

FAMILY COHESION AS A MODERATOR OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
PARENTS' SOCIALIZATION BEHAVIORS AND ADOLESCENTS' ETHNIC
IDENTITY IMPORTANCE IN CHINESE IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

By

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ABSTRACT

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The primary purpose of this study is to examine the moderating effects of Chinese family cohesion on the relationship between Chinese parents' socialization behavior patterns and the importance of their children's ethnic identity. A group of Chinese American adolescents between the ages of 13 and 16 was selected for this study. The group is composed of 30 (55.6 %) males and 24 (44.4 %) females, of whom 23 (42.6 %) are first-generation (individuals born in China and who have immigrated to the United States) and 31 (57.4 %) are second-generation (individuals born in the United States who have at least one foreign-born parent). The parents' socialization behavior patterns considered are parents' use of the Chinese language and their ethnic affiliation, which may provide a context in which Chinese children have a positive sense of their ethnic identity (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

There was a significant positive correlation between the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity and Chinese family cohesion. Additionally, neither first-generation nor second-generation status affected the level of family cohesion. Moderation could not be tested as the criteria were for these analyses were not met; family cohesion was tested as a predictor. Neither, Chinese parents' socialization behavior patterns, nor family cohesion predicted the importance of their children's ethnic identity. While this was not supported by significance in the further analyses, there was an important trend in this direction.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to the U.S. census, the Asian American population will grow by an estimated 20 million (239%) between 2010 and 2050 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2008). The Asian population grew faster than any other major racial group between 2000 and 2010 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). The U.S. population has become more racially and ethnically diverse over time (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). Adolescents (10–19 year olds) comprise a significant proportion (13.8%) of this population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). Chinese Americans are the largest group of Asian Americans and comprise approximately 46% of all Asian Americans (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010).) and are estimated at about 4 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010).

Immigrant Chinese families in the United States, especially the adolescents, face difficult experiences adapting to a new culture (Boutakidis, Chao, & Rodriguiz, 2011). While they undergo the acculturation process, they are more vulnerable to negative influences, such as dropping out of school and delinquency (Kim & Goto, 2000). They also sometimes experience serious identity problems (Shrake & Rhee, 2004). A previous study showed that Chinese Americans with strong ethnic identities, an important resilience factor, are buffered against psychological distress (Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, & Chance, 2010). Adolescents experience stress and conflict with family, school, and peers in their everyday lives, particularly during acculturative and adjustment processes (Yeh, 2003); however, a positive ethnic identity may serve as a shield from the everyday challenges of adolescent life (Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

Even though Chinese Americans are a significant subgroup within the Asian American population, studies have rarely investigated the link between Chinese parents' ethnic socialization and their children's ethnic identity, leading to an increasing need for more research in this area. Kim and Chao (2009) studied the effect of native language on ethnic identity among Chinese and Mexican children. They found that the native language fluency of second-generation Chinese children (individuals born in the United States who have at least one foreign born parent) showed greater decline than that of first-generation (individuals born in China and who have immigrated to the United States) children. However, there was little difference between the ethnic identity of first-generation and second-generation Chinese (Kim & Chao, 2009). Perhaps then, ethnic identity is linked more strongly to other values emphasized by their parents other than native language fluency. The results of this current study, which will be discussed in detail later, found little variation in family cohesion between first- and second-generation, which may lead to little difference between the ethnic identity of first-generation and second-generation. These results are consistent with the findings of Kim & Chao (2009).

Family cohesion as a construct is consistent with Confucian ideals and as such, may be one of these other factors. Because Chinese culture and Confucianism emphasize family cohesion and interdependent family relationships, parents' ethnic behaviors likely have a strong influence on children's ethnic identity formation. As such, family cohesion is one of most important values in the relationship between parents and adolescents in Chinese culture (Fuligni, 1998). Consequently, a good relationship between parents and children may lead to strong family cohesion and strong feelings of ethnic belonging and ethnic pride. Still, few studies consider how Chinese family cohesion helps Chinese American adolescents develop positive ethnic identity.

It is my intention to investigate the association between family cohesion and the importance of Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity, specifically, whether the level of family cohesion is affected by being first-generation or second-generation, and the moderating effects of Chinese family cohesion on the relationship between Chinese parents' socialization behavior patterns (use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation) and the importance of their children's ethnic identity.

In the sections to follow, I will discuss the theoretical perspective applied and then the significance of the study where I will provide a statement of the problem underlying the research undertaken. Acculturation for Chinese immigrant youth experiencing means dealing with a new culture and associated stressors and threats to mental and physical well-being. . Next I will describe the specific aims of the study. Additionally, adolescents may face other crises that lead to stress in the adjustment process. The literature review will follow in the next chapter where acculturation and Confusionism will be discussed in relation to parental socialization processes. These assessments of the literature lead to a more specific review of the literature regarding ethnic socialization behaviors and child ethnic identity outcomes.

Ecological Framework

Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggested that individuals continuously interact with microsystem (closest to an individual and encompassing interpersonal relationships and direct interactions with immediate surroundings), mesosystem (interactions between various aspects of the microsystem), exosystem (the individual plays no role in the construction of experiences, but these experiences have a direct impact on the microsystems the individual is part of), and macrosystem (social or cultural ideologies and beliefs).

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), people live in and interact with the surrounding environment. The family is one of the most important microsystems, which also include schools, neighborhoods, and communities, which are important elements for developing individuals. Therefore, parents' socialization behaviors and a cohesive family environment may directly influence a child's development. Also, the pattern of Chinese family interaction provides the foundation of a child's ethnic identity. This work will contribute to a better understanding of factors that might ease the acculturation process for immigrant families in the United States.

Significance of the Study

In China, there is little recognition of individual ethnic identity or cultural socialization because the society is largely monocultural and monoracial, and socialization is part of the daily routine and parental practice (Hughes et al., 2006). Once Chinese nationals immigrate to the United States, they encounter life-changing experiences that may cause crises in the family. They have to accommodate a totally different culture, values, and relationships to ensure their well-being. Noh and Kasper (2003) found that immigrant families have experiences while undergoing the acculturation process that may become sources of stress, such as learning a new language, missing friends and relatives, new financial and occupational experiences, changes in roles for oneself and one's family members, and new social norms. Some Chinese newcomers may come from poor socioeconomic backgrounds, substandard living conditions, less supportive family members and peers, communication problems (difficulty with English), and unfamiliarity with different social and cultural perspectives. They may experience discrimination or rejection from other people. Overall, these acculturation experiences can lead to acculturative stress (Oh, Koeske,

& Sales, 2002), and this may account for negative psychological health outcomes, such as depression (Miller & Chandler, 2002).

Chinese adolescents who migrate to the United States often experience serious identity crises. These identity issues and the frustration that may follow have some relation to a variety of emotional and behavioral difficulties (Shrake & Rhee, 2004). Kim and Goto (2000) have shown an increasing rate of depression, school dropout, substance abuse, and juvenile delinquency among Asian American adolescents. Chiu, Feldman, and Rosenthal (1992) found that the experiences of first-generation immigrants who migrate after age 12 lead to increased stress and lower self-esteem than those of second- and third-generation adolescents. During adolescence in particular, immigrants must begin to navigate across multiple cultural and social contexts as they interact more frequently with their peers and family members, both in the host culture and their culture of origin (Yeh & Hunter, 2005). Compared to adults, adolescents do not have as strong a strategy as adults to cope with their stress (Juang & Alvarez, 2010). In addition, adolescence is a critical time because of the need to develop an identity (Erikson, 1968), so adolescents may be more emotionally sensitive to their changed circumstances. Adolescents who experience hardships adjust more poorly in terms of having lower self-esteem and more depressive symptoms (Harker, 2001).

However, strong family cohesion (Cortes, 1995) and ethnic identity (Lee, 2005) are factors that buffer the negative effects of adolescents' acculturation stress. For example, Chinese adolescents' strong family cohesion offsets the negative effects of their perceived discrimination (Juang & Alvarez, 2010).

Therefore, if Chinese adolescents have a high level of cohesion and a positive sense of ethnic identity, the family will have an easier time overcoming difficulties in the acculturation process.

Specific Aims of Thesis Research

In my research, I plan to explore Chinese parents' socialization behavior patterns (use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation) and how they contribute to their children's ethnic identity. I will also examine the association between family cohesion and the importance of Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity. Moreover, I will address the moderating effects of Chinese family cohesion on the relationship between Chinese parents' socialization behavior patterns and the importance of their children's ethnic identity. Finally, I will investigate whether the level of family cohesion is affected by being a member of the first-generation or the second-generation.

