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The Family Dialogue: Language Acculturation and its Impact on Perceived Family Conflict among Asian Americans

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Abstract

The present study examines the acculturation gap and the acculturation dimension of language between 1st - 2nd generation Asian Americans (Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Malaysian) adolescents and their first generation immigrant parents and its predicted relationship to the likelihood of perceived family conflict. Survey data was collected from 34 Asian American college students using the Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) and the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (AAFCS). It was predicted that the larger the gap between the levels of acculturation and language acculturation of the parent and child, the greater the likelihood of experienced family conflict. Correlation and regression statistical analyses conducted supported the two main hypotheses. Post hoc examinations also revealed many secondary associations between background variables.

Keywords: acculturation, language acculturation, Asian American, family conflict, parent-child acculturation gap

The population of the United States is rapidly changing, and it's not only affecting the size. As the population of current immigrant groups continues to grow in America, so does the emergence of new ethnic groups that were formerly underrepresented. With this increase in the nation's minority demographics, it becomes imperative to consider the future impact that these cultural and ethnic groups will have on the greater American society in terms of its language, culture, social norms, and aspects surrounding daily life.

Larger cities are already very multicultural, some with complete neighborhoods consisting of ethnic enclaves. The Asian American immigrant group is currently the third largest minority group in the United States, consisting of 14.9 million individuals (Suinn, 2010). The classification of Asian Americans encompasses a wide population of many different ethnic groups including the Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Filipinos, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, and other smaller groups such as Cambodians, Laotians, Hmong, and Taiwanese (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). The largest of all these groups are the Chinese (which is also the largest ethnic group in Asia).

Chinese Americans also have the longest history of Asian ancestry in the United States, which all started in the late 1840's when Chinese men arrived on American shores of California in search of gold. Soon after their arrival, the Chinese learned to create communities of their own by clustering into neighborhoods that later expanded into large cities we now call, "Chinatowns" (Immigration: The Journey to America). Nowadays, Chinese Americans and other Asian Americans represent a significant proportion of the American population; they are also present in a multitude of fields ranging from highly prestigious careers such as doctors and engineers to blue collar manual work. The majority of these immigrants leave their countries in hopes of a better life filled with greater employment and educational opportunities (Costigan & Dokis,

2006). This explains why people immigrate even during later adulthood and risk the social struggles of adapting to a new culture, a process that we call *acculturation*.

All immigrant families are left to confront the struggles and conflicts of culture clash and a lingering sense of foreignness. Besides these issues, immigrant parents must be watchful of the environment in which they are raising their children, since many American beliefs and practices collide with the traditional norms of their native culture. One of the most important values in Asian culture is the preservation of the family (Kibria, 1993). This long tradition of honoring the family is fundamental to the identities of many Asian societies. Children are taught at a young age to fulfill certain familial duties such as addressing older relatives with respectful titles. Additionally, through the perspective of Asian parents, children are the hope to "fulfill their own dreams and goals," this form of familial gratification is central to the traditional mindset of Asian cultures. (Kim, 1994).

Asian American children are also raised to regard "the self" as it relates to "the family." This significant focus on the traditional Asian ideal of family and other traditional principles can lead to greater family dysfunction than compared with other racial groups. (Dinh, Sarason, & Sarason, 1994; Lee 1997, Ying & Chao, 1996). Moreover, Asian families tend to be much stricter in their methods of child-rearing than typical American parents, which can lead to more parent-child conflicts when the wishes of the children are not parallel with the ideals that parent set up for them. In Lee and Uba's study (1997), Asian Americans students in counseling frequently attribute psychological stress to their relationships with parents. (Lee, 1997 and Uba, 1994 as cited in Lee Choe, Kim & Ngo, 2000).

Acculturation *and the* Parent-Child Acculturation Gap

Acculturation can be simply explained as the process of adaptation to the social behaviors

and patterns of the dominant host culture. The degree of acculturation can affect all aspects of daily life: how we communicate, the ways in which we behave, our beliefs and set of values, and the people in our social networks. It also unquestionably influences the quality of our intimate interpersonal relationships.

Acculturation is a multi-dimensional concept of identity, involving not only behavioral adjustments, but also choice of language for communication, values, ethnic affiliation, and psychological adjustments (Graves, 1967). Parents and children of Asian American immigrant families are likely to experience a difference in the levels to which they adapt to the host culture, what we call the *parent-child acculturation gap*. An acculturation gap may exist for any one of the mentioned dimensions of acculturation.

The term acculturation gap is known as the disparity created by a barrier in the mutual understanding between the parent and the child. Past studies have shown that the level of acculturation of the adolescent is not the most crucial determinant in measuring the intergenerational conflict as compared to the degree of difference the level of acculturation between parents and adolescent (Chung, 2001). When there exists a large acculturation gap between the adolescent and the parent, it is expected that they will experience a higher level of family conflict, which can lead to increased emotional problems (Rumbaut, 2005).

This parent-child acculturation discrepancy has been linked to children's well-being (Lee & Zhan, 1998) and increased anxiety and lower self-esteem (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). In a number of previous studies, the Asian Values gap (discrepancy between parent's and children's adherence to traditional Asian cultural values) was associated with increased family conflict (Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2008; Lee, Choe, Kim & Ngo, 2000; Park, Vo, & Tsong, 2008).

In contrast to acculturation is the concept of enculturation or as Herskovits describes, "the

process of socialization to the norm of one's indigenous culture, including the values, ideas, and concepts that are salient for the culture" (1948). The cultural adaptive experiences of immigrants can be categorized into four acculturative attitudes that are a combination of level of acculturation and enculturation: *integration, assimilation, separation,* and *marginalization* (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987).

Integration can be best described as the mixture of understanding of both host and native cultures leading to biculturalism. Individuals who are integrated have high levels of both acculturation and enculturation. Kim and Omizo's study (2005) suggests that adherence to both host and indigenous cultural norms are related to positive mental health benefits. *Assimilation* occurs when the individual adopts the dominant host culture while rejecting the indigenous native culture. Individual who are assimilated are considered highly acculturated but not enculturated. *Separation* is when an individual rejects the cultural features of the dominant culture while preserving the native culture. Individuals in this status are highly enculturated but not acculturated. The last group is *Marginalization,* which describes individuals who have no interest in adhering to either dominant or native cultures. Therefore, individuals in this group are neither acculturated or enculturated. The marginalized group is a minority group compared to the other categorizations of acculturative attitudes but is acknowledged as a possible level of cultural identification for those who fit this category.

The literature on acculturation proposes that the integrated or *bicultural* individual is well considered the healthiest cultural identification status for Asian Americans (Berry & Kim, 1988). Many benefits come with this identification such as better psychological health and increased cognitive functioning (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Greton, 1993). In accordance with this idea, bicultural competence can lead to an increased vocational and academic performance (Leong,

2001).

For the process of becoming a bicultural individual is a complex one where the ethnic minority "begins with assimilation, then experiences a period of exploration and uncertainty, followed by separation, another period of questioning, and finally arrive at integration" (Atkinson, Morten, and Sue, 1989 and Cross, 1978) as cited in (Sandhu, 1999).

