} = b_{0j} + b_{1j}\left(\text{Something bad / good previous day}\right) \\ + b_{2j}\left(\text{Outcome variable from previous day}\right) + e_{ij}\end{aligned} \tag{6.4}$$

$$b_{0j} = c_{00} + c_{01}\left(\text{Gender}\right) + c_{02}\left(\text{U.S. - Born}\right) + c_{03}\left(\text{SE Asian}\right) + u_{0j} \tag{6.5}$$

$$b_{1j} = c_{10} + c_{11}\left(\text{Gender}\right) + c_{12}\left(\text{U.S. - Born}\right) + c_{13}\left(\text{SE Asian}\right) + u_{1j} \tag{6.6}$$

$$b_{2j} = c_{20} + c_{21}\left(\text{Gender}\right) + c_{22}\left(\text{U.S. - Born}\right) + c_{23}\left(\text{SE Asian}\right) + u_{1j} \tag{6.7}$$

As shown in Eq. 6.4, adolescents' daily family process on a particular day (*i*) for a particular individual (*j*) was modeled as a function of the individual's average family process (b_{0j}), whether something bad/good was reported the previous day (b_{1j}), and the individual's report of the process being predicted on the previous day. Equations 6.5–6.7 show how each of these was modeled as a function of the adolescents' gender, nativity (i.e., U.S.-born), and SE Asian status.

Results for previous day negative race-related experiences are shown in Table 6.4. As shown, there was a good amount of consistency in family outcomes from one

Table 6.5 Hierarchical linear models predicting daily associations between something good happening because of one's race or ethnicity the previous day and family processes

	Num. helping behaviors *b* (SE)	Time spent helping *b* (SE)	Num. leisure activities *b* (SE)	Time spent on leisure *b* (SE)	Got along with family *b* (SE)
Intercept	1.28 (0.17)***	0.48 (0.13)***	0.93 (0.12)***	0.87 (0.20)***	0.42 (0.07)***
Male	−0.04 (0.15)	−0.21 (0.14)	−0.02 (0.10)	−0.29 (0.17)	0.00 (0.06)
U.S.-born	−0.07 (0.17)	0.42 (0.13)***	0.08 (0.11)	0.35 (0.19)+	0.17 (0.06)*
SE Asian	0.42 (0.15)**	0.10 (0.14)	−0.10 (0.10)	−0.26 (0.18)	−0.10 (0.06)+
PD something good	−0.56 (0.31)+	0.56 (0.58)	−0.22 (0.18)	−0.61 (0.45)	0.04 (0.10)
Male	0.78 (0.32)*	−0.42 (0.42)	0.03 (0.19)	−1.79 (1.33)	0.02 (0.12)
U.S.-born	0.69 (0.30)*	−0.63 (0.56)	−0.07 (0.17)	0.66 (0.77)	−0.06 (0.11)
SE Asian	−0.32 (0.34)	0.50 (0.56)	0.29 (0.17)+	1.97 (1.57)	−0.03 (0.11)
PD outcome	0.26 (0.06)***	0.40 (0.08)***	0.24 (0.08)**	0.42 (0.08)***	0.18 (0.07)*
Male	0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.08)	0.05 (0.05)	0.00 (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)
U.S.-born	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.18 (0.10)+	−0.04 (0.07)	−0.21 (0.08)**	−0.07 (0.07)
SE Asian	−0.05 (0.06)	−0.05 (0.08)	0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)

All level 2 variables were uncentered. *PD* previous day
*$p < 0.05$
**$p < 0.01$
***$p < 0.001$

day to the next. Controlling for this stability, the link between experiencing something negative on the previous day and number of helping behaviors varied according to nativity. In particular, while there was no association for immigrant youth, there was a significant positive association for those who were born here between experiencing something negative the previous day and number of helping behaviors. There were no significant effects for any of the other outcome variables.

Results for previous day positive experiences are shown in Table 6.5. Again, controlling for the day-to-day stability in the outcomes, number of helping behaviors was the only variable that was meaningfully predicted by prior day positive interactions. The overall association was only marginal and negative, but this varied by both gender and nativity. Compared to girls, there was a more positive association for boys, although the overall effect for boys was not significant. Compared to immigrants, there was also a more positive association, albeit non-significant, effect for those who were born here.

The Role of Ethnic Identity

The final goal of the study was to examine whether these patterns of associations varied according to strength of ethnic identity. To explore this question, each of the analyses in which there was a significant association between race-related

experiences and a family outcome, either at the intercept or for one of the demographic groups, was re-run with ethnic identity as an additional individual level predictor, centered at the mean of the sample. In all of these analyses, ethnic identity was positively associated with the family process outcome at the intercept (for example, in the analyses examining whether something bad happened, *b*s = 0.07–0.25, *p*s < 0.05). However, in no case was ethnic identity significant as a moderator, above and beyond the effects of gender, nativity (i.e., U.S.-born), and SE Asian status.

Discussion

Research on Asian American family processes is growing, yet limited, with much of the current literature framed by empirical data drawn from broad, survey-based reports. The goal of our chapter was to use a micro-longitudinal, daily diary approach to extend the literature and explore how the family lives of Asian American adolescents unfold on a day-to-day basis. Especially, we used frameworks from the spillover literature (Almeida et al., 1999; Repetti, 1994; Repetti et al., 2009), as well as foundational views stemming from Bronfenbrenner (1979) and social stratification models of development (García Coll et al., 1996; Mistry et al., 2016), to determine whether adolescents' racially charged experiences carry over to affect their specific interactions with the family. We also examined whether these daily associations might vary by demographic characteristics or by individual differences in ethnic identity.

To start, our preliminary and descriptive analyses suggest that the experience of negative and positive race-related experiences is both somewhat infrequent. Rates of daily negative experiences reported in our work were even lower than frequencies that have been found in prior work with immigrant youth [e.g., Huynh and Fuligni (2010) found instances reported by 60% of their Los Angeles-based sample and <1% of all of the days that were assessed], perhaps due to differences in geographic context or the overall size of the sample. Given these relatively low frequencies, future work using daily diary data could incorporate a longer time frame to capture a greater representation of these experiences. However, although race-related experiences are infrequent, when adolescents do report them, there are important implications in terms of family outcomes. Specifically, on days when adolescents report something bad happening due to their race or ethnicity (e.g., teased, picked on, called names), they also report spending significantly more time with their families, particularly in light of leisure time and marginally so in terms of time spent assisting the family. Consistent with prior work, one interpretation of these results is that youth who encounter negative racial interactions might spend more time with their families as a way to elicit support, a sense of purpose through family assistance, or even as a form of distraction from the negative event (Kiang & Fuligni, 2009; Mossakowski & Zhang, 2014).

Greater family engagement was also found in the context of positive race-related experiences. On days when youth reported such experiences (e.g., complimented for an outfit, rewarded for participating in a Hmong dance group), there were increases in daily assistance activities and time spent engaging in these activities. In line with social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982), perhaps on days in which positive race-related experiences transpire, adolescents feel positively about their ethnic background, and these positive feelings encourage them to be more engaged with and provide assistance to their families. However, as further discussed later, it is also possible that the results reflect the opposite direction of effects, such that greater engagement or assistance is one daily process that actually contributes to the experience of something good happening due to one's race or ethnicity.

Indeed, one notable caveat to our results is related to our general presumptions that framed race-related experiences as happening outside of the family context. However, adolescents were not explicitly asked to consider experiences that occur externally from the family or from the context of the home. In fact, some of the open-ended examples of race-related experiences that adolescents provided referred to family-related interactions. Future work should attempt to better isolate and truly tease apart the effects of and spillover across race-related and family domains as explicitly distinct contexts.

There are several additional caveats that should be noted. First, many of the patterns found varied by nativity, supporting the need to further examine the impact that immigration status might have on culturally relevant processes and family relationships (McDonald & Kennedy, 2004). For example, when examining associations between race-related experiences and next-day family processes, some of these links exhibited opposite patterns based on nativity. Specifically, negative as well as positive race-related experiences were each associated with next-day helping behaviors, but only for U.S.-born youth. It is possible that immigrant youth, in general, are more sensitive or quick to respond to race-related experiences (Hwang & Wood, 2009; Nguyen & Williams, 1989), rendering any effects of race-related experiences to occur only in the short-term. However, U.S.-born youth might continue to be affected by these experiences on the next day as well, suggesting that they could be particularly vulnerable to both negative and positive race-related experiences (Ying et al., 2000). Perhaps, these sustained effects are due to greater rumination or awareness of race-related events, or that racial experiences take a longer time to make an impact in the lives of second-generation youth compared to their first-generation peers. Clearly, more research is needed to further disentangle and replicate these findings.

In terms of the key demographic variable of gender, is it somewhat surprising that few moderating effects were found. Consistent with prior work suggesting that girls from immigrant backgrounds are more connected with their families than are boys (e.g., Supple et al., 2010), we did find some evidence that girls spend more time with their families engaging in both assistance and leisure activities. However, unlike existing research pointing to greater vulnerability to social rejection among girls (Brendgen et al., 2005; Gavin & Furman, 1989), the girls in our sample were not

consistently more vulnerable to race-related interactions compared to boys. Although, again, more work is needed for insight and replication, perhaps the interpersonal effects of negative race-related experiences, compared to more general social rejection, are unique in equally affecting both genders. It is also possible that any gender effects were overshadowed by other effects in our models (e.g., immigrant status).

In addition to demographic variation, we also explored whether individual differences in ethnic identity moderated the daily associations between race-related experiences and family processes, controlling for demographic differences. The cultural relevance of ethnic identity suggests that family closeness might be enhanced among adolescents with a strong sense of ethnic identity, particularly when faced with race-related stress (Berkel et al., 2010; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Tajfel & Forgas, 2000). Main effects of ethnic identity were indeed evident whereby strong levels of ethnic identity were related to more family interactions, both in terms of leisure activities and assistance behaviors, as well as getting along with the family. However, while our results are consistent with prior work demonstrating promotive effects of ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Yip, 2005), no moderation of daily associations between racial experiences and family processes was found.

It is notable that race-related experiences were not significantly associated with adolescents' reports on getting along well with the family. It thus appears that, while spillover effects might be found in terms of specific behaviors and activities, there does not seem to be as much carry over in terms of parent-child cohesion or overall harmony within the family. Although more research is needed to further illuminate these findings, it is possible that race-related spillover effects are initially seen in terms of distinct family interactions and in how youth choose to spend their day, but that deeper influences on the fabric of youth's actual relationships are either less malleable or evolve more slowly, perhaps with daily family interactions serving as mediators of such relationship quality.

In summary, our analyses point to critical, and complex, ways in which adolescents' daily race-related experiences are intricately linked to their daily family processes, namely, their assistance and leisure engagement with their family. Our work builds knowledge on still understudied Asian American youth, and our results can be used to guide the development of more cultural understanding and potentially more efficient interventions and programs to best serve Asian American families. For example, when confronted with racially charged situations, the family can serve as a key resource. Assisting one's family could promote feelings of purpose and affiliation with in-group members (Kiang & Fuligni, 2009) and help adolescents cope with any negative feelings that might arise from perceived discrimination. Even spending leisure time with the family could serve as a way to cope with negative experiences, perhaps by providing a comfortable space to decompress or derive social support either directly or indirectly. Notably, some of the moderating effects that we found suggest that any interventions that might be geared toward buffering the more sustained effects of negative race-related experiences or repairing relationships that suffer in the face of such negative

experiences could be particularly effective with a focus on U.S.-born youth, but that foreign-born youth might benefit most from interventions that target more immediate reactivity.

Yet, despite some of these important implications, limitations to our work should be noted. As stated earlier, our daily diary approach was largely correlational. As such, it is unclear whether race-related experiences predicted family processes, or whether the types of behaviors that adolescents engaged in with their families actually served to instigate some of their events outside of the home. It is also unclear whether any presumed spillover effects are driven by adolescents themselves or whether they are family-driven, such as when parents or other family members might have similar race-related experiences, or when parents or the family might actually be the source of the race-related experience in question. That is, our daily diary data does not address whether adolescents actively sought support from their families as a result of something negative or something positive happening to them because of their race or ethnicity, or whether the experience itself was actually caused by the family.

Family processes and cultural understanding, more broadly speaking, could also influence adolescents' interpretations of race-related experiences. For example, being cast as a model minority can be seen as either positive or negative, depending on the individual or on the particular context of the situation, and these types of experiences did appear as examples of both "bad" and "good" daily events. We also did not explore adolescents' daily well-being in response to their reported experiences. Our interpretation is that adolescents' family lives are linked to their race-related experiences due to possible coping strategies, but it is unclear whether these mechanisms are truly evident and/or effective. In some cases, the family context could exacerbate or, again, cause the actual experiences of race-related stress. In terms of our sample, although we explored possible intra-ethic variation by comparing Southeast Asian youth (representative of the largest proportion of our participants) with other youth, our approach was not ideal and our sample size was neither large nor diverse enough to fully consider ethnicity. As emphasized by recent work (Kiang et al., 2016; Yoshikawa et al., 2016), future work should be more intentional about pinpointing the similarities and differences among the vastly heterogeneous Asian American group.

Limitations notwithstanding, our work is unique in examining daily-level associations between race-related experiences and family processes, which are two domains of influence that are highly salient in adolescents' everyday lives. Given the remarkable growth in this demographic group, as well as its unique features that stress the importance of cultural and familial values and behaviors, our hope is that our approach and overall findings will help motivate future work to extend the literature in even more substantive ways.

Appendix

Examples of adolescents' daily race-related experiences

Type of daily experience	Examples
"Something bad"	Student told me to go back to my country. Stereotyped. Someone said "you don't belong here" when learning about naturalization in Civics. Someone didn't like me because I'm Indian. Someone called me a Ching-Chong. Someone called me an Asian hooker. They said that I don't belong there because I'm too smart. I was asked if I was a terrorist! A girl was being racist about me and my boyfriend dating.
"Something good"	I got some money from my uncle, because of New Years. Everyone said they admired me. Someone said I was good at math. They called me "hot." A boy didn't judge me by my race. While fundraising door to door we encountered several Asian families and were able to speak to them in Chinese and this gave us sales at two houses. People were interested in my culture in English, we had a discussion. A boy was saying good things about my background.

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Chapter 7
Understanding and Addressing Parent-Adolescent Conflict in Asian American Families

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Sam is a second-generation Vietnamese American graduating high school senior who meets with the school counselor to discuss ongoing conflicts with his parents. Sam wants to pursue a career in art education, but his parents are unhappy with his plans to become an art teacher. As small business owners who never attended college, they want Sam to pursue a prestigious career in engineering which will provide job security and a high salary. His parents also remind him about his obligations to care for them when they get older, so it is important for him to get a well-paying job. Sam feels like his parents are putting too much pressure on him and are expecting him to live out their dreams, not his own. He is having difficulty sleeping and is not putting in much effort at school, even procrastinating on his college applications.

The case of Sam illustrates the common yet complex parent-adolescent conflict that occurs in Asian American families. Sam's conflict with his parents can be viewed through multiple developmental and cultural lenses: a normal aspect of adolescent development, a conflict rooted around differences in cultural values, or typical parent-adolescent conflict compounded by cultural differences. Similarly, empirical research on family conflict among Asian Americans varies in the conceptualization and operational definition of family conflict (e.g., Juang, Syed, & Cookston, 2012; Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000). There is no consensus on how researchers conceptually and operationally define parent-adolescent conflict in Asian American families.

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This chapter reviews theoretical perspectives and empirical evidence for understanding and addressing Asian American family conflict. First, we synthesize previous theories and research on conflict in Asian American families and highlight two conceptual models for understanding conflict. We use the second model, the embedded contexts model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), to specifically operationalize parent-adolescent conflict in Asian American families throughout this chapter. This framework emphasizes interactions between typical intergenerational conflict and conflict due to cultural differences. Next, we present empirically supported intervention strategies for addressing family conflict at the family-system and individual levels. Finally, we use a pilot study to illustrate how to translate research on family conflict into an individual-level intervention for Asian American youth to cope with conflict.

Understanding Asian American Family Conflict

Over the past four decades, there has been a lack of consensus regarding the source and content of conflict in Asian American families. Previous researchers have used a variety of terms to describe parent-adolescent conflict in Asian American and other immigrant families: intergenerational clash (Sluzki, 1979), intergenerational and intercultural conflict (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), acculturative dissonance (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), family conflict (Lee et al., 2000), intergenerational conflict (Chung, 2001), acculturative family distancing (Hwang, 2006), intergenerational cultural dissonance (Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008), acculturation-based conflict (Juang, Syed, & Cookston, 2012), and intergenerational cultural conflict (Lui, 2015). To clarify the operationalization of family conflict, we review two current conceptual perspectives regarding Asian American family conflict. First, the acculturation gap hypothesis posits that family conflict arises as a result of primarily acculturation differences between parents and adolescents. Second, the embedded contexts model proposes that family conflict consists of both typical intergenerational conflict and conflict due to cultural differences, with the latter often exacerbating the former. Understanding the source and content of parent-adolescent conflict is critical for treatment planning and interventions to address such problems in Asian American families.

