

The socialization of ethnic identity among Chinese adolescents of immigrants: An  
evaluation of the predictors of parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity

by

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BA, Queen's University, 2002

MA, University of Victoria, 2007

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## Abstract

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Cultural socialization of adolescents' ethnic identity is associated with the context surrounding adolescents and their families. Cross-sectional data collected from Canadian immigrant Chinese families ( $N = 183$ ) were used to investigate the role of parents in adolescents' ethnic identity development. Study 1 examined direct and moderated relations (i.e., adolescents' gender, age, and parents' perceptions of discrimination) between parents' ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and parental enculturation efforts. Study 2 examined direct and moderated relations (i.e., adolescents' gender, age, parental warmth, presence of grandparents and adolescents' reports of discrimination) among parental enculturation and the number of Chinese friends, and adolescents' ethnic identity (both ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging). Study 1 results showed that parents' ethnic identity and Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals for their adolescents were directly associated with their enculturation efforts. Fathers' reports of discrimination moderated the relations between his Chinese cultural orientation goals for his adolescent and his enculturation efforts. Specifically, this relationship was particularly strong among fathers who reported lower levels of discrimination. These findings suggest that immigrant

Chinese parents' decision to engage in enculturation may be intrinsically motivated. Study 2 results showed that parental enculturation, maternal warmth, and adolescents' reports of discrimination contributed to adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. These results suggest that adolescents' ethnic identity achievement may be supported by opportunities for adolescents to learn about their ethnic culture through parental enculturation and think about their ethnicity through experiences of discrimination. In comparison, adolescents' feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging were related to mother-father enculturation differences, the number of Chinese friends, and maternal warmth. These findings suggest that feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging for adolescents may be supported by flexibility related to mothers and fathers engaging in differing levels of enculturation, and autonomy related to adolescents having more Chinese friends. Adolescents' age moderated the relations between fathers' enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. The few moderated findings further underscored the importance of parents in Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity development.

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## Introduction

Identity development is one of the main psychosocial tasks of adolescence. According to Erikson (1968), during adolescence, adolescents encounter identity crises that drive them to seek resolution by forming a sense of self that reconciles the identities previously socialized by their family and society with their own emerging drives in the context of affirmation by significant others. Adolescents explore different roles as they contemplate who they will be in the future. Successful navigation of identity development yields a sense of satisfaction, industry, competence, and belonging, and consequently, plays an important role in adolescents' psychological adaptation (Erikson, 1968; French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006). Adolescents also define themselves based on their group membership and relations with others. Social identity theory emphasizes the role of the group in individual identities. Feeling a sense of group belonging and identification with their social group can impact adolescents' sense of self (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Belonging to a less valued group may drive adolescents to adjust their identification strategy in order to maintain a positive sense of self despite being a member of a devalued group. Strategies that maintain a positive sense of belonging to a social group can contribute to adolescents' self-esteem and overall self-concept. For ethnic minority immigrant adolescents, who are often part of a devalued group, including their ethnic background in their identity formation, and holding positive feelings towards their membership in their ethnic group are important in the development of a healthy identity (French et al., 2006).

### *Definitions of Ethnic Identity*

Ethnic identity has been inconsistently defined in the literature. Some definitions of ethnic identity have focused on acquiring knowledge of a group's values and history, and obtaining an understanding of what it means to be a member of an ethnic group, as well as the associated feelings of "taking ownership" of one's ethnicity (Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza, & Ocampo, 1993a). Other researchers have focused on the dynamic aspects of ethnic identity and differentiated between ethnic salience and ethnic centrality (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Ethnic salience refers to the prominence of one's ethnic identity at a particular time, which can vary across situations, whereas ethnic centrality refers to the relative importance of ethnicity in one's overall identity, which likely stays constant across situations (Seller, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, Smith, 1997). In a study of adolescents, Roberts and colleagues (Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999) proposed two theoretically-based components of ethnic identity. The first focused on the process of ethnic identity formation, commonly referred to as *ethnic identity achievement*. Achieving a sense of ethnic identity involves actively exploring, learning, and reflecting on the importance of ethnicity in one's identity (Phinney, 1989). According to Phinney (1989), the adolescent progresses from having an unexamined ethnic identity, followed by a period of identity exploration, and ending in a state of ethnic identity achievement or commitment. The second component, derived from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), emphasizes a sense of group membership and affective evaluation that is associated with belonging to an ethnic group. This component of ethnic identity is commonly referred to as *ethnic affirmation and belonging*. It focuses on the relationships among individuals, their ethnic group, and their attitudes about their

ethnicity (Phinney, 1990). Thus, ethnic identity development is a multidimensional and dynamic process of change during adolescence (Phinney, 1990).

The current study focused on both individual and social aspects of ethnic identity among immigrant adolescents: ethnic identity achievement as well as ethnic affirmation and belonging. Together, these two components of ethnic identity capture both the process of ethnic identity development in Phinney's (1990) theory, and the evaluative components of ethnic group membership as highlighted by social identity theory. It is important to better understand ethnic identity development among immigrant adolescents because children from immigrant families often face challenges in developing a secure understanding of themselves as ethnic individuals. Immigrant adolescents must simultaneously consider their ethnic culture and the Canadian culture in developing their identity. For many immigrants, this balance is difficult to achieve, especially when they perceive large dissimilarities between their ethnic culture and the new culture (Nesdale & Mak, 2003). Furthermore, children in immigrant families may not have access to a large ethnic network in the new country, making the development of a strong sense of ethnic identity more difficult (Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Qin, 2006).

#### *Ethnic identity and psychological adaptation*

Research consistently shows that higher reports of ethnic identity, however defined, are associated with better adaptation. For example, strong identification with their ethnic background among immigrant adolescents is also associated with higher reports of life satisfaction and self-esteem and lower reports of psychological symptoms (Sam, 2000; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). A strong sense of ethnic identity among adolescents is associated with better achievement, and also protects against the stress of lower

achievement (Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, & Chance, 2010). Studies that have examined the relations between daily fluctuations in feelings of ethnic identity and adjustment, through the use of a daily diary method of data collection, have also found similar results.

Specifically, adolescents who report stronger feelings of ethnic regard are generally happier and less anxious and are less likely to report negative psychological symptoms on stressful days (Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006). Having a strong sense of ethnic identity may also influence the quality of relationships in the family. For example, research shows fewer family conflicts when adolescents report a sense of belonging to their ethnic culture, because they may feel more loyal to their family (Florsheim, 1997; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

Feeling good about one's ethnic background and incorporating ethnicity into one's identity is positively associated with adolescents' psychological well-being through a variety of mechanisms. A sense of belonging to their ethnic group may provide immigrant adolescents with a network of social supports that enhance adolescents' psychological well-being (Kiang et al., 2006; Oppedal, Røysamb, & Sam, 2004). When immigrant youth feel connected to their ethnic background, they may more readily access supports from parents and same-ethnic peers, who help with difficulties associated with being an immigrant or ethnic minority member in the new country. Identifying with their ethnic culture may also facilitate a sense of purpose within adolescents. Such feelings of purpose, in turn, may connect adolescents with their community after immigration and promote general well-being (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Identifying and feeling a sense of belonging to their ethnic background can also support immigrant adolescents' psychological well-being by buffering the risks associated with discrimination and other

barriers that can negatively contribute to their psychological well-being (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Spencer-Rodgers & Collins, 2006). Experiencing discrimination and stress associated with being an immigrant or ethnic minority individual can damage adolescents' self-esteem (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010). By holding their ethnic background in high esteem and making their ethnicity an important part of their identity, immigrant youth may be better protected against the negative effects of such stresses (Spencer-Rodgers & Collins, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

#### *Socialization of ethnic identity*

Considerable research has addressed the roles of both families and of wider social networks as contexts for adolescents' ethnic identity development. Familial cultural socialization and enculturation are two terms that are commonly used when discussing the socialization of ethnic identity. However, the distinctions between these terms are inconsistent and they are often used interchangeably. For example, in Hughes and Chen's (1997) four dimension model of ethnic-racial socialization, *familial cultural socialization* refers to messages from parents regarding ethnic and racial pride, traditions, history, and training in cultural practices. Similarly, in studies by Knight and colleagues (Knight, Bernal, Garza, & Cota, 1993b), the term *enculturation* is used to describe the transmission of cultural values, beliefs and practices from parents to children. In general, familial cultural socialization or enculturation refers to the specific process by which parents deliberately transmit ethnic pride, cultural values, beliefs, and behavioural standards to their children (Knight et al., 1993a).