Findings from this study will contribute to assisting immigrant families to have a smooth acculturation process because parents' socialization behaviors and higher level of family cohesion may instill children's positive ethnic identity importance. High levels of family cohesion and children's positive ethnic identity importance are factors to buffer for acculturation stress. These findings may lead to a more comfortable life for immigrant families in the United States.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

As parental socialization often refers to the unconscious learning of roles by children, parents' socialization behaviors influence their children's ethnic identity. Therefore, discovering how much parents' ethnic behavior patterns and the important family level process of cohesion influence adolescent identity development or ethnic salience is the focus of this research. In this section, I will first discuss acculturation and socialization among immigrants. Next, I will briefly describe Chinese American immigrants' Confucianism to better understand the cultural context of socialization. Finally, I will explore, more specifically, parents' socialization factors and the relevant literature on how parents' ethnic behaviors affect their children. These factors include eating ethnic food, using ethnic grocery stores, celebrating their own holidays (e.g., Lunar New Year), using their native language, and maintaining close relationships with their ethnic group (Hughes, 2006). These socializing activities are common in the daily lives of Chinese families and lead to more robust family cohesion and to adolescents' strong sense of ethnic identity. For this study, parents' socialization behavior patterns include parents' use of the Chinese language and their ethnic affiliation. Also, given that Chinese families endorsed family cohesion strongly (Feldman and Rosenthal, 1994), I address the moderating effects of Chinese family cohesion on the relationship between Chinese parents' socialization behavior patterns and the importance of their adolescent's ethnic identity. Finally, I investigate whether the level of family cohesion is affected by generational status, as a first-generation or the second-generation member.

Acculturation and Socialization of Immigrants

Miller and Chandler (2002) defined *acculturation* as the process by which immigrants maintain or are transformed by the experience of coming into contact with another culture in terms of language, lifestyle, cultural identity, and attitude. Acculturation is the process of cultural change resulting from contact between groups with distinctive cultures. Accordingly, the acculturation process may lead to a disruption in immigrants' clarity, consistency, and continuity regarding their traditional values, beliefs, and attitudes; and in this way it becomes a source of stress (Kiefer, 1974). Immigrants may experience structural confusion, cultural conflict, and cultural alienation, making acculturation an arduous life event for some immigrant families. Each family member undergoes acculturation at a different pace, and this is often an added stress to family relations (Marsiglia, Kulis, Parsai, Villar, & Garcia, 2009). For example, children are more likely than their parents to develop fluency in speaking English. If parents and their children use different languages, communication breaks down, and they may lose the ability to share and socialize common values and beliefs (Wu, 2005).

To help lessen their stress during acculturation, parents' ethnic socialization behaviors are essential because Chinese families are highly interdependent and have strong family cohesion compared to individualistic ethnic groups (Georgas et al., 1997; Meredith, Abbott, Tsai, Ming, & Meredith, 1994). Also, Chinese parents are very supportive of and involved in their child's school achievement (Chao, 2001), which is an inherent feature of Chinese family culture. Moreover, Chinese parents are proud of their culture and like to talk about their cultural heritage and traditional customs with them (Wu, J. & Singh, M., 2004; Lee, 2010). Accordingly, these parents' ethnic and cultural socialization behaviors affect their children's ethnic pride, which may eventually lead to their children having a positive sense of ethnic

identity. Chinese children who have a strong ethnic identity may experience less stress during the acculturation process than those who have a weak ethnic identity (Lee, 2005).

Phinney and Rotheram (1987) define ethnic socialization as “the developmental processes by which children acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes of an ethnic group, and come to see themselves and others as members of such groups” (p. 11). Studies during the 1980s focused on parents’ communication to their child about race and ethnicity among African American families. Many scholars during that decade described a parenting style that emphasized promoting high self-esteem; instilling racial pride; and preparing children to face negative stereotypes, prejudices, and racial obstacles (Peters & Massey, 1983; Spencer, 1983). More recent studies on racial and ethnic socialization processes have expanded to include research across multiple ethnic minority groups (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, Pessar (1995) suggested that recent immigrants to the United States emphasize children’s acquisition of their native cultural values, beliefs, practices, and language.

Parents are the most important socialization agents because they transmit their values and attitudes to their children (Flouri, 1999; Moore-Shay & Berchmans, 1996; Palan & Wilkes, 1997). Early parental socialization influences on children in particular were assessed because anticipatory parental socialization is known to be especially instrumental during later adolescence (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Anticipatory parental socialization often refers to the unconscious learning of roles that will be assumed sometime in the future. For example, many immigrant Chinese parents speak Chinese at home. Their native language use eventually leads to their children becoming bilingual in English and Chinese. A bilingual person may have better social opportunities, such as finding a better job, than those who speak only English.

In addition, parents convey unconscious cultural messages which may instill a positive ethnic identity in children. The term *cultural socialization* is used to describe parental practices. For example, parents who teach children about their cultural or ethnic heritage and history promote cultural customs and traditions to their children. Moreover, these experiences encourage children's cultural, racial, and ethnic pride, either intentionally or implicitly (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes, Bachman, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2006). Parental practices include talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music, and stories; celebrating cultural holidays; eating ethnic foods; and encouraging children to use their family's native language (Hughes et al., 2006).

The current study emphasizes parents' use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation for socialization behavior patterns. Native language use is an important cultural socialization factor central to ethnic familial contexts and cultural networks. Native language represents the ethnic groups' values and beliefs. Chinese family members' use of the Chinese language is related to family cohesion. For example, if Chinese parents and their child use different languages, they may not fully understand one another's expressed thoughts. Accordingly, children may become emotionally distant and alienated from their parents (Qin, 2006). Parents' ethnic affiliation is also an important socialization factor. Chinese social associations provide a sense of social security and often provide the services that newcomers need. The association acts like a surrogate extended family (Tötöy de Zepetnek, 1997). A relationship with a supportive ethnic association may help reduce newcomers' stress during the acculturation process.

If Chinese families do not use their native language and maintain their ethnic affiliation, family cohesion is gradually undermined. Higher levels of family cohesion and

adolescent developmental outcomes have a positive relationship (Baer, 2002). Therefore, Chinese American adolescents' surrounding systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), including parents, peers, and ethnic group community (neighborhood), have significant effects in instilling a positive ethnic identity for Chinese adolescents.

Immigrant adolescents who have resided in the United States longer and with more time to acculturate shift their family values, norms, and attitudes (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Mylonas, 1996). Immigrants who have lived for a longer time in the United States also reported lower levels of family cohesion than those living for less time in the country. Family members who have lived for a longer time in the United States become more disengaged. Conversely, immigrant adolescents with high levels of family cohesion are more often reported having lived fewer than 10 years in the United States (Marsiglia, Kulis, Parsai, Villar, & Garcia, 2009). Therefore, we may conclude that the first-generation immigrants are more connected with family having higher levels of family cohesion than the second-generation immigrant groups. .

Confucianism

For more than 2000 years, Confucianism was the predominant philosophy in China. Confucian philosophers focused on human morality and proper behavior, as influenced by East Asian culture. Filial piety is one of the most important Confucian virtues in human morality.

Fong (2007) defined filial piety as the child fulfilling his or her family duty by displaying love, deference, and unconditional obedience through acts that contribute to the parents' material and emotional well-being and happiness. Also, a child's achievement and success bestow honor on their parents and ancestral family. Moreover, Confucianism

emphasizes emotional restraint and self-control regarding proper behaviors. Confucianists believe that intense parental guidance can lead to the internalization of appropriate behaviors by children. Inappropriate behaviors can cause shame not only to children but also to their families (Ames & Rosemont, 1998). These values may lead parents to be authoritarian because in Confucianism, parental control is a parent's duty, as is raising their child in accordance with Chinese cultural values. For example, if parents have clear values and a preference for bilingualism, their children are likely to be bilingual (Wu, 2005). Parents' behaviors and cultural values strongly influence their children, and these behaviors are needed to instill a sense of ethnic identity in their children.

Wu and Chao (2005) found that Chinese immigrant parenting tends to be more authoritarian (parental dominance, more restrictive, and lacking warmth) and less authoritative (warmth, responsiveness and less restrictive) than Western cultural parenting. Some studies (e.g., Wu, 1996) have observed that Chinese parents traditionally believed that affection and praise would spoil a child and make him or her less achievement oriented. The parents believed that the affection/praise would cause the child to think that he or she was already good enough. This parental belief value leads to emotionally restrained behavior and is based on Confucianism.

Wu and Singh (2004) found that in Australia, Chinese parents' and their children's educational expectations were based on Confucianism. Moreover, as Confucianism is the main influential background for Chinese traditions and norms, it is still followed by many Chinese immigrants. However, contemporary times demand that Chinese parents intertwine authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles because their children's values and beliefs are altered through the acculturation process. An intertwined parenting style will lead to an improvement in the relationship between parents and their children.

Also, although Chinese are living in the United States, both their cultural tradition and living conditions based on the teachings of Confucius foster a high level of family cohesion. Feldman and Rosenthal (1994) determined that Chinese families endorsed family cohesion more strongly and emphasized autonomy less strongly to adolescents than did American and Australian families. Cohesive families are an important protective factor for adolescents' delinquency and encourage positive relationships with parents among Mexican, Chinese, and White youth (Kopak & Hawley, 2012). Even though there are many benefits of a high level of family cohesion, the level will gradually be undermined by the acculturation process. Therefore, Chinese families need to create harmony between traditional Chinese norms and westernized family norms in order to live well in the United States.