The Acculturation Gap-Distress Hypothesis

The *acculturation gap-distress hypothesis* (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996) proposes that different levels of acculturation between parents and offspring (e.g., acculturation gaps) lead to acculturation-based conflict in Asian American families, which then influences offspring psychological adjustment. Acculturation gaps consist of differences in family expectations and values, including academic achievement (Juang, Syed, Cookston, Wang, & Kim, 2012; Kang, Okazaki, Abelmann, Kim-Prieto, & Lan, 2010; Qin, Chang, Han, & Chee, 2012), career choice (Chung, 2001), and dating and marriage (Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2009; Chung, 2001). Acculturation gaps also

encompass behavioral differences, such as varying levels of language proficiency. The acculturation gap perspective argues that the content of Asian American family conflict is derived from acculturation differences, in contrast to typical intergenerational conflict. Acculturation-based conflict additionally differs from typical intergenerational conflict because acculturation-based conflict persists beyond adolescence (Lui, 2015). As adolescents transition to adulthood, some cultural differences may become more salient, such as financial decisions, choosing a spouse, and family expectations for elder care.

Support for the acculturation gap-distress model is mixed, partially due to common assumptions and inconsistencies in the operationalization of the model (see Lui, 2015 and Telzer, 2011 for reviews and meta-analysis). One frequent assumption about the acculturation gap is that youth are more acculturated or acculturate to the host culture at a faster pace than their parents. However, there is variability in acculturation levels among parents and youth. Telzer (2011) highlights several studies where parents are more highly acculturated toward the host culture than their children. Furthermore, acculturation gaps are often measured in ways that are inconsistent with this assumption. For example, the use of dichotomous acculturation mismatch variables (e.g., match vs. mismatch) conflates multiple types of acculturation gaps, whereas studies using acculturation difference scores typically focus on the magnitude of the difference, rather than the direction (Telzer, 2011). Given these problems in the measurement of acculturation gaps, it is not surprising that different methods lead to different findings and overall inconsistent support for the acculturation gap-distress model.

In addition, the acculturation gap-distress hypothesis assumes that the presence of an acculturation gap—particularly one where youth are more acculturated to the U.S. culture than parents—automatically leads to family dysfunction and offspring maladjustment (Telzer, 2011). Terms like *intergenerational clash* (Sluzki, 1979) and *intergenerational cultural dissonance* (Choi et al., 2008) have been used to describe acculturation gaps, implying that the existence of an acculturation gap is problematic. Others have distinguished between multiple domains of acculturation (e.g., language, values, behavior) and have suggested that acculturation differences in certain domains were more likely to lead to family conflict (Fujimoto & Hwang, 2014; Hwang, 2006; Hwang & Wood, 2009). There is some evidence indicating that domain-specific acculturation gaps may be more problematic for parent-adolescent relations, such as language and communication, values (Hwang, Wood, & Fujimoto, 2010), or heritage culture identity (Ho & Birman, 2010). However, these research findings are not conclusive or clear (e.g., Ho & Birman, 2010; Hwang et al., 2010).

The assumption of acculturation gaps as problematic has also led to the conflation of acculturation gaps and actual family conflict (e.g., Choi et al., 2008). Other studies have conflated acculturation gaps and family conflict by using acculturation gaps as proxy measures of family conflict (Lui, 2015). The failure to distinguish these constructs may contribute to the mixed findings on the acculturation gap-distress model. Fuligni (2012) notes the conceptual distinction between acculturation gaps and family conflict and their different implications for psychological adjustment outcomes. Acculturation gaps are a normative aspect of acculturation for

immigrant families, and the existence of an acculturation gap is not necessarily indicative of family conflict, nor is it necessarily predictive of poor offspring adjustment. However, conflictual feelings about acculturation gaps and actual acculturation-based conflict are related to psychological adjustment (Fuligni, 2012).

Another major limitation of the acculturation gap-distress model is its comparison of U.S. vs. heritage culture using the individualism-collectivism dichotomy. Parents are assumed to be more oriented toward the collectivistic heritage culture, whereas youth are assumed to be more oriented toward the individualistic U.S. culture (Lui, 2015). In turn, acculturation gaps and parent-adolescent conflict are framed as a conflict between individualistic and collectivistic values. Yet the assumption of collectivistic Asian culture reduces the diversity among various Asian cultures and value systems to a single cultural stereotype that lacks rigorous empirical support (Matsumoto, 1999). Hwang (2006) recommends that clinicians engage in dynamic sizing (Sue, 1998) when conceptualizing Asian American family conflict. Dynamic sizing refers to "knowing when to generalize and be inclusive and when to individualize and be exclusive" (Sue, 1998) and is considered one of the main ingredients of cultural competence in clinical work. However, the acculturation gap-distress literature has largely generalized the cultural stereotype of the individualism-collectivism dichotomy to all Asian American families experiencing conflict. Due to a lack of dynamic sizing, the empirical literature fails to consider other possible causes or mechanisms of Asian American family conflict besides acculturation gaps. In addition, the framing of conflict as a clash between individualistic and collectivistic values problematizes families' heritage culture. The assumption of an underlying individualism-collectivism dichotomy essentializes Asian culture, problematizes culture as well as the acculturation process, and oversimplifies Asian American family conflict.

Embedded Contexts Model of Family Conflict

The *embedded contexts model* (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993) posits that individuals are embedded within the context of the family, and the family, in turn, is embedded within a culturally diverse context. Accordingly, typical developmental tasks during adolescence, such as autonomy seeking by youth, are exacerbated by acculturation differences with parents. Szapocznik and Kurtines explain their model, which was originally developed based on work with Hispanic immigrant families:

> The impact of a culturally diverse environment on these families resulted in the emergence of conflict-laden intergenerational acculturational differences in which parents and youths developed different cultural alliances (Hispanic and American, respectively). These intergenerationally related cultural differences were added to the usual intergenerational conflicts that occur in families with adolescents to produce a much compounded and exacerbated intergenerational *and* intercultural conflict. (1993, p. 403)

Emotional and behavioral problems subsequently develop as parents struggle to understand and manage their children's differing cultural expectations, and children no longer accept their parents' culturally bound parenting methods. Unlike the

acculturation gap model, the embedded contexts model does not operationalize acculturation differences as preceding family conflict. Rather, acculturation differences and intergenerational conflict are additive or compounding experiences.

The embedded contexts model addresses the limitations of the acculturation gap perspective in several ways. First, the embedded contexts model views cultural differences in a more broad and nuanced way by emphasizing that families are situated within culturally *pluralistic* contexts (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). In contrast to a cultural dichotomy of individualism vs. collectivism, cultural pluralism acknowledges that parents and children are exposed to a variety of cultures that are influenced by factors such as location (e.g., ethnic density) or generation (e.g., cohort effects). Consequently, parents and children may develop different values and practices that include but are not limited to differences in acculturation. This is in line with an Asian Americanist perspective which views child development as "a process and product of growing up as ethnic minorities in the United States" (Lee, Kim, & Zhou, 2016, p. 1062).

In addition, the inclusion of both typical intergenerational conflict and acculturation-based conflict in the embedded contexts model allows for more flexibility and dynamic sizing. Conflict is neither viewed through a normative developmental lens, which may ignore the context of culture, nor through a cultural lens, which risks essentializing Asian Americans by assuming that all family conflicts are rooted in acculturation differences. Instead, the embedded contexts model acknowledges both types of conflict, but allows for the relative contributions of each type of conflict to vary among families.

Few researchers have operationalized the embedded contexts theory in empirical research on Asian American family conflict. Lee, Choe, Kim, and Ngo (2000) drew upon this theory to develop and validate the Family Conflicts Scale (FCS; Lee et al., 2000), which was designed to tap into both intergenerational and acculturation differences. However, in contrast to Szapocznik and Kurtines (1993), Lee et al. (2000) viewed intergenerational and acculturation differences as interactive, rather than additive. Feedback from focus group members suggested that the two types of conflict could not be easily teased apart (Lee et al., 2000). Therefore, the FCS captures family conflict related to differences in values and lifestyle expectations, which are affected by both intergenerational and acculturation differences. The FCS has been used with other populations, including White, Hispanic/Latino, and Black college students (e.g., Lee & Liu, 2001; Nelson, Bahrassa, Syed, & Lee, 2015), suggesting that it adequately captures value and lifestyle expectations that are salient to individuals of various racial and ethnic backgrounds. Notably, Lui's (2015) meta-analysis of research on the acculturation gap-distress model found the association between acculturation-based conflict and mental health outcomes was most robust ($r = -0.31$) when the FCS was used to measure conflict. This meta-analysis finding provides some empirical support for the embedded contexts model, as the FCS taps into both intergenerational and acculturation conflict.

Juang and colleagues also conducted a series of studies which operationalized Asian American family conflict as theorized by the embedded contexts model. In contrast to Lee et al. (2000), Juang and colleagues operationalized intergenerational and acculturation-based conflict as two separate concepts and examined the associa-

tions between the two types of conflict (Juang, Syed, & Cookston, 2012; Juang, Syed, Cookston, Wang, et al., 2012). Over a 4-year period, intergenerational and acculturation-based conflicts were moderately correlated ($r = 0.44$), suggesting that the conflicts were related but distinct (Juang, Syed, & Cookston, 2012). Both types of conflict predicted worse adolescent well-being; however, acculturation-based conflict was mediated by family dynamics, whereas intergenerational conflict was not, suggesting that the two types of conflict may affect adolescent well-being through different mechanisms (Juang, Syed, Cookston, Wang, et al., 2012). In addition, acculturation-based conflict predicted worse adolescent adjustment above and beyond the effects of intergenerational conflict (Juang, Syed, & Cookston, 2012). Taken together, this set of studies supports the idea that intergenerational and acculturation-based conflict are related, yet also suggest that they may be distinct enough to differentially impact adolescent adjustment.

No studies, besides those from Lee and Juang's research groups, have examined Asian American family conflict as a combination of intergenerational and acculturation-based conflicts. To move the literature on Asian American family conflict forward, we recommend using this model for future research to better clarify if the two types of conflict can be distinguished or if they are truly interactive and cannot be teased apart. In addition, clinicians could use this conceptualization when working with Asian American youth and families. In our discussion of interventions for family conflict below, we use *Asian American family conflict* to describe parent-adolescent conflict that encompasses both intergenerational and cultural differences.

Addressing Asian American Family Conflict

Given the prevalence of Asian American family conflict and its impact on the family, it is important for researchers and clinicians to identify intervention strategies to alleviate at-risk families. Imagine you are a clinician working with Sam, the adolescent described at the beginning of this chapter. There are many different ways to approach working with Sam. We propose that conflict within Asian American families can be addressed through the embedded contexts model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Youth are embedded in the family context, which, in turn, is embedded in a culturally diverse context. In the following section, we focus on empirically supported intervention strategies at the individual and family-system levels as two distinctive lines of research.

Interventions at the Family Level

Given family conflict is inherently about the family, not just the individual, it is reasonable to first consider intervention approaches that target the family system. Family conflict is primarily addressed through the interactions of parents and

adolescent. Interventions at the family level can be implemented through family therapy and parent training programs. However, it is worth noting that most of these family-level interventions were originally developed for and tested with families with young children rather than adolescents.

We review two types of family-level interventions—culturally grounded and cultural adaptations—to address Asian American family conflict. In general, interventions for ethnic and racial minority families are developed through either a bottom-up or top-down approach (Lee, Vu, & Lau, 2013). A culturally grounded or indigenous framework reflects the bottom-up approach in designing interventions primarily based upon a community's needs, preferences, and practices. Thus, community-based individuals or organizations usually drive this approach, either with or without the partnership of researchers. In contrast, a cultural adaptation framework reflects the top-down approach in designing interventions based upon established evidence-based treatments, in consideration of the cultural characteristics of the community.

Culturally Grounded Interventions

A few culturally grounded or indigenous programs that have been developed for ethnic and racial minority families have been empirically studied. The Bicultural Effectiveness Training (Szapocznik, Santisteban, Kurtines, Perez-Vidal, & Hervis, 1984) and Strengthening Intergenerational/Intercultural Ties in Immigrant Families (Ying, 1999, 2009) are two such family interventions. Only the Strengthening Intergenerational/Intercultural Ties in Immigrant Families, however, was developed specifically for an Asian American population.

Bicultural Effectiveness Training (BET; Szapocznik et al., 1986, 1984) is a 12-session family intervention originally developed for Latino families which targets acculturation-based conflict. Using techniques such as "detouring" and "reframing" (Szapocznik et al., 1986, p. 309), family members learn to attribute family conflict to outside structural factors (e.g., the process of acculturation), rather than engaging in self-blame or parental blame. In addition, techniques such as "establishing crossed alliances" (Szapocznik et al., 1986, p. 310) help parents and youth become more aware of and feel more positive towards each other's acculturative process. One of the key components of BET is addressing parent-adolescent conflict using cultural attributions, and this intervention strategy seems to be effective for Hispanic/Latino families for which BET was developed. However, studies with Asian American young adults suggest that the strategy of cultural attributions may not work in addressing conflict among Asian American families. Although self-blame exacerbated the effect of family conflict on distress (Su, Lee, & Vang, 2005), attributions to acculturation did not buffer the relationship between family conflict and psychological distress (Bahrassa, Juan, & Lee, 2013). Thus, generalizations of effectiveness of cultural attributions across various ethnic-racial groups should be made with caution when intervening with family conflict.

The Strengthening Intergenerational/Intercultural Ties in Immigrant Families (SITIF; Ying, 1999, 2009) was developed to address intergenerational acculturation-based conflict in Chinese immigrant families. It has been translated into Korean, Vietnamese, and Spanish. The 8-week curriculum employs exercises that help parents become aware of intergenerational family conflict, promote cross-cultural competence (i.e., parents' empathy towards child's experiences and understanding of differences between their native and American cultures), improve their sense of control (measured by Parental Locus of Control Scale, Campis, Lyman, & Prentice-Dunn, 1986), and develop effective parenting skills. For example, popular folktales were used to discuss different cultural definitions of adulthood and their impact on parent-child relationships. SITIF was demonstrated to increase the closeness of parent-child relationship post-intervention (Ying, 1999). However, no other efficacy or effectiveness studies have been conducted on the SITIF program. Additionally, because the age of children was not reported in the effectiveness study (Ying, 1999), we are unsure if the results can be generalized and implemented with families of adolescents.

Culturally Adapted Interventions

Several established evidence-based parent education programs have been culturally adapted for ethnic and racial minority families, such as the Incredible Years program (Webster-Stratton, 2015) and the Strengthening Families Program (Kumpfer, Molgaard, & Spoth, 1996). Culturally adapted programs balance existing evidence-based parent education programs with the needs of ethnic-racial minority families (Bernal & Domenech Rodríguez, 2012). Cultural adaptations to increase cultural sensitivity (Resnicow, Baranowski, Ahluwalia, & Braithwaite, 1999) can be achieved at both the surface structure (e.g., translation of treatment, matching of ethnicity and race) and deep structure (e.g., incorporating cultural, social, and environmental factors). Research on culturally adapted interventions has indicated promising outcomes in working with ethnic and racial minority families. A recently published meta-analysis of 18 culturally adapted parent training programs with children and pre-teens indicated small to moderate effect sizes on positive parenting behaviors, parent-child interactions, and child psychosocial development (van Mourik, Crone, de Wolff, & Reis, 2016). This meta-analysis also indicated that deep-structure cultural adaptations are more effective than surface-structure adaptations in improving parenting behaviors.