The term *cultural socialization*, on the other hand, has been used to refer to the *general* process through which immigrant adolescents learn about their cultural

background or are taught and supported in their ethnic identity development (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006; Quintana & Vera, 1999). In contrast to familial cultural socialization or enculturation, general cultural socialization can stem from various family members as well as individuals outside of the family such as peers and people in the neighbourhood. For the purposes of this study, the term *enculturation* will be used to describe parents' efforts to teach their children about their ethnic culture. *Cultural socialization* will refer to the broader range of factors both within and outside of the family that socialize youth into their ethnic culture. In other words, enculturation is one of the many sources of cultural socialization. Much of what is known about cultural socialization and enculturation is derived from the racial socialization literature among African Americans and Latino Americans.

Models of cultural socialization consistently highlight the multiple factors that are involved in the process of ethnic identity socialization. For example, the social cognitive model of ethnic socialization by Knight and colleagues (1993a, 1993b) outlines variables that can play a direct or indirect role in children's ethnic identity development. These include contextual factors, such as the parents' immigrant generation, familial (i.e., direct teaching from parents) and non-familial socialization factors (i.e., interaction with peers), as well as factors within the child (i.e., cognitive maturity) (Knight et al., 1993b). In an investigation of their model, Knight and colleagues (1993b) found that more direct familial enculturation efforts (parents' teachings about the ethnic culture) were related to better understanding of ethnic identity among children. Furthermore, parents' generational status was negatively related to their enculturation efforts and children's ethnic identity. Specifically, second generation parents (i.e., born in the United States)

reported fewer enculturation efforts compared to first generation parents (i.e., born in the country of ethnic origin), and children of second generation parents reported lower levels of ethnic identity compared to children of first generation parents (Knight et al., 1993b).

Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) proposed a similar model, guided by Bronfenbrenner's (1989) ecological framework. Ecological factors refer to microsystem and macrosystem factors that can be found in adolescents' immediate and distal environments, respectively. Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) argue that both micro- and macro-system play a significant role in Mexican-origin immigrant adolescents' experiences as an ethnic minority and their subsequent ethnic identity development through the process of ethnic socialization from familial and non-familial agents. Familial ethnic-racial socialization can be both overt, through enculturation, or covert through non-verbal displays of culture, such as the presence of ethnic artifacts in the home. Non-familial ethnic-racial socialization can include teachers, peers groups, and members in the community who influence how adolescents evaluate and learn about their ethnic background. From this perspective, immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development is embedded in multiple contexts and is the result of interactions among multiple factors within their environment. In their empirical evaluation of their ethnic identity socialization model among 153 Mexican-origin adolescents between the ages of 13 and 19, ethnic identity was related to adolescents' familial cultural socialization experiences, the ethnic composition of their schools, and familial generational status (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Throughout various models of ethnic identity socialization, parents have key roles in immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development for several reasons. First, parents

are likely their children's primary source of knowledge about the ethnic culture. From the time of arrival in the new country, most children of immigrants are inundated with information about the mainstream culture (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997). In contrast, opportunities to learn and experience their ethnic culture are more limited (Ying, Coombs, & Lee, 1999). Second, engaging in enculturation is important for immigrant parents of various ethnic groups (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, Latino parents highly value exposing their children to the ethnic culture and teaching them the ethnic language (Quintana & Vera, 1999). Most ethnic minority and immigrant parents also report engaging in enculturation activities with their children (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, over 80% of African American parents (Hughes & Chen, 1997) and 66% of Japanese American parents (Phinney & Chavira, 1995) report engaging in enculturation activities with their children at some point. In a recent study of the ethnic identity socialization among Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Salvadoran adolescents, Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006) found that both overt (e.g., parents teaching about cultural background) and covert (e.g., listening to ethnic music in the home) familial ethnic socialization influences were important to adolescents' ethnic identity development across all ethnic groups.

Several gaps in our knowledge of adolescents' ethnic identity socialization remain. First, predictors of parents' enculturation efforts are not well understood. Why do some parents engage in extensive enculturation efforts while other parents do so to a lesser degree? Second, relatively few studies have examined the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity development among Chinese immigrant families. Do parents' enculturation efforts matter for Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity

development? If so, does the impact of enculturation differ for ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging? Third, relative to what is known about the role of parents in immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development, less is known about the role that Chinese friends play in adolescents' ethnic identity development. Does having Chinese friends and spending time with Chinese friends contribute to adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging? Finally, little is known about how other factors may potentiate or minimize the impact of parents' enculturation efforts on immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity or the role of Chinese friends on adolescents' ethnic identity. Specifically, how do characteristics within the adolescent (i.e., gender and age), characteristics of the family (i.e., parental warmth and presence of grandparents) and adolescents' experiences of discrimination affect the role of parents' enculturation efforts and the role of Chinese friends on their ethnic identity? The current study addresses these gaps in the literature through two studies.

#### Study 1: Correlates of Parental Enculturation

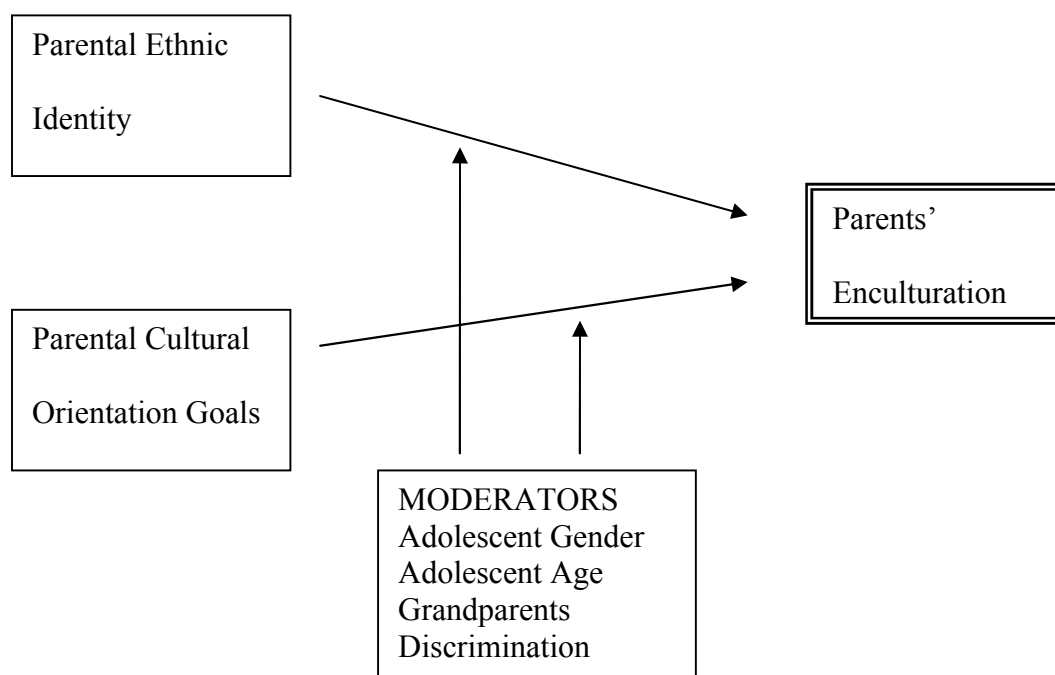
Research has shown that even as parents acquire the behaviours and values of the new culture, their identification with their ethnic background typically remains strong (Phinney, 2003), as well as their emphasis on instilling a sense of ethnic identity in their children (Chao, 1995). Yet, they do not all engage in enculturation to the same extent.

Variations in parental enculturation may stem from a number of factors ranging from characteristics and experiences of parents and adolescents to influences from outside the immediate family. In a recent review, adolescents' age and gender as well as parents' immigration status, parents' ethnic identity, parents' discrimination experiences

and the ethnicity of neighbourhoods were associated with parents' enculturation efforts (Hughes et al., 2006). Using cluster analyses, a recent study found that parents' experiences of racial discrimination, parents' attitudes towards ethnic belonging, and parents' own experiences of racial socialization differed among groups of parents who engaged in high levels of ethnic socialization, parents who actively de-emphasized ethnic socialization, and parents who were not engaged in ethnic socialization (White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). Specifically, parents who were highly engaged in ethnic socialization were more likely to report greater racial discrimination, have more positive attitudes about belonging to their ethnic group and were more likely to have experienced high levels of racial socialization in the past.