However, immigration status usually influences the degree to which an individual can successfully be considered bicultural. Since children usually adapt at faster rates than their parents, *dissonant acculturation* may result, which is the phenomenon that occurs when first and second generation immigrants learn and adapt at different rates (Portes, 1997). This difference in the adaptation process has potential to increase cultural conflicts between parents and children (K.C. Kim, Hurh & S. Kim, 1993) because Asian American children may be more interested in fitting in with non-immigrant peers while their immigrant parents may be more concerned about retaining the traditional culture and collectivist values such as family embeddedness (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

When dissonant acculturation becomes salient, the result is often a power-shift in family roles (Chan and Leong, 1994). The faster rate at which adolescents acculturate compared to that of their parents leads to a change in the family dynamic. This gives the children the opportunity to make important decisions pertaining to the state of the family affairs, thus altering the family hierarchical structure and reducing the power of the parents (Padilla, 1994).

In many family situations, the children are left to serve as 'cultural brokers,' acting as "translators, cultural experts, and family representatives to the outside world" (Kibria, 1993). Consequently, parents are left vulnerable while the children feel burdened by the extra set of family obligations, especially when these types of situations are known to lead to family conflict

that tends to exacerbate during early adulthood (Greenberger and Chen, 1996). The added pressure on the child may have significant impact on the quality of the parent-child relationship. For college students the intergenerational and acculturation effects have been linked to anxiety and other psychological issues (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Greenberger & Chen, 1996).

Another consideration is the clash of values beliefs, while Asian immigrant parents are comparatively collectivist minded; the Asian American children tend to be a lot more individualist in their set of values. This disparity may lead to conflicts over the degree of autonomy granted to the child in making important life decisions such as college choice and career choice (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Language Acculturation.

One particular factor of acculturation is language acculturation or the degree of fluency in communication dealing with the presence of multiple languages (ie. bilingualism, code-switching) (Ng, 2007). Since parents and children differ in their levels of fluency in English and their native language, communication can become frustrating and may easily lead to arguments and confrontation when feelings fail to be expressed accurately. Families with children at low levels of Chinese language use with mothers at high levels of high Chinese language use experience more conflicts and depressive feelings than children with consistent levels of Chinese language use with their mothers (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). The language barrier created by differing levels of language fluency between parent and child often presents concrete obstacles to effective communication that could increase the likelihood of intense conflict.

An instance of an argument rising from a child's incapability of explaining an idea in the native language could be the one of *jury duty.* If the child mentions the concept of court, the parent may misconstrue the explanation and believe that she or he is in trouble with the law. It is

easy to imagine how conversations like the one mentioned can be misinterpreted and cause distressing circumstances for the family. The presence of multiple languages creates contradictory expectations: at home children are expected to be obedient while at school children are expected to be assertive and independent (Park, 1997). This inconsistency in expectation has the potential to cause the children to feel alienated and marginalized (Chae, 2001). Both parent and child are equally susceptible of being frustrated by his or her inability to communicate an idea in the other's primary language. This language barrier "leaves families few bridges to span the ever-widening gulf" (Lee & Cynn, 1991).

Past studies have mainly looked at acculturation through the perspectives of values acculturation and behavioral acculturation. The lack of literature on the topic of language acculturation makes this study a novel exploration into an overlooked dimension of acculturation.

Family Conflict

Why do Asian Americans report more family conflict than other immigrant racial or ethnic groups? In Rothbaum & Xu,'s cross-cultural study on Chinese and American songs, they found that Chinese songs focused on "the sentiment of obligation and debt to the parents whereas American songs expressed negative feelings and a desire for separation from the parents" (1995). Along those lines, Asian American parents have a propensity to encourage independence over independence and are also more involved in the lives of their children compared to European American parents (Lin & Fu, 1990; Yao, 1985). Another study found that although there were few differences in the parent-child relationships of Asian American and European Americans adolescents, the levels of family conflict was significantly higher for Asian Americans (Greenberger & Chen, 1996).

It may possibly be the case that Asian American families face more adversities with adaptation that are related to the unyieldingness of the traditional Asian culture and the restrictions associated with the culture. For example, parents who adhere strongly to Asian values tend to utilize authoritarian parenting style, which in turn is associated with increased family conflict (Park, Kim, Chiang & Ju, 2010). Due to the difference levels of Asian values adherence of parent and child, problems pertaining to growth and self development (choice of educational institution, career decisions, dating and marriage, and family expectations) tend to develop and are exacerbated during early adulthood (Chung, 2001; Hune & Chan, 1997). Another aspect of Asian culture that needs to be addressed is the high set of standards those parents place on their children's academic and career goals. The strictness of the parents' expectations may be misconstrued as a sign of distrust, hostility, and disapproval (U. Kim & Choi, 1994).

Dinh and Nguyen (2006) found that the perceived parent-child acculturation gap among Asian American college students was a stronger predictor of the parent-child relationships than the child's level of acculturation, this exemplifies the importance of using the parent-child acculturation gap as a predictor for family relationships and conflicts as opposed to considering only the acculturation level of the parent or child.

Conflicts between the parents and child often result from intergenerational differences in set of beliefs and values. However the existence of both a cultural identity gap along with the intergenerational differences further intensifies the family conflict situation in Asian American families (Tsai-Chae and Nagata, 2008). In other words, children from these immigrant families are likely to experience an especially difficult time when their move towards independence and autonomy is further complicated by the challenges of balancing the features of their adopted

culture with that of their native ethnic culture (Costigan and Dokis, 2006).

It is imperative to address these cultural and adaptation issues of Asian American parents and youth since many aspects of Asian identity affect mental health and help-seeking attitudes, such factors include one's acculturation level, ethnicity, and gender (Atkinson & Gim, 1989). In extreme cases, youths experiencing high parental conflicts are 30 times more likely to engage in suicidal behaviors compared to youths with low parental conflict (Groves, Stanley, and Sher, 2007). Barongan found in his clinical cases, several identifying risk factors that contributed to suicide among Asian Americans: high parental expectations, issues of shame, intergenerational conflict, perfectionism, or problem solving deficiency (2008).

The Children: ABC's, 1.5ers, and Recent Immigrant Adolescents

Within the larger group of Asian Americans are several sub-groups that can be specific enough to even distinguish the exact location of birth: either in Asian country of origin or the United States. Take for example the term, "*ABC*" which literally stands for Chinese Born American; used to classify Chinese American individuals who were born and raised in the United States or otherwise known as second generation Americans (American Born Chinese blog). Many ABC's are the children of both immigrant and citizen parents who immigrated after the passing of the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965. The term can also be used to reference a person whose values and behaviors are culturally American and who has also spent most of his or her life in the U.S. even if he or she was not in reality born in the United States.

ABC's are often stereotyped to be white-washed, and are sometimes called other racially derogatory names such as *banana* or *twinkie* (since both are "yellow on the outside and white in the inside") (Chinese Americans: Asian-Nation). They vary in the amount of contact with White

Americans and other racial and ethnic groups, but generally associate well with other individuals of the dominant American culture.