The Incredible Years (IY; Webster-Stratton, 2015) is an evidence-based program that promotes emotional, social, and academic competence, as well as prevents, reduces, and treats behavioral and emotional problems in young children (see meta-analytic review by Menting, Castro, & Matthys, 2013). The IY curriculum ranges from 4 to 18 sessions, depending on the implementation model (i.e., prevention vs. intervention), target populations (i.e., parent, children, or teacher), the risk level, and other factors. The IY parent education program has been culturally adapted for Chinese

immigrant families (Lau, 2012; Lau, Fung, Ho, Liu, & Gudiño, 2011), Hmong American families (Zhou & Lee, 2015), and Korean American families (Kim et al., 2014). In Lau's work with Chinese immigrant families, she highlighted that cultural adaptation can fall broadly into two categories that target process or content (Lau, 2012). The first category aims to enhance the engagement and retention of families in IY by removing cultural barriers. For example, one cultural barrier for some Chinese parents to engage in IY is because they hold different views on praise (i.e., praise reduces child's effort) from the IY curriculum, thus these parents have low trust in the process. In this case, clinicians need to anticipate but not assume the beliefs about praise held by some Chinese families, and then use modeling, enactment, rehearsal, and monitoring skills to facilitate behavioral change. The second category aims to contextualize curricular content to ensure cultural sensitivity and fit with these families. For example, the IY curriculum was augmented by introducing a session on controlling upsetting thoughts.

The Korean Parent Training Program (KPTP; Kim et al., 2014) is a cultural adaptation of IY for Korean American parents. Based upon feedback from their implementation of the IY parent training curriculum (Webster-Stratton, 2009, 2015) with Korean American parents, Kim et al. (2014) incorporated cultural elements such as Confucianism, Korean parenting virtues, and Christianity that are valued by Korean American parents. Their pilot test with Korean American mothers of children between 3 and 8 years old indicated that the KPTP group, compared to the control group, reported fewer family conflicts, as measured by the Family Conflict Scale (Lee et al., 2000). Taken together, these programs provide preliminary evidence for the efficacy and effectiveness of culturally adapting IY for Asian American families.

Another evidence-based family skills training program is the Strengthening Families Program (SFP; Kumpfer et al., 1996), which was originally developed to prevent substance abuse in children from high-risk contexts. The 12–16 Years SFP consists of 14 sessions covering skills such as communication and building resilience. It has been culturally adapted for African American, multiracial, Asian and Pacific Islander, Hispanic, and American Indian families with positive effects (Kumpfer, Pinyuchon, de Melo, & Whiteside, 2008; Xie, 2014). In Xie's (2014) pilot study with Chinese immigrant families, the SFP was culturally adapted using an iterative 10-step framework from information collection to program dissemination. The pilot study included 53 Chinese immigrant parents of 11–18-year-old youth. Interestingly, it was found that Chinese American families improved on the majority of the outcome measures (e.g., positive parenting, family communications, family resilience, parental involvement), but not on family conflict. This non-significant finding could be attributed to the floor effect of families reporting low levels of family conflict at the pre-test (Xie, 2014), or methodological issues in measuring family conflict discussed in the beginning of this chapter. Thus, the cultural adaptation of the SFP may have the potential to increase protective factors and reduce environmental risk factors among Chinese American families, but its effectiveness for addressing family conflict is unclear.

Limitations

The family-level interventions described above address family-system concerns on a system level, similar to traditional family therapeutic modalities (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). At the same time, they address cultural dynamics and parenting practices unique to ethnic-racial minority families. Despite these strengths and the growing evidence on family-level interventions, several cautionary factors should be considered in applying them to address conflict between Asian American youth and their parents. First, most of these family-level interventions were developed for children and pre-teens (van Mourik et al., 2016). Therefore, some curricular elements, such as parenting skills coaching, are less relevant to family conflict with youth who are facing different developmental tasks (e.g., Sam's career choice). In fact, many conflicts in Asian American families, as in Sam's case, might not be salient until the offspring enters adolescence and emerging adulthood (Lui, 2015). Thus, it is important to develop intervention programs and strategies that specifically target this developmental stage. Another cautionary note is the limited research evidence on the effectiveness of these family-level interventions in reducing family conflict. The primary targets and outcome measures of these interventions are often overall parent stress, positive parenting behaviors, and child behavioral and well-being outcomes. Future research should incorporate family conflict measures for family-level interventions because of the high prevalence and impact of conflict on Asian American families. Research could also examine family conflict as a potential mediator between the interventions and traditional measures of parent and youth outcomes.

Interventions at the Individual or Youth Level

As Asian American youth, like Sam, transition into adulthood and gain physical distance from their parents, the opportunity to intervene at the family-system level with all family members becomes extremely limited. Instead, a more ecologically viable approach for clinicians may be to intervene at the individual or youth level, with deliberate consideration of the embedded nature of the family conflict.

In this section, we frame our discussion of individual-level interventions through the coping literature. In the general coping literature, there are five "core" coping strategies people use to deal with stressful situations (Skinner, Edge, Altman, & Sherwood, 2003): problem-solving, social support seeking, avoidance, distraction, and positive cognitive restructuring. Beyond these five core coping strategies, accumulating empirical evidence supports the effectiveness of coping strategies such as perspective-taking and meaning-making for Asian American youth coping with family conflict. Many coping strategies have often been tested as moderators (e.g., Lee, Su, & Yoshida, 2005) and/or mediators (e.g., Lee & Liu, 2001) between family conflict and psychological distress in empirical studies to identify protective or risk factors. That is, these strategies will either alleviate (i.e., protective factor) or

exacerbate (i.e., risk factor) distress from family conflict. The following section addresses both protective and risk factor strategies to be taken into consideration when planning treatment and selecting interventions.

Protective Factor Considerations

Problem-solving and social support seeking. Social support seeking and problem-solving are two of the most frequently used coping strategies for Asian American youth in dealing with stressful situations (e.g., Ahn et al., 2009; Chang, 2001). In the context of Asian American family conflict, problem-solving refers to the process by which youth analyze and find solutions for difficult family situations. Social support seeking refers to obtaining emotional help from others outside the family in dealing with family conflict. Comparing across Asian American, Hispanic American, and White American college students, Lee and Liu (2001) found that all three groups were more likely to employ *direct coping strategies* (e.g., problem-solving, social support seeking) than *indirect coping strategies* (e.g., forbearance, self-distraction) to cope with family conflict. This finding differs from an earlier study that found Asian American students employed more problem avoidance and social withdrawal in coping with stressful situations compared to their White counterparts (Chang, 1996).

The empirical findings on relationships between problem-solving and social support seeking and mental health outcomes in Asian American youth are somewhat inconsistent. For example, Chang (2001) found that these direct coping strategies had different relationships across indicators of well-being and adjustment. Specifically, problem-solving was correlated with higher life satisfaction but not with depressive symptoms, whereas social support was neither correlated with life satisfaction nor depressive symptoms. Lee and Liu (2001) also indicated that greater use of these direct coping strategies was not related to lower Asian American family conflict.

Given the complex relationships between coping strategies and well-being, it is important for researchers and clinicians to consider relevant contextual factors or moderators (e.g., level of family conflict, psychological control) of coping efficacy from a stress and coping perspective (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). For example, because youth are embedded within the family system, some coping strategies might not be as effective when the level of family conflict is beyond the control of youth. Thus, an important moderator is the level of family conflict. Indeed, Lee et al. (2005) found a buffering effect of social support seeking. Social support seeking protected against poor outcomes (i.e., lower positive effect and higher somatic symptoms) when family conflict was high, but offered no advantage when family conflict was low. Ahn et al. (2009) also found that Asian Americans were more likely to seek out social support when family conflict is high. In contrast to social support seeking, Lee et al. (2005) found problem-solving had a protective-reactive effect. Problem-solving was effective when family conflict was low, but did not offer any advantages when family conflict was high.

In Sam's case, he is experiencing an escalation of family conflict that interferes with his sleep and social functioning (i.e., school performance). A clinician may want to prioritize helping Sam build stronger social support, so he can share his feelings and frustrations with peers who perhaps have experienced similar conflict. Encouraging problem-solving with Sam's family at the moment may be a less effective strategy given Sam's lack of control over his parents' authority.

Perspective-taking and meaning-making. Another approach to intervention with Asian American youth is the facilitation of perspective-taking and meaning-making in coping with family conflict. We conceptualize perspective-taking as youth recognizing and articulating parents' views about the family situation and meaning-making as a process where youth construe and make sense of their family process. Using a narrative approach, Kang et al. (2010) explored Korean American college students' perspective-taking and meaning-making about immigrant family conflicts that occurred when they were growing up. The majority of participants identified the prevalence of family conflict centered around lack of parental involvement, academic pressure, language barriers, and communication problems. However, Kang et al. (2010) suggested that individuals were also able to develop a more sympathetic stance towards parents for immigration-related hardships and to "forgive" their parents through perspective-taking and meaning-making. In particular, individuals drew from community narratives of immigrant sacrifice in order to make meaning of hardships related to family acculturation conflict. It is important to note that perspective-taking does not necessarily lead to a positive meaning-making or feelings of empathy. For example, some individuals were not able to narrate positive changes. Despite understanding their parents' hardship cognitively, these individuals expressed more distress related to their family relationships; that is, they consciously rejected positive reinterpretations and highlighted their own sufferings (Kang et al., 2010).

Furthermore, in a qualitative study, Kang and Larson (2014) explored the construct of "sense of indebtedness toward parents" as a mechanism through which Korean American youth made meaning of their past family conflicts. Sense of indebtedness toward parents was defined as "a person's recognition of his or her obligations to parents due to his or her parents' child-centered immigration aspirations and their sacrifice for the sake of the children" (Kang & Larson, 2014, p. 575). The processes of forming sense of indebtedness toward parents seemed to be catalyzed by life events, such as the transition to emerging adulthood, interactions with co-ethnic peers, gaining physical distance from parents, and other personal experiences.

Indeed, as Asian Americans youth transition to emerging adulthood, they appear more capable of taking their parents' perspectives and making meaning of past family conflicts. In a retrospective qualitative study (Juang & Meschke, 2015), Hmong American emerging adults were asked to engage in perspective-taking and meaning-making of their parents' socialization practices. Specifically, researchers asked participants to imagine that they were a parent of a 13-year-old and what they would do similarly and differently from their parents. The parenting practices that participants hoped to avoid with their own adolescent children (e.g., exert less pressure about

education, be more open about communication, and have fewer restrictions) have been consistently reported in research as areas of Asian American family conflict. However, due to transitions into adolescence and adulthood, Hmong American participants were able to take parents' perspectives and understand the underlying motivations behind their parents' socialization practices.

In working with Sam, who is struggling with parental disapproval of his career choice, a clinician might consider exploring and facilitating Sam's understanding of his family conflict in the context of the family and parents' migration history (e.g., Has his understanding of past family conflict changed over time? What might it be like for him to live away from his family members after graduation? Does he have any social support who are able to relate to his experience?). Perspective-taking and meaning-making strategies can be used in conjunction with helping him with problem-solving communication concerns and find social support systems that are able to understand his struggle. In addition, many of these catalytic life events are centered around adolescence and emerging adulthood (e.g., moving away from home), thus it is important to consider the developmental context when extrapolating these coping strategies to other age groups.

Perceived control. Increasing perceived control could be a target of intervention for family conflict. The general coping literature supports the importance of perceived control as a mediator of the association between stressful family environments and children's distress (Bolger & Patterson, 2001; Chorpita, Brown, & Barlow, 1998). Here, perceived control refers to the extent to which Asian American youth believe they can determine their internal state and behaviors and influence their environment to bring about desired outcomes when facing family conflict. Bahrassa et al. (2013) found that lower perceived control mediated the relationship between greater family conflict and higher psychological distress among Hmong American male students experiencing conflict with their mothers. It is possible that perceived control serves as a mediator (or moderator) in explaining the complex relationships among family conflict, coping strategies, and outcome (Lee & Liu, 2001; Lee et al., 2005; Su et al., 2005). In Sam's case, a clinician can help Sam identify what is controllable vs. uncontrollable in a situation where he describes, "My parents have made all of the major decisions in my life." This will help Sam assert autonomy in order to build his sense of perceived control.

Risk Factor Considerations

Research has also identified some risk factor considerations for coping with family conflict, which offers another perspective for researchers and clinicians to conceptualize intervention strategies with Asian American families. Lee and Liu (2001) found that utilization of indirect coping strategies (e.g., self-distraction, denial, thought suppression) mediated the relationship between family conflict and greater psychological distress. This finding suggests that interventions with Asian American family conflict should focus on reduction of these indirect coping strategies. When facing family conflict, children may feel discouraged from challenging parents'

views (Uba, 1994), and instead, opt to blame themselves for conflict, leading to greater psychological distress (Su et al., 2005). *Self-blame*, in comparison to blaming one's parents, particularly exacerbated the relationship between family conflict and psychological distress (Su et al., 2005). In working with Sam, a clinician might want to further explore Sam's interpretation of the family conflict and screen for thoughts of self-blame or denial of the conflict.

Limitations

Despite the growing literature on coping strategies with family conflict, there is a scarcity of translational research that has examined concrete ways of intervening with Asian American youth. The literature on coping strategies primarily draws from cross-sectional and correlational studies about the effectiveness of strategies that Asian American youth have already been using. Therefore, future research should reevaluate the efficacy, effectiveness, and cultural appropriateness of these coping strategies when applied to clinical settings. Moreover, experimental or quasi-experimental study designs are also needed to provide stronger evidence, beyond correlational data, to inform clinical work with Asian American youth experiencing family conflict. To conclude this chapter, we present an expressive writing intervention pilot study below. This study illustrates how individual-level coping strategies can be translated to and tested as an intervention for distress from family conflict.

Intervention Illustration: Expressive Writing Pilot Study[1]

Given that family conflict is associated with greater psychological distress among young adults (e.g., Lui 2015), expressive writing may provide a relatively simple and low-cost way for Asian American youth to express their feelings about family relationships instead of using risk factor strategies for coping. Expressive writing has emerged as a useful tool for managing personal setbacks. Studies have consistently found that expressive writing has positive implications for emotional and physical struggles (Pennebaker, 1997). Even one-time, brief writing exercises have been found to produce profound effects (e.g., Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, & Master, 2006).

Although expressive writing does not offer direct problem-solving, engagement in self-reflection through writing may prompt youth to use self-affirmation (e.g., Cohen & Sherman, 2014), meaning-making, and perspective-taking strategies, thereby potentially increasing their sense of perceived present control. Extant research suggests that the emotional valence of writing also needs to be considered

[1]This pilot study was first presented during the poster session at the 2010 Asian American Psychological Association Annual Convention.

when implementing an expressive writing intervention. Cohen et al. (2006) found that students benefited most when engaged in self-affirmative writing. Pennebaker (1997) also argued that cathartic writing, or the venting of emotions, can be powerful.

We present a pilot study that tested two writing prompts designed to reduce the association between family conflict and psychological distress. The pilot study did not specifically target Asian American students, but Asian American students made up the largest racial group. Fifty ethnic-racial minority students (mean age = 18.49 years old; 46% Asian American, 20% African American, 14% Multiracial) were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions as part of a new college student orientation:

1. Affirmative writing condition (n = 24). Students responded to the following prompt: "What are the qualities about your parents that you *most* appreciate and value? Why are these qualities important to you?"
2. Cathartic writing condition (n = 12). Students responded to the following prompt: "What are the qualities about your parents that you *least* appreciate and value? Why are these qualities not important to you?"
3. Control condition (n = 14). Students attended a mock lecture on college adjustment and were not given a writing exercise.

In the affirmative writing condition, some students highlighted their parents as role models. For instance, one individual wrote, "They are living examples of how they want me to act…[How] they walk, talk[,] giving me hope and evidence that even I can live a moral life," which may speak to students' awareness of both the direct and indirect ways parents are influential. Others expressed gratitude for parents' sacrifices, and moreover, noted a sense of indebtedness (e.g., Kang & Larson, 2014): "They've suffered for me, and I want to repay them. I feel that I owe it to them." Some students described feeling strongly supported by parents, stating that "I wouldn't be in the place I am today" and identifying their parents as "the structure and backbone to the person I am today." By writing about what is appreciated and valued about parents, students connected with the critical, central role that their parents play in their lives.

In the cathartic writing condition, some students noted the negative repercussions of family conflict. For example, one participant wrote, "The pressure… has caused the relationship between my parents and I to be not as close as I'd like." Another highlighted a resulting impasse: "Because my dad ignores me, I don't bother trying to talk to him anymore."

Following the 15-min writing exercises in Conditions 1 and 2, students completed the Family Conflict Scale (Lee et al., 2000) and the Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (Kessler et al., 2002) as a measure of psychological distress.