Most of the studies on what motivates parents to engage in enculturation have focused on direct effects. However, the extent to which parents engage in enculturation is likely a product of interactions among parents' own ethnic identity, their goals for their adolescents' cultural orientation, their personal experiences with the receiving culture, and their adolescents' characteristics. For example, adolescents' age may shape the way in which parents' translate their cultural goals for their adolescents into enculturation efforts. Parents may strongly identify with their own background and want their adolescents to also identify strongly with their ethnic background, but may not translate their own sense of ethnic identity or their own values into enculturation specific behaviours until they feel that their adolescents are able to understand their cultural messages. The current study aims to address this gap in the literature first, by assessing the direct effects of parents' ethnic identity and their cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. Next, this study examines potential

moderators in relations between parents' own ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts, namely, adolescents' gender and age, presence of grandparents, and parents' experiences of discrimination. A model of the relations examined in this study is presented in Figure 1.



*Figure 1.* Model of the direct and moderated relations with parental enculturation

*Parents' ethnic identity and parental enculturation.*

Past research suggests that the strength of parents' ethnic identity may determine the extent to which parents openly encourage their adolescents to include ethnicity in their own identities through parental enculturation. When parents are highly identified with their ethnic group, they may place more emphasis on the importance of ethnic identity development for their adolescents. Consequently, parents who report stronger feelings of ethnic identity may be more likely to engage in enculturation. Indeed, Mexican parents who reported higher Mexican identity were more likely to report

engaging in ethnic socialization activities with their children (Romero, Cuéllar, & Roberts, 2000). Similarly, Dominican and Puerto Rican parents who reported greater attachment to their ethnic group were also more likely to emphasize enculturation in their parenting compared to parents who were less attached to their ethnic group (Hughes, 2003). Parents' familiarity with their ethnic cultural background is also positively related to their efforts to teach their children about their ethnic culture and to encourage a sense of ethnic pride in their children (Knight et al., 1993b). Thus, parents' ethnic identity may be a strong predictor of parents' behaviours and attitudes regarding the importance of ethnic identity for their adolescents. The majority of this work has been conducted with non-Asian ethnic groups.

In examining parental ethnic identity, the current study focuses on parents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Parents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging may show considerable variability among immigrant parents. Using parents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging as a measure of ethnic identity, it is expected that parents' reports of ethnic identity would be positively related to their enculturation efforts.

*Parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents.*

The goals that parents have for their adolescents' cultural orientation may also motivate their enculturation efforts. Parents may hold different goals for their adolescents' cultural orientation, and such differences among parents in their goals may affect the ways in which they interact with their adolescents (Goodnow, 2002). For example, beliefs regarding how to balance Chinese and Canadian values and behaviours may vary among immigrant Chinese parents. Some parents may highly emphasize both acquiring the values and behaviours of the new culture and maintaining aspects of their

ethnic culture, while others may place less emphasis on the importance of their adolescents acquiring aspects of the new culture and more exclusively emphasize the maintenance of ethnic culture values and behaviours. Parents' goals for their adolescents to acquire the values and behaviours of the new culture and to maintain aspects of their ethnic culture may govern the extent to which parents engage in enculturation.

Parents' goals for their adolescents' cultural orientation are often assumed to stem from their generational status with the assumption that later generations (i.e., those who are in the country longer) place less emphasis on maintaining the ethnic culture compared to those who have been in the country for a shorter amount of time (Hughes et al., 2006). Studies have also shown that parents' immigrant generation status is associated with their efforts to socialize their adolescents into their ethnic group. For example, in a study of Mexican American children, mothers who had been in the United States for fewer generations were more likely to teach their children about their Mexican culture compared to mothers whose families have lived in the United States for more generations (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993c). Similarly, Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) found that Mexican-origin families who had fewer children born in the United States were more likely to engage in enculturation compared to families who had lived in the United States for longer. These group differences may mask considerable within-group heterogeneity in the cultural orientation goals of parents of the same generation. It would be more valid to directly assess parents' goals for their children rather than relying on such proxies.

The current study directly assesses parents' goals for their adolescents' cultural orientation. Goals related to both the adoption of the new culture and retention of their

own culture are assessed. Assessing goals for the adoption of the new culture and retention of the ethnic culture separately is consistent with current bidimensional views of acculturation (Berry, 1997; Costigan & Su, 2004). According to the bidimensional model of acculturation, immigrant individuals orient themselves on two dimensions: intercultural contact and cultural maintenance (Berry, 1997). Intercultural contact refers to the extent to which individuals participate in the new cultural context and cultural maintenance refers to the extent to which individuals maintain the practices of their ethnic culture. In this study, parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents may be categorized along these two dimensions.

Little is known about how parents' goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the new culture may affect their enculturation efforts. Past studies use generational status and length of residence in the new country as proxies for parents' engagement in the culture of the new country. These suggest that parents who were more oriented to the new culture engaged in less enculturation compared to parents who were less oriented to the new culture (Hughes et al., 2006). One study examining the relations between parents' values toward orientation to the new culture and their beliefs about their roles in socializing children found that parents who highly valued orientation to the new culture for their children were more likely to also value parents' roles in promoting autonomy, a quality highly valued in Western cultures, in their children (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998). Such previous research suggests that as parents become more oriented to the new culture, they simultaneously adhere less to their ethnic culture and may place less emphasis on engaging in enculturation with their adolescents. However, a study examining the relations between Chinese parents' intercultural contact and cultural maintenance found

that the extent to which fathers engaged in intercultural contact was unrelated to their cultural maintenance (Costigan & Su, 2004). Similarly, in a review of literature on cultural orientation, Berry (2007) stated that acquiring features of the new culture does not necessarily imply a loss of features of the old culture. Rather, aspects of the new culture acquired through intercultural contact can be integrated into existing features of the old culture (Berry, 2007). Thus, encouraging Chinese adolescents to engage in features of the Western culture such as speaking English, and emphasizing autonomy and individuality may not preclude parents from also engaging in enculturation with their adolescents. Encouraging their adolescents to engage in the Western culture may even serve to promote the relations between parents' goals for their children to be oriented to Chinese culture and their enculturation efforts. Having goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Canadian culture may enhance parents' awareness of the importance of passing on the Chinese culture and promoting their adolescents' ethnic identity.

In the current study, it is expected that the more parents' endorse goals for Chinese cultural retention among their adolescents, the more likely they would be to engage in enculturation. Further, it is expected that parents' endorsement of goals for their adolescents to participate in the Canadian culture would be unrelated to their enculturation efforts. However, it is expected that an interaction between parents' Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals for their adolescents would be significantly related to their reports of enculturation. Specifically, parents' Canadian cultural orientation goals for their adolescents are expected to moderate the relations between parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. Parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals and their enculturation

efforts are expected to be positively related among parents who report lower Canadian cultural orientation goals. It is expected that there would be a stronger positive relation between parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals and their enculturation efforts among parents who highly emphasize Canadian cultural orientation goals.

*Moderators in the relations between parents' ethnic identity and parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts*

The relations between parents' ethnic identity and parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation may be moderated by a variety of individual and family characteristics. The current study focuses on child characteristics (i.e., adolescents' gender and age), the presence of live-in grandparents, and parental experience of discrimination as moderators. The literature related to each of these moderators is reviewed next.

*Adolescents' gender.*

Adolescents' gender may moderate the relations between parents' ethnic identity and parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. Chinese parents of girls may have different expectations for adolescents' cultural maintenance compared to parents of boys. These gender specific expectations may temper the direct relations between parents' ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals and their enculturation efforts. Compared to boys, Chinese girls are more likely to be encouraged to help with matters within the home (Huang & Ying, 1989). Particularly during adolescence, when youth are able to take on more responsibilities, parents may be more likely to ask their daughters than their sons to help during family and cultural events, such as helping to prepare dishes for ethnic celebrations. By spending more time

at home and taking part in ethnic traditions in the home, parents of girls may have more opportunities to engage in the process of enculturation. Furthermore, females are often viewed as “carriers” of ethnic culture traditions in that girls are expected to learn cultural traditions and transmit them to the next generation (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Thus, parents of girls may have more opportunities to practice enculturation and have greater expectations for teaching their daughters about their ethnic culture. As a result, the direct relations between parents’ ethnic identity and parents’ Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and the parents’ enculturation efforts were expected to be stronger for parents of girls compared to parents of boys.