Parental Ethnic Socialization Behavior Patterns

Language Use

Every person's behavior has some unique symbolic meaning based on particular ethnic group values and beliefs. These characteristics may include ethnic language use; ethnic group friendships; and participation in ethnic functions, media, and traditions (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Among children from ethnic minority and non-Western communities, language plays a pivotal role in socialization (Pease-Alvarez, 2002). Each ethnic group has its unique language, which also represent its values and beliefs. Hence, use of the same language among family members is important to immigrant families. If parents and their children use different languages, communication breaks down and they may lose the ability to share and socialize common values and beliefs (Wu, 2005).

Immigrant families coming to the United States try to adapt to the new U.S. culture. Lueck and Wilson (2010) noted that the use of the language of the host country is the most

important part of the acculturation process. English proficiency promotes immigrants' sense of competence. Speaking English provides many benefits, including better academic achievement and employment opportunities (Porter & Grant, 1992).

However, learning English is not always the most positive way to achieve acculturation; it can have a negative effect on parents' relationships with their children because of differences in language acquisition. Researchers (Fillmore, 1991; Pease-Alvarez, 2002) found that immigrant parents typically maintain fluency in speaking their native language and are less likely to develop fluency in English compared to their children (Boutakidis, Chao, & Rodriguez, 2011). Immigrant children rapidly lose their native language in the first few years of schooling in the United States, a process referred to as "subtractive bilingualism" (Pease-Alvarez, 2002). Accordingly, children acculturate more rapidly than their parents; this interferes with immigrant parents' ability to convey their values and beliefs. Some researchers (e.g., Lawton & Logio, 2009) have argued that rapid acculturation often makes immigrant children emotionally distant and alienated from their parents. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (2010) surveyed the English-speaking ability of Chinese American parents who had lived in the United States for at least 5 years. More parents chose "speak English less than very well" than any other option. They also found that most Chinese American parents have low confidence in their ability to speak English. Even when immigrant parents have some basic degree of English fluency and attempt to communicate with their English-speaking adolescents, some ideas or values that are native to the parents' culture may be difficult to convey in English (Boutakidis et al., 2011). Related to children's limited understanding of native values, is the rarity of open communication with their parents. Language barriers can undermine if not ruin the parent-child relationship; parent-child conversation time can be reduced by different language use and fluency because

parents and children do not understand each other or miscommunicate. Over time, these barriers disrupt interactions between them. As such, children's fluency in the parental native language is integral to full cultural socialization and forging the parental relationship with the child.

Parents are the first socializing agents for their child, and parents' behaviors affect their children, whether consciously or not. Therefore, parents' cultural socialization behaviors have a strong association to their children's culture-related behaviors and outcomes such as ethnic identity. Language often occupies an important status in the social construction process of ethnicity (Cheng & Kuo, 2000). In addition, native language use is a catalyst for interaction with others of similar ethnicity. Tseng and Fuligni (2000) found that native language fluency is associated with greater emotional closeness, especially between mothers and adolescents. Use of different languages at home affects parents' and adolescents' relationship, which leads to decreasing family cohesion and less positive ethnic identity formation among adolescents. Moreover, adolescent native language use may be particularly important for Chinese parents because of the traditional emphasis on filial piety in their socialization goals. In addition, Chinese Confucian values emphasize respect for the family and hierarchical obedience to one's parents (Boutakidis et al., 2011). Chinese parents expect respect from their child. European American mothers have a more "high-elaborative" conversational style (Fivush & Fromhoff, 1988), which is asking wh-questions (i.e., where, when, what, who, why), and giving their child feedback and information when the child fails to respond. By contrast, Chinese mothers tend to have a more "low-elaborative" conversational style (Fivush & Fromhoff, 1988), in which they often repeat their questions without providing embellishment and information (Doan, 2012). When parents use a didactic and less expressive conversation style, children may not understand their parents' intentional

meaning because of the lack of familiarity with the language and its forms. These transactions or misunderstandings in language can misinform children or undermine parenting and socialization processes.

Language maintenance as part of parental cultural socialization strategies seems quite important to Chinese parents. Typically, native language use is a fundamental strategy to maintain parents' and children's good relationships and to allow parents to convey their meaning easily to the child. Today, to make up for the language gap in a growing immigrant population in the United States, the number of native language schools has dramatically increased in various ethnic communities. For example, Lawton and Logio (2009) reported more than 700 Chinese language schools serving more than 150,000 students in the United States.

Many scholars are also interested in immigrant parents' attitudes toward native language maintenance for their children (Guardado, 2002; Lao, 2004; Lawton & Logio, 2009; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). For example, Lao (2004) found that Chinese immigrant parents strongly support their children's bilingualism. Such bilingualism leads to positive outcomes: Children have positive cultural ethnic identities, effective communication with parents and community members, and better job opportunities. Consequently, bilingual Chinese American adolescents should have higher family cohesion and a more positive ethnic identity than those who speak only English.

Language uses, socialization around language use, as well as these associations with Chinese values and cultural meaning have been shown to have numerous linkages to adolescent outcomes of closeness with family and positive ethnic identity development. Language use and fluency are not merely about how quickly English language is learned, but

appears integral to complex family dynamics, parenting and socialization processes associated with both general development and cultural development.

Ethnic Group Affiliation

Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggested, “The individual grows and adapts through interchanges with its immediate ecosystem (the family) and more distant environments such as school” (p. 253). Hawley (1986) indicated that people change their interactions with their environment as they adapt and develop. Additionally, Bronfenbrenner (1979) noted, “The developmental status of the individual is reflected in the ability of the individual to initiate and maintain a new level of adaptive range and to maintain these behaviors in the absence of directions from others” (p. 55).

Brumfiel (2004), an anthropologist, provided the following definition:

Ethnic affiliation refers to the loyalties that develop among a group of people based upon the presumption of shared history and common cultural inheritance. In this approach, the factual existence of cultural differences is not important; what is important is the belief, the conviction that you belong to a group of people who are culturally unique and therefore share some kind of common bond. This approach emphasizes individuals’ assertions about their own group membership, and the character of that group as defined by its members. It focuses on how people develop their own feelings of ethnic identity.

Chinese ethnic affiliation is crucial to newcomers’ lives in the United States because ethnic affiliation provides an extended family system that is a great asset (Tötöy de Zepetnek,

1997). In Chinese belief systems, taking care of family members contributes to Chinese communal well-being and to living well in the United States because healthy families lead to a healthy society. This belief is based in Confucian values.

Chinese Americans have created their own social communities, such as the Chinatowns in various cities. Chinatowns serve as a defense mechanism; for example, they provide justice, economic stability, and social services (Chow, 1998). Chinese social associations include the district associations (*huiguan*) and family name associations (*gongsuo*). These groups provide a sense of social security and provide the services that newcomers need. They also help reduce newcomers' stress during the acculturation process and also help Chinese families maintain their culture.

Ying, Coombs, and Lee (1999) concluded that minority immigrant youth or offspring of immigrant parents who have some connections to their ethnic communities or roots may be both less vulnerable to internalized and externalized problem behaviors and more likely to adapt well to the host society. Parents' ethnic affiliation, pride in their country of origin, and use of Chinese language and community-based small businesses are all examples of parental social connectivity that influence children's positive identity and sense of well-being.

Ethnic group affiliation is associated not only with feelings of pride and positive regard, but it is also accompanied by a strong sense of attachment to the ethnic group (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Participation in their culture's traditions might be more meaningful to adolescents who have a strong ethnic identity or strong feelings of connectedness, as compared with adolescents who do not (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Kiang, Gonzales-Backen, Fuligni, and Yip (2006) demonstrated that feelings of connectedness and positive regard for their ethnic group were positively associated with increased self-esteem only for those who had strong feelings of connectedness. Ethnic group affiliation and family cohesion may be

interrelated; family members who have a good relationship are more likely to be involved with their ethnic group. The bonds formed among group members (Brumfiel, 2004) and strong emotional bonds among family members (Olsen, 1993) are correlated. Because parents serve as important socialization agents for their children (Flouri, 1999; Moore-Shay & Berchmans, 1996; Palan & Wilkes, 1997), parents' strong sense of group membership may lead to a high level of family cohesion. Adolescents who have strong feelings of attachment to their ethnic group will also have positive feelings of ethnic identity. Conversely, adolescents with weaker feelings of attachment to their ethnic group might have no significant or even a negative association with ethnic identity (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Xu, Shim, and Lotz (2004) found that Asian American parents' cultural identification and Asian American young adults' ethnic friendship orientation have a significant effect on Asian American young adults' sense of ethnic identity. Relevant studies (Lee, 2005; Xu, Shim, & Lotz, 2004) proved that a strong sense of connection with the same ethnic group helped children incorporate the importance of ethnic identity.