The other large group of Asian American children is the *one-point fivers* (1.5ers): those who have the characteristics of both first and second-generation immigrants. Members of this group were born in the Asian country of origin and immigrated as a child before the age of twelve (Rumbant & Ima, 1988). One point fivers are more diverse in their cultural upbringing than ABC's because they cover a larger range of immigration background.

The last group of Asian American children are the *immigrant adolescents*: those who immigrated between the ages of 12 and 18 and who have not yet or are in the process of assimilating into the mainstream American society. These individuals are most similar (compared to the other two Asian American adolescent categories mentioned) to their Asian parents in their cultural backgrounds and language abilities and are most likely to adhere to a traditional Eastern orientation. Immigrant adolescents are unique because their minority status is a relatively recent occurrence and they continue to espouse their ethnic culture's values. (Ying, Combs, & Lee, 1999). For the purpose of interesting comparison, the recent immigrant group was added to the study for more expected variation on the levels of acculturation.

The variation in these three groups of Asian American children can be moderately dissimilar, for example an ABC (second generation American) may be as culturally different compared to a recent immigrant child as they would to his or her parent.

The Parents: First Generation Immigrants

The Asian immigrant parents are exclusively foreign born, however the age of immigration can vary dramatically from early adulthood (in their twenties) to the middle-age years. The trend is: if parents immigrated during early adulthood, the child would most likely be

a second generation American whereas if parents immigrated during late adulthood, the child would most likely be a recent immigrant.

Since first generation immigrant parents have limited knowledge of the dominant host culture, they have a higher risk of experiencing a phenomenon known as *acculturative stress*, (Berry & Annis, 1974). Acculturative stress has been found to be associated with a multiple of adaptive challenges such language barriers, loss of social support, and difficulty developing social ties, disruptions in family dynamics, difficulty finding a job, discrimination, and fear of rejection by the host culture (Berry, 1998, 2003). Stress can be a psychological, social, physical, and emotional difficulty and may also lead to psychosocial and other health problems (Berry et al, 1987, Moyerman & Forman, 1992). Similarly, low acculturation has been shown to triggers stressors such as social isolation, employment difficulties, and financial issues (Huang, 2006). For these immigrants, the larger the difference between the home and host cultures, the more likely the individual will experience acculturative stress (Dyal& Dyal, 1981).

The previous literature on acculturation of Asian Americans focuses on understanding the connection between one's the acculturation level and risks of health and mental problems (Escobar & Vega, 2000, Hwang, Chun, Takeuchi, Myers, & Siddarth, 2005). However few studies have examined the relationship between the difference between the language use of the Asian immigrant parent and the Asian American adolescent and the effects it has on the intensity of the family conflicts experienced within the household. Although one cannot make a casual statement between the parent-child language acculturation gap and the level of experienced family conflict, it is still useful in predicting the likelihood of an intense family situation.

The current study explores the topic of cultural identity and acculturation, with a focus on language acculturation and how this can be used to estimate the likelihood of the occurrence of

family centered conflicts experienced within Asian American populations. We expect to find a relationship between the child-parent acculturation gap and the level of perceived family conflict surrounding different cultural aspects of family life. It is hypothesized that the greater the existing acculturation gap between the parent and child, the higher likelihood of experiencing family conflict. We also expect the same finding for the same results for the domain of language acculturation.

Dinh and Nguyen (2006) found that there were more significant associations between acculturation gap and domains of parent-child relationships for mothers than for fathers. Furthermore, it would be more telling to study the influence of Asian mothers upon their American raised children considering they typically build more affectionate relationships with their children then do fathers (Ho, 1987). Following along those lines, we choose to explore the acculturation differences of the Asian immigrant mother and the Asian American adolescent.

As we go further into the study, we want to consider the general implications to understand the current phenomenon in order to develop means of countering the negative effects of culture and language discrepancies between Asian immigrant parents and their American children.

Method

Participants

Participants were thirty-four Asian American students from two higher education institutions located in the New York City metropolitan area (Queens College, Saint John's University) and a Chinese Christian community organization (Chinese Christian Herald Crusades). Originally, there were thirty nine participants, however four were dropped due to the

incompletion of surveys. Of the final thirty-four, 14 were male and 20 were female with a mean age of 19.83 years ($SD = 1.49$) and an age range of 18 and 22.

Participants self-identified themselves as being ethnically Asian and provided in our demographic survey the Asian country or region of identification (China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Korea). Fifty percent ($n = 17$) of the participants were born in the United States while 44.1 ($n = 15$) percent identified as being foreign-born; 5.9 ($n = 2$) percent did not report place of birth. Of the foreign born Asian American adolescents, the mean age of immigration is 11.73 ($SD = 5.22$) ($n = 11$). The mean age of mother's immigration was 27.33 years old ($SD = 9.85$) ($n = 27$).

Ethnic groups [Malaysia ($n = 2$), Vietnam ($n = 3$), and Korea ($n = 2$)] other than Chinese [China ($n = 21$), Taiwan ($n = 2$), Hong Kong ($n = 4$)] were also considered, although the majority of the sample identified as being Chinese American. In terms of immigration status, fifty percent ($n = 17$) of the participants identified as being American born, 26.47 percent identified as being recent immigrants ($n = 9$), and the remaining 8.82 percent ($n = 2$) identified as being 1.5generation Asian Americans.

Measures

Demographic information. Participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire that asked for information pertaining to their age, gender, ethnicity, immigration/ generational status and parent immigration history. In addition, participants specified which parent had a larger impact on their childhood and whether they felt that family conflicts are intensified by the differences (between parents and child) and misunderstandings caused by language communication.

Acculturation. The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) was

used as the measurement of acculturation and its items pertaining to language on the scale were used as the measurement for language acculturation. The scale identifies the degree of acculturation to behavioral norms and cultural preferences (Shim & Schwartz, 2008). The updated version of the SL-ASIA contains 26 items that measures six domains of acculturation: language (What language do you prefer?), identity (How do you identify yourself?), friendship (Whom do you associate in the community?), behaviors (What is your food preference at home?) generation (Where were you raised?), and attitude (How would you rate yourself in terms of being Asian versus being American?).

   An acculturation score is calculated by adding up the answers for the first 21 items and by dividing the total by 21. The answers were presented in a 5 point likert scale format, ranging from 1.00 (low acculturation) to 5.00 (high acculturation). The last five questions on the scale were used as an alternative method of analyzing data using Berry's categorization method of classification; items 22 and 23 along with 24 and 25 are paired with each other. Answers to these items will yield a general identification of the participant: being Asian-identified, Western-identified, or Bi-cultural. The last item, 26 is a straight-forward self-identity response that is scored on a continuum; the answer to item 26 should be considered a combination of all previous items that summarizes the acculturation identification of the participant. A large amount of previous research has supported the internal consistency reliability, criterion-related validity, and concurrent validity of the instrument (Shim & Schwartz, 2008). The alpha coefficient of the scale is .88 (Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew & Vigil, 1987).

   Scoring an one on an item indicates that the individual retains a high Asian identity and holds values, behaviors, preferences, and attitudes reflective of those from an Asian background. An example of such a person would be one who strongly values the family and demonstrates

respectful behaviors towards elders, has a strong work-ethic, participants in Asian cultural events and holidays, prefers to speak an Asian language/Chinese over English, and emphasize collective attitudes (Suinn et al, 1987).