Consistent with previous research, greater family conflict was related to greater psychological distress (r = 0.30) among students who did not participate in the writing intervention. Among students who engaged in affirmative writing, there was a relatively weak correlation between family conflict and psychological distress (r = 0.16). For students engaged in cathartic writing, the direction of this correlation

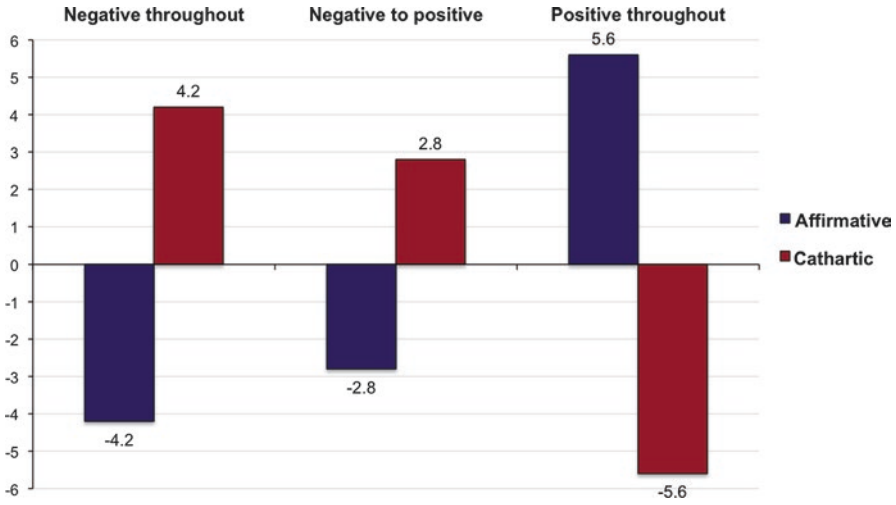

Fig. 7.1 Adjusted standardized residuals of condition × expressed emotion. *Note.* Only three expressed emotion categories are presented because no responses were coded as shifting from *positive to negative*

was reversed ($r = -0.52$), such that greater family conflict was associated with less distress. Although these correlations were not statistically significant due to the small samples, the effect sizes suggest possible differences in impact of affirmative versus cathartic approaches to coping.

The written responses were qualitatively coded for expressed emotion. Affect was coded positive when the student expressed contentment, support, and/or similarly positive emotions. Affect was coded negative when the student expressed frustration, hurt, and/or similarly negative emotions. Whole responses were coded as either *positive throughout*, *negative throughout*, shifting from *positive to negative*, or shifting from *negative to positive* (kappa = 0.98). The study found that emotional salience differed significantly by writing condition, c^2 (2, $N = 36$) = 32.25, $p < 0.01$, $\nu = 0.95$. To understand the nuances in this variation, the adjusted standardized residuals (ASRs) were examined (see Fig. 7.1).[2]

Almost all students in the affirmative writing condition were more likely than expected to maintain a positive tone throughout their responses, with only one student shifting from a negative to a positive tone and no students writing completely negatively. In contrast, students in the cathartic condition were more likely than expected to maintain a negative tone and to begin their response negatively but end positively. No one in the cathartic condition was consistently positive.

[2] Adjusted standardized residuals (*ASR*s) can be interpreted like a *z*-score, with values above or below 1.96 indicating significance. A positive value indicates that a cell frequency occurs more often than the expected count, whereas a negative value indicates that it occurs less often than expected. An *ASR* value near zero indicates no difference from the expected cell value.

Initial findings from this pilot study suggested that engaging in affirmative, self-reflective writing may be a promising means of weakening the negative association between family conflict and psychological distress. In contrast, in the cathartic writing condition, family conflict appeared to be negatively associated with distress. That is, cathartic writing may be useful for students reporting high family conflict, as it is related to decreased distress; however, for students with low family conflict, being prompted to write negatively about one's parents may be distressing.

In terms of emotional valence, all but one student in the affirmative writing condition maintained a positive tone throughout their responses, indicating a consistent narrative. However, in the cathartic writing condition, there was more variability in the processing of the prompt. Though the majority maintained a negative tone in their responses, some students positively reframed their relationship with their parents. For example, one female student first described her parents as "strict, overprotective," but concluded that "they've shown [her] by example that hard work pays off." Given the small sample size, future research should consider replication of this pilot study with a larger sample and deeper exploration of the mechanisms that drive individuals to differentially respond to affirmative and cathartic writing.

As we have discussed Sam's case throughout this chapter, we have consistently emphasized gathering adequate information about Sam's conflict within his familial and cultural context during the initial assessment. In light of the escalation of conflict reported by Sam, a clinician can engage him in a brief intervention by writing about the qualities of his parents that he least appreciates and values (e.g., career choices, family obligations). Once his emotional distress lessens, the clinician may switch to affirmative writing interventions to help Sam cope with the family conflict and distress by reflecting on positive qualities of his parents that he appreciates and values.

Conclusion

We began this chapter on parent-adolescent conflict in Asian American families by providing a synthesis and critique of the theory and methodological issues in Asian American family conflict over the past four decades. We argued for the use of the embedded contexts model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993) to conceptualize parent-adolescent conflict. This model emphasizes interactions between typical intergenerational conflict and conflict due to cultural differences. Moreover, we reviewed the empirically supported intervention strategies for addressing family conflict. We reviewed intervention strategies at the family-system level, drawing from the literature on culturally grounded and culturally adapted interventions. We also reviewed individual-level approaches for addressing family conflict, based on protective and risk factor considerations from the coping literature. Finally, we presented a pilot study on writing intervention to illustrate a translational research design in addressing Asian American family conflict.

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Chapter 8
Behind the Disempowering Parenting: Expanding the Framework to Understand Asian-American Women's Self-Harm and Suicidality

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National epidemiological studies show that overall lifetime prevalence of suicidal behaviors among Asian-Americans as a whole, including both the lifetime prevalence of suicide ideation and attempts, is lower than the national average (8.6% suicidal ideation, 2.5% attempts vs. 13.5% and 4.6% nationally; Duldulao, Takeuchi, & Hong, 2009). Despite these seemingly lower rates of suicidal behavior among Asian-Americans, the rates of depression and suicidal behavior among young Asian-American women are alarming. Asian-American adolescent girls have the highest rates of depression of all racial/ethnic and gender groups (NAMI, 2011). Specifically, suicide accounted for 23% of all deaths among Asian-American

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women aged 15–24, and 15.2% of deaths between age 25 and 34, compared to 12.9% and 9.3%, respectively, in the overall U.S. female population.

Self-harm, often considered a "suicidal gesture," can also significantly impact the well-being of Asian-American women. Asian-Americans may engage in self-harm behaviors for many reasons, including acculturative stress (Gomez, Miranda, & Polanco, 2011), discrimination (Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007), experiences of sexual violence (Hahm, Augsberger, Feranil, Jang, & Tagerman, 2016), parent-child conflict (Lau, Jernewall, Zane, & Myers, 2002), and the existing presence of mental health disorders such as depression or anxiety (Cheng et al., 2010). The most common onset for self-harm behavior in the U.S. is during adolescence (Whitlock, Muehlenkamp, & Eckenrode, 2008). However, young adults still report high rates of self-harm, with 17% engaging in at least one act of self-injury during their lifetime (Whitlock, Eckenrode, & Silverman, 2006), whereas the prevalence for all U.S. adults is much less, at 5.9% (Klonsky, 2011). Research suggests that 12.7% of Asians/Asian-Americans reported that they committed at least one incident in their lifetime, with Asian-American women disclosing more self-harm on average than men (Whitlock et al., 2011).

Although our field has yet to undercover the root cause of this critical public health issue, our research team *has* identified multiple factors associated with these rates. These include a history of interpersonal violence (Hahm et al., 2016); lower self-esteem and high rates of depression (Otsuki, 2003); alcohol and hard drug use and abuse (Hahm et al., 2013); identification as a lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) woman (Lee & Hahm, 2012); and struggling with "disempowering parents," with the subsequent development of a "fractured identity" (Hahm, Gonyea, Chiao, & Koritsanszky, 2014). While evidence suggests that most Asian-American parents do not employ harsh parenting styles (Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013), our 2014 study suggested that disempowering parenting styles were prevalent in the homes of Asian-American women who reported a history of suicidal ideation, suicide attempts, and self-harm behaviors.

The Effect of Disempowering Parenting on Identity Development

Hahm et al. (2014) investigated the influence of family dynamics and traumatic experiences on the identity development of Asian-American women, analyzing qualitative data from 16 Asian-American young women with lifetime suicidal ideation and/or suicide attempts. Results revealed that these at-risk women grew up in a household with what they perceived to be "disempowering parenting," categorized as: *A*busive (87.5%), *B*urdening (56.3%), Culturally disjointed (81.3%), *D*isengaged (50%), and *G*ender prescriptive (37.5%) ("ABCDG Parenting"). Table 8.1 describes perceived disempowering parenting characteristics, modes of self-harm, and fractured identity characteristics.

Table 8.1 Perceived disempowering parenting characteristics, modes of self-harm/suicidality, and fractured identity characteristics

Perceived disempowering parenting characteristics						Fractured identity		Substance abuse	Model(s) of self-harm		
Case pseudonym	Abusive	Burdening	Culturally disjointed	Disengaged	Gender prescriptive	Double bind	Low self-worth	Alcohol, painkillers, illicit drugs	Cutting	Suicidal ideation only	Suicidal attempts
Natalie	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	
Helen	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	
Audrey	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
Sarah	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓
Kelly	✓		✓			✓	✓				✓
Katie	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Jocelyn		✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	
Nicole	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Cindy	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓			✓
Angela	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Amber	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Sam			✓				✓			✓	
Monica	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓			✓	
Emily	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓				✓
Diana	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		
Winnie	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓			✓	
Total *n* (%)	14 (87.5)	9 (56.3)	13 (81.3)	8 (50.0)	6 (37.5)	13 (81.2)	15 (93.7)	7 (43.8)	8 (50.0)	6 (37.5)	6 (37.5)

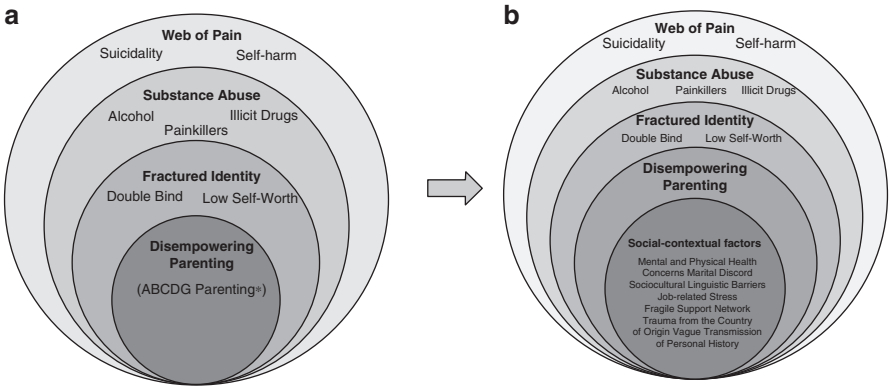

Fig. 8.1 (**a**, **b**) Fractured identity model *ABCDG parenting

Women exposed to these particular parenting styles while growing up were often caught in a "double bind" of competing identities; a desire to be the "perfect Asian-American woman," which was measured by high educational and socioeconomic status as well as adherence to traditional familial values, while simultaneously rejecting these values as unrealistic and at times contradictory. These opposing forces predispose Asian-American daughters to the development of internal conflict, ultimately leading to low self-worth and a fractured identity. As defined in the 2014 study, the "fractured identity framework" embodies the psychological process of Asian-American women's self-harm and suicidal behaviors (see Fig. 8.1). Due to the profound feelings of invalidation from their parents, who were perceived as disempowering, these women demonstrated low self-worth and a lack of agency to assert their own autonomy. This particular cluster of symptoms resulted in a fractured identity, the consequences of which include substance abuse, self-harm behavior, depression, and suicidality.

Studies on immigrant parenting in the United States have found that maternal substance abuse, parental physical illness, and maternal trauma were associated with abusive, punitive, and aggressive parenting (Parolin & Simonelli, 2016; Eiden, Schuetze, & Coles, 2011; Cohen, Hien, & Batchelder, 2008; Barkmann, Romer, Watson, & Schulte-Markwort, 2007). Additionally, immigrant parents engaged in conflict show increased use of harsh discipline, reduced parental involvement, and more frequent parent-child conflict (Buehler & Gerard, 2002). While some studies suggest that a large portion of Asian-American parents do not employ harsh parenting styles (Kim et al., 2013), these studies comprised recent immigrants as well as parents born and highly acculturated in the United States. Furthermore, our studies suggest that disempowering parenting styles, specifically, were prevalent in the homes of Asian-American young women who were classified as high-risk for suicidality and self-harm behaviors. That is, those women who engaged in these behaviors were more likely to have parents that used ABCDG strategies when compared with the general Asian-American female population.

Social Determinants of Disempowering Parenting: A Bierman Perspective

It is well-established that social influences—rather than medical care or health behaviors—are often the main drivers of health and health inequities in minority communities (Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003). Research indicates that lower health outcomes often accompany the acculturative stressors that Asian immigrants contend with, including the stress of the migration experience itself (Frisbie, Cho, & Hummer, 2001). In accordance with Bierman's social determinants framework (2006), which outlines the factors specifically affecting immigrant populations, this study posits that the health of Asian immigrant parents is likewise determined by the intersecting sociocultural, political, and environmental forces they come in contact with pre-migration and after resettlement.

Much like Bronfenbrenner's model of social influence, the Bierman model asserts that an immigrant parent experiences these forces on the macro-level (e.g., immigration policies or the political environment), the meso-level (e.g., social networks or community values), and the micro-level (e.g., individual income, ethnicity, or family structure), all of which relate back to their identity as an individual within a particular nation.

Immigration and Acculturative Stress

Seventy-four percent of Asian-Americans are foreign-born, and immigration to a new country often brings chronic levels of stress to incoming family members (Pew Social & Demographic Trends, 2013). New immigrants not only need to acquire the host language, but they also need to understand and adjust to the new culture, customs, and laws. While in the adjustment process, immigrant families may also experience psychological impacts of the change, often in the form of chronic or "acculturative stress." Asian immigrants may experience acculturative stress as a result of being unable to identify with mainstream U.S., which places them at higher risk for psychological illness and clinical depression (Hwang & Ting, 2008). This type of stress can include perceived discrimination, language difficulties, employment problems, and conflicts with family members due to the differences in acculturation levels to the host country (Lueck & Wilson, 2010). All of these can impact family distancing—breakdowns in communication and cultural values between immigrant parents and their children that manifest as mental health issues and familial dysfunction (Hwang, 2006)—and exacerbate conflicts between children and their parents.

While immigrants may gain new opportunities after migration, such as financial stability or access to government-funded programs like healthcare and food assistance (Kaushal, 2005), they also grapple with a profound sense of loss. This may come in the form of the loss of close kinship and friends that they grew up with, as

well as the loss of considerable opportunities to freely express ideas in their native language. Resulting grief may affect an immigrant's ability to become positive or effective spouses or parents (Meyer et al., 2015; Bhugra and Becker, 2005). Because Asian-American parents feel that they are losing control in the host society, they may become more controlling of their own children by overemphasizing academic achievement (Kao, 2004). Ultimately, this may make daughters feel perpetually inadequate and unable to live up to their parents' expectations, leading to low self-worth and depression (Hahm et al., 2014), the hallmark of the fractured identity framework.

Asian Immigrant Employment Stress

As of 2015, 16.7% of the U.S. labor force are immigrants; many work in low-wage service-based industries (U.S. Department of Labor, 2016). Acculturative stress for Asian immigrants may be exacerbated further in cases where employment is difficult to find or in employment settings where prejudice occurs. This may happen for a variety of reasons, including the unfamiliarity of employers with an immigrant's culture, discriminatory barring of Asian applicants, as well as the immigrant's misunderstanding of their own employee rights; these difficulties may lead to wage theft, unsafe working conditions, and abuse (Milkman, 2011). One study reported that Asian-American experiences of job insecurity, discord with colleagues, or dissatisfaction with work duties were correlated with having high rates of chronic illness and other health concerns (De Castro, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). Additional stress may come from belonging to a blue-collar or service-based industry after resettling in the United States. One study found that Asian-American immigrant workers are more likely to report that their mental and physical health was poorer than those identifying as white-collar (John, De Castro, Martin, Duran, & Takeuchi, 2012).

Sociolinguistic Barriers in Asian-American Immigrant Families

Most Asian-Americans were born outside the United States, which results in a large amount of cultural and linguistic diversity within this population (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). While limited English proficiency has received considerable attention in research, its particular relevance to immigrant populations is somewhat understudied. Sociolinguistic barriers can lead to miscommunications between an Asian immigrant and their new community and may also have a significant impact on their ability to navigate the United States healthcare system, legal system, or employment (DuBard & Gizice, 2008). Literature suggests

that immigrants struggling with limited English proficiency may also experience high levels of emotional distress when compared with other groups and are less likely to access mental health services (Abe-Kim et al., 2007). Asian immigrants, specifically, report higher rates of language-based discrimination when compared with other immigrant groups (Li, 2015). These barriers, when added to other acculturative stressors, may impact the well-being of both the Asian immigrant and their families as they learn to adjust in the United States.