*Adolescents’ age.*

The direct relations on parents’ enculturation efforts may also be shaped by adolescents’ developmental stage. Parents tailor their enculturation efforts based on their assumptions regarding how well their adolescents can understand and detect cultural messages at a given age (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Thus, parents may have a strong sense of ethnic identity and hold high goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Chinese cultures, but the extent to which the two factors are associated with parents’ enculturation efforts may be tempered by parents’ awareness of their adolescents’ developmental readiness to receive cultural messages. Although younger children are able to learn about their culture and acquire ethnic labels (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza & Cota, 1993), contemplation about the meaning of ethnicity and exploration of identities begins in earnest during adolescence (Quintana, 1998). Adolescence is accompanied by advancements in cognitive abilities that may enhance immigrant adolescents’ ability to understand parental enculturation messages and form meaningful conceptualizations of

the role ethnicity plays in their identity. Issues regarding ethnicity may also become increasingly salient throughout adolescence as immigrant adolescents establish independence from their parents through jobs and participation in sports and other activities (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). In addition, because many adolescents report discussing ethnicity-related issues with their parents (Phinney, 1989), parents may become increasingly aware of their adolescents' interests in ethnic identity development as they move through adolescence. With increasing awareness of their adolescents' burgeoning ethnic identity development, the relations between parents' ethnic identity and parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents' and their enculturation may be enhanced by adolescents' increasing age. Discussions between parents and adolescents regarding their ethnic background also may naturally increase during adolescence due to the identity exploration process (Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

In the current study, it was expected that adolescents' age may affect the direct relations between parents' ethnic identity and parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals and parents' enculturation efforts. As parents become more aware of their adolescents' ethnic identity development they may strengthen their efforts to delve into their own ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals in engaging in enculturation with their adolescents. Thus, the direct relations between parents' ethnic identity and parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals and parental enculturation were expected to be stronger for parents of older adolescents compared to parents of younger adolescents.

#### *Presence of Grandparents.*

Having grandparents in the home may influence the strength of the relations between parents' ethnic identity and Chinese cultural orientation goals and their

enculturation. Research on intergenerational transmission of parenting styles found that parenting styles are often directly transferred from grandmothers to mothers (Kitamura, Shikai, Uji, Hiramura, Tanaka, & Shono, 2009). However, little is known about how the presence of grandparents may affect the relations between parents' ethnic identity and Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their efforts to teach their adolescents about their ethnic culture. Aspects of the Chinese culture suggest that having grandparents in the home may affect the extent to which parents engage in enculturation with their adolescents. Grandparents are accorded social power in Chinese families through the key Chinese value of filial piety that encourages individuals to honour and obey elders (Mjelde-Mossey, 2007). Thus, parents in families where grandparents are present may experience cultural pressures from the presence of live-in grandparents, which consequently may enhance the relations between their own ethnic identity and goals and their enculturation efforts. Grandparents may overtly request that parents teach their grandchildren about their ethnic culture in order for them to interact more easily with their grandchildren. Such requests may subsequently enhance the relations between parents' Chinese goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. Parents may engage in enculturation as a way of honoring and respecting grandparents. Grandparents are also constant reminders of the ethnic culture, which may enhance the relations between parents' ethnic identity and their enculturation efforts and their Chinese orientation goals and their enculturation efforts. For example, when grandparents are present, parents may be prompted more frequently to transfer their sense of ethnic identity and their Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents into enculturation efforts. Thus, it was expected that the relations between parents' ethnic identity and Chinese

cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation would be stronger among households that report having a live-in grandparent compared to households that do not report a having a live-in grandparent.

*Parents' reports of discrimination.*

Experiencing discrimination may underscore ethnic concerns for parents and may enhance the relations between parents' ethnic identity and Chinese cultural orientation goals for adolescents and their enculturation efforts. According to theories of intergroup conflict (Hewstone & Greenland, 2000), when minority individuals are chronically exposed to barriers and rejections from the majority group, they may come to separate themselves from the majority culture and form an exclusionary group based on their shared ethnic background. Parents who report discrimination may exert more efforts in socializing their adolescents into their ethnic culture in order to protect them from negative experiences in the new culture. In studies of racial socialization in the African American community, in which preparation for bias is an important component, parents reporting more discrimination engaged in more enculturation with their adolescents in order to prepare them for discrimination (Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006).

The vast majority of research in the area of discrimination and parents' role in adolescents' cultural socialization focuses on parents' efforts to prepare their adolescents for discrimination. The few studies that examine the relations between parents' reports of discrimination and other aspects of enculturation such as encouraging ethnic pride and instilling ethnic knowledge and the findings are inconsistent. In one study that examined parents' experiences with discrimination and multiple aspects of enculturation, Hughes (2003) distinguishes between teachings about ethnic culture pride and history, and

preparation for bias. With African American, Dominican, and Puerto Rican parents, Hughes (2003) found that parents' reports of teachings about ethnic pride and history were not related to their perceptions of group disadvantage or to their own experiences with discrimination. Hughes (2003) suggests that based on such findings, enculturation is a "proactive phenomenon." More specifically, enculturation is an integral part of immigrant parents' parenting and thus, they will engage in enculturation regardless of their experiences of discrimination. However, this finding is contrary to theories of intergroup conflict, that posit that when parents experience more discrimination, they may be more likely to engage in enculturation in order to protect their adolescents from negative experiences in the majority culture. In a study of racial socialization of African American mothers, White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) found a positive relationship between mothers' experiences of racial discrimination and their engagement in racial socialization with their adolescents. Currently, there are no studies that have addressed the relations between parents' experiences with discrimination and their enculturation efforts in Chinese families.

Even less is known about the moderating role of parents' reports of discrimination on the relations between parents' ethnic identity and their Chinese orientation goals for adolescents and their enculturation efforts. However, based on research on the direct effects of parents' reports of discrimination and their enculturation efforts, the relations between parents' ethnic identity and their Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts may be enhanced by their experiences of discrimination. By the same mechanism as the direct effects, experiencing discrimination may prompt parents to transfer their sense of ethnic identity and their Chinese orientation goals for

their adolescents' into enculturation efforts in order to protect their adolescents from discrimination and negative experiences associated with being an ethnic minority. In contrast, parents who experience less discrimination may feel less urgency in terms of transmitting their ethnic identity and carrying out their goals of Chinese cultural orientation for their adolescents through the process of enculturation. Thus, it is expected that the relations between parents' ethnic identity and their Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts will be stronger among parents who report experiencing higher levels of discrimination compared to parents who report experiencing lower levels of discrimination.

In summary, immigrant parents may differ in the extent to which they engage in enculturation. Such differences may be attributed to their ethnic identity and their cultural orientation goals for their adolescents. The current study examined the direct relations between parents' ethnic identity and their enculturation efforts and parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. Because the direct relations with parents' enculturation efforts are not isolated processes, the current study also examined moderators on the direct relations. Specifically, the moderating role of adolescents' gender and age, the presence of grandparents and parents' experiences of discrimination were examined.

#### *Mothers versus fathers*

Mother-father differences in their reports of enculturation, ethnic identity, cultural orientation goals, perceived discrimination, and parental warmth have been found in past research. Women often take on the role of passing on cultural traditions (Phinney, 1990; Phinney et al., 2001), and consequently, mothers' reports of enculturation, ethnic identity,

and goals for children to be oriented to the Chinese culture may be higher compared to fathers' reports. Previous research comparing mothers', fathers', and adolescents' reports of ethnic identity has indicated consistently that mothers report stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging than fathers (Costigan & Dokis, 2006) and that mothers more strongly endorse Chinese values of family obligations compared to fathers (Su & Costigan, 2009). To date, there are no studies that have specifically examined differences between mothers and fathers in their goals for their children's Canadian culture engagement and their reports of perceived discrimination.

### Summary and Hypotheses of Study 1

Past research has consistently highlighted the role of parents in ethnic identity development among youth from immigrant families. However, there is considerable variability in the strengths of these effects. Little is known about why some parents engage in high levels of enculturation while others place less emphasis on enculturation. Study 1 in the current research examined the effects of parents' ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals for their adolescents on parents' enculturation efforts, and the moderating effects of adolescents' gender and age, live-in grandparents, and parents' perceptions of discrimination on the relations between parents' ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals and parental enculturation efforts (see Figure 1). Expectations are as follows:

1. Differences between mothers and fathers in their enculturation efforts, ethnic identity, Chinese and Canadian orientation goals for their adolescent, and their perceptions of discrimination were examined first. It was expected that:

- a. Mothers would report higher enculturation and ethnic identity, and report stronger Chinese culture orientation goals for their adolescents compared to fathers. Mothers and fathers were expected to rate goals related to orientation to Canadian culture similarly and perceive similar levels of discrimination.
2. The relations between parents' ethnic identity and parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts were examined. It was expected that:
    - a. More positive parental ethnic identity would be related to more enculturation efforts with their adolescents.
    - b. Parents who endorsed more goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Chinese culture would engage in more enculturation compared to parents who reported fewer Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents.
    - c. Parents' Canadian orientation goals would moderate the relations between parents' Chinese orientation goals and their enculturation efforts.