Conversely, scoring a five on an item indicates that the individual holds values, behaviors, preferences, and attitudes of a person from a Western background. A Western-identified person may be more self-directed and independent, disinterested in Asian cultural events and holidays, prefers English above an Asian language, and feels more comfortable associating with Euro-American (White) friends (Suinn et al, 1987).

There is also the combined classification of "bi-culturalism" (scoring around a three), which suggests that the individual has adopted both Asian and Western values, behaviors, preferences, and attitudes (Suinn et al, 1987). In the current study the average acculturation level of the child was 2.72, whereas the average perceived parent's acculturation level was 1.59. The average difference between these two scores was 1.13, the parent-child acculturation gap.

As a measure of language acculturation, data pertaining to language use on the Suinn-Lew ASIA was extracted and used as a sub-score. This score was calculated by taking the total of all four items (pertaining to the domain of language) and by diving it by four. The items revolving around the usage of language cover the multiple modes of utilizing language including speaking, writing, and reading. The average language acculturation score of the child was 3.51, whereas the average perceived parent's language acculturation score was 1.79, making for an average language acculturation gap of 1.71.

Family Conflict. The likelihood of family based conflict was assessed with the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (AAFCS) (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008). Children rated the occurrence of family related conflicts on a 5 point likert scale (1= almost never, 5 = almost

always) consists of ten typical situation–specific Asian American family conflicts (e.g.Your mother tells you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions). Participants indicated to what degree they agreed with a family conflict situation. The scale measures both the likelihood and seriousness of typical Asian American family centered conflicts, however for the present study only the likelihood of these conflicts was considered.

The Family Conflicts Scale has been empirically tested as an internally reliable measure of the likelihood and intensity of multiple Asian American family conflict situations (Cronbach's a= 0.81) (Tsai- Chae & Nagata, 2008). The presented family conflict situations focus on the disagreements between parent and child on dimensions of decision making, respect for elders, academic pursuits, and life choices. They can also be construed as both intergenerational and acculturation conflicts (Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000). Each situation was written in a two part statement to mirror the discrepancy in the beliefs and practices of the child and the parent.

Procedures

After receiving approval from the institutional review board, participants were recruited from Chinese American and Asian American culture-identification clubs and a religion-affiliated community center in the NYC metropolitan area (Queens College, Saint John's University and Chinese Christian Herald Crusades). Permission was obtained from the heads of the organizations to attend a recruitment meeting where the objectives of the study was briefly introduced and discussed. Interested patrons were given the option of participating in the surveys towards the end of the club meetings or online through emailing of forms and surveys. The instructions of participation were explained to those who chose to complete the questionnaires after the club meeting. Other participants completed the whole process online through

continuous emailing of instructions.

Participants were first asked to fill out a demographic sheet which requests for information such as age, place of birth, immigrant status, and parental immigrant status. They then completed the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation scale (SL-ASIA) once as it pertains to the self (child) and a second time as it pertains to their mothers (parent). Since many of the parents lack in English proficiency, it was favorable to measure for the parent's acculturation level as perceived from the child's point of view.

The final questionnaire was the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale. On average the complete process of filling out multiple questionnaires took between 15 to 20 minutes and was completed within a one-month bracket. After receiving all the data, participants were debriefed either in person or through email correspondence. The debriefing process included a description of the research study, benefits and risks, and contact information for further related questions and inquiries.

Results

Hierarchical Correlations

Correlations and regression statistical analysis were conducted for expected relationships between the main hypotheses and for other background variables. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations of the demographic background of the participants in the study. Table 2 presents the means and standard deviations of the scores on the SL-ASIA and AAFCS. Results for main and background correlations are presented in a matrix in table 3. Table 4 represents a regression matrix with the β coefficient and the p-value. Table 5 and 6 display scatter plots with parent-child acculturation gap and parent-child language acculturation gap scores and their relationship to likelihood of family conflict.

Descriptive statistics show that the mean acculturation score of participants was 2.72(SD = .65) which expresses a moderately bicultural acculturation experience. The mean perceived acculturation score of the mother was 1.59 (SD = .39), representing a comparably Asian self identity with a slight Western influence. Lastly, the mean parent-child acculturation gap was 1.13 (SD = .56), representing a 22.6% difference in acculturation levels.

For the language acculturation measure, the mean score of the child was 3.51(SD = .87), a significant degree of bilingual language use. The mean perceived language acculturation score of the mother was 1.79 (SD = 73), indicating a lower degree of bilingual use with a stronger inclination of Chinese language use. As for the mean parent-child acculturation gap, the mean was 1.71 (SD = 73), a considerably large gap in the usage, frequency and preference of a language, English or native Asian language.

For the likelihood of family conflict, the mean score was 28.74 (SD = 8.53), a score out of 50 (high family conflict), indicating that the average Asian American family has a relatively high likelihood of experiencing family based conflicts.

Results of the Pearson correlations supported the main hypothesis; a moderate relationship was found between the parent-child acculturation gap and the likelihood of family conflict, (r = .374, p< .05). In addition, a significant relationship was also found for the parent-child language acculturation gap and the likelihood of family conflict, (r = .370, p< .05). Therefore it can be said that the acculturation differences between the Asian immigrant parent and the Asian American child are indicative of the likelihood of experiencing Asian American family centered conflicts.

Also, many background variables were also found to be significantly related. Family conflict was significantly associated with perceived mother's acculturation level (r = -.475, p<

.01) and perceived mother's language acculturation level (r = -.453, p< .01). However no significant relationship was found between the child's acculturation level (r = .033, p> .05) or child's language acculturation level (r = -.069, p> .05) and likelihood of family conflict.

Child acculturation level was correlated with every tested variable expect for family conflict. Although the study focuses mainly on the parent-child acculturation gap, the relationship between the mother's and child's acculturation levels were also considered, (r = .505, p< .01) as well as the relationship between the mother's and child's language acculturation levels, (r = .592, p< .001).

The level of the child acculturation was also found to be positively correlated with parent-child acculturation gap (r = .792, p< .001), child's language acculturation(r = .821, p< .001), mother's language acculturation, (r = .438, p< .01) and parent-child language acculturation gap (r = .536, p< .05). Furthermore, the mother's acculturation level was found to be positively related to the child's language acculturation, (r = .541, p< .001) and mother's language acculturation (r = .862, p< .001) (this is because the language acculturation score is derived from the original acculturation score). The data showed no evidence that there is a relationship between mother's acculturation level and parent-child acculturation gap, (r = -.127, p> .01) or between mother's acculturation level and parent-child language acculturation gap, (r = -.218, p> .01). There was a significant positive correlation between parent-child acculturation gap and child's language acculturation (r = .561, p< .001) and between parent-child acculturation gap and parent-child language acculturation was positively correlated, (r = .771, p< .001). No relationship was found between mother's language acculturation and parent-child acculturation gap (r = -.107, p> .05). However, there were significant correlations for child's language acculturation and parent-child language acculturation gap (r = .594, p< .001).