Family Cohesion

Family cohesion is an important process construct leading to many types of outcomes in children and youth. There is some evidence that parental socialization contexts and practices affect their children's outcomes but through or varying by family cohesion. Parents' use of the Chinese language at home and ethnic affiliation through family cohesion affect their adolescents' positive ethnic identity. Zhang and Jin (1996) investigated Chinese, Australian, and U.S. adolescents and found that religiosity and family cohesion are protective factors against suicidal thoughts for Chinese college students. Another study determined that

Chinese families endorsed family cohesion more strongly and emphasized adolescent autonomy less than did U.S. and Australian families (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1994).

Family cohesion is defined as “the emotional bonding that family members have toward one another” (Olsen, 1993, p. 105). Also, Harris and Molock (2000) specified that “family cohesion may be operationally defined as the emotional connectedness, the degree of commitment, help, and support family members provide for one another” (p. 343); Epstein, Bishop, and Baldwin (1982) defined family cohesion as “affective involvement.”

Most Chinese immigrant adolescents who were born in China and raised in the United States have modified their values and beliefs since coming to their new country. These transformations resulted in the creation of a blend of traditional family norms and Westernized family norms. Changing the family norm in such a manner may undermine family cohesion.

Laursen and Collins (1994) determined that parental attachment, emotional closeness, and a sense of support are necessary components of family cohesion and are important for adolescent development. Baer (2002) concluded that a higher level of family cohesion leads to better adolescent developmental outcomes. Cortes (1995) found that high levels of cohesion have also been reported to protect Latinos from acculturation stress; however, at certain points of the acculturation process, differences in levels of cohesion have been posited. Marsiglia, Kulis, Parsai, Villar, and Garcia (2009) found that immigrant adolescents who have spent a longer time in the United States may have lower levels of family cohesion and family members are more disengaged. Inversely, a higher level of family cohesion was reported for immigrant adolescents who had spent fewer than 10 years living in the United States. These results showed that more recent immigrant groups have a higher level of family cohesion, but cohesive levels gradually attenuate as the family acculturates (Marsiglia et al.,

2009). However, even though second-generation children have a lower level of family cohesion than first-generation children, the second generation still has a more interdependent family structure than do the majority of American adolescents (Fuligni, 2006).

Juang and Alvarez (2010) found that greater levels of conflict within Chinese families exacerbated the negative effects of discrimination, but greater family cohesion buffered the negative effects of adolescents' perceived discrimination. It is encouraging that family cohesion had this effect. A low level of family cohesion may make it difficult for some parents to openly discuss discrimination and how to cope with it. Most African American parents actively socialize their children to deal with racism and discrimination (Scott, 2003), for instance, by engaging their children in discussions to prepare them to face these experiences.

However, Asian American parents less openly discuss their discrimination experiences (Yasui & Dishion, 2007). Also, their children do not like to disagree or argue with their parents (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). Less communication may affect their interdependence. Adolescents may become less willing to talk with their parents not only about their discrimination experiences but also their daily life experiences. As such, there could be a gradual decrease in their interaction, which may create a distance between parents and their children that will impact their family cohesion.

Chinese parents have high expectations for their children's education, so they undertake intense efforts and sacrifice to help their children succeed. Chinese families believe that educational achievement is one of the important elements leading to upward social mobility (Guo, 2006); such achievement shows successful parenting's outcome. Despite the importance of good academic performance in Chinese culture, Qin, Rak, Rana, and Donnellan (2012) found that high-achieving Chinese American adolescents reported lower

levels of psychological well-being, less family cohesion, and more conflict with their parents than did European American students. According to this research, a negative relationship exists between Chinese children's excellent school achievement and their psychological well-being and high family cohesion. Family cohesion and psychological well-being are linked in the literature (Leu, Walton, & Takeuchi, 2011; Street et al., 2009). In general, a negative emotional atmosphere, such as family conflict, hostility, and criticism, affects both mental and physical well-being. Conversely, a positive emotional atmosphere, family cohesion, warmth, and support lead to positive emotional satisfaction and physical well-being (Leu et al., 2011). Therefore, the supportive parent-child relationship is the factor most conducive for healthy adolescent development (Fuligni, 1998). Studies of Chinese Americans have shown family cohesion to be the most important factor for children's psychological well-being. Chao (2001) found that relational closeness and authoritarian parenting have beneficial effects on school performance.

I expect to find a positive relationship between family cohesion and ethnic identity because the members of a cohesive family with supportive and positive bonds may have a strong sense of ethnic identity. I also anticipate that family cohesion influences the relationship between parents' ethnic socialization behavior patterns (use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation) and their children's ethnic identity because good relationships between parents and children may facilitate those parents' socialization practices and easily lead to their children's achieving an ethnic identity. Furthermore, I expect the levels of family cohesion will differ between the first-generation and the second-generation because immigrants who have lived longer in the United States may have had more opportunities to acculturate.

The Importance of Ethnic Identity: Chineseness

Parents' socialization behaviors among diverse ethnic groups lead to children's understanding of their group membership based on their ethnicity (Hughes, Witherspoon, & Rivas-Drake, 2009). Parental cultural socialization practices are related to multiple components of youths' ethnic identity, including knowledge about their history, heritage, and traditions; in-group orientation; and ethnic pride (Hughes et al., 2009).

Rotheram and Phinney (1987, p. 215) defined ethnic identity as "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perception, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership." Tajfel (1981, p. 255) defined it as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership." Ethnic identity is composed of a constellation of global beliefs and attitudes, including ethnic centrality, ethnic private regard, and ethnic salience. This encompasses the relative importance of ethnicity in the construction of an overall social identity, how one feels about being a member of his or her ethnic group, and the psychological prominence of ethnic identity at a given point in time (Yip, 2005).

Many of the new immigrants come from various parts of the Chinese diaspora, including the PRC (People's Republic of China), Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and the rest from Southeast Asia. They are diverse not only in terms of languages or dialects but also in religious beliefs and practices, habits, behavioral patterns, and food. Hence, Zhou and Kim (2003) called today's Chinese immigrant communities "global enclaves" and Li (1997) named them "ethnoburbs" because there is no longer a single dominant ethnic group (Zhou & Kim, 2003). These studies showed a reversed trend of ethnic concentration. For example, although each ethnic immigrant group has its own sociopolitical history, location, and salient

characteristics, all have a strong “Chineseness” and ethnic pride. McCullough, Tan, and Wong (1986) investigated Chinese Americans’ Chineseness and the results showed that their value orientations are strongly Chinese. Although they are American, they do not preclude Chineseness. New Chinese immigrants’ organizations have emerged in Chinatowns and beyond the ethnic enclaves, and traditional organizations have been pressured to reform themselves. For instance, in Los Angeles, Chinese Americans are creating revitalized local and ethnically based economies (Zhou & Kim, 2007) from those that were experiencing declining employment because of a severe deflation in housing value and reductions in local revenues for public services (Neiman & Fernandez, 2000). Chinese immigrants’ businesses provide jobs and strengthen the economy. Accordingly, their unique Chineseness will help them realize how important ethnic identity is, leading to the achievement of a strong ethnic identity.

A sense of ethnic identity becomes salient for many ethnic minority adolescents as they explore the importance of their ethnic group membership in defining who they are (Phinney, 1990; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Adolescence is the transitional stage between childhood and adulthood. This stage is fundamental because adolescents need to establish their own identity, which influences them for the rest of their lives. However, identity achievement (Marcia, 1966) is not easy for adolescents, as they are mentally and physically in flux, including in their thoughts, speech, and behavioral processes.

Immigrant Chinese adolescents might easily be vulnerable to difficulties with changes in their lives and the migration experiences of their parents. Migration changes family members’ roles and interactions, which may lead to family conflicts and different daily routines and less time spent together as a family. Therefore, immigrant families must adjust to overcome hardships to ensure their well-being in new circumstances. Havighurst (1972)

argued that the successful achievement of each family member's developmental tasks leads to happiness and success with later tasks. Each family member's successful achievement of his or her changed roles will result in the development of a positive identity.

A strong sense of ethnic identity provides adolescents with a foundation for a larger range of social identities, which allows them to successfully negotiate difficult situations, such as facing negative stereotypes and unfair treatment (Yip et al., 2002). Adolescents have stress and conflict with family, school, and peers in their everyday lives; however, a positive ethnic identity may serve as a shield from the everyday challenges of adolescent life (Yip et al., 2002). Some scholars studied the relationship between ethnic identity and problem behaviors; most hypothesized that a strong sense of ethnic identity would moderate intrapersonal pressure to use drugs (Shrake & Rhee, 2004). The serious identity crisis that immigrant adolescents, especially, often experience results in feelings of frustration, which have some association with adverse emotional and behavioral difficulties (Shrake & Rhee, 2004). Rhee (2009) showed an increasing rate of depression, school dropout, substance abuse, and juvenile delinquency among Asian American adolescents. Phinney's (1989) study found that youth with stronger levels of ethnic identity had higher levels of psychological adjustment, such as positive self-evaluation, sense of mastery, good family relations, and positive peer and social relations. Also, ethnic identity has positive effects on self-esteem, purpose in life, and academic self-confidence. In particular, ethnic identity was more salient to ethnic minority groups than to the dominant group (Martinez & Dukes, 1997).