Relations between parents' Chinese orientation goals and enculturation efforts would be stronger among parents who placed more emphasis on Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents compared to parents who placed less emphasis on Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents.
3. The moderating effects of the adolescents' gender and age, presence of grandparents, and parents' perceptions of discrimination on the relations between parents' ethnic identity and their enculturation efforts, and parents' cultural

orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. It was expected that:

- a. The relations between parents' ethnic identity and their enculturation efforts, and parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts would be significantly greater for parents of girls compared to parents of boys.
- b. The relations between parents' ethnic identity and their enculturation efforts, and parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts would be significantly greater for parents of older adolescents compared to parents of younger adolescents.
- c. The relations between parents' ethnic identity and their enculturation efforts, and parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts would be significantly stronger among families who reported having a live-in grandparent than those without.
- d. The relations between parents' ethnic identity and their enculturation efforts, and parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts would be significantly stronger for parents who experienced more discrimination compared to parents who experienced less discrimination.

## Study 2: Correlates of Adolescents' Ethnic Identity

The primary role of parents in the socialization of youth has been consistently highlighted among today's researchers (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington & Bornstein, 2000). Parents' direct and deliberate efforts to enculturate their adolescents are one of the most salient factors in immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development (Hughes et al., 2006; Knight et al., 1993c).

However, parents are not the only source of influence on immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development. Adolescence is a period when adolescents begin to individuate from parents and increasingly turn to their friends. The role of friends as salient socialization figures during adolescence has been consistently noted in the literature (Bukowski, Brendgen, & Vitaro, 2007). The ethnicity of adolescents' friendships may also play a role in their ethnic identity development. For example, developing a strong sense of ethnic identity may come more easily for adolescents who spend a lot of time and have many Chinese friends compared to adolescents who spend less time and do not have many Chinese friends. The extent to which parents and friends influence adolescents' ethnic identity may be enhanced or tempered by the characteristics and experiences of the adolescent as well as by the characteristics within the family. For example, adolescents' age may shape the impact of parents' enculturation on adolescents' ethnic identity. Parents may engage in high levels of enculturation, but younger adolescents may be less able to integrate parents' enculturation efforts into their ethnic identity compared to older adolescents due to differences in abstract cognitive abilities. Finally, differences between parents in their enculturation efforts may also affect adolescents' ethnic identity development. The current study examines the effects of

parents' enculturation, parental enculturation differences and the number adolescents' Chinese friendships on adolescents' ethnic identity. Next, this study examines moderators in the relations between parents' enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity (i.e., adolescents' gender and age, presence of grandparents, parental warmth, and adolescents' experiences of discrimination), and moderators in the relations between the numbers of Chinese friends and their ethnic identity (i.e., adolescents' gender and age and adolescents' experiences of discrimination). A model of the relations examined in this study is presented in Figure 2.

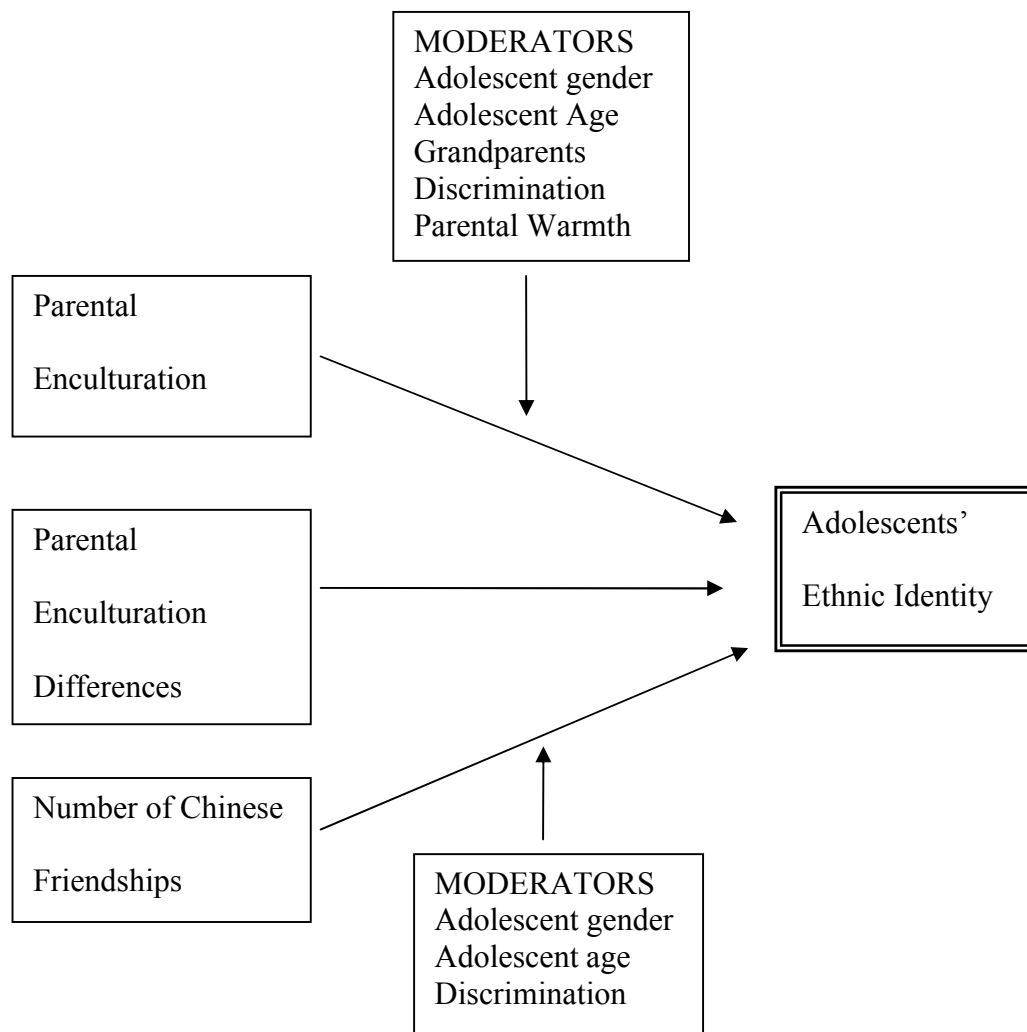


Figure 2. Model of the direct and moderated relations with adolescents' ethnic identity

Two aspects of adolescents' ethnic identity are examined in the current study: ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging. Ethnic identity achievement is a more individual developmental-based aspect of ethnic identity and indicates the extent to which adolescents have explored and come to a clear understanding of what it means to be a member for their ethnic group (Phinney, 1989). Ethnic affirmation and belonging is a social aspect of ethnic identity and indicates the extent to which adolescents' report feeling a sense of belonging to their ethnic group and positive about being a member of their ethnic group (Phinney, 1990). As previously discussed, together these two aspects of adolescents' ethnic identity capture both the process of ethnic identity development and the evaluative components of belonging to a particular ethnic group.

#### *Parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity*

Parental enculturation is important for adolescents' ethnic identity development because traditional Chinese values emphasize the importance of family loyalty and respect for parental opinions (Bond, 1996) and consequently adolescents will be particularly open to influence from their parents in their own development. In addition, Chinese adolescents pursue autonomy from their parents at a later age compared to adolescents of other ethnicities (Fuligni, 1998). Thus, Chinese parents may have a longer period of time to influence their adolescents' ethnic identity development. Furthermore, socializing a sense of ethnic identity among their adolescents is typically a central goal of many immigrant Chinese parents (Chao, 1995). Yet, despite the importance Chinese parents place on adolescents' ethnic identity, much of the work on ethnic identity socialization has neglected Chinese families.