A hierarchical multiple regression analyses was also conducted for main and background variables. Table 4 displays the regression results along with the β coefficient and p value. Pertaining to the target interests of the present study, the parent-child acculturation gap significantly predicted the likelihood of family conflict, ($\beta = 0.024$, $p < .05$) and accounted for 14% of the variance in family conflict scores ($R^2 = .140$). The parent-child parent language acculturation gap was found to also predict the likelihood of family conflict, ($\beta = 0.127$, $p < .05$) and accounted for 13.7% of the variance in family conflict scores ($R^2 = .137$).

Table 1.
Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Variable	Average (SD)
Age	19.833 (1.49)
Gender	
Male *n (%)*	14 (41.18)
Female *n (%)*	20 (58.82)
Country of Birth *(n = 43) (%)*	
US	17 (50)
Asian Country	15 (44.1)
Unreported	2 (5.9)
Child's Age of Immigration *(n = 11)*	11.73 (5.22)
Ethnicity *(n = 34) (%)*	
China	21(61.76)
Taiwan	2 (5.88)
Hong Kong	4(11.76)
Malaysia	2 (5.88)
Vietnam	3 (8.82)
Korea	2 (5.88)
Child's Immigration Status *(%)*	
ABC	17(50)
1.5er	3 (8.82)
Immigrant Adolescents	9 (26.47)
Mother's Age *(n = 9)*	48.11 (7.51)
Mother's Age of Immigration *(n = 27)*	27.33 (9.85)
Believe language influenced family conflicts *(n = 28)*	
Yes *(%)*	8(28.57)
No *(%)*	20 (71.14)
Unreported	6
Largest Parent Impact *(n = 28) (%)*	
Mother	24 (85.19)
Father	0
Both equally	2 (7.40)
Other family member	1 (3.70)
None	1 (3.70)

Note. Number of participants in demographic data varies depending on participants reported information.

Table 2.
SL-ASIA and AAFCS Data

Variable	Average (SD)
Child's acculturation level	2.72 (.65)
Perceived mother's acculturation level	1.59 (.39)
Parent-child acculturation gap	1.13 (.56)
Child's language acculturation level	3.51 (.87)
Perceived mother's language acculturation level	1.79 (.73)
Parent-child language acculturation gap	1.71 (.73)
Family Conflict Scale	28.74 (8.53)

Table 3.
Correlations Matrix of Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Child's AC	-----	.505**	.792**	.821**	.438**	.536**	.033
2. Mother's AC	.505**	-----	-.127	.541**	.862**	-.218	-.475**
3. Parent-child AC gap	.792**	-.127	-----	.561**	-.107	.771**	.374*
4. Child's language AC	.821**	.541**	.561**	-----	.592**	.594**	-.069
5. Mother's language AC	.438**	.862**	-.107	.592**	-----	-.297	-.453**
6. Parent-child language AC gap	.536**	-.218	.771**	.594**	-.297	-----	.370**
7. Family Conflict	.033	-.475**	.374*	-.069	-.453**	.370**	-----

Note. AC is an abbreviation for Acculturation.

Table 4.
Regression Matrix of Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Child's AC	-----	.255 .821 <0.001	.627 .910 <0.001	.674 .151 <0.001	.192 .095 0.0096	.288 .116 <0.05	.001 .002 0.851
2. Mother's AC	.255 .311 .0023	-----	.016 -0.09 0.475	.293 .061 <.0.001	.743 .115 <0.001	.048 -0.03 0.215	.225 -0.02 0.0046
3. Parent-child AC gap	.627 .689 <0.001	.016 -0.178 0.475	-----	.314 0.089 <0.001	.011 -0.020 0.548	.594 0.146 <0.001	.140 0.024 0.029
4. Child's language AC	.674 4.48 <0.001	.293 4.80 0.00094	.314 3.52 <0.001	-----	.350 0.70 <0.001	.353 0.70 <0.001	.005 -0.028 0.697
5. Mother's language AC	.192 2.01 0.0096	.743 6.43 <0.001	.011 -0.56 0.548	.350 .498 <0.001	-----	.088 -0.30 0.089	.205 -0.156 0.0071
6. Parent-child language AC gap	.288 2.47 <0.05	.048 -1.63 0.215	.594 4.08 0.215	.353 0.50 <0.001	.088 -0.30 0.089	-----	.137 0.127 0.0312
7. Family Conflict	.001 0.45 0.851	.225 -10.32 0.0046	.140 5.76 0.029	.005 -0.17 0.697	.205 -1.32 0.0071	.137 1.076 0.0312	-----

Note. Explanation of numbers in box:
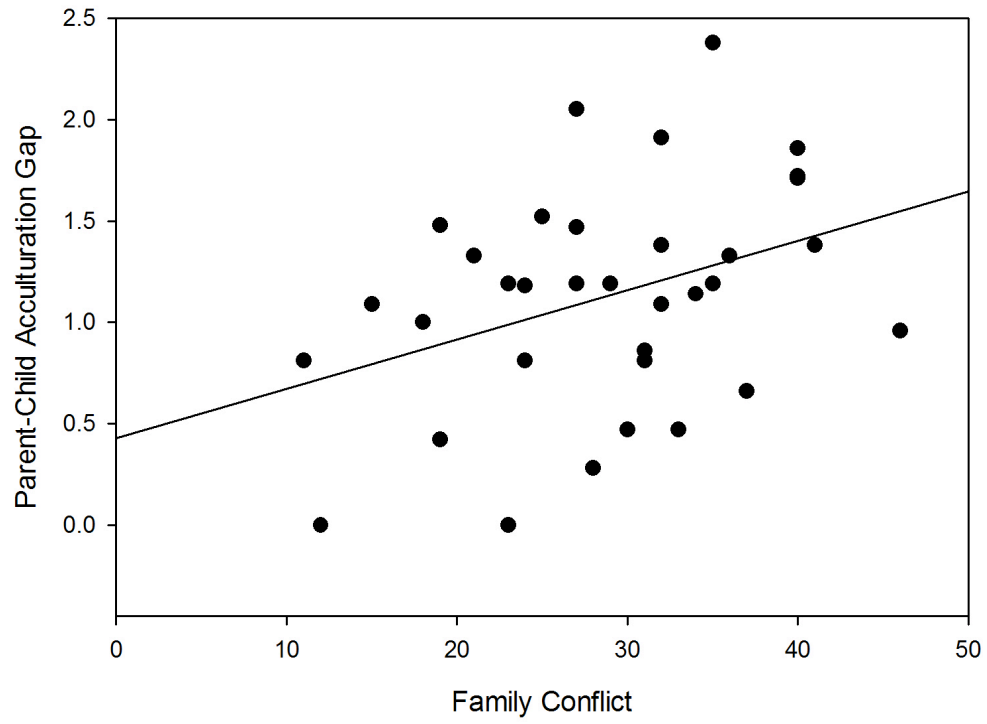
    1. R^2
    2. β
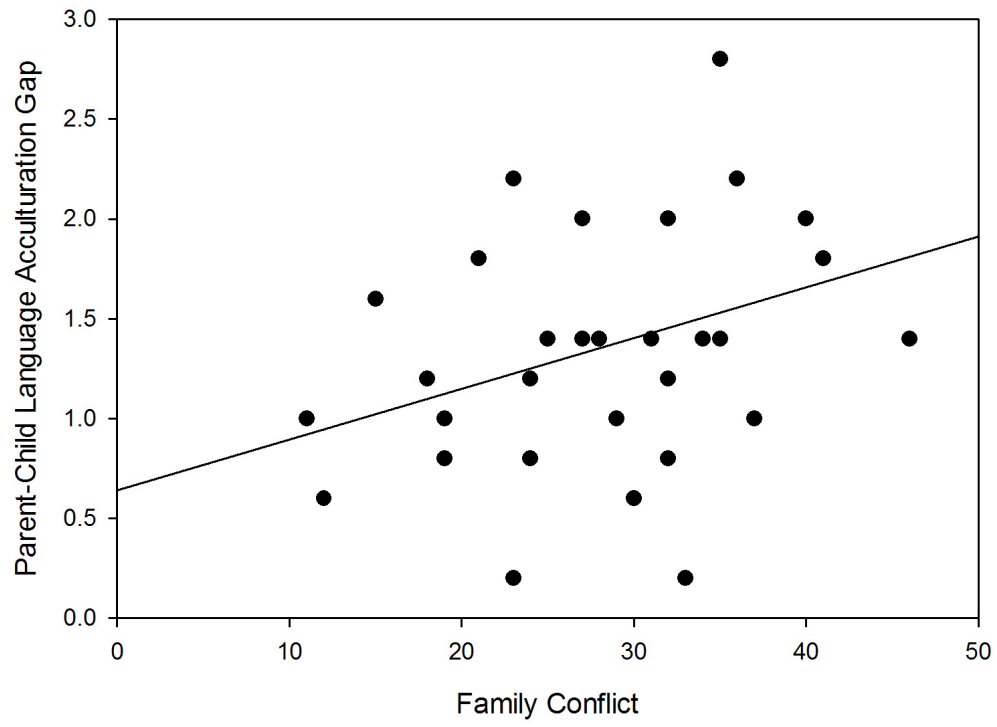   3. p-value