Chinese families' native language use is instrumental in acquiring a strong ethnic identity. Much sociopsychological research has described language and identity as reciprocally related because the use of language affects identity formation (e.g., Demirezen, 2007). In addition, Chinese adolescents' overall sense of ethnic identity as well as feelings of

ethnic identity importance (ethnic affirmation and belonging) may result in differential involvement in ethnic behaviors. Yip and Fuligni (2002) explained that ethnic group membership is a central and pivotal aspect of the overall identity for adolescents who have achieved a sense of ethnic identity. Chinese adolescents with a strong ethnic identity may feel more comfortable living in the United States. For example, Lee (2005) found that Korean Americans who have a strong ethnic identity felt more connected to their social environment and were less likely to experience psychological hardship when they experienced discrimination. In addition, Costigan et al. (2010) found that Chinese Americans with a strong sense of ethnic identity showed above-average levels of achievement and self-esteem and below-average levels of depressive symptoms than Chinese Americans with a weaker ethnic identity. These findings demonstrate that a strong ethnic identity is a buffer against psychological distress and one of the resilience factors for Chinese Americans.

As noted, a number of studies have found a positive relationship between ethnic identity and well-being (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Yip & Fuligni, 2002), and studies have found a positive association between ethnic identity and self-esteem (e.g., Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000). From this research, we should assume that when immigrant families have a strong ethnic identity, they have a sense of physical and psychological well-being.

Parents serve as crucial socialization agents to convey ethnic values and beliefs to their children (Flouri, 1999; Moore-Shay & Berchmans, 1996; Palan & Wilkes, 1997). The current study aims to explore Chinese parents' socialization behaviors, including the use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation, in helping to instill in their children a strong ethnic identity.

Family cohesion is one of the crucial cultural values among Chinese families and within the community (Juang & Alvarez, 2010). Studies have shown that families with a high level of family cohesion experience fewer negative effects of discrimination than families with a low level of family cohesion (Hughes et al., 2006; Juang & Alvarez, 2010). A supportive and positive bonding with family may bring about a strong sense of ethnic identity among Chinese adolescents.

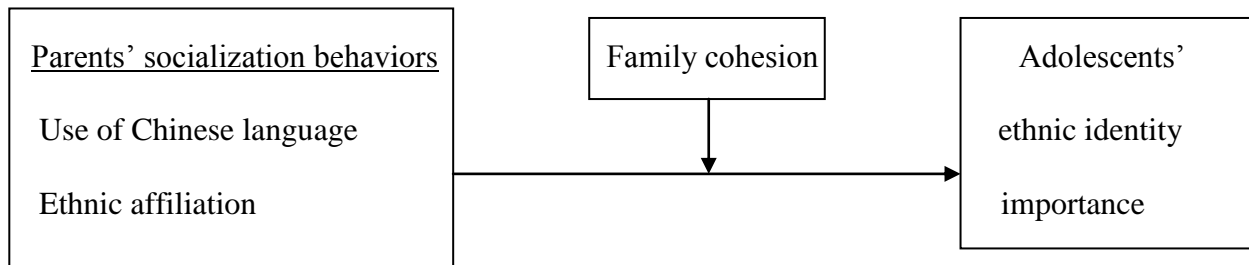
Therefore, I argue that Chinese families' cohesion will be related to their adolescents' sense of the importance of their ethnic identity. Moreover, Chinese family cohesion plays a moderating role between parents' socialization behavior patterns (use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation) and the importance of their adolescents' ethnic identity. In addition, the most recent immigrant groups have a high level of family cohesion, but cohesive levels gradually attenuate as families acculturate (Marsiglia et al., 2009). I examine how levels of family cohesion are affected by the length of time Chinese adolescents have lived in the United States. I expect that second-generation Chinese Americans have lower levels of family cohesion than first-generation Chinese Americans.

This study will contribute to how we can help immigrant families have a smooth acculturation process and a more comfortable life in the United States. Within family studies, this work advances the discourse on ethnic socialization among immigrant families.

Theoretical Model

This study examines the moderating effect of family cohesion on the relationship between parents' ethnic socialization behavior patterns and the importance of their adolescent children's ethnic identity among Chinese families residing in California and Florida (Figure 1).

Figure 2. 1. Model



In this proposed model family cohesion in immigrant Chinese families influences the relationship between parents' socialization behavior patterns and their adolescents' ethnic identity importance.

Hypotheses

Higher levels of family cohesion leads to better adolescent developmental outcomes (Baer, 2002), so supportive and positive bonding with family members has been shown to influence a strong sense of ethnic identity among Chinese adolescents.

Hypothesis 1. *There will be a relationship between the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity and family cohesion.*

Although family cohesion is important and present at a high level among immigrant groups, cohesion gradually attenuates as the family acculturates (Marsiglio et al., 2009). However, Kim and Chao (2009) found there was little difference between the ethnic identity of first-generation and second-generation Chinese.

Hypothesis 2. *Family cohesion will vary based on generation status (first-generation and second-generation Chinese adolescents).*

Many researchers have concluded that the use of language affects the formation of identity (e.g., Demirezen, 2007) and Asian American young adult's ethnic friendship orientation have a significant effect on an Asian American young adult's sense of ethnic identity (Xu, Shim, & Lotz, 2004). Moreover, Chinese families endorse family cohesion (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1994). Therefore, family cohesion may moderate the effect of parents' socialization practices on the development of adolescents' positive ethnic identity.

Hypothesis 3. *Family cohesion will moderate the relationship between parents' socialization behavior patterns (parents' use of Chinese language and their ethnic affiliation) and the importance of children's ethnic identity:*

3a. *Family cohesion will moderate the effect of parents' use of Chinese language on the development of adolescents' positive ethnic identity.*

3b. *Family cohesion will moderate the effect of parents' ethnic affiliation on the development of adolescents' positive ethnic identity.*

3c. *Parents' use of Chinese language and family cohesion will lead to a positive importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.*

3d. *Parents' ethnic affiliation will lead to a positive importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.*

3e. *Family cohesion will lead to a positive importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.*

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This chapter describes the study methodology, including information about the study's sample, descriptive statistics, measures (missing data analysis), analyses, and procedures.

Sample

This study utilizes secondary data from The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Portes, Alejandro, & Rubén G. R., 2012). From this data set acquired through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) a repository for open public use data a subsample of immigrant Chinese families and their children was extracted. The CILS has data available from the 1992, 1995, and 2006 waves of data collection. The sample was collected at Princeton University and the University of California–Irvine from 1991 to 2006. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with children of immigrants from their early adolescence to early adulthood. The original survey was conducted with large samples of first-generation and second-generation immigrant youth attending the 8th and 9th grades in public and private schools in the metropolitan areas of Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and San Diego, California. The initial sample size was 5,262. Respondents represented 77 nationalities. The first survey focused on children's demographic characteristics, language use, ethnic self-identity, and academic attainment. Three years later, the survey examined the same subjects' language knowledge and preference, ethnic identity, self-esteem, family cohesion, and academic attainment over the years. The third survey was conducted a decade later (2001–2003). Each new wave of data collection retrieved

approximately 85% of the preceding one. The third wave produced data on 3,564 respondents or 68% of the original sample.

The subsample used in the current study is from the second wave (1995) because ethnic identity and family cohesion variables were included there. Data for the Chinese sample of this study were extracted by sorting the sample data by country of origin and sometimes city of residence, resulting in values for China (n = 36) and Hong Kong (n = 17). 54 adolescents and their parents were participated for this data.

Sample Statistics : The Sociodemographic Characteristics

Table 1 provides the sociodemographic characteristics for the entire sample. The research participants' sociodemographic characteristics are shown in Table 1. The sample includes 30 (55.6 %) adolescent males and 24 (44.4 %) adolescent females. Thirty-one (57.4 %) were 14 years old and 15 (27.8 %) were 15 years old. Participants length of the time in United States ranged from "less than 5 years" to "all my life" and was distributed among longtime residents and those born in the US; 23 (42.6 %) lived in the United States for all their lives, 8 (14.8 %) for 10 years or more, 17 (31.5 %) for 5 to 9 years, and 6 (11.1 %) for less than 5 years.

Parents' highest education level showed that 15 (30.4 %) fathers had college degrees or more and 10 (20.4 %) mothers had college degrees or more. Fathers attained higher levels of education than mothers. Most fathers (23, 65.7 %) and mothers (26, 78.8 %) were ages 40 to 49. Families in the study were primarily middle class and working families. The family's current economic status showed that 16 (30.2 %) families were upper-middle class, 23 (43.3 %) were lower-middle class, and 14 (26.4 %) were working class. Most fathers (50, 96.2 %) and mothers (50, 93 %) were employed.