Enculturation by parents may be a key part of immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development. Parental enculturation efforts are designed to teach immigrant adolescents about their ethnic background. Adolescents who have more ethnic knowledge may report a stronger sense of ethnic identity achievement and stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Rogoff and colleagues (Rogoff, Moore, Najafi, Dexter, Correa-Chávez, & Solís, 2007) describe a process in which children learn about their culture through participation in cultural practices and behaviours. For example, speaking the ethnic language and listening to parents as they relate stories from their time in the ethnic country provides opportunities for immigrant youth to learn about their ethnic culture, which supports ethnic identity development. In a study of Latino high school students, reports of experiencing enculturation in the form of family teachings about their cultural background were associated with higher reports of ethnic identity achievement (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Similarly, in a retrospective study of Asian American young adults, those who reported that their parents' emphasized the importance of their ethnic background in their upbringing reported higher levels of ethnic identity (Xu, Shim, Lotz, & Almeida, 2004). Studies among immigrant adolescents from diverse ethnic backgrounds have also found that the more parents reported instilling ethnic pride, discussing ethnic history, and encouraging their adolescents to learn and practice cultural traditions and values, the more strongly adolescents endorsed feeling proud of their ethnic background (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). Thus, it was expected in the current study that parents' reports of enculturation would be positively associated with adolescents' reports of both ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging.

*Moderators in the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity*

Adolescents are not passive recipients of enculturation. They are active agents in their own ethnic socialization, because of their developmental stage and personal experiences. Factors surrounding adolescents may affect the direction or strength of the relations between parents' enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity. Specifically, moderators that may temper or potentiate the relations between enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity were examined in the current study, namely: adolescents' gender and age, presence of grandparents, parental warmth, and adolescents' experiences of discrimination (see Figure 2).

*Adolescents' gender.* Existing studies suggest that girls tend to report higher feelings of ethnic belonging, and are more likely to achieve a sense of ethnic identity compared to boys (Dion & Dion, 2004; Phinney, 1990; Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002; Ying & Lee, 1999). Similarly, studies of immigrant young adults have found that women report greater identification with their ethnicity than men (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Gender may also affect the strength of the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging. Differences in intrinsic motivation to develop a sense of ethnic identity may play a role in gender differences in the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity development. For example, there may be greater internal motivation for girls to develop strong feelings of ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging compared to boys. As previously discussed, females are seen as the primary carriers of ethnic traditions (Phinney, 2003; Pratt, Norris, Hebblethwaite, & Arnold, 2008)

and thus, girls may have more interest in learning about and maintaining their ethnic culture (Dion & Dion, 2004). Furthermore, Chinese girls are more likely to be asked to help parents with cultural practices (e.g., helping prepare for special meals) (Huang & Ying, 1989), which may further highlight the importance of girls in the Chinese culture and further encourage them to feel a sense of affiliation with their ethnic culture. Thus, it was expected that the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging will be stronger among girls compared to boys.

*Adolescents' age.* The process of ethnic identity development likely begins during childhood and becomes highly salient during adolescence. Indeed, Quintana and colleagues (Quintana, 1998; Quintana, Castañeda-English, & Ybarra, 1999) proposed that an understanding of ethnicity progresses according to adolescents' cognitive development. For example, ethnicity is initially understood by children as differences in concrete characteristics, such as skin colour, followed by features associated with an ethnic group, such as language and cultural celebrations. As children grow into adolescents and gain more sophisticated cognitive abilities, such as the ability to think abstractly and take others' perspectives, their understanding of their ethnic background becomes more finely tuned. Thus, with more advanced cognitive abilities and greater diversity of experiences, immigrant adolescents are better able to understand ethnicity beyond physical and behavioural differences and can explore what it means to them to be part of an ethnic group. Increased cognitive abilities may also affect the extent to which adolescents are reliant on their parents' enculturation in developing their sense of ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity achievement involves a process of exploration and contemplation (Phinney, 1989), which can be limited or enhanced by the cognitive level of the adolescent. Older adolescents are more adept at abstract thinking and perspective taking skills compared to younger adolescents, which may contribute to older adolescents reporting a strong sense of ethnic identity achievement. Because older adolescents may have the cognitive capacities to engage in ethnic identity exploration leading to ethnic identity achievement, parental enculturation may be less important to older adolescents' ethnic identity achievement than to younger adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. In a study of parental transmission of cultural values Schönplflug and Bilz (2009) found that the values between fathers and sons were more similar during early and middle adolescence compared to their values during late adolescents. Growing independence and autonomy may interfere with effective transmission of values within the family (Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan, 1997). Thus, it was expected that the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement would be stronger among early adolescents compared to late adolescents.

Ethnic affirmation and belonging is also positively related to adolescents' age. For example, in a study of African American and Puerto Rican youth living in the United States, students in Grades 11 and 12 reported higher feelings of ethnic pride than students in Grades 9 and 10 (Rotheram-Borus, Lightfoot, Moraes, Dopkins, & LaCour, 1998). Although adolescents' age is positively associated with their ethnic affirmation and belonging, as a moderator in the relations between parental enculturation and ethnic affirmation and belonging, adolescents' age may play a different role. As previously discussed, parents of older adolescents may engage in more enculturation due to older

adolescents' interests in their ethnic identity, however, older adolescents may rely less on parents' enculturation efforts in feeling a sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging. As immigrant adolescents grow older, gain independence from their parents, and are exposed to a wider variety of contexts through the ethnic diversity of their high schools, extracurricular activities, and part-time jobs, they may rely less on their parents in feeling a positive sense of ethnic belonging. For example, older adolescents may also spend more time outside of the home and as a result may attain a sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging from friends, coworkers, and other mentors outside of the home. Younger adolescents may have fewer freedoms to be outside of the home and consequently may need to rely more on parents' enculturation in feeling a sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Thus, it is expected that the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging will be stronger among younger adolescents compared to older adolescents.

*Presence of grandparents.* Compared to what is known about the role of parents, relatively little is known about whether the presence of grandparents in the home affects the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity. In a review of grandparent-grandchild relations, Baranowski (1982) proposed that grandparents may play a central role in adolescents' identity development by providing them with a sense of continuity in the adolescents' lives. As adolescents explore and contemplate their futures as part of identity development, grandparents serve to connect them to their past. Having a sense of continuity may also help support adolescents' identity exploration by giving them a clear and secure base upon which to begin their exploration (Meade, 1974). Thus, grandparents likely play a role in adolescents' identity development.

Studies related to the influence of grandparents on youth development have often proposed that grandparents act as cultural carriers (Hayslip, Shore, & Henderson, 2000; Kamo, 1998; Kopera-Frye & Wiscott, 2000). Thus, the presence of grandparents may potentiate the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity. In an empirical study of retrospective reports by undergraduate students, Kopera-Frye and Wiscott (2000) found that grandparents had the most influence on six domains of a young person's life: religion, family, education, work, morals, and personal identity. The participants reported that the activities they most often shared with their grandparents were those involving their cultural background such as listening to stories from the grandparents' childhood, looking at family photos, and learning about the traditions and customs of their ethnic culture. These young adults viewed grandparents as being the "culture-keepers." The presence of grandparents in the home can also serve as a constant reminder of their ethnic background for Chinese youth. Chinese families are embedded in strong notions of filial piety (Kamo, 1998), which typically leads them to hold grandparents in high esteem. Furthermore, in many Asian families, live-in grandparents are involved in childrearing in order for both parents to work outside of the home (Kamo, 1998). In situations where grandparents are actively involved in adolescents' day-to-day activities, they may become prominent role models for grandchildren and pivotal figures in adolescents' development (Hayslip et al., 2000). Chinese grandparents may support parents' enculturation efforts, such as encouraging the adolescent to speak Chinese and agreeing with parents on core Chinese cultural values. Therefore, live-in grandparents may help parents' enculturation efforts by providing a home environment that supports parental enculturation.

The presence of grandparents in the home may contribute positively to the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity. The presence of live-in grandparents may connect the adolescent with their ethnic background and provide them with cultural knowledge, all of which may enhance cultural messages from parental enculturation and subsequently have a positive impact on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging. It was expected that the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity would be stronger among families who reported having a live-in grandparent compared to families who did not have a grandparent living in the home with them.

*Parental warmth.* Parenting practices used in the home may establish a climate within the family that affects adolescents' willingness to learn from their parents. For example, parenting practices such as nurturance may create an environment within the family that encourages adolescents to feel more receptive to parental influence (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg, 2001). This environment, in turn, may influence adolescents' willingness to model themselves after their parents or to integrate aspects of their parents' culture into their own self-concept. Indeed, Rudy and Grusec (2001) found that warm ways of interacting with adolescents promoted the transmission of values from parents to adolescents. Parental warmth may also provide a context in which immigrant adolescents are encouraged to explore their identity. For example, in a study of high school students, Sartor and Youniss (2002) found that high levels of emotional support from mothers were positively related to identity achievement. Thus, parental warmth may create an atmosphere within the family that encourages adolescents to be open to

parental influence and model themselves after their parents in their ethnic identity development.