Figure 5. R value = .374

Figure 6. R value = .370

Discussion

The results of this study provide evidence to support the main two hypotheses: there was a significant positive relationship found between the parent-child acculturation gap and the likelihood of family conflict. Furthermore the same relationship was found for the parent-child language acculturation gap and likelihood of family conflict. Although the strength of these correlations are not considered very strong, they still tell us that the discrepancy in acculturation levels and language acculturation levels between parent and child are likely predictors of the how often parent and child are to experience Asian-American family based conflicts surrounding areas of independence and life expectations.

Rumbaut argues that from a large acculturation gap, it can be predicted that the adolescent and the parent will experience a higher level of family conflict which can lead to increased emotional problems (Rumbaut, 2005).

Post hoc tests revealed many relationships between background variables that were not earlier predicted. We only expected for the gap between the parent and child to be a predictor of family conflict, however the mother's acculturation level and mother's language acculturation were both significant predictors of the likelihood of family conflict, whilst the child's acculturation levels had no such relationship. This suggests that the occurrence of family based conflicts in the Asian-American family is reliant on the mother's and not the child's acculturation level and language acculturation level. This finding cannot be simply explained, however one can propose that communication between the parent and child depends more on the cultural and language ability of the parent compared to the child, since parents are usually the ones initiating or triggering the family conflict situations (by pushing expectations onto their child which the adolescent may object to due to their difference in cultural upbringing and environment).

It was interesting to discover that child's acculturation level was positively correlated with every tested variable expect for family conflict. The levels of the mother's acculturation level and child's acculturation level were highly related, which means that the more acculturated the parent, the more acculturated the child or less acculturated the parent, the less acculturated the child. This is also true for the reversed direction. This observed tendency is a logical explanation for these correlations because the influence of the mother in the family dynamic has a large impact of the acculturation experiences of the child, for example the parents decide what elements of the traditional culture they want to preserve and these influences largely contribute to the child's acculturation level. In other words, if the parent chooses to teach their children more about Asian culture and if they choose to speak the heritage language at home, then the child will be less acculturated than those children whose parents do not practice Asian customs and who speaks English at home.

We also found that the level of the child acculturation was positively related with parent-child acculturation gap, signifying that child's cultural identification can be used to predict the difference between the parent and child in their level of Western versus Asian identification. The child's acculturation level and child's language acculturation level were expected to be correlated since language acculturation serves as a domain of the larger umbrella concept of acculturation. The same idea applies to the relationship between the parent's acculturation level and the parent's language acculturation level. Furthermore, the child's level of acculturation was related to the mother's language acculturation and the parent-child language acculturation gap.

Based on the earlier explanation, the mother's acculturation level was found to be positively related to the child's language acculturation. The results however did not yield a relationship between the mother's acculturation level and parent-child acculturation gap or

between mother's acculturation level and parent-child language acculturation gap. We can infer from these findings that we cannot rely on the mother's cultural identification and communication to predict the cultural discrepancy between the parent and child.

However the child's acculturation level and language acculturation level is a significant predictor of the parent-child acculturation gap and the parent-child language acculturation gap.

As expected, the parent-child acculturation gap and parent-child language acculturation were significantly related since language acculturation is a sub-score of acculturation. We however, did not find a relationship between mother's language acculturation and parent-child acculturation gap. On the other hand, we did find a relationship between the child's language acculturation level and the parent-child language acculturation gap.

Regression analyses suggest that just like in our hypothesis, the parent-child acculturation gap significantly predicted the likelihood of family conflict: the degree of cultural differences between the parent and the child can be used to predict how likely Asian American parents and children are prone to experience family centered conflicts. In addition, the parent-child language acculturation gap was also found to predict the likelihood of family conflict: the differences in the bilingualism and use of English versus Asian language can be used to make a prediction on the frequency of experiencing family centered conflicts.

In light of our larger research goals, our main predictions that the acculturation gap and language acculturation gap are related to the likelihood of family conflict were confirmed. On a grander scale, these findings help us understand that a probable explanation for the occurrence of family based conflicts in Asian-American families could be the discrepancy in the cultural understanding of the parent and child. With this in mind, in order to decrease the frequency of family conflicts, both individuals must make efforts to close the acculturation gap. This can be

achieved through immersing oneself in the culture which one identifies less.

Even when the parent-child acculturation gap is small, if the individual is on either polar end of the acculturative spectrum, the person will still fail to revel the benefits of having a balanced bi-cultural identity. In accordance with this idea, positive mental health benefits are related to individuals' adherence to both indigenous and dominant cultural norms (Berry & Kim, 1988).

In this sample, the mother's acculturation level and child's acculturation level were positively correlated. In the case of highly acculturated Asian American adolescents with less acculturated parents, there is an increase frequency in likelihood of family conflict (Lee at el, 2000). Additionally, less acculturated Asian youths were at greater risk of suicide and depression when there were also experiencing high levels of parent-child conflict (Lau, Jernewall, Zane, and Myers, 2002).