Trauma in Asian Immigrants and Refugees

Many immigrants choose to come to the United States to escape trauma in their home country, some holding refugee status (Alfred, 2001). Indeed, large groups immigrated to the U.S. as early as the 1800s to escape trauma in Asia (Takaki, 1989). Common forms of immigrant and refugee trauma include physical/sexual assault, political upheaval, religious persecution, war, and natural disasters—to name a few (Li, 2015). Several studies demonstrate that Asian immigrants, and in particular Southeast Asian immigrants, often suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression due to war-related incidents (Hsu, Davies, & Hansen, 2004; Kinzie et al., 1990; Kroll et al., 1989). Other studies have shown that Asian immigrant trauma tends to include higher incidences of intimate partner violence related to patriarchal beliefs and gender roles (Lee & Hadeed, 2009), unreported child sexual abuse due to regarded familial positions and shame (Futa, Hsu, & Hansen, 2001), and daily experiences of racism (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005).

The Current Study

The purpose of this study is to expand the fractured identity framework further by identifying the social determinants of disempowering parenting styles associated with self-harm and suicidality among young Asian-American women who are children of immigrants. We are using the same data of the 16 daughters of Asian immigrants from our previous study (Hahm et al., 2014), which led to the establishment of the fractured identity framework. After we find the specific socio-contextual factors with qualitative analyses, we will then analyze to what extent the factors intersect with each ABCDG disempowering parenting style by calculating concordance rates between each socio-contextual factor and each ABCDG parenting style. This will shed light on the stressors that most impact the development of disempowering parenting in Asian immigrant parents. This study highlights the importance of collaboration between Asian-American community leaders, academic institutions, and policymakers to create culturally responsive preventative measures that target early signs of harmful parent-daughter relationships and reduce the risk of self-harm and suicidality in young Asian-American women.

Method

Data Collection

To be eligible, participants had to be single, aged 18–35, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, or a mix of these ethnicities, 1.5- or 2nd-generation immigrants, and residents of the Greater Boston area. The requested age range was chosen to target those who were identified as "young Asian-American women," but the majority of respondents were less than 25 years old. In order to target the unique experiences of Asian-American children of immigrants, we focused on 1.5- and 2nd-generation women specifically. For our purposes, "1.5-generation" included those who immigrated to the U.S. as children or adolescents between the ages of 6 and 12 years old (Rumbaut, 2004). "2nd-generation" included the U.S.-born children of 1st-generation immigrants.

All participants had a history of suicidal ideation, gestures (i.e., self-harm), attempts, or a combination thereof. The current sample (n = 16) was gathered from the sample of a larger qualitative study (n = 38) by Hahm et al. (2014), which was designed to identify the effect parenting strategies had on identity formation among Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese American women. These groups were chosen because they represented three out of four of the largest ethnic Asian groups in Massachusetts. Only the 16 chosen participants exhibited those suicidal tendencies. This study was approved by the Boston University Institutional Review Board (IRB).

Data Analysis

Researchers analyzed and coded the in-depth interviews of 16 Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese women aged 18–35 with NVivo software, a qualitative data analysis software program. For each theme, researchers identified a demonstrative case study from the interviews. As mentioned earlier, a previous study (Hahm et al., 2014) explored the novel notion of "disempowering parenting" among Asian immigrant parents and linked this to a fractured identity framework. In response to this 2014 study, the current study sought to explore these data in order to shed light on relevant socio-contextual factors for, and influences on, Asian immigrant parents, with the intention of identifying underlying determinants of ABCDG parenting.

This study uses a thematic analysis methodology, which seeks to identify, analyze, and report patterns or themes within qualitative data. Two coders read through the interview transcripts, listened to the audio recordings, and used NVivo to code, for examples, of disempowering (ABCDG) parenting and marked references to parent backgrounds. Our thematic analysis followed the steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006):

1. We thoroughly reviewed the 16 interview transcriptions, writing down initial ideas and setting out to recognize essential elements that addressed socioeconomic and contextual backgrounds of the participants' parents.

2. Across the entire data set, we systematically looked for repeated patterns of meaning and extracted keywords and phrases. By collecting data relevant to these keywords, we generated initial codes.
3. We collectively searched for and developed a set of possible themes that encompassed the keywords. We ensured the themes were mutually exclusive and were fully representative of the data.
4. We reviewed and discussed the codes and themes with the first author on a regular basis and revised 13 initial themes until we identified and mutually agreed upon a final set of seven socio-contextual themes with clear definitions and specific names.
5. We selected one pivotal interview for each social determinant theme to be featured in this chapter. We expanded the Fractured Identity Model to include these socio-contextual factors as underlying factors for ABCDG parenting.
6. We then determined the concordance rates of each ABCDG parenting strategy and these socio-contextual themes, by analyzing the proportion of ABCDG outcomes per the total amount of cases for each socio-contextual theme. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 8.3.

Results

NVivo analysis revealed seven significant socio-contextual predisposing themes shared between the 16 Asian-American daughters. The seven socio-contextual predisposing themes are (1) mental and physical health concerns, (2) marital discord, (3) sociocultural linguistic barriers, (4) job-related stress, (5) fragile support network, (6) trauma from the country of origin, and (7) vague transmission of personal history (Table 8.2). Based on these factors, our team is able to expand the fractured identity framework to include parental context (see Fig. 8.1). The most frequently discussed themes will be discussed in detail below, along with their corresponding disempowering (ABCDG) parenting style and self-harm or suicidal behaviors among these women as the symptoms of fractured identity. It should be noted that family dynamics are complex, and multiple disempowering parenting styles and multiple socio-contextual predisposing factors were reported by these women. However, for the purposes of this chapter, we will highlight the one ABCDG parenting strategy for each socio-contextual predisposing theme that best captures the narrative presented.

Theme 1. Mental and Physical Health Concerns

Four of the 16 participants (25%) reported that one of their parents had mental and/or physical health problems. Mental health problems encompassed both clinically diagnosed mental illness (e.g., psychosis, alcohol dependence, depression) and

Table 8.2 Socio-contextual factors associated with disempowering (ABCDG) parenting

	Mental and physical health concerns	Marital discord	Sociocultural linguistic barriers	Job-related stress	Fragile support network	Trauma from the country of origin	Vague transmission of personal history
Natalie						✓	
Helen		✓	✓				✓
Audrey		✓	✓	✓	✓		
Sarah				No observation			
Kelly			✓			✓	✓
Katie	✓		✓	✓		✓	
Jocelyn		✓		✓			✓
Nicole		✓	✓				✓
Cindy	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
Angela			✓			✓	✓
Amber	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
Sam		✓	✓				
Monica			✓				
Emily		✓				✓	
Diana	✓	✓					✓
Winnie				✓	✓		✓
Total *n* (%)	4 (25.0%)	7 (43.8%)	10 (62.5%)	6 (37.5%)	4 (25.0%)	5 (31.3%)	9 (56.3%)

general neurotic behaviors (e.g., perceived as overly anxious). Other daughters reported that their parents were contended with physical health problems, such as repeated surgeries and liver deterioration due to alcohol abuse. It is worth noting that both parents who reportedly struggled with substance use were perceived as "abusive," either emotionally or physically.

Case Study

When Cindy was 4, she and her parents immigrated to the United States from South Korea at the request of her father's employer. At the time, South Korea was in an economic crisis and her father became extremely occupied with his work, often away from home. Cindy's mother, who was unemployed and unable to speak English, was isolated in the house nearly every day, without social support, and without assistance from her father or other family members. Reflecting back, Cindy felt her mother's mental state was deeply impacted; she turned to alcohol and became impulsive, neurotic, depressed, and overly anxious. Cindy described her mother as a "non-functional" and "helpless woman." Much like Cindy's mother, many immigrants face isolation when they immigrate to a foreign country, putting them at higher risk for depression and other mental health concerns.

Disempowering parenting: Abusive type. During high school, Cindy was reportedly subjected to abusive parenting, both emotionally and physically. She recalled that her mother was convinced of her promiscuity in her early teens, calling her a "slut" and saying that men used her for her body. Cindy reported that her mother would lock her in her room, sometimes without food. When talking about her high school years, Cindy said, "I wasn't going to school…I wasn't being fed." Due to her continued absence, school administrators called the police and, ultimately, the court sent Cindy to a youth shelter. She lost touch with her parents for several years after this, which she felt was due to her parents' emotional detachment from her.

Linking self-harm, suicidality, and fractured identity. Unable to reconnect with her parents, Cindy moved in with her then boyfriend for financial support. Cindy recalled that her boyfriend was emotionally abusive, logging onto her email and violating her privacy. Although she reportedly wanted to leave, she was unable to move out for 2 years due to financial dependence. Trying to support herself, Cindy worked as a dancer at a nightclub and later took a job as a phone sex operator. She perceived this environment to be toxic, but reported that she felt powerful and independent, capable of finally taking care of herself. Cindy acknowledged that, while these were unsafe work environments, she would rather work than turn to her parents for help. Cindy reported a history of depression and bipolar disorder, which began at this time. To cope, she turned to substances—marijuana, cocaine, and DMT. She explained,

> I was lonely and depressed and was going through a lot with my family…And moving around… So, [I] didn't know how to handle that very well. And I think I just needed distractions.

In the interview, she poignantly recalled the time she voluntarily admitted herself to a psychiatric ward because she felt she was a danger to herself. By her account, loneliness and depression triggered these risky behaviors, and ultimately, she lacked the support to adequately handle her feelings. At the time of the interview, Cindy showed significant resilience. She was planning to get married and felt she had learned how to handle her inner turmoil. However, this strength was always seen in the context of her parents' rejection of her.

Theme 2. Marital Discord

Of the 16 cases, seven participants (43.8%) reported that their parents had or were experiencing marital discord. Narratives included divorce, domestic violence, separation, frequent arguments, emotional indifference, and extramarital affairs. Participants' discussions of these moments were especially emotional. In the majority of cases, our study identified that job-related stressors, in conjunction with fragile parental support networks, led to marital discord for the immigrant parents of our interviewees.

Case Study

After Amber's parents immigrated to the United States, her father began traveling frequently to Taiwan for work. Amber's mother discovered that he had been having an affair with his secretary while on business trips—this affair ultimately led to her parents' divorce. Affected by this conflict, Amber's mother reportedly became unfriendly and cynical. During the interview, Amber recalled, "When [my dad] left, I kind of felt like my mom was like a stranger." As he was leaving, Amber's father withdrew all the family money from their joint bank account, despite the fact that her mother relied solely on his income, causing Amber and her mother to suffer great financial hardship in his absence.

Disempowering parenting: Disengaged type. The resentment and emotional instability of Amber's mother influenced her childrearing practices, and she showed a significant indifference towards Amber's emotional needs. When Amber expressed sadness, she reported her mother would tell her a story about how she "rose above" her own vulnerability, implying Amber should do the same. In a striking example of this, Amber reported that she attempted suicide in her teens, and during her hospitalization, her mother called her "weak" and walked away. Amber elaborated by saying, "She [her mother] just brushes it off like it's nothing, like it's not important."

Linking self-harm, suicidality, and fractured identity. The disengaged style displayed by Amber's parents, through absence and emotional unavailability, affected her mental health and behavior significantly. In her interview, Amber said she felt depressed and lonely throughout her teen years. At age 18, she started using marijuana, alcohol, and Ketamine to cope, in addition to compensatory sexual behavior. Amber remembered feeling substandard in every aspect of her life during that period. Amber was hospitalized several times as a young adult and cut herself to "calm down" during conflict. Her self-harm became a habitual act wrapped up in her maternal relationship. Notably, Amber felt the cutting would make her feel "real" and was something she could control.

> I'm not like starving out in the streets or whatever, but…in order for me to feel like not so crazy, like I was actually being hurt. The physical infliction of pain, it would…it made it more real.

It is clear that, while her parents' divorce impacted her mother, Amber herself suffered greatly from her parents' detached responses to it.

Theme 3. Sociolinguistic Barriers

Sociolinguistic barriers were prevalent throughout the interviews, with ten anecdotal accounts overall (62.5%). This theme encompassed both barriers to speaking the host language (e.g., the inability to speak English fluently) and barriers to the utilization of language-based skills assumed to be culturally normative in the host country (e.g., the inability to write a U.S. check). Limited English skills and lack of sophisticated understanding of the host culture can limit an immigrant parent's capacity to develop new networks in the host country, sometimes resulting in grief or chronic acculturative stress.

Case Study

Monica's parents emigrated from China and had limited English proficiency. While Monica was born in the United States, her parents' lack of English fluency often led to parent-daughter conflict. This language barrier was compounded by the fact that Monica and her parents held, what she perceived to be, different cultural values. While her parents were raised in a traditional Chinese household, Monica felt she was more acculturated and lived according to Western ideals—this led to a power struggle.

> My parents don't speak English or very limited. Even though I do speak…Fukienese, umm, there are always like subtleties, like emotional words that, you know, you can't… may not be able to express in the language. They wouldn't understand even the basis of my classes and my days and like what I wanted to be.

Disempowering parenting: Burdening type. Monica experienced pressure from her parents' differing beliefs. She reported feeling very aware of her obligations, particularly the expectation that she was to take care of her parents in old age. She remembered her father saying, "When you're like making money, you're going to give me…you know, a third of your salary, right?" In contrast, Monica believed the act of caring for her parents should come from genuine gratitude, which she did not have. In another instance, Monica expressed concerns about the considerable pressure she was under from her mother to get married, reporting that she was expected to date and get married before turning 29, whether she found someone she loved or not.

Linking self-harm, suicidality, and fractured identity. Monica's biggest fear was failing academically, thereby disappointing her parents. Like other narratives, Monica stated that she went through depression during high school, began drinking heavily, and engaged in high-risk sexual behavior. Like the other women, she too reported low self-esteem and suicidal ideation. She displayed animosity and frustration toward her parents, which was most evident when she fantasized about her future, a future where she left her parents physically and emotionally behind. Still, she felt guilty that she was not a "good daughter" to them and acknowledged that she would likely still contribute financially to their well-being. Monica experienced a double bind; she felt trapped by the desire to simultaneously reject her parents' values and to obtain validation from them.

> There's a sense of obligation…I still want to like make her proud and…I know she will be if I like become successful or whatever and…I think the only way is to make a lot of money, but I wish I could just be myself.

Theme 4. Job-Related Stress

Job-related stress was another common theme among study participants. Of the 16 parents, 6 reportedly experienced job instability or financial stress related to employment (37.5%). Three of these parents were also categorized as overworking parents (i.e., parents working to the extent that they were experienced as absent or missing from their child's life). Parents, largely fathers, either had unstable job conditions which resulted in economic hardship or worked intensively for long hours, traveling back and forth from Asia to the United States.

Case Study

Audrey's father, a landscape artist from Korea, came to America hoping to bolster his art career. He traveled back and forth between his Korean and American jobs every few months in the hopes that he would be successful in at least one of these locations. Audrey referenced the stress induced by her father's lack of job stability and discussed the strain this had on their increasingly "distant" relationship.

Audrey's mother passed away when she was a young child, and this served to heighten her father's instability. Both the occupational stress and grief over the loss of his spouse contributed to what Audrey perceived as pressure and alienation growing up. She noted his intentions to protect her by pushing towards "a more secure life."

> Because my dad's career isn't so stable, he expected me to just take care of all my school, you know, tuition and everything on my own. So already having that thought in my mind, I'm trying to live his dream and go to an expensive school, and pay for it myself…It was way too much for me.

Disempowering parenting: Burdening type. Audrey described feeling "burdened" by her father and discussed the unspoken expectation that she would support her father financially in old age as his caretaker. She added that this burden extended to her academic life, where she felt a strong pressure to perform and find a job her father perceived as financially successful. She went as far as to say that her father often "compared" her to the children of his peers, which only amplified the pressure for her. Rather than living her own life, Audrey felt she was "living his [her father's] life for him." While Audrey did not speak to the family's direct reaction to her mother's death, she commented that guilt around the death served to intensify her hyperfocus on her father's well-being.

Linking self-harm, suicidality, and fractured identity. Audrey described a history of depression, bulimia, and substance abuse when dealing with her father's instability, including several bouts of severe depression between ages 10 and 16. She recognized a conflict between her need for treatment and her parents' cultural belief that willpower, and not medication, should be used to treat mental health issues. While her family eventually allowed her to see a counselor, Audrey reported she still felt that there were several problematic family dynamics, including the perception of emotional moments as weakness and a lack of understanding of her illness, with her parents largely attributing her symptoms to a personality issue.