Table 3. 1. Sociodemographic characteristics (N = 54)

Variable	Frequency (%)	Variable	Frequency (%)
Gender of adolescent			
1. Male	30 (55.56)		
2. Female	24 (44.44)		
Age of adolescent		Length of the time in United States	
1. 13	6 (11.11)	1. All my life	23 (42.59)
2. 14	31 (57.41)	2. 10 years or more	8 (14.81)
3. 15	15 (27.78)	3. 5 to 9 years	17 (31.48)
4. 16	2 (3.70)	4. Less than 5 years	6 (11.11)
Father's highest education level		Mother's highest education level	
1. Elementary school or less	6 (12.24)	1. Elementary school or less	2 (4.08)
2. Middle school or less	9 (18.37)	2. Middle school or less	11 (22.45)
3. Some high school	5 (10.20)	3. Some high school	6 (12.24)
4. High school graduate	8 (16.33)	4. High school graduate	14 (28.57)
5. Some college/university	6 (12.24)	5. Some college/university	6 (12.24)
6. College graduate or more	15 (30.41)	6. College graduate or more	10 (20.41)

Table 3. 1. (cont'd)

Father's age	Frequency (%)	Mother's age	Frequency (%)
35–39	3 (8.57)	35–39	6 (18.18)
40–49	23 (65.72)	40–49	26 (78.79)
50+	9 (25.71)	50+	1 (3.03)
Family current economic situation			
1. Upper-middle class	16 (30.19)		
2. Lower-middle class	23 (43.40)		
3. Working class	14 (26.42)		
Father employed/regular occupation		Mother employed/regular occupation	
1. Yes	50 (96.15)	1. Yes	50 (92.59)
2. No	3 (3.85)	2. No	4 (7.41)

Measures

The construct of parents' ethnic socialization behavior patterns includes variables for use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation, which are the main explanatory variables in the model. The importance of ethnic identity is the dependent variable and family cohesion is considered the moderator of these outcomes. Several variables and measures were used; they include the following from the parent survey: "use of Chinese language," "ethnic affiliation" and these from the youth survey: "family cohesion," "ethnic self-identity importance."

In this model, "use of Chinese language," "ethnic affiliation," and "ethnic identity importance" indicate results from the questions about "language spoken at home," "close community from birth country," and "ethnic self-identity importance" in the original survey.

Variables

Explanatory Variables

Use of Chinese language. Parents' use of Chinese language was measured by asking adolescents, "Do people in your home speak a language other than English? What language is that?" The possible responses were varied. I recoded use of the Chinese language as 1 and other language use as 0.

Ethnic affiliation. Parents' ethnic affiliation was measured by asking parents, "I have a close community of friends among people from my country." This response had two categories: (1) true and (2) false. I recoded true as 1 and false as 0. Ethnic affiliation is an important variable that needs to be retained for my study, but answers for 68.5% (37 people) of the data set were missing, so I had to create a new variable. I used the multiple imputation approach to analyze the ethnic affiliation variable's missing data.

Moderator Variable

Family cohesion. The family cohesion measure is the average score of three variables, which are components of the family cohesion scale (Portes, Alejandro, & Ruben, 2001). The first variable is “family likes to spend time together,” the second is “family members feel close,” and the last is “family togetherness is important.” Family cohesion is a continuous variable: value is 1 through 5, 1 is the lowest score and 5 is the highest score. The family cohesion measure was analyzed using the Spearman correlation, multiple regression, and T-test.

Dependent Variable

Ethnic identity importance. Ethnic identity importance was measured by asking adolescents, “How important is this identity to you, that is, what you call yourself?” The ethnic self-identity importance variable has three categories: (1) not important, (2) somewhat important, and (3) very important.

The length of the time in the United States. The length of the time in the United States was measured by asking adolescents, “How long have you lived in the U.S.?” This variable has four categories: (1) all my life, (2) 10 years or more, (3) 5 to 9 years, and (4) less than 5 years. To use the T- test, I created a binary variable: (1) first-generation and (2) second-generation (Table 2).

Missing Data Analysis by Multiple Imputation

Rubin (1987) developed the multiple imputation (MI) method in the 1980s. Multiple imputation is the most attractive method for the general purpose of handling missing data in multivariate analysis (Allison, 2000) because it represents a good balance between quality of

results and ease of use (Wayman, 2003). Graham and Schafer (1999) showed that when a sample size is small, MI is a highly efficient method.

Rubin (1987, 1996) described certain requirements of multiple imputation. First, the data must be missing at random (MAR). Second, the model used to generate the imputed values must be able to produce accurate values. Third, the model used for the analysis must match up in some way with the model used in the imputation.

One of the benefits of multiple imputation is that many researchers are familiar with it because it can be used with any kind of data and any kind of analysis without specialized software. Multiple imputation produces full and complete data sets, which, when used repeatedly, provide accurate estimates of the standard errors. Single imputation methods do not allow for the additional error introduced by imputation.

The research data set was normally distributed, but data for some variables were missing. For my research, ethnic affiliation is an important variable that needs to be retained, but answers for 68.5% (37 people) of the data set were missing, so I had to create a new variable. To make a complete data set, I used the multiple imputation approach to analyze all variables' missing data. First, to figure it out the multiple imputation is the appropriate method for analyzing all variables' missing data, I computed Little's Missing Completely At Random (MCAR) test. The result showed it was not significant, Chi-square = 6.78, df = 6, ns. The result supported the data set is MCAR, so the multiple imputation is the appropriate approach for analyzing all variables' missing data.

Five imputation data sets were computed and then pooled as a single imputation data set, which was then used as the final data set for my research. In the original data set (table 2), 2 people (3.7 %) were missing in the ethnic identity importance, 4 people (7.4 %) were missing in the use of Chinese language, 37 people (68.5%) were missing in the ethnic

affiliation, and 2 people (3.7 %) were missing in the family cohesion variable. Therefore, I created a new data set of values using multiple imputation in order to analyze the variables' missing data.

Descriptive Statistic for the Research Variables

The descriptive statistics for the research variables are shown in Table 3. 2. Results for the parents' use of Chinese language at home showed that 47 (87 %) of parents use Chinese and 7 (13 %) did not. Responses for the parents' ethnic affiliation variable were distributed as follows, 25 (45.7 %) adolescents chose "no" and 29 (54.3 %) chose "yes." The distribution for the adolescents' length of the time in United States variable showed that 23 (42.6 %) were first-generation, or born in the US, and 31 (57.4 %) were second-generation. Table 3. 3 showed the descriptive statistics for the research variables. Responses for the ethnic identity importance variable mean were 2.4. The results showed there was no difference between the original variable and the new variable. Also, results for the family cohesion mean were 3.4. There was little difference between the original variable and the new variable as well.

Table 3. 2. Descriptive statistics for variables

Variables	Original (%) (n)	Multiple imputation (%) (n)
Use of Chinese language		
No	7.4 (4)	13 (7)
Yes (1)	85.2 (46)	87 (47)
Missing	7.4 (4)	
Ethnic affiliation		
No	14.8 (8)	45.7 (25)
Yes (1)	16.7 (9)	54.3 (29)
Missing	68.5 (37)	
Length of the time in United States		
1. All my life	42.6 (23)	First-generation 57.4 (31)
2. 10 years or more	14.8 (8)	Second-generation 42.6 (23)
3. 5 to 9 years	31.5 (7)	
4. Less than 5 years	11.1 (6)	

Table 3. 3. Descriptive statistics for variables

	Variables	Mean	
Original data	Ethnic identity importance (1-3)		
	1. Not important	16.7 (9)	2.4
	2. Somewhat important	25.9 (14)	
	3. Very important	53.7 (29)	
	Missing	3.7 (2)	
	Family cohesion (1-5)		
	Continuous (1, low ~ 5, high)	Vary	3.4
	Missing	3.7 (2)	
Pooled data	Ethnic identity importance		2.4
	Family cohesion		3.4

Analyses and Procedures

The SPSS 21 program was employed for data analysis. Data analyses proceeded in third steps. To test H1, the first step included conducting Spearman correlation analyses among variables to determine the relationship between family cohesion and ethnic identity importance. Ethnic identity importance is the categorical variable, and family cohesion is the continuous variable, so the Spearman correlation is the most appropriate method. In computing the Spearman correlation, all the original variables were included.

To test H2, the second step was investigating through the use of the T- test whether or not family cohesion measures would vary based on responses of first-generation and second-generation adolescents.

To test H3, the third step examined the moderated effect of Chinese family cohesion on parents' ethnic socialization behavior patterns (use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation) and the importance of their adolescents' ethnic identity through the use of multiple regression. To use multiple regression, the dependent variable needs to be a continuous variable. However, the dependent variable (ethnic identity importance) is a categorical variable. When I used multiple regression, I treated the ethnic identity importance variable as the continuous variable (Finch, 2010).

When I computed the multiple regression, the moderation outcomes showed multicollinearity. Multicollinearity means that the predictor variables are themselves highly correlated when multiple regression is conducted (Paul, 2005). If variables are highly correlated, they will interfere with the accuracy of the analysis. To reduce multicollinearity, I created mean-centered predictor variable for inclusion in the multiple regression. The mean-center predictor variable may reduce the covariance between the linear and interaction terms (Aiken & West, 1991). Therefore, to test H3, I used a mean-centered family cohesion.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This section describes research hypotheses which include alternative hypotheses and null hypotheses. Also, this chapter explains the answers to the research questions. Moreover, three tables show the results of analyses in terms of the research questions.