Family conflicts are one of the main issues discussed during counseling sessions with Asian American youth. The strictness of the Asian American cultural upbringing has been criticized for its strong emphasis on the role expectations placed on the children, which do not allow for much independent decision-making. In many cases, Asian American adolescent experiencing Asian American family themed conflicts may feel reluctant to enter therapy in fear of not being able to effectively communicate the cultural differences they experience at home. Therefore, they should seek out counselors who have a deeper understanding of how Asian Americans deal with acculturation conflicts; they will possess the appropriate resources needed to efficiently assist their clients (Chae, 2001).

Limitations

Although the general results support the main predictions and add to the existing

literature on acculturation differences and possible influences, there were still a considerable number of limitations in the present study. Firstly, the sample of participants was gathered through means of convenience, and participants are not highly representative of the Asian American population as a whole (since they were mainly young college students from a urban setting). Also, a larger sample size could have contributed immensely to the generalization of the findings (For an appropriate sample size would be 54-56 participants depending the hypothesis). Because of the specificity of the sample used in the study (18-22 year old Asian American college students attending schools in NYC), it cannot be assumed that exact results will yield for other age groups or other Asian Americans living in a rural or suburban environment where acculturation levels will drastically differ (most likely more acculturated).

Another limitation of the experiment is the statistical method used. Although correlation statistical analysis tell us about the relationship between two variables, it fails to make any causal claims about which variable is causing the change on the other. This means that we cannot infer from the results if the parent-child acculturation gap is the source of the family conflict, however it is quite clear that family conflict is not the cause of the acculturation gap between the parent and child.

In terms of the method, using scales was not the most expressive e means of measuring concepts as vague as acculturation and family conflict. Since the two scales used in the current study both have been tested multiple times for empirical reliability and validity, they were both appropriate for measuring the acculturation level and perceived likelihood of family conflict of the Asian American family (Lee,et al., 2000).

One concern I had was the operationalization of the of language acculturation criteria. As I mention repeatedly in the methods section, language acculturation serves as an dimension of

the larger more blanket concept of one's overall acculturation level (behavior, attitudes, values, and practices that ones engages in as part of the unique cultural identification). Language acculturation pertains only to the degree of bilingualism or the choice and practice of using a certain language over another or using both languages at the same degree. In this study, I choose to focus on this particular asset of acculturation mainly because of the large impact communication has on our understanding of others thoughts and ideas. I predicted that the language acculturation differences between the parent and the child would influence the likelihood of experiencing family centered conflicts; this hypothesis was significantly supported by the results even if the correlation was not considered to be a particularly strong one. This finding can be outlined by the emphasis on the importance of effective communication in understanding and relating to other people, even those of other interpersonal relationships such as friends or colleagues.

In accordance with this critique on the design of the study, I personally felt that the experiment could have benefited tremendously with some form of qualitative data. This could be anything from personal anecdotes, essays to one on one interviews. The advantages of qualitative data is that it reaches a much more personal level than the method of using survey and scale data which do not account for any variances in responses. Although this type of data is hard to interpret and quantify, it still shields some light on the first hand immigration and adaptive experiences of the parent and the child in the Asian-American family.

Another rather limiting aspect of the study is that a lot of the data was incomplete or missing. This drawback was due in apart by the lack of organization of the scale packets and instruments and also by the absence of certain responses that participants chose to leave out or left blank. With that said, all missing data were descriptive and demographic and not data from

the two main scales. In the situation where either one the SL-ASIA or AAFCS scales were missing, the participant was dropped from the study (five of the 39 original participants were excluded for this reason).

My final critique of the study is the fact that I did not separate different Asian groups and analyze them independently. I chose not to do this for two reasons: 1) my sample size is considerably small and having separate ethnicity groups would make the study more focused on the differences between ethnic groups and less so on the occurrence of family conflict, 2) Although differences in Asian ethnic groups are inherently present, different Asian ethnic groups still share similar traditional beliefs and ideas pertaining to the family environment and the expectations of the children.

Despite the many limitations to my study, there still exists a number of strengths. Although previous studies have acknowledged language of a factor of acculturation, no study has independently tested for language acculturation and the language acculturation gap between parent and child. Acculturation is a multivariate construct of identification which makes for an interesting study if the different factors (language, identity, friendship, behaviors, generation status, and attitude) were evaluated individually for unexpected differences.

The choice of language as the medium of conversation influences the degree of communication fluency when considering that the parent and child will mostly likely differ in their level of fluency in either English or in the native Asian language. By speaking different languages and engaging in disparate cultural activities, the parent and child are likely to experience less mutual understanding and lower family cohesion (Santiseban & Mitrani, 2003; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). The success of the parent-child communication relies partially on the abilities of both individuals to convey thoughts and ideas without causing strain to the

conversation due to limited language proficiency. These misunderstandings may in turn transfer into language acculturative stress and ultimately lead to family conflicts.

Another positive aspect of this study is the simplistic design. Although earlier I discuss how my experimental design could be more encompassing and complex, I do believe there are some benefits to having a simple design. For example, my objectives and research intentions were clearly mapped out and easy to follow. Moreover the instruction of completing survey data was rather straight-forward and did not cause for confusion unless a certain item on any of the scales was particularly unclear, in which case it was explained to the participant.

Efforts to lessen the occurrence of family conflicts include several prevention and intervention methods. One strategy would be addressing culture specific and family specific issues with the development of therapeutic interventions that help Asian Americans deal with these acculturative based issues (Hwang & Ting, 2008). In counseling, it is important for clinicians to consider the cultural aspects of one's identity and how it affects the emotional and mental processes of the individual. Also, for acculturative conflicts, stress management techniques would be a better option since parent-child discrepancies are often the source of stress for young Asian Americans. By considering culturally adaptive therapeutic interventions for the older generations, clinicians can help clients cope with the "loss of social ties, develop skills for negotiating situations when they feel they are being discriminate against or facilitate successful integration and learning of U.S. culture" (Hwang & Ting, 2008). Other more basic means of intervention would be ESL language classes or cultural training on the part of the parents.

The purpose of the present study was to better understand the underlying factors that can explain the frequency to which young Asian Americans experience family centered conflicts. From the present research, it has been delineated that acculturation is a large contribution factor

to the mental health and self-esteem of the Asian Americans (Phinney, 1995). Furthermore, immigrant parents tend be authoritarian due to Asian orientation, this explains why this form of parenting style was associated with increased family conflict, (Park et al. 2010). This real world phenomenon has implications for the need to distinguish the cultural needs of this specific social group since the experiences of Asian Americans are so specific and tailored to the older traditions of Asian societies.

Demographic Sheet

Hello! Welcome to my study on Acculturation and Conflict in Asian American Families

Please provide the following information about you and your family:

1. How old are you? _____

2. Which country is your family from?

_____

3. Were you born in the United States? Yes_____ No_____
    a. If you were not born in the U.S., at what age did you immigrate?_____

4. At what age did your parents immigrate to the U.S.?
       a. Mother _____
       b. Father _____

5. Which parent had a larger impact on your childhood? _____

6. Have you felt that conflicts in your family are intensified by the difference and misunderstandings caused by language (English versus Asian language)?