Theme 5. Fragile Support Network

In our interviews, we found out that four participants (25%) demonstrated evidence of a fragile parental support network. This theme encompassed instability within the parents' immediate family or extended family, either in the U.S. or their country of origin. It also encompassed isolation or perceived detachment from the parent's community (e.g., friends, religious group, etc.). Interviewees often commented that they perceived a link between a fragile support network and decreased parental mental health. For immigrants, who may have been thousands of miles from their main support system, a lack of connection likely contributed to greater stress in their daily lives.

Case Study

Jocelyn's parents were married after immigrating to the U.S. from Vietnam. Occupational burden caused her father to come home late often, which led to regular conflict between her parents. When Jocelyn was in eighth grade, her parents separated but did not file for divorce. She felt that this behavior reflected the Asian cultural perspective that "familial duty superseded individual desire." Family anxiety was compounded by the fact that her parents received only limited support and comfort from their friends over the separation. In her descriptions of her parents' network, Jocelyn said her mother lacked friends, and her father's friends were "judgmental" and "cold," rather than supportive. She recalled the effort of her parents' friends to reunite her parents, despite those efforts causing more harm to the family.

> Their friends didn't care if they were happy…The adults would sometimes come up to my sister and myself and they would be like, "Oh, how is your mom? Umm, you should tell your mom to get back with your dad."

Disempowered parenting: Burdening type. Jocelyn's parents exhibited several ABCDG characteristics, most salient of which was burdening parenting. Jocelyn recalled feeling significant family pressure around academic achievement, especially if she got a "bad grade." She commented specifically that her father's "pushiness" and negativity "weighed down" on her. Acknowledging the context of these behaviors, Jocelyn said her parents experienced significant hardship in Vietnam, and her father's high expectations may have been a reaction to his own lack of educational opportunity during youth. While she wanted to remain "appreciative," ultimately, the expectations felt overwhelming and contributed to her low self-esteem.

Linking self-harm, suicidality, and fractured identity. During her interview, Jocelyn was candid about her self-harm and suicidality as a teenager. She remembered one such situation, when her mother reportedly said, "You don't deserve to be my daughter," after which Jocelyn felt "unloved" and cut herself with a razor. She reported feeling that this was "cathartic" and helped her release some of her pent up negative emotion. She attributed some of this behavior to her unstable relationship with her parents, and insightfully stated that the relationship may have been stronger had the parents felt emotionally supported by their network.

Theme 6. Trauma from the Country of Origin

Pre-migration trauma exposure was also found to be a determinant of ABCDG parenting. In our study, five participants (31.3%) reported that their parents immigrated to the U.S. due to traumatic events, such as war or political persecution. Of these five, three identified that their parents were refugees. Parents with these

immigration histories tended to be seen as more "uptight" and apprehensive by the participants, likely due to the anxiety-inducing intensity of their traumatic exposure. This anxious and distrustful stance was often perceived as pressure and burden by the interviewees.

Case Study

Katie's parents left for the United States during the Vietnam War in order to escape the turmoil of the region and find a better quality of life for their family. Katie explained that the experience of the war changed the personalities and perspectives of her parents.

> They recently, actually, just started talking about it…about their experiences and seeing their friends die in front of them and getting, you know, bombed and like…And they-they definitely don't trust a lot of people because of that.

Katie explained that her mother, especially, showed distrust toward people, telling her not to depend on anyone else. This mindset was modeled behaviorally as well, as her mother "secretly" squirreled money away due to a lack of trust for her husband's financial acumen. She also expressed a great deal of anxiety for the future, likely because of her trauma in Vietnam, which Katie felt affected her parenting greatly.

Disempowering parenting: Burdening type. Katie reported feeling burdened by her parents' expectations, which ranged from pressures to perform academically to continual reminders that she needed to marry a particular type of husband. Katie's mother wanted her to either "become a doctor or marry a doctor," but Katie wanted to enroll in art school, which caused tension in their relationship. Disappointed by her career choice, her parents refused to support her financially, while they paid for her brother's full tuition in mathematics.

> I went to art school so I definitely paid for my own way…My brother went to school for math so they were like, "Great! That's wonderful. Math, you're going to succeed," and I was like, "I'm going to do art," and they were like, "Oh, you take care of yourself then." So that was definitely difficult for me because I had to basically fight my way through.

Katie's parents imposed marital expectations on her as well; she reported they ordered her to marry "proper" and affluent Asian doctors against her wishes. This pressure led her to keep the details of her romantic attachments to herself.

Linking self-harm, suicidality, and fractured identity. Katie described herself as a "bad" kid "who gave [her] parents a lot of grief." She reported partaking in alcohol, marijuana, and cigarettes, in addition to having multiple sexual partners as a teenager. She related this back to a desire to rebel against the burden that her parents had imposed on her. Katie also reported depressive symptoms and anger management concerns, which she felt were tempered by strong relationships with high school friends. Regarding her depression, she said,

> I didn't get along with my parents at the time 'cause, you know, all the expectations… and them not understanding and pressuring me…It was definitely like a time in my life where I was like, "I have nothing," you know hopelessness. And it hurt.

Katie reported that cutting assured her that she was "normal" when in the midst of depression. She attempted suicide when she was in her sophomore year of college, but added that it was more of a "blessing in disguise" as it increased cohesion in the home. Katie explained that her suicide attempt led to greater communication with her parents. For instance, while it was difficult for her father to say "I love you" prior to her attempt, he became more physically affectionate and "close" after the incident.

Theme 7. Vague Transmission of Personal History

Of 16 participants, 9 (56.3%) were unclear about their parents' histories, at times recognizing that they were unfamiliar with key events in their parents' lives—this included narratives of their childhood, immigration stories, and relationships with family members. Participants often felt they "should" know, but were unable to articulate crucial details. Admittedly, traumatic events, such as wars, might not explicitly be discussed with youth, but the lack of clarification may also reflect an emotional and mental disconnection between parents and their children. One interviewee could not describe her parents' experiences in the Vietnam War and another did not know how her parents met.

Case Study

Circumstances around the Vietnam War forced Angela's parents to immigrate to the United States, and while Angela was aware that her parents experienced "some trauma," she reported that she did not know details. Additionally, she never clarified these details, even after she became an adult, despite feeling that her parents may have been open to talking about it after she matured.

Disempowering parenting: Culturally disjointed type. Discussing her lack of affinity for Vietnamese customs and strong sense of "American-ness," Angela went as far as to say, "I'm more White than Vietnamese." Her parents, however, strongly held onto their traditional Asian values, creating a cultural divide. Angela reported this took a toll on her peer interactions as well—while she was not allowed to date until college, this was not the case for her White peers. She further stated that her parents' traditional views affected the way she understood a gender role and marriage. Her mother reportedly opposed feminism and insisted Angela behave in gender typical ways, wanting Angela to act as a "proper Asian woman." In one instance, she strongly insisted that Angela wear makeup, else give up any hope of getting married or attracting a financially dependable husband.

> I feel like the only reason my mom and I are able to talk about dating and stuff like that is because she's trying so hard to get me married…So she will be like, you know, "You should go put on more makeup if you're going to go out,"…or, you know… "You should be dating more."

Angela explained that her mother believed marriage to be pragmatic and "convenient," rather than romantic. While her mother would become frustrated if she tried to rebel against this ideology, Angela continued to resist into her adult years, citing a belief in a woman's independence and marriage based on romantic connection. She reported feeling "trapped" between the views of her friends and mother, which often clashed.

Linking self-harm, suicidality, and fractured identity. Angela felt depressed during her middle and high school years. She endorsed a need to regain control and stated this was her "own way of rebelling against [her parents]," particularly around her father's physical "abuse" during high school.

> I think that's where the cutting came from 'cause I was just angry that my dad was able to, like, hurt me…So I kind of took it back in my own hands… Hurt myself on my own terms.

Angela recalled that a friend, and not her parents, confronted her about her cutting behavior, leaving her with mixed feelings of embarrassment and relief at finally being seen. While the communication gap between Angela and her parents was striking, she felt supported by her friends.

The Intersection of Socio-contextual Factors and ABCDG Parenting

In order to understand how these seven factors intersect with ABCDG parenting, we calculated concordance rates between each ABCDG parenting style and each socio-contextual factor (Table 8.3).

After analyzing the concordance patterns in Table 8.3, it is clear that ABCDG parenting was associated with the seven main themes identified in the interviews. Both abusive parenting and culturally disjointed parenting had concordance rates with all socio-contextual factors at or above 0.50. Overall, abusive parenting had the highest concordance rate with the majority of socio-contextual factors, followed by culturally disjointed, disengaged, burdening, and gender-prescriptive parenting in descending order. Specifically, those daughters that perceived their parents to be abusive also tended to report the majority of these seven factors (parental health problems, marital discord, sociolinguistic barriers, job-related stressors, fragile support networks, trauma in their country of origin, and a vague transmission of personal history). With regard to culturally disjointed parenting, parental trauma and sociolinguistic barriers were highly concordant. That is, Asian-American daughters who tended to endorse these factors also tended to experience a cultural divide between them and their parents. These relationships will be interpreted further in the Discussion section.

Table 8.3 Matrix of socio-contextual factors and ABCDG parenting concordance rates

	Health ($n = 4$)	Mar Dis ($n = 7$)	Soc Bar ($n = 10$)	Job stress ($n = 6$)	Frag Sup ($n = 4$)	Trauma ($n = 5$)	Vague His ($n = 9$)
A	1.00 (4)	0.71 (5)	0.90 (9)	0.83 (5)	1.00 (4)	1.00 (5)	0.89 (8)
B	0.50 (2)	0.43 (3)	0.50 (5)	0.67 (4)	0.75 (3)	0.40 (2)	0.56 (5)
C	0.75 (3)	0.86 (6)	0.90 (9)	0.50 (3)	0.50 (2)	1.00 (5)	0.67 (6)
D	0.75 (3)	0.43 (3)	0.50 (5)	1.00 (6)	1.00 (4)	0.40 (2)	0.56 (5)
G	0.50 (2)	0.43 (3)	0.30 (3)	0.17 (1)	0.00 (0)	0.80 (4)	0.33 (3)

ABCDG outcomes displayed as proportion of total cases for each socio-contextual factor. Number of total cases for each intersection is denoted in parentheses. "Health" indicates mental and physical health concerns; "Mar Dis" indicates marital discord; "Soc Bar" indicates sociocultural linguistic barrier; "Job stress" indicates job-related stress; "Frag Sup" indicates fragile support network; "Trauma" indicates trauma from the country of origin; "Vague His" indicates vague transmission of personal history

In sum, as a result of our new findings on seven socio-contextual factors, now we propose to expand the fractured identity framework from Fig. 8.1a, b.

Discussion

We analyzed the experiences of the Asian-American immigrant parent through the lens and stories of Asian-American daughters in order to explore and understand the socio-contextual factors that lead to disempowering parenting. Our study indicates that the self-harm and suicidality of young Asian-American women are the byproduct of the collective struggle of these young women as well as their parents. More specifically, our study found that, behind disempowering parenting styles (i.e., abusive, burdening, culturally disjointed, disengaged, and gender-prescriptive styles) were immigrant parents contending with seven stress-related factors. Notably, while the interviews did not intentionally address immigration specifically, all themes, aside from mental/physical health problems and marital discord, directly related back to the Asia-U.S. immigration process. This was clearly a very defining process for the identities of the Asian-American daughters interviewed, although they did not go through it personally. As significant acculturative stressors for these families, job-related stress, family history transmission, sociolinguistic barriers, trauma, and a fragile support network all contributed to the conflictual family dynamics experienced by these young Asian-American women and ultimately influenced their self-image, mental health, risky behavior, and suicidality.

As stated previously, further analysis of the relationships between socio-contextual factors and disempowering parenting styles revealed that abusive parenting, overall, had the highest concordance rates of all disempowering parenting types. It may be that abusive parenting, when compared to other parenting types, is more often a precursor to self-harm and suicidality in these young women. It is also possible that immigrant parents subjected to the significant socio-contextual

stressors listed in Table 8.3 are more likely to engage in abusive parenting. While we cannot provide causality of these relationships, as we are simply looking at patterns of rates, the prevalence of abusive parenting for parents undergoing these stressors is striking. Findings indicate that parental trauma is particularly concordant with this parenting style for our sample. Literature suggests that parental trauma is a significant predictor of abuse, punitiveness, psychological aggression, and physical discipline in subsequent parenting (Cohen et al., 2008). Fragile support networks and health problems were also highly concordant and may create a coping deficit for Asian immigrant parents, whereby trauma and other stressful stressors become even more damaging. Research suggests that pre-migration trauma might be the key source of stress proliferation (i.e., the process by which multiple stressors accumulate to harm health) for this population, triggering a chain of subsequent stressors post-migration (Li, 2015).

Importantly, this study focused on the experiences of Asian-American daughters and thus provides interesting intersectional insight into the race-gender relationship. We know, as stated previously, that self-harm and suicidality are more often reported by young Asian-American women than men, and that young Asian-American women reported higher rates of suicidal ideation in general than other ethnic groups of the same age. Many of our findings may be unique to Asian-American women specifically, as in the responses that demonstrated gender-prescriptive and burdening parenting styles. Many respondents commented on feelings of being "burdened" by pressures to assume a caregiver role for their parents as they aged; this included financial and physical caregiving. Literature suggests that Asian-American women often feel they have the distinct responsibility to maintain the family's well-being. This may create conflict as an Asian-American daughter experiences the cultural divide between parental expectations and the expectations of non-Asian peers (Pyke and Johnson, 2003). In addition to burdening parenting, findings of gender-prescriptive parenting pointed to the desire of many interviewees to deviate from traditional Asian feminine norms. One respondent perceived her mother to be intensely interested in her marriage timeline, which was difficult to balance with expectations of high academic achievement. This is consistent with research on the gendered experience of 2nd-generation Asian-American women, who often report they are expected to be "trailblazers" in the United States, but also have their marriage age and career paths dictated by their parents, who may see marriage as more of a priority (Yoo & Kim, 2010). One respondent said that her brother's education was valued over her own since he received full tuition sponsorship while she paid her college herself; she attributed this to patriarchal cultural values. Job-related stress was prevalent regardless of income among our participants. Job stress may include perceived racial inequities in the workplace regardless of the income level and a lack of social support.

Marital discord was typically reported as a post-immigration family dynamic. Therefore, it may have not been an immediate acculturative stressor like many of the other determinants. However, respondents who reported job instability and a fragile support network were more likely to report marital discord. A previous study has found an increased willingness to make personal sacrifices for familial

well-being and harmony (Huang, 2005). Parents engaged in marital conflict show an increased use of harsh discipline, reduced parental involvement, and more frequent parent-child conflict (Buehler & Gerard, 2002). Compared with other ethnic families, Asian-American families are less likely to divorce when faced with marital issues, though these rates are increasing (Ishii-Kuntz, 2004).

As in our marital discord findings, findings around mental/physical health problems often occurred post-immigration. Thus, physical and mental health may be the outcome of genetic and environmental factors; however, immigrant health is also uniquely affected by acculturative stress. This factor is important to study as it affected the relationships between Asian-American daughters and their immigrant parents, especially in the case of substance use. Maternal substance abuse is associated with increased use of physical, punitive, and threatening disciplinary methods. This is likely due to emotional dysregulation, negative affectivity, feelings of inadequacy from stigmatization, and discontinuity of care both physically and emotionally (Conners et al., 2004; Eiden et al., 2011; Hans, 1992), all of which may be enhanced by acculturative stress. Evidence shows that perceived social support modulates physical and mental health outcomes, allowing individuals to develop resilience and buffer the negative psychosocial effects of poverty and stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Taylor, Conger, Robins, & Widaman, 2015;). This may be especially important in Asian immigrant communities where culture emphasizes the family unit and collectivism, in contrast to a Western emphasis on individualism.

One of the most unique themes that arose from this study was the vague transmission of personal history. We hypothesize this unclear transmission is multifactorial in origin: intergenerational communication gap, traumatic repression, cultural differences, and shame or embarrassment regarding family history. The vague transmission of parental history may interfere with the formation of stronger bonds with parents, which, if intact, could contribute to a deeper understanding of family history, cultural roots, and significant events, allowing children to foster empathy toward parents. Given the high occurrence of this finding, further studies should be done to explore and characterize the nature and reasons for this transmission pattern.