Analysis of Research Questions

Research Hypothesis 1 posited that a relationship between adolescents' ethnic identity and the family cohesion.

H_0 : There is no relationship between the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity and family cohesion.

H_1 : There is a relationship between the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity and family cohesion.

To address this question, Spearman correlation matrices (Table 4. 3) were used to examine the association of the importance of ethnic identity and family cohesion among Chinese adolescents.

There was a significant positive relationship between the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity and family cohesion, $r(52) = .28, p < .05$. There were no significant relationships among the other variables in the study. No significant correlations were found between family cohesion and predictor variables parents' ethnic affiliation, $r(52) = .206, ns$, parents' use of Chinese language, $r(52) = .19, ns$, and adolescents' length of the time in the United States, $r(52) = -.08, ns$. There were no significant associations between parents' ethnic affiliation and the adolescents' length of time in the United States, $r(52) = -.128, ns$, the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity, $r(52) = .039, ns$ or the use of Chinese

language was not significant, $r(52) = .428$, ns. The correlation between parents' use of Chinese language and adolescents' length of the time in United States was also not significant, $r(52) = .16$, ns. The association between parents' use of Chinese language and the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity was not significant, $r(52) = .18$, ns. The adolescents' length of the time in the United States and the importance of their ethnic identity was also not significant, $r(52) = .06$, ns.

Table 4. 4. Spearman correlation among parents' socialization behavior patterns and the importance adolescents' ethnic identity (N = 54)

	Family cohesion	Ethnic affiliation	Use of Chinese language	Length of the time in United States	Ethnic identity importance
Family cohesion	1				
Ethnic affiliation	.206	1			
Use of Chinese language	.19	.428	1		
Length of the time in United States	-.08	-.128	.16	1	
Ethnic identity importance	.28*	.039	.18	.06	1

*p < .05

Research Hypothesis 2 addressed the relationship between family cohesion and generational status. In this question there was the expectation that family cohesion would vary based on the generation status (first-generation and second-generation Chinese adolescents). Phrased another way, does the strength of family cohesion depend on Chinese adolescents' being first-generation or second-generation?

H_0 : There is no difference in the population means of first-generation and second-generation Chinese adolescents with regard to family cohesion.

H_1 : There is a difference in the population means of first-generation and second-generation Chinese adolescents with regard to family cohesion.

This question was addressed by conducting T- test (Table 4. 5) used to compare the mean difference for family cohesion between first-generation and second-generation Chinese adolescents. As can be seen in Table 4, first generation ($M = 3.3$, $SEM = .19$) did not have a significantly higher level of family cohesion than second generation ($M = 3.5$, $SEM = .21$), $t(30502) = -.72$, $p = ns$.

Table 4. 5. T- test analysis of the effect on family cohesion of Chinese adolescents' being first-generation or second-generation

Family cohesion	Generation Status	
	First-generation	Second-generation
N	31	23
Mean	3.3	3.5
SEM	.19	.21

t = – .72, SEM (Std. Error Mean)

Research Hypothesis 3

Family cohesion will moderate the relationship between parents' socialization behavior patterns (parents' use of Chinese language and their ethnic affiliation) and the importance of children's ethnic identity: Family cohesion will moderate the effect of parents' use of Chinese language on the development of adolescents' positive ethnic identity, and family cohesion will moderate the effect of parents' ethnic affiliation on the development of adolescents' positive ethnic identity. Parents' use of Chinese language will lead to a positive importance of adolescents' ethnic identity, parents' ethnic affiliation will lead to a positive importance of adolescents' ethnic identity, and family cohesion will lead to a positive importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

A multiple regression model with an interaction term provided findings associated with the 5 levels of *Research Question 3*. These questions were developed as separate hypotheses even though results would be contained within only one regression model.

a. Does parents' use of Chinese language predict the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity?

H_0 : Parents' use of Chinese language does not predict the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

H_1 : Parents' use of Chinese language predicts the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

b. Does parents' ethnic affiliation predict the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity?

H_0 : Parents' ethnic affiliation does not predict the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

H_1 : Parents' ethnic affiliation predicts the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

c. Does family cohesion predict the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity?

H_0 : Family cohesion does not predict the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

H₁: Family cohesion predicts the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

d. Does family cohesion as a moderator affect the relationship between parents' use of Chinese language and the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity?

H₀: Family cohesion is not a moderator between parents' use of Chinese language and the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

H₁: Family cohesion is a moderator between parents' use of Chinese language and the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

e. Does family cohesion as a moderator affect the relationship between parents' ethnic affiliation and the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity?

H₀: Family cohesion is not a moderator between parents' ethnic affiliation and the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

H₁: Family cohesion is a moderator between parents' ethnic affiliation and the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity.

Analysis Approach

To address these questions, multiple regression analysis (Table 5) was used to estimate how the interaction between parents' ethnic socialization behavior patterns (use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation) and family cohesion would affect the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity. In Table 4. 6, multiple regression was conducted with the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity as the dependent variable and parents' socialization behavior patterns (use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation) and family cohesion as the independent variables.

When family cohesion increases by one level, the predicted importance of adolescents' ethnic identity increases by .93, holding all other covariates constant. This relationship, however, was not significant $\beta = .27$, $t = .93$, ns ($p > .05$).

There is an estimated difference of 1.5 in adolescents' ethnic identity importance between parents' use of Chinese language and parents' use of other languages based on the model, holding other covariates constant. However, it was not significant, $\beta = .50$, $t = 1.5$. There is an estimated difference of $-.83$ in the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity between parents who have an ethnic affiliation and parents who do not have an ethnic affiliation based on the model, holding other covariates constant. However, it was not significant, $\beta = -.31$, $t = -.83$. Family cohesion's effect of parents' use of Chinese language on the predicted importance of adolescents' ethnic identity is $-.65$, holding other covariates constant. However, it was not significant, $\beta = -.22$, $t = -.65$. Family cohesion's effect of parents' ethnic affiliation on the predicted adolescents' ethnic identity importance is 1.1, holding other covariates constant. However, it was not significant, $\beta = 2.9$, $t = 1.1$.

Table 4. 6. Regression analyses of family cohesion as a moderator between parents' ethnic socialization behaviors and ethnic identity importance

	Adolescents' ethnic identity importance	
	β	t
Parents' use of Chinese language	.50	1.5
Parents' ethnic affiliation	-.31	-.83
Family cohesion	.27	.93
Use of Chinese language * Family cohesion	-.22	-.65
Ethnic affiliation * Family cohesion	.29	1.1
Constant	2.1	6.71***

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study contributes to the literature by adding to the current thinking about relations between parents' culturally based socialization behavior patterns, and adolescents' ethnic identity. It also contributes by exploring these issues among Chinese immigrants in the United States.

The importance of adolescent children's ethnic identity was the focus of this study. The addition of a component that highlighted the role of Chinese parents' ethnic socialization behavior patterns was expected to lead to a more positive ethnic identity importance for their adolescents. Based on Confucian values, Chinese families emphasize family cohesion more strongly than families following other traditions. Therefore, I expected that family cohesion would have a moderator effect between Chinese parents' socialization behavior patterns and adolescents' ethnic identity importance. However, the criteria for testing moderation were not met and subsequently, the analysis was revised to have family cohesion function as a predictor variable. These revisions are accounted for in following the review of the hypotheses evaluated for the study.

Relationship Between Family Cohesion and Adolescents' Ethnic Identity Importance

Examination of the relationship between family cohesion and the importance of Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity showed a significant positive correlation but this relationship was not confirmed by regression analysis. There may be an important relationship, but other variables were more explanatory than cohesion. Other literature suggests that cohesion is a very important predictor. So while family cohesion may be an

important element for the development of adolescents' strong sense of ethnic identity, when put together with other aspects of cultural socialization and controlling to year of entry into the country, cohesion is diluted. According to the literature, strong family cohesion is the crucial cultural value among Chinese families which emphasize family cohesion more strongly than American and Australian families (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1994), though this could not be confirmed in the current study.

The positive relationship between family cohesion and the importance of Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity indicates that a supportive and positive bonding with families influences a sense of ethnic identity among Chinese adolescents. Parental attachment, emotional closeness, and family cohesion are important factors for adolescent development (Laursen & Collins, 1994). A higher level of family cohesion, especially, leads to better adolescent developmental outcomes (Baer, 2002). Also, a strong ethnic identity is a buffer against psychological distress and one of the resilience factors for Chinese Americans (Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, & Chance, 2010). In addition, a strong sense of adolescents' ethnic identity is related to a strong sense "Chineseness" or ethnic pride. New Chinese immigrants' organizations have emerged in Chinatowns and beyond the ethnic enclaves (Zhou & Kim, 2007) which are strong immigrant communities.