The current study examined how parental warmth moderated the relations between parental enculturation efforts and adolescents' reports of ethnic identity. It was expected that the context established by parental warmth may strengthen the relations between parents' enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity. More specifically, the relations between enculturation and ethnic identity was expected to be stronger among adolescents in families with higher levels of parental warmth compared to adolescents in families with lower levels of parental warmth.

*Reports of discrimination.* Adolescents' reports of discrimination may also affect the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity. Even though discrimination is not commonly reported by immigrant adolescents (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006), when it is encountered, it has a strong psychological impact on the adolescent. For example, in a study of Russian immigrant adolescents living in Finland, perception of discrimination was a major psychological stressor for immigrant youth and was associated with lower feelings of self-worth and poorer psychological orientation (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). Some of the research in the area of discrimination and immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity has focused on the role of ethnic identity as a protective factor or buffer against the negative effects of perceived discrimination (e.g., Greene et al., 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). However, few studies have examined how reports of discrimination moderate the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity development.

Social identity theory states that when met with dissimilarities and feelings of not belonging, individuals may seek to identify with the group that is most similar to them (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Similarly, the rejection-identification model also posits that when minority individuals are met with rejection from others, they may increase their feelings of identification and attachment to their ethnic group (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Ethnic minority or immigrant adolescents when faced with rejection in the form of discrimination may seek out a sense of belonging by highly affiliating with their ethnic background. Indeed, cross-sectional and longitudinal studies among individuals from a variety of ethnic groups have demonstrated positive relations between perceptions of discrimination and ethnic identity (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Pahl & Way, 2006; Romero & Roberts, 1998; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Reports of discrimination are expected to have an impact on the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity development for a variety of reasons. The experience of discrimination may result in adolescents' looking more to their parents and becoming more open to parental influence in their ethnic identity achievement. Similarly, when immigrant adolescents experience rejection from members of other ethnic groups in the form of discrimination, they may seek out a sense of belonging by highly identifying with their parents' in their ethnic identity, thereby strengthening the relations between parental enculturation and ethnic affirmation and belonging. Thus, it is expected that the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging will be stronger among adolescents who report perceiving more discrimination compared to adolescents who report perceiving less discrimination.

*Mother-father differences and adolescents' ethnic identity*

Mothers' and fathers' influence on adolescents' ethnic identity development may differ. Currently, most of the literature on parental influences on adolescents' ethnic identity has focused on mothers, with relatively little research conducted on the role of fathers' in adolescents' ethnic identity development. Traditional Chinese parents may play different roles in the family, with mothers being more likely to take on the role of nurturing caretakers compared to fathers (Chao & Tseng, 2002). A recent study found that mothers' values were more strongly related to immigrant Chinese adolescents' reports of ethnic identity compared to fathers' values (Su & Costigan, 2009). The current study examined the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity separately among mothers and fathers. It is expected that mothers may be more involved in their adolescents' ethnic identity development compared to fathers.

The current study examined the direct impact of differences between mothers' and fathers' reports of enculturation on adolescents' reports of ethnic identity. Differences between mothers and fathers in their reports of enculturation may suggest that parents are sending inconsistent messages to adolescents, which may detract from their ethnic identity development. Given the relatively fewer sources of cultural learning upon immigration (Ying et al., 1999), it may be important for adolescents to have as many sources of cultural learning as possible. Consequently, adolescents of parents who engage in dissimilar levels of enculturation may have fewer cultural resources to draw from. Thus, a negative relationship was expected between parents' enculturation differences and adolescents' ethnic identity.

*Adolescents' Chinese friendships and their ethnic identity*

Adolescence is a period when youth turn increasingly to their friends (Brown, 2004), and consequently, friends may influence immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development. According to social learning theory, friends can influence the adolescent by reinforcing behaviours that are culturally appropriate and competent, and punishing or ignoring non-normative behaviour (Bukowski et al., 2007). Adolescents themselves are also highly motivated to fit in with their friends. According to the group socialization theory outlined by Harris (1995), adolescents' desires to fit in and be a part of their peer group often drive them to change their behaviours, values, and beliefs to be consistent with group norms and expectations. The organization of friendship groups during adolescence also heightens the impact of friends on adolescents' development. For example, children are more likely to focus on specific behavioural interests in organizing their friendship groups, whereas adolescents are more likely to focus on characteristics and values in choosing group members (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). Once adolescents belong to a social group, they may be discouraged from exploring other identities and shifting to another crowd in order to maintain group homogeneity and cohesiveness (Rubin et al., 2006). Thus, not only do adolescents strive to become more similar to their friends, the peer group also aims to shape the adolescent to become more like its group members.

Previous studies have found that ethnic homophily, or same-ethnic friendships, is related to reports of ethnic identity (Kiang, Harter, Whitesell, 2007; Xu et al., 2004). Not surprisingly, the more young adults associated with same-ethnic friends, the stronger their sense of ethnic identity and the more they engaged in more ethnic behaviours (Xu et

al., 2004). In a study of Chinese American university students, individuals who associated more with Asian friends reported feeling stronger commitment to their ethnic group, engaging in more ethnic exploration, and feeling more affiliated with their ethnic group (Kiang et al., 2007). Similarly, in a study of immigrant youth attending ethnically diverse schools, ethnic homophily was significantly positively related to adolescents' reports of ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 2001). Same-ethnic friends may be more likely than friends of other ethnicities to support expressions of ethnic identity and ethnic behaviours (Kiang et al., 2007), supporting immigrant adolescents' feelings of ethnic belonging. Interacting with same-ethnic friends, who may speak the same language and likely have similar home experiences, may also prompt immigrant adolescents to consider the role of ethnicity in their lives (Kiang & Fulgini, 2009; Yip & Fulgini, 2002).

The current study focuses on the number of Chinese friends and the frequency of contact with Chinese friends in assessing the extent of ethnic homophily in adolescents' friendships. Following Way & Chen (2000), it was expected that the more Chinese friends and greater frequency of contact with Chinese friends immigrant adolescents reported having, the stronger their sense of ethnic identity achievement and feeling of ethnic affirmation and belonging.

#### *Moderators in the relations between Chinese friends and adolescents' ethnic identity*

The relations between Chinese friends and adolescents' ethnic identity involves adolescents looking to same-ethnic peers for support and knowledge in ethnic identity achievement, and for a sense of ethnic group belonging in developing stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging. However, variations in the nature of friendships as a result of gender, age, and other experiences may affect the role of friends on adolescents'

development. For example, research has shown that adolescents' affiliation with same-ethnic friends and the amount of support they receive from friendships varies between males and females, with adolescents age, and with adolescents' experiences of discrimination (Brown, Herman, Hamm, & Heck, 2008; Colarossi & Eccles, 2000; Helsen, Vollebereggh, & Meeus 2000). Based on existing research, it is expected that adolescents' gender and age and their experiences will moderate the relations between Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity (see Figure 2).

*Adolescents' gender.* Research has consistently found differences in the friendships between male and female adolescents. Friendships of female adolescents are more supportive and equal in nature compared to the friendships of male adolescents, which are based on control and dominance (Maccoby, 1990). Similarly the friendships of girls are based in mutual levels of nurturance and social support, while the friendships of boys are based in mutual companionship and competition (Colarossi & Eccles, 2000; Maccoby, 1990). These differences in perceptions of social support remain over time across the period of adolescents for boys and girls (De Goede, Branje, & Meeus, 2009). These differences in the friendships of male and female adolescents may affect the relations between adolescents' Chinese friendships and their ethnic identity. Because the friendships of girls are based more on nurturance and support, it may provide a more supportive environment for girls to engage in ethnic identity exploration and foster a stronger sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging. In contrast, the friendships of boys are based more on companionship and competition which may not be conducive to encouraging identity exploration and stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Thus, it is expected that the relations between Chinese friendships and ethnic

identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging will be stronger among girls compared to boys.