Limitations and Future Directions

First, we are unable to generalize to all Asian immigrants as the study sample was limited to children of immigrants from China, Korea, and Vietnam. Second, these stories are from the perspective of Asian-American daughters, not sons or their Asian parents. We might speculate that sons may have had an alternate experience; however, our study was most concerned with the experience of young women due to high rates of depression and suicide in this particular group. Third, our study did not identify perceived discrimination as a major theme in the interviews about parents' experiences. Yet, studies show that perceived discrimination is often related to ethnic minority status, including micro-aggressions, disrespectful behavior, and

everyday hassles compounding the stress of immigrants' experiences (Gee, Ro, Shariff-Marco, & Chae, 2009). This may have occurred because these in-depth interviews were conducted with a primary focus on the participants themselves, not on their perception of their parents per se. Finally, given this study analyzed 16 qualitative data, our results should be interpreted with caution and additional study is warranted to verify our socio-structural factors.

Research, Clinical, and Policy Implications

Despite the limitations, our study provides important implications for research, practice, and policy. We expanded our fractured identity framework to understand the self-harm and suicidality of Asian-American women through the identification of seven socio-contextual factors that undergird disempowering (ABCDG) parenting. These may be used to create a predictive measure for self-harm and suicidal behaviors among young Asian-American women.

Although there are important differences in suicide presentation and risk among ethnic/racial minority groups, cultural variation is often left out of systematic risk assessment paradigms. Rather than relying on general assessment tools for suicidality, like the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI-II) or the Suicide Ideation Scale, this study reveals the need for tailored measures specific for Asian-American women, who experience distinct, culturally specific mental health concerns catalyzed by the disempowering parenting styles of their immigrant mothers and fathers. While Western measures of parenting tend to label Asian-American parenting as "controlling" and "authoritarian" (Kagitçibasi, 2007), other nuanced measures acknowledge the existence of parental reasoning and a culturally specific expression of warmth (Wu & Chao, 2011). Our results suggest that, while certain styles, like disempowering (ABCDG) parenting, may be correlated with mental health difficulties, future research is needed to create a measure that (a) incorporates immigration and acculturative stress, (b) includes child and parent perspectives, and (c) detects disempowering parenting before it has a negative impact on immigrant Asian-American children.

For 1st-generation immigrant parents, the development of online mental health intervention or tele-mental health services may facilitate easier access to provision of services for depression and substance use and abuse screening/treatment, trauma from the original countries, and marital discord. Our study suggests that intervention content should include (a) understanding and communicating parents' history and cultural roots, (b) validation of children's emotions and cross-generational cultural differences, (c) a discussion on the ways in which job-related stresses and marital discords have impacted the relationships with daughters, and (d) how parents can repair their parent-child relationships. Achieving deeper understanding of these issues may help foster developing more integrated and solidified identity for immigrant children.

In conclusion, behind the self-harm and suicidal behaviors of young Asian-American women, complex socio-contextual inequities exist. In order to effectively address high suicide rates in this population, there is an urgent need for collabora-

tions among researchers, Asian community organizations, and policy makers. Without these efforts, we may not be able to adequately protect the lives of young Asian-American women.

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Chapter 9
A Preliminary Examination of the Cultural Dimensions of Mental Health Beliefs and Help Seeking: Perspectives from Chinese American Youths, Adults, and Service Providers

Miwa Yasui

Asian American children and youth frequently face the "model minority" stereotype, resulting in a misconception that they experience fewer mental health problems than other ethnic minorities (Qin, Way, & Mulherjee, 2008). Yet, significant evidence suggests that Asian American children and youth continue to experience high rates of psychopathology. Asian American youth are more likely to suffer from internalizing problems including depression, anxiety, and mental distress compared to European American youth (Eisenberg, Golberstein, & Gollust, 2007; Kim & Chun, 1993; Kisch, Leino, & Silverman, 2005; Sen, 2004). Asian American and Pacific Islander youth have the highest rate of suicide deaths at 14.1% compared to White (9.3%), Black (3.3%), and Hispanic (7.4%) youth and suicide deaths are more pronounced among youths who face challenges of acculturation (Liu, Yu, Chang, & Fernandez, 1990).

While limited, evidence specific to Chinese American youth suggests similar trends. Compared to their European American counterparts, Chinese American youth and college students report higher levels of depression and emotional distress (Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992; Greenberger & Chen, 1996). Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans between the ages of 15 and 24 are also reported to have the highest proportion of suicide deaths on university campuses (Leong, Leach, Yeh, & Chou, 2007). These elevated rates of psychopathology are of particular concern given the added culturally specific stressors Chinese Americans face, including acculturative stress, intergenerational conflict, and cultural value gaps among family members (Fuligni, 1997).

Despite this, a trend continues in which Asian American youth and their families are less engaged in mental health services and attend fewer treatment sessions when in treatment, compared to European American families (Garland et al., 2005; Yeh, McCabe, Hough, Dupuis, & Hazen, 2003; Zane, Hatanaka, Park, & Akutsu, 1994).

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This challenge in engagement has also been identified among Chinese American families (Lau, 2012; Lau, Fung, Ho, Liu, & Gudiño, 2011).

Scholars have noted that one explanation for poor treatment is because conceptualizations of mental health problems and their prescribed interventions often fail to encompass cultural and ethnic factors, resulting in the inability to engage families successfully (Lau, 2006; Wang et al., 2005). Understanding the influence of culture, therefore, is of particular importance considering the profound effects treatment engagement can have on both the dissemination and effectiveness of evidence-based treatments for ethnically and racially diverse populations (Cavaleri et al., 2010; Hoagwood, Burns, Kiser, Ringeisen, & Schoenwald, 2001).

In response, several scholars have highlighted the need to empirically examine the influence of culture within interventions (Barrera & Castro, 2006; Lau, 2006). In recent years, more attention has been directed to enhancing the effectiveness of evidence-based treatments (EBTs) for ethnic minority children and youth through the development of culturally adapted interventions (Bernal & Domenech Rodríguez, 2012; Lau, 2006). This reflects a promising direction, given that expectations and norms for appropriate child behavior and parenting practices are often culturally bound, which calls for the cultural tailoring of interventions for specific ethnic minority groups. However, despite this trend, existing evidence points to a significant lack of interventions for Asian American children and families (Huey & Polo, 2008; Miranda et al., 2005). Moreover, within the literature on culturally adapted interventions, trials specifically adapted for Asian American youth and children across various mental health outcomes (including problem behaviors and internalizing problems) are virtually nonexistent (Huey, Tilley, Jones, & Smith, 2014). The culturally adapted parent training intervention for Chinese American families by Lau et al. (2011) is perhaps one of the handful of interventions that has been developed to specifically target Asian American youth and children.

Current Study

The dearth in the intervention literature on culturally adapted interventions for Asian American youth points to a significant gap in research and practice pertaining to the treatment of Asian American children and families. This is of great concern, especially in light of the underutilization of mental health services and poor treatment engagement among Asian American children and youth. Little is still known about what cultural adaptations are necessary for the effective engagement and treatment of mental health among Asian American youth.

To address this gap, the current investigation uses a bottom up approach to examine salient beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of Chinese American youth and families that influence their interpretations of and responses to mental distress and help seeking. The practice to research model (Weisner & Hay, 2014) is applied which draws from knowledge and evidence that is driven by practice within local contexts (i.e., community members or practitioners themselves). This bottom up approach empirically identifies from the participants themselves what *actually* are the culturally

and contextually driven mental health beliefs, help-seeking preferences, and attitudes towards the use of mental health services that influence treatment engagement. Specifically, this preliminary study explored Chinese American families' beliefs, attitudes, preferences, and experiences regarding mental distress, help seeking, and use of mental health services from two perspectives: (a) Chinese American youth and adults themselves, and (b) providers in social services organizations that serve the respective Chinese American communities. The use of dual perspectives (from families and providers) was considered advantageous for identifying overlapping or corresponding information across informants, as well as informant-specific data.

Method

Focus Groups

Our preliminary study uses data drawn from an ongoing research study that examines cultural and contextual influences on treatment engagement among Asian immigrant youth and families. The focus groups examined in this study included the following groups of participants: (a) Chinese American youths and adults recruited from Chinese American communities, and (b) social service providers serving the same Chinese American communities.

Provider Focus Groups

Twenty social services providers from two community-based organizations serving Chinese American communities in Illinois participated in two focus groups of ten people each. Providers were primarily female (80%) and of Chinese descent (95%). One provider was of European American descent and had more than 5 years of experience working with the Chinese American communities under study. Providers included social workers, counselors, and program facilitators. The services they provided included mental health counseling, case management, and advocacy. The amount of time providers had spent working in social service-related fields ranged from 3 to 15 years. Providers were recruited from two partnering community-based organizations and were informed of the research through verbal announcements at the community organization events by research staff.

Chinese American Youth and Adult Focus Groups

Chinese American participants included 38 youths who participated in four focus groups and 50 adults who participated in five adult focus groups. Focus groups ranged from 8 to 12 people per group. Youths ranged from 12 to 18 years in age with an average age of 15 years and their length of residence in the U.S. ranged from

1 year to 17 years. About 71% of the youth were female. Adults ranged from 22 to 72 in age and reported living in the U.S. from 1 to 37 years. About 60% of the adults were female.

Recruitment for youths and adults was conducted in collaboration with the partnering community social service agencies that served the Chinese American communities in Illinois. Participants were informed of the study by the distribution of flyers, verbal announcements, or in person recruitment by bilingual research staff at the collaborating agencies.

Procedure

All focus groups were conducted by bilingual research staff and lasted for about 90 min. The provider focus group was conducted in English. Youth focus groups were conducted in English and Mandarin. The adult focus groups were conducted by bilingual research staff in Cantonese and Mandarin. All focus groups were conducted in partnering community-based organizations or social service agencies that were located in Chinese American communities.

A semi-structured interview guide was developed for (a) providers and (b) Chinese American youth and adults. Provider focus groups included questions that asked about providers' experiences of engaging Chinese Americans in ways that facilitated developing a bond with clients and understanding their cultural context. The focus group questions for youth and adults asked participants to discuss their beliefs, perspectives, and experiences on the problems related to well-being that Chinese American families faced, as well as the sources of help sought and its usefulness. The focus groups were audiorecorded, transcribed, and translated by bilingual research staff for data analysis purposes. All participants received a compensation of 20 dollars for their time participating in the study. All study procedures were approved by the University Institutional Review Board.

Data Analysis

Five coders analyzed the focus group data. Coders consisted of the first author, two graduate students, and two undergraduate students. Coders were trained in social work, anthropology, and/or psychology. Coders' ethnic backgrounds included East Asian, Latino, and European American, and four of the five coders were female in gender. All coders received training in qualitative coding.

The focus group data was processed using thematic analysis, a method that identifies, analyzes, and reports patterns or themes in the data (Braun & Clark, 2006). An inductive approach was applied to allow for flexibility in identifying themes that emerged from the data. Coders coded half of the transcripts using open coding to identify recurring terms, statements, topics, and ideas, which were then organized

into a codebook. Codes that were derived were reviewed by the team by reading and re-reading the transcripts to ensure that the identified codes corresponded with the transcripts. Codes were then aggregated according to themes, which were also reviewed for accuracy by re-reading the transcripts. The codebook was then used to analyze all transcripts using the qualitative software NVivo 11.

The transcripts were coded independently by one or two coders. Of the nine transcripts, six were double-coded. Discrepancies in coding were reviewed by all coders during weekly consensus meetings. Disagreements among coders were generally resolved by reviewing the definitions of the codes and discussing the differences in codes. Interrater reliability was 0.87, indicating consistency across coders.

Findings

Our preliminary findings from the Chinese American youth, adult, and provider focus groups identified three central themes that reflected Chinese American youth and adults' beliefs, attitudes, and practices associated with mental distress and help seeking. These included: (a) cultural understandings of mental distress, (b) help-seeking approaches, and (c) mental health service use and stigma. Overall, Chinese American youth and adults reported similar beliefs about mental distress; however, differences emerged in their endorsement of specific help-seeking approaches as well as their beliefs about mental health services. Provider focus group data confirmed youth and adult focus group findings, suggesting the salience of these themes for addressing mental health among Chinese American families. The findings are described in detail below.

Cultural Understandings of Mental Distress

Analysis of the focus group transcripts revealed that cultural models of illness anchored Chinese American youth and adults' expressions and interpretations of mental distress as well as causal beliefs of the distress. Provider transcripts also revealed the predominance of Chinese cultural illness beliefs among families.

Chinese American youth and adults generally expressed distress via somatic symptoms or by cultural idioms of distress. Somatic symptoms reported by participants included the following: swelter (hotness), sleep disturbances, nerves, loss of appetite, dizziness, headaches or muscle aches due to tension, lack of mobility (e.g., staying at home all day), and loss of hair. Cultural idioms were commonly used across youth and adults in describing socioemotional or behavioral dimensions of distress and included terms such as pressure (压力), nerves (神经), tension (紧张), feeling stressed (感到压力), and having struggles or difficulties (困难). These idioms of distress reflected socially accepted expressions of negative psychological and emotional functioning that were regarded as part of daily living.

Among Chinese American youth and adults, *pressure* (圧力) emerged as a primary cultural expression that encapsulated their mental distress. Pressure was described by participants in the focus group as the internal psychological turmoil that represented the need to fulfill familial expectations in all life circumstances, including coping with language barriers, continuous parental expectations to succeed academically or financially, adjusting to American culture, and maintaining their native culture. For Chinese American adults, pressure was largely associated with the stressors of resettlement and adjustment to the U.S. that included language barriers, employment-related challenges (e.g., long work hours, only being able to find menial jobs), loss of social support systems, cultural isolation, and difficulty with adapting to American culture. As one father described,

> They hired someone else so that they can lower the price. So it was really hard during the first several months. I changed jobs very frequently. The most challenging barrier is language. Since I don't speak either English or Cantonese, it was very difficult to find a job. So in the beginning, we were faced with huge pressure … both physical and mental stresses.

Among Chinese youth, *pressure* was identified as a major psychological burden that reflected not only a strong sense of duty to achieve their parents' dreams for their success, but also a sense of responsibility for their family. A male youth describes,

> You probably have more pressure when you come here to—cause for me, I'm a first generation that got a higher education, went to college, so that's a chance to change the whole family. That puts this pressure, just pushes you.

While cultural expressions were frequently used to describe mental distress, Chinese American youth and adults associated mental health problems and mental illness with severe dysfunction or abnormality, as illustrated in the descriptions such as "mind is crazy," "mind is orderless," or "special disease that's more severe than a normal angry or sad or those kind of emotions." In fact, mental health problems and mental illness were perceived as counter cultural, foreign to the Chinese. One mother explained, "Chinese people can't do that. Generally if I say I have psychological problems, people will look down on you. It's very rare for us Chinese people." This view that mental health problems are atypical to the Chinese reflects differences between Chinese American families' understandings of mental distress and conventional conceptualizations of mental health and functioning defined by mental health care.

Providers' understanding of and attunement to the common use of cultural idioms for expressing distress among Chinese American families facilitated providers' sensitivity towards identifying when such expressions signaled further mental health needs. Providers noted that while families perceived pressure as an accepted and normative aspect of the immigrant experience, providers themselves viewed it as an indicator for potential help. For example, a provider described the toll of pressure for one Chinese American youth,

> He was having issues where he—he didn't want anything besides an A. He brought something back and was chastised, kind of like what you were saying. What is wrong, why didn't you get an A in this? It was so much pressure. He started acting out of that pressure… he was under a lot of stress and started doing things that were unhealthy for himself. Not eating out of anxiety and all of these things.

Help-Seeking Approaches

Related to the conceptualization of distress, analyses revealed that Chinese American youth and adults endorsed various healing approaches to remedy their distress. Participants linked cultural idioms of distress and somatic symptoms to a variety of help-seeking and healing approaches including: seeking support from close relationships (e.g., talking to a family member or close friend), problem solving through engaging in activities, accepting that change takes time, eating specific food or liquids, taking traditional Chinese medicine, and spiritual or religious rituals or practices.

Use of Cultural Remedies

Among Chinese American families, the use of cultural remedies was considered to be socially acceptable for healing mental distress (e.g., pressure), somatic symptoms, and physical ailments. This was particularly evident among the adults. Examples of cultural remedies mentioned by participants included cupping, coining, taking specific food or drinks, taking traditional herbal medicine, practicing feng shui (e.g., rearranging household furniture to balance *qi*, placing religious artifacts to keep out spirits), practicing spiritual meditation, reading sacred texts (e.g., Bible, Buddhist scriptures), and praying to God. Interestingly, although youth did not personally endorse these cultural remedies as solutions for their own distress, many reported taking traditional medicine or eating specific food or liquids, or engaging in spiritual practices as "part of their cultural upbringing" instilled from parents and grandparents. One Chinese American youth described the use of feng shui in his family,

> Also, family members can do feng shui stuff, like in my family—my family's really superstitious, so they literally, it might be a monk from the temple comes to our room, examines every part of our house, rearranges our furniture and stuff. They say this will bring good luck in the family, and it will better benefit your house and your good fortune. What I think, if someone's mentally—has mental problems, I think they will go through traditional medicines first, like feng shui, like some random soup you'll find, they'll make for you or something. Herbs.