Yes____ No____

ASIAN AMERICAN FAMILY CONFLICTS SCALE – REVISED (MOTHER)

The following statements are parent-child situations that may occur in mother-child relationships. Consider how likely each situation occurs in your <u>present</u> relationship with your mother and how serious these conflicts are. Read each situation and answer the following questions using the following rating scales:

How likely is this type of situation to occur in your relationship with your mother?
1…………………….………..2…………………….…...…3…………………….........4……………………….……5

| Almost Never | Once In A While | Sometimes | Often | Almost Always |

How serious a problem is this situation in your relationship with your mother?
1…………………….….....2………..…………….………3………...................…......4……………………….……5

| Not At All | Slightly | Moderately | Very Much | Extremely |

	How likely is this type of situation to occur in your relationship with your mother?	How serious a problem is this situation in your relationship with your mother?
Family Situations	Never… Always	Not At All…Extremely
1. Your mother tells you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
2. Your mother tells you that a social life is not important at this age, but you think that it is.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
3. You have done well in school, but your mother's academic expectations always exceed your performance.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
4. Your mother wants you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family, but you feel this is unfair.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
5. Your mother always compares you to others, but you want her to accept you for being yourself.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
6. Your mother argues that she shows you love by housing, feeding, and educating you, but you wish she would show more physical and verbal signs of affection.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
7. Your mother doesn't want you to bring shame upon the family, but you feel that your mother is too concerned with saving face.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
8. Your mother expects you to behave like a proper Asian male or female, but you feel your mother Is being too traditional.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
9. Your want to state your opinion, but your mother considers it to be disrespectful to talk back.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5
10. Your mother demands that you always show respect for elders, but you believe in showing respect only if they deserve it.	1…2...3...4...5	1…2…3…4…5

SUINN-LEW ASIAN SELF-IDENTITY ACCULTURATION SCALE
(SL-ASIA)

Male _____ Female_____
Age: _____

INSTRUCTIONS: The questions which follow are for the purpose of collecting information about your historical background as well as more recent behaviors which may be related to your cultural identity. Choose the one answer which best describes you.

1. What language can you speak?

      1. Asian only (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
      2. Mostly Asian, some English
      3. Asian and English about equally well (bilingual)
      4. Mostly English, some Asian
      5. Only English

2. What language do you prefer?

      1. Asian only (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
      2. Mostly Asian, some English
      3. Asian and English about equally well (bilingual)
      4. Mostly English, some Asian
      5. Only English

3. How do you identify yourself?

      1. Oriental
      2. Asian
      3. Asian-American
      4. Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, etc.
      5. American

4. Which identification does (did) your mother use?

      1. Oriental
      2. Asian
      3. Asian-American
      4. Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, etc.
      5. American

5. Which identification does (did) your father use?

      1. Oriental
      2. Asian
      3. Asian-American
      4. Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Korean-American, etc.
      5. American

6. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child up to age 6?

    1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
    2. Mostly Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
    3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups
    4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
    5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian
    ethnic groups

7. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child
from 6 to 18?

    1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
    2. Mostly Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
    3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups
    4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
    5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian
    ethnic groups

8. Whom do you now associate with in the community?

    1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
    2. Mostly Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
    3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups
    4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
    5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian
    ethnic groups

9. If you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate with in the community?

    1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
    2. Mostly Asians, Asian-Americans, Orientals
    3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups
    4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
    5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian
    ethnic groups

10. What is your music preference?

    1. Only Asian music (for example, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.)
    2. Mostly Asian
    3. Equally Asian and English
    4. Mostly English
    5. English only

11. What is your movie preference?

    1. Asian-language movies only
    2. Asian-language movies mostly
    3. Equally Asian/English English-language movies
    4. Mostly English-language movies only
    5. English-language movies only

12. What generation are you? (circle the generation that best applies to you:)

    1. 1st Generation = I was born in Asia or country other than U.S.

    2. 2nd Generation = I was born in U.S., either parent was born in Asia or country other   than U.S.

    3. 3rd Generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S, and all   grandparents born
in Asia or country other than U.S.

    4. 4th Generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S, and at least one grandparent born in Asia or country other than U.S. and one grandparent born in U.S.

    5. 5th Generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S., and all grandparents also born in U.S.

    6. Don't know what generation best fits since I lack some information.

13. Where were you raised?
    1. In Asia only
    2. Mostly in Asia, some in U.S.
    3. Equally in Asia and U.S.
    4. Mostly in U.S., some in Asia
    5. In U.S. only

14. What contact have you had with Asia?

    1. Raised one year or more in Asia
    2. Lived for less than one year in Asia
    3. Occasional visits to Asia
    4. Occasional communications (letters, phone calls, etc.) with people in Asia
    5. No exposure or communications with people in Asia

15. What is your food preference at home?

    1. Exclusively Asian food
    2. Mostly Asian food, some American
    3. About equally Asian and American
    4. Mostly American food
    5. Exclusively American food

16. What is your food preference in restaurants?

    1. Exclusively Asian food
    2. Mostly Asian food, some American
    3. About equally Asian and American
    4. Mostly American food
    5. Exclusively American food

17. Do you:

    1. Read only an Asian language?
    2. Read an Asian language better than English?
    3. Read both Asian and English equally well?
    4. Read English better than an Asian language?
    5. Read only English?

18. Do you:

    1. Write only an Asian language?
    2. Write an Asian language better than English?
    3. Write both Asian and English equally well?
    4. Write English better than an Asian language?
    5. Write only English?

19. If you consider yourself a member of the Asian group (Oriental, Asian, Asian-American, Chinese-American, etc., whatever term you prefer), how much pride do you have in this group?

    1. Extremely proud
    2. Moderately proud
    3. Little pride
    4. No pride but do not feel negative toward group
    5. No pride but do feel negative toward group

20. How would you rate yourself?

    1. Very Asian
    2. Mostly Asian
    3. Bicultural
    4. Mostly Westernized
    5. Very Westernized

21. Do you participate in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc.?

    1. Nearly all
    2. Most of them
    3. Some of them
    4. A few of them
    5. None at all

22. Rate yourself on how much you believe in Asian values (e.g., about marriage, families, education, work):

1	2	3	4	5
(do not believe)				(strongly believe In Asian values)

23. Rate your self on how much you believe in American (Western) values:

1	2	3	4	5
(do not believe)				(strongly believe In Western values)

24. Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Asians of the same ethnicity:

1	2	3	4	5
(do not)				(Fit very well)

25. Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Americans who are non-Asian (Westerners):

1	2	3	4	5
(do not)				(Fit very well)

26. There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?

1. I consider myself basically an Asian person (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese,etc.). Even though I live and work in America, I still view myself basically as an Asian person.

2. I consider myself basically as an American. Even though I have an Asian background and characteristics, I still view myself basically as an American.

3. I consider myself as an Asian-American, although deep down I always know I am an Asian.

4. I consider myself as an Asian-American, although deep down, I view myself as an American first.

5. I consider myself as an Asian-American. I have both Asian and American characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.

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