*Adolescents age.* The amount of time adolescents spend with their friends increases with age (Brown 2004). Not only do adolescents increasingly spend more time with friends, the quality of friendships also changes with increasing age. Research shows that friendships become increasingly positive and supportive during adolescents (De Goede et al., 2009). Compared to children and early adolescents, adolescents aged 16 to 18 years reported receiving most social support from friends, whereas children and younger adolescents reported receiving most social support from parents (Bokhorst, Sumter, & Westenberg, 2010). Changes in the quality of friendships may result from cognitive and emotional maturity that enables adolescents to better support their friends (Shulman & Knafo, 1997). Adolescents' peer networks also become more exclusive with increasing age as a result of social-cognitive changes that enable adolescents to be more selective about who they include in their social networks (Urberg, Dergirmencioglu, Tolson, & Halliday-Scher, 1995).

With increasing age, as adolescents spend more time with friends and become more mutually supportive, the relations between Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity is expected to be enhanced. For example, older Chinese adolescents who have more Chinese friends may have more opportunities to be with their Chinese friends compared to younger adolescents. Being able to be with their Chinese friends more often may enhance the relations between Chinese friends and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging. Older Chinese adolescents who have more Chinese friends may also have more opportunities to mutually explore and support

ethnic identity development within their peer group. Increasing selectivity in friendships as youth progress through adolescence may underscore similarities within the social group and enhance the relations between Chinese friendships and adolescents ethnic identity. For example, older adolescents who have more Chinese friends may feel particularly affiliated with their ethnic group because they may share many cultural similarities, such as values, goals, and identity. Sharing cultural similarities may also create conditions that enable older adolescents to learn about their culture and feel a sense of ethnic identity achievement.

In sum, compared to older adolescents, younger adolescents may have fewer opportunities to be with their friends, and the nature of their friendships may be less supportive of their ethnic identity exploration and achievement. Thus, it is expected that the relations between Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging will be stronger among older adolescents compared to younger adolescents.

*Reports of discrimination.* As previously discussed, although discrimination is not commonly reported by immigrant adolescents, it has strong impact on the adolescent. Specifically, when met with rejection from others, the adolescent may increase their feelings of identification and attachment to their ethnic group (Branscombe et al., 1999), which may consequently enhance the relations between Chinese friends and adolescents' ethnic identity. When adolescents experience discrimination they may identify more strongly with their same-ethnic friends in order to protect themselves from the aversive effects of being rejected by others. In a study of the friendship groups of ethnic minority youth, Latino youth who reported perceiving more discrimination were found to associate

more with same-ethnic friends in order to protect themselves from negative experiences with individuals outside of their ethnic group (Brown et al., 2008). Similarly, Asian American adolescents, who are often subject to the “model minority myth”, also self-identified with a same-ethnic crowd (Brown et al., 2008). When adolescents’ experience discrimination, having same-ethnic peers not only insulates the adolescents from aversive experiences outside of the ethnic group, but may also provide a group of social supports that understand the experience of being subject to prejudice. For example, Chinese adolescents who experience discrimination may also discuss such experiences with their Chinese friends and explore different ways of coping with such discrimination. Exploring and discussing ethnic minority specific experiences with friends may further strengthen the relations between adolescents’ Chinese friendships and their ethnic identity. Thus, it is expected that the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents’ ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging will be stronger among adolescents who report perceiving more discrimination compared to adolescents who report perceiving less discrimination.

In summary, parents and friends are two important sources of adolescents’ ethnic identity development. The current study examined the direct relations between parents’ enculturation efforts and Chinese friends and adolescents’ ethnic identity development. Because the direct relations with adolescents’ ethnic identity are not isolated processes, the current study also examined moderators on the direct relations. Specifically, the moderating role of adolescents’ gender and age, presence of grandparents, parental warmth, and adolescents’ experiences of discrimination were examined.

## Summary and Hypotheses of Study 2

Ethnic identity development does not happen in isolation; youth development is embedded within multiple contexts including their extended family and their peer relations. These additional factors can contribute to ethnic identity development beyond the direct influence of their parents' enculturation efforts, and may also moderate the impact of parents' enculturation efforts on immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development.

Study 2 examined the relations between parental enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity (i.e., ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging) and between the number of Chinese friends and their ethnic identity. I also examined moderators of the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity, namely, adolescents' gender, adolescents' age, the presence of grandparents, and adolescents' perceptions of discrimination, and moderators of the relations between adolescents Chinese friends and adolescents' reports of ethnic identity, namely, adolescents' gender adolescents' age, and adolescents' perceptions of discrimination.

1. Relations between mothers' and fathers' enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity were examined separately in order to determine if mothers and fathers played different roles in adolescents' ethnic identity development. The relations between differences in mothers' and fathers' enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity were also examined. It was expected that:

- a. When parents report engaging in high levels of enculturation, adolescents would report higher ethnic identity achievement and stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging.
  - b. Greater difference between mothers' and fathers' reports of enculturation would be negatively associated with adolescents' reports of ethnic identity.
2. Five moderators of the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity, namely, adolescents' gender, age, presence of live-in grandparent, parental warmth, and adolescents' perceptions of discrimination were examined.

It was expected that:

- a. The relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity would be stronger among girls compared to boys.
- b. The relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging would be stronger among younger adolescents compared to older adolescents.
- c. The relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity would be stronger among families who reported having a live-in grandparent than those without.
- d. The relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity would be stronger among families who reported higher parental warmth in the home than those who reported lower levels of parental warmth.

- e. The relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity would be stronger among adolescents' who reported perceiving more discrimination compared to those who reported perceiving less discrimination.
3. The relations between adolescents' Chinese friendships and their reports of ethnic identity were examined as well as the moderating effects of adolescents' gender, age and reports of discrimination. It was expected that:
    - a. Having more Chinese friendships would be associated with a stronger sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging and higher reports of ethnic identity achievement.
    - b. The relations between Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity would be stronger for girls compared to boys.
    - c. The relations between Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity would be stronger for older adolescents compared to younger adolescents.
    - d. The relations between Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity would be stronger for adolescents who report more discrimination compared to adolescents who report less discrimination.

## Study 1 and Study 2

### *Method*

#### *Participant Recruitment*

Data for this study were drawn from the first wave of the Intercultural Family Study (IFS-ST1). The Intercultural Family Study, directed by Dr. Catherine Costigan,

examines cultural orientation, psychological adjustment, and family relationships among immigrant Chinese families living in British Columbia.

The IFS-ST1 randomly recruited families for the study using a survey research calling centre (Malatest). Individuals with Chinese last names were randomly contacted by the survey research centre using telephone directories from the greater Victoria and Vancouver areas. The recruiter determined the family's eligibility for the study and provided them with information about the project. Families were eligible to participate in the IFS-ST1 if both parents had immigrated to Canada after the age of 18, had at least one adolescent between the ages of 12 and 17, identified themselves as Chinese, and had lived in Canada for at least 2 years. Additionally, families must have emigrated from mainland China, Taiwan or Hong Kong. These countries are among the top 10 originating regions for immigrants to British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 2001). Upon expressing interest in taking part in the study, a letter outlining the purpose and goals of the study was sent to the families by the IFS ST1 research team. These families were subsequently contacted by a research assistant to arrange a time to complete data collection.

A total of 183 families were recruited to participate in the study. Data from one family was removed because the adolescent was eleven years old. Thus, the analyses were conducted on data from 182 families. Two thirds of the families (67.0%) were randomly recruited according to the above procedures. A smaller non-random portion of the sample was obtained by social network referrals initiated by research assistants for IFS-ST1 (33.0%). The majority of families were recruited from Vancouver (74.2%) with

the remainder living in the greater Victoria area (25.8%). Fathers, mothers, and at least one adolescent from each family participated.

### *Procedures*

Two research assistants visited each family in their home for a session that lasted approximately 90 minutes to complete the questionnaire booklets. In two parent families, mothers, fathers, and an adolescent independently completed a set of questionnaires. In single parent families, the custodial parent and an adolescent completed the questionnaires. In situations where there was more than one child within the target age range, the older of the qualified children was selected as the target child. Siblings who were also within the target age range were also asked to complete a set of questionnaires. Family members were asked to complete their questionnaire independently and were encouraged to approach the research assistant if they had any questions. At least one of the research assistants spoke the family's native language (i.e., Mandarin or Cantonese). Informed consent was obtained from all family members before beginning the questionnaires. Families were given \$50 as compensation for their time.

Ethical approval was provided by the University of Victoria research ethics board. Participation in the study was completely voluntary. Families could choose to withdraw