Parental Support

Differences between Chinese American youth and adults emerged in the endorsement of seeking parental support for youth mental distress. Chinese American adults generally conceptualized youth distress as a *family* problem that should be taken care of just within the family, with no need for outside intervention. One mother's quote illustrates this emphasis on solving problems within the family,

> Chinese people are not used to seeing a psychiatrist or counselor. We are not like Americans. Sometimes when my daughter tells me that she is going to see a counselor, I would stop her doing that. I would say, I am your doctor. You can talk to me. Your problem is my problem, we are family.

In contrast, although Chinese American youth frequently depended on parental support for logistical or practical issues (e.g., meals, transportation), the majority of youths did not endorse seeking the support of their parents for mental or emotional distress. Youths' reasons for not soliciting parental support included (a) practical reasons (e.g., parents working long hours) as well as beliefs, (b) parents would not understand emotional issues, (c) their emotional problems would be minimized by parents, and/or (d) sharing their own problems would overburden parents.

Youths noted that talking about emotional or psychological distress is "not what the Chinese do," referring to Chinese cultural values of suppressing emotion (Yeh & Inose, 2002). Many shared that the practice of sharing one's emotions was not common among their family members, and therefore, it was difficult for their parents to understand their problems. One youth said about her mother, "She does not understand these [mental pressures]. She does not understand emotion."

Some youths reported making previous attempts to share their distress with their parents, but receiving responses that tended to minimize their distress. These responses often involved comparing youths' emotional struggles to parents' own hardships back in China or burdens related to migrating and adjusting to the U.S. As a male youth shared, "They would say what kind of pressure a little kid has."

While such parental responses discouraged youth from sharing their emotional or psychological problems with parents, youths also refrained from sharing because of their intuitive understanding of their parents' life challenges. Some youths explained that informing parents of their emotional or psychological struggles would only increase their parents' burdens. A female youth explained, "They [parents] have their own problems. I do not tell them these things [emotional problems]. I figure it out myself."

Providers also acknowledged youths' tendency to refrain from sharing internal struggles with parents. Providers were well aware of the familial expectations for academic achievement among Chinese American families and the psychological impact it had on youths. One of the providers described the inner struggle of one youth: "It's hard for him to talk to his parents because he's at—his mother works very hard. He doesn't want to let her down."

Relying on the Self

Self-reliance emerged as a dominant theme in how Chinese American youth coped with their mental distress. While adults endorsed relying on the self as a primary approach to dealing with distress for themselves, they did not endorse self-reliance as an appropriate strategy for youth, and instead, identified seeking familial, teacher, and peer support as the most viable sources of help.

The majority of Chinese American youth reported engaging in self-coping methods in response to their mental distress. These ranged from participating in an activity (e.g., going to the gym, listening to music), to focusing on studying harder as well as more passive approaches such as sleeping long hours. Because youth perceived that familial support was limited, many embraced "do[ing] it myself to find a way to fix the situation."

Seeking Other Support (Peers, Teachers)

Analyses also identified peers and teachers as important sources of help for youth mental distress. Understandably, for youth, peers were the primary social support sought in times of distress. In particular, peers from the same home country and peers of the same ethnicity with similar migration experiences were identified as most helpful. Adults also endorsed the significance of supportive peers; as one mother noted, "because children have their own stress too… they would have their own little group, little brigade. Right, they can communicate with each other."

Teachers were considered a respected source of help by most Chinese American adults. Many suggested that youth should talk to their teachers for help, particularly if youth distress was related to circumstances in the school (e.g., difficulty with academics, peer relations). Youth also referenced seeking teacher support, although not as a primary source. However, youth were more inclined to seek teacher support if the teacher was bicultural and bilingual. Youths reported seeking teacher support both in schools as well as after school programs. One provider who also assisted in the youth after school program noted, "They wouldn't go to the parent, I don't think at all. No, just two days ago I had a student who came to me and said, 'Listen… my parents want me to…'"

Mental Health Service Use and Stigma

Beliefs About Mental Health Services

Analyses identified similarities as well as differences between youth and adults in their perceptions of mental health service use. Among Chinese American adults and youth, the use of professional mental health services (both psychiatric and psychological) was generally perceived as being only for individuals with a severe disturbance of mental health problems and, therefore, counter to Chinese cultural and social norms. Reflective of this, most adults and youth viewed seeking mental health services as a waste of money and not necessary for their problems. For example, one father explained,

> It is unusual for Chinese to seek help from these psychologists. If we go to a psychologist, it means we are crazy. Only if people have a mental disease then they would go to psychologist. Our values are different that only if we are crazy then we would go to psychologist.

Some Chinese American youths, however, held more positive views of mental health services. Some felt, for example, that mental health services are helpful for emotional problems, that seeing a counselor releases pressures in the mind, and that mental health services are helpful particularly for those who do not have friends or family to talk to. Youths reported learning about mental health from their schools—through psychology classes, mentoring classes, and the resources and support systems (e.g., school counselors, social workers) at their schools. A few of the youths shared that they had observed American friends successfully use services at their

schools, but were not aware of other Chinese American youths who utilized such services. Despite seeing some of the benefits, many reported that personally they saw no need or would feel uncomfortable seeking mental health services for their distress. One female youth shared,

> I know my counselors are great people but I just don't feel comfortable opening up to them… Maybe I feel like it's my problem and I don't want to bore them with it or its just weird… Counselors aren't going through the same thing.

Stigma

The notion of utilizing mental health services elicited beliefs about mental health stigma. Stigma, which is described as either an actual or inferred attribute characterized by social deviance or social disapproval, appears in the negative sociocultural stereotypes and prejudices ascribed to the mental illness itself or the person with mental illness (Corrigan & Miller, 2004; Corrigan & Penn, 1999; Goffman, 1963). Thus, the negative beliefs and attitudes derived from cultural interpretations of distress and illness form the basis for what constitutes "abnormal" or "undesirable," resulting in culturally unique stigma beliefs and reactions to mental illness and mental health problems (Kleinman, 2004; Mak & Cheung, 2008).

Analyses revealed that among Chinese American youth and adults, a child's need for mental health treatment was perceived as shameful not only for the child but the entire family, resulting in significant reluctance to pursue services despite clinical need. For Chinese American families, the loss of face was reported to greatly affect the family's linkage to social network resource and life chances, highlighting the increased burdens of stigma on the entire family. As two mothers described,

> Chinese people, especially young or even family, they don't want to share about the mental problems because this is—I would think they fear this is a problem for families, so they want to keep it secret. This is the problem.

> Also, like I mentioned, for example, if my kids have mental problems I'm concerned about 'em. They still need…They still probably need to baby, marry, right?

The fear of the effects of stigma on social and relational consequences for the family substantially shaped families' preferences for help seeking and views about mental health services. One father explained, "Maybe the family will privately look for a doctor to get some medicine, Chinese medicine or something. They won't let other people know."

Chinese American youths were also highly cognizant of the consequences of mental health stigma, particularly for the family. As a Chinese male youth explained,

> It's their family name, your reputation as your family, because everything matters to your family name. If someone knows something bad that happened in your family, oh, my God. Don't hang out with that family anymore cause they did this and that. It just ruins your reputation around, and especially in Chinatown. Everyone knows each other. Like the simple saying, every Asian knows each other. You'll find a way to know that person. If they find something that happened in your family and it ruins your reputation, it could just go catastrophic around your family.

Provider transcripts also confirmed the impact of stigma on families' willingness to seek help. Providers reported that families struggled with the fears of social rejection or exclusion, losing face, being gossiped about, being unfairly treated, and disrupting familial and kin relationships. These fears often prevented families from seeking help outside the family. One provider noted,

> In some Chinese families, most, maybe, now that I think about it, if they talk about something dreadful like illness, then if those syndromes of illness are discriminated by society, they don't want to talk about it. Even though if they are aware of there is something wrong with them, but they don't want to admit it. They don't want the bad incident to go beyond their families, go beyond their house, to their friends.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The preliminary data from our focus groups have illuminated significant dimensions that have considerable implications in the development and delivery of mental health interventions and treatments for Chinese American families. Overall, the findings highlight the significance of culturally anchored perspectives of (a) mental distress, (b) help-seeking approaches, and (c) mental health service use and stigma for Chinese American families. Although literature on these domains exists, there have been limited efforts to link these domains with mental health interventions, particularly for Chinese American youth and families.

Conceptual frameworks on culturally adapted interventions have outlined two domains for adaptation of mental health interventions for ethnic minority youth and families: (a) the intervention components that directly relate to client outcomes and (b) engagement in treatment (Castro, Barrera, & Holleran Steiker, 2010; Lau, 2006). This dual approach to interventions that includes an emphasis on engagement is timely, given the underutilization of mental health services across ethnic minority children, youth, and families. Examination of engagement as a process, one that progresses from the recognition of a problem to help seeking and participation in mental health services, will be critical for future interventions. Our recommendations therefore will attempt to address considerations for future interventions and treatment engagement based on the findings derived from the three dimensions that emerged from our preliminary examination.

Cultural Understandings of Distress

Our findings revealed that Chinese American youth and adults' conceptualization of their mental distress diverged from the conventional notions of mental health anchored in biomedical frameworks of mental healthcare. Across youth and adults, distress was primarily expressed through culturally specific symptoms and expressions (i.e., somatic symptoms and idioms of distress). Mentions of mental health

symptoms or terms (e.g., depression, anxiety) were infrequent. The predominant use of culturally specific symptoms and expressions points to an important implication for clinical practice, especially because existing clinical assessments, which are based on the criteria in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM, American Psychiatric Association, 2013), may not adequately capture the expressions and presentations of mental distress reported by Chinese American families. Moreover, in some instances, the lack of culturally appropriate clinical assessments can possibly lead to problems of misdiagnosis or underdiagnosis of mental health symptoms and disorders among Chinese American youth and adults.

There are also significant implications for intervention, as evidence-based interventions are largely developed to target the reduction of symptoms of specific mental disorders classified by the DSM. For Chinese American youth and families who adhere to their cultural models of illness, how they identify distress (e.g., somatic symptoms) is likely to be incongruent with the symptoms assessed and targeted by mental health interventions and treatments (e.g., depression); this can result in reduced engagement in services and/or poor treatment outcomes. Thus, it will be important for future interventions to assess culturally nuanced symptoms of distress as outcomes targeted by the intervention. In fact, a handful of such interventions have emerged in the adult intervention literature; for example, Hinton et al. (2005) developed an intervention that targets neck-focused panic attacks in conjunction with PTSD among Cambodian refugees. The authors identify key culturally specific somatic symptoms associated with trauma (e.g., khyal attacks) that are central to the cognitive behavioral intervention. Future studies should supplement conventional measures of psychological distress and dysfunction with measures that also assess culturally specific symptoms and expressions of distress as it will allow interventions to (a) identify early indicators of youths' mental distress, and (b) develop intervention approaches that target these culturally specific indicators of distress.

Our findings also indicate providers' abilities to look past conventional diagnostic symptoms and instead recognize culturally unique expressions and symptoms of Chinese American youth and families. This was identified by providers as essential to their practice in serving Chinese American families. Training providers to include culturally nuanced expressions of distress in treatment will enable providers and families to have a *common language*. This helps build a shared understanding of the distress, and therefore, facilitates the engagement of Chinese American youth and their families in treatment. Attunement to clients' expressions of distress will demonstrate providers' attentiveness to the culture of Chinese American families and will likely increase the credibility of the intervention and providers.

Help-Seeking Approaches

While youth and adults were similar in how they identified and interpreted mental distress, differences emerged in their beliefs and preferences in help seeking. Chinese American adults generally viewed youth mental distress as a family

problem that requires primarily familial involvement. This was illustrated in the adults' emphasis on parental support as a primary source of help for youth as well as in parents' prescribing of cultural remedies for youth distress. In contrast, Chinese American youth perceived significant barriers to seeking parental support. For youth, culturally based misunderstandings of distress as well as concerns for parental burdens emerged as central reasons for their hesitation in seeking help from their parents. This disconnect between youth and adults can adversely impact help seeking: parents may not be involved in the help-seeking process, and they may in fact discourage or prevent youth from seeking external help. It would be critical for interventions to address the disjuncture between youths and adults' understanding of youth distress early in the course of treatment.

The majority of Chinese American youths perceived self-reliance as a necessity, which pushed them to learn to cope with their distress in a variety of ways. Continuing to build the development of healthy and adaptive self-coping strategies in the face of adversities will be important. However, youths' heavy reliance on the self is simultaneously an area of concern, as this can lead to the youth isolating himself or herself in times of distress, delaying help seeking. Drawing from our findings on youths' tendencies to seek peer and teacher support, developing interventions that foster Chinese American youths' reliance on supports within existing social networks, will be valuable.

Finally, although youths did not personally endorse the use of cultural remedies, many adhered to traditional healing practices offered by family members. Addressing the use of alternate healing practices in assessment may (a) facilitate provider-client dialogue on culturally specific views and practices of healing mental distress during treatment, (b) help identify possible healing approaches that might interfere with treatment (e.g., interactions with medications), and (c) facilitate the integration of specific cultural healing approaches into psychosocial treatment. For example, the use of prayer or particular rituals may be integrated within psychosocial treatments as a salient coping strategy or method for relaxation.

Mental Health Service Use and Stigma

Findings revealed that, in general, youth and adults perceived mental health service use as being only for individuals with severe mental illness and thus irrelevant to their personal experiences of mental distress. However, among some youth, mental health services were viewed as possibly helpful for problems with emotions and the mind.

The predominant perception of mental health services as irrelevant for mental distress may indicate the need for increasing the mental health literacy of Chinese American youth and families. Scholars have noted that low or inadequate knowledge of and false information about mental health problems and associated attributions can delay help seeking (Johnston & Freeman, 2002; Khuu, Lee, Zhou, Shin, & Lee, 2016). In particular, because parents or adult family members are the gatekeepers

for children and youths' access to and participation in health services, poor mental health literacy among parents and adult family members is likely to delay or prevent the entry of children and youth into needed mental health services. Although Chinese American youths and adults demonstrated a relative lack of exposure to knowledge of conventional mental health disorders and symptoms, among the Chinese American youths who had exposure to mental health concepts, positive perceptions of mental health service use were mentioned. This may suggest that improving mental health literacy among Chinese American youth and adults may be advantageous for the intervention.

Stigma emerged as an inseparable aspect of using mental health services for Chinese American families. Our findings indicate the serious effects of perceived and actual ramifications of stigma (e.g., disruptions of familial relationships) on Chinese American youth and adults. Addressing stigma is especially important for youth and family interventions, as the stigma of having a child struggling with mental health issues can lead to parental resistance in seeking mental health care for their child. This is likely to be even more enhanced in Chinese culture, where children's successes are believed to bring honor to the family (Kelley & Tseng, 1992). As such, it may be worthwhile for interventions to include a treatment component that directly addresses the impact of stigma for the family (e.g., parental fears of loss of face, fears related to labeling, fears of exclusion from community or extended family) and to assess stigma effects as a secondary outcome. In addition, enhancing provider training on the role of stigma within clients' respective cultures will equip providers with deeper knowledge and skills that can help them respond in culturally sensitive ways to youth and families' fears of stigma.

There are several limitations to this preliminary investigation. Although the qualitative analysis of focus groups enabled an in-depth analysis of cultural influences that shape Chinese American youth and adults' beliefs about mental distress and healing, the generalizability of the findings is limited. Second, the study had only two focus groups of providers who specifically served Chinese American communities. It will be important for future studies to include a larger sample of providers as well as examine whether provider responses differ by the length of clinical experience. Third, although youths and adults ranged in the number of years in the U.S., the data were not analyzed according to specific characteristics of participants. It will be important for future research to examine how responses may differ based on participant characteristics. Finally, the findings reported in this chapter are preliminary, and therefore, further research will be needed to examine whether these identified domains apply to the broader Chinese American and Asian American population.

In summary, while preliminary, the findings illustrate culturally anchored dimensions of mental health and approaches to treatment that significantly shape Chinese American and immigrant youths' and families' engagement and involvement in treatment. Integrating these dimensions within treatments for Chinese American youth and families will be an important next step for future cultural adaptations to reduce the mental health disparities among Asian American children and youth.

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