Therefore, this result suggests that Chinese families that maintain a high level of family cohesion and Chineseness, which build identity in different but connected ways, may strive to achieve a strong sense of ethnic identity for their adolescents. A high level of family cohesion among Chinese adolescents who have a strong sense of ethnic identity will lead to better psychological and physical well-being.

Effect of Being First-Generation and Second-Generation on Family Cohesion

One of the goals of this study was to examine how the level of family cohesion will vary based on adolescents' being first-generation (individuals born in China and who have immigrated to the United States) or second-generation (individuals born in the United States who have at least one foreign born parent). During the acculturation process, certain experiences cause adolescents stress and conflict that are related to a gradual lessening of their family cohesion. Marsiglia et al. (2009) found that immigrant adolescents who live in the United States for longer periods of time may have lower levels of family cohesion. Thus, varying levels of family cohesion were expected to vary depending on generational status. However, these findings were not supported in the current study. Family cohesion did not vary by the adolescent's generational status as first-generation or second-generation.

Results of my research indicated that family cohesion is an important cultural value among Chinese and parents' views about this did not seem to change in relation to their youths' generational status and perhaps was being maintained intergenerationally. Similarly Kim and Chao (2009) found that there was little difference between the ethnic identity of first-generation and second-generation Chinese. Alternatively, since the family cohesion was not assessed by adolescence it may be more difficult to detect variation of family not assessed by both parents and youth. In the present study, the lack of variation of Chinese family cohesion by length of stay among adolescents may indicate that second-generation Chinese adolescents maintained their cultural values and beliefs. Also, this research suggests that among Chinese families, parents are still powerful influences on their children. Moreover, the result revealed that Chinese parents may work to instill their cultural values and beliefs in their children during their daily life. In doing so, first-generation and second-generation families have not shown any change in the level of family cohesion.

Family Cohesion as a Moderator

This research focused particular attention on the level of Chinese family cohesion. It was initially hypothesized that the level of Chinese family cohesion would moderate the effect of parents' socialization behavior patterns (use of Chinese language and ethnic affiliation) on the importance of their adolescents' ethnic identity. The results from this study showed that the level of Chinese family cohesion did not moderate the effects of parents' socialization behavior patterns on the importance of their adolescents' ethnic identity. Chinese family cohesion was positively associated with the importance of their children's ethnic identity, but Chinese family cohesion was not a predictor of the importance of adolescents' ethnic identity. Also, it was expected that parents' use of Chinese language would be a predictor of the importance of their adolescents' ethnic identity; however, this was not supported in the findings. Similarly, it was expected that parents' ethnic affiliation would be a predictor of the importance of their adolescents' ethnic identity; however, findings revealed that parents' ethnic affiliation did not have this effect.

Many researchers have concluded that the use of language affects the formation of identity (e.g., Demirezen, 2007) and that Asian American parents' cultural identification and Asian American young adult's ethnic friendship orientation have a significant effect on an Asian American young adult's sense of ethnic identity (Xu, Shim, & Lotz, 2004). Findings in this study indicate that adolescents' ethnic identity importance is not influenced by their parents' use of Chinese language or their ethnic affiliation. Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity importance may be better linked to their parents' other socializing factors or may be more likely to be influenced by other circumstances. Alternatively, the construct of salience may not be directly linked to these factors. An identity construct more consistent with traditional measures of identity may have shown stronger and clearer relationships. New

research may require other specific parent socialization behaviors and other contextual factors and then determine how these might be linked to adolescents' ethnic identity in the future.

Family cohesion is one of the crucial cultural values of Chinese families and within the community (Juang & Alvarez, 2010), so a supportive and positive bonding with family may enable a strong sense of ethnic identity among Chinese adolescents. This view was supported in the current research. The strength of family cohesion's relation to the outcome may suggest focusing more on this factor in the future. Ethnic and racial socialization research has not emphasized these types of family process variables in understanding contributing factors to the ethnic identity development of young people. The study supports the literature indicating the importance of this factor to Chinese and other Asian groups, especially as they experience acculturation processes and emergence from cultures that emphasize collectivity. It suggested that other socialization constructs in tandem with family cohesion may be better predictors or demonstrate better modeling of Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity. Clearly, further research is needed to address this issue.

Study Limitations and Implications

This study has several limitations. First, the sample size is small, limiting the generalizability of the results. The data set included only 54 subjects. A larger sample may have provided greater statistical power to discover more crucial influences. There may have been issues regarding recruitment for the survey because of the low number of Chinese, especially adolescents, living in the area. In addition, teenagers are often reluctant to participate in the data collection (Portes, Alejandro, & Rubén G. R., 2012).

Also, the original data set was missing data for many questions in the parents' section, particularly for ethnic affiliation, a key predictor in the model. Information associated with the data set did not explain why many parents did not contribute to the research. The parents' ethnic affiliation variable is in the parents' questionnaire section. As a result of the many missing responses in the data, a new parents' ethnic affiliation variable was created through using the multiple imputation method. This new variable then included the full data set, whereas the raw data for parents' ethnic affiliation was incomplete.

Parent's behaviors transfer their values and beliefs to their children, whether consciously or unconsciously. In this study, parents' socialization behavior patterns included only parents' use of Chinese language and their ethnic affiliation. Use of single items may underlie weak relations between variables, so two single item variables may not be sufficient to explain the parents' socialization behavior patterns. Therefore, future study should include more robust measures of these constructs. In addition, more specific assessment of parents' ethnic and cultural socialization behaviors may strengthen the study, such as eating ethnic food, going to ethnic grocery markets, reading ethnic newspapers or history books, visiting a site important to their heritage, or talking with children about their history and traditions. Future study will identify which particular parents' socialization behaviors lead to a more positive development of their children's ethnic identity.

Adolescents lived in the metropolitan areas of Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and San Diego, California. This study may not be representative of all of Chinese immigrant adolescents in the United States. Therefore, future study should collect samples of immigrant in the United States. Also, the age range for the adolescents was 13 to 16 years old, the current study may not be representative for all adolescents and the findings may not relate to adolescents of other ages. Future study should include a broader adolescent age range (ages

12–20), which would be helpful in understanding the development of the various age groups' characteristics, values, attitudes, and purpose in life.

Social desirability is deemed to be a common source of bias affecting survey research findings (Nederhof, 1985). When respondents choose the answer in questionnaires, they may not intend to tell the truth about socially sensitive issues such as politics, religion, and environment, or personal issues. Chinese American adolescents may not distinguish between family and Chinese community because of cohesion and the Chineseness. Also, the longstanding, well established and multigenerational families in California and Florida of the United States may support the idea that immigration to these areas was markedly different than to other areas of the United States. It is possible that adolescents' self-reports regarding family cohesion and ethnic identity importance were biased in terms of social desirability. If future study will reduce the level of social desirability bias, it may significantly affect our results. As results have already shown that family cohesion and ethnic identity were positively associated, the adolescents' ethnic identity importance may be affected by family cohesion if the level of social desirability bias is reduced in future study.

The current data were extracted from a large data set in the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. As explained in the methods section, information within and associated with the data set did not provide extensive details regarding the sampling methodology including, little information regarding the actual sampling method. Although I used secondary data for this study, future scholars should collect samples of immigrants in the field. Primary data collection with more consistent data completion and including many variables for parents' ethnic socialization behaviors, use of the multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM) for measuring children's ethnic identity and, a wide range of age groups who live in various areas of the United States, should improve the

researcher's ability to answer questions about culturally based parenting and ethnic identity outcomes. The process of data collection will lead researchers to a better understanding of ethnic families' characteristics, traditions, and customs. In doing so, researchers may have a better chance to explore the process of the development of the immigrant children's identity.

Conclusions

Despite these limitations, the current study focused on critical considerations in the lives of immigrant Chinese families and their adolescent children. Chinese family cohesion was positively associated with the importance of their children's ethnic identity. Also, the level of family cohesion was not affected by being either first-generation or second-generation. Because family cohesion is the most important factor for adolescents of Chinese immigrants based on Confucian values, levels of family cohesion were not affected by the length of the time the adolescents lived in the United States. In addition, studies have rarely investigated the link between family cohesion and adolescents' sense of ethnic identity, but the current investigation showed that adolescents' sense of ethnic identity importance was related to the level of Chinese family cohesion. Future study should include research about which particular elements enable Chinese immigrants to retain their high level of family cohesion after coming to the United States.

In this study literature was evaluated and summarized regarding the importance of parents' socialization behaviors, which includes parents' use of Chinese language and their ethnic affiliation. However, parents' socialization behavior variables selected for the study did not influence their adolescents' ethnic identity importance as constructed. In the future, studies should search for the most important parents' socialization behaviors and values

among Chinese families and then examine how these predictors affect adolescents' ethnic identity.

Immigrant children will be a sizeable future population in the United States. Accordingly, the need is increasing for more research in these areas. My research will benefit not only researchers, but also educators and policy makers. This current study will provide educators and policy makers with a better understanding of immigrant families' cultural differences and the importance of children's ethnic identity, which may help them have a more positive attitude toward immigrants. Also, these works will contribute to improving the acculturation process for immigrant families and provide information useful in quality of life for them in the United States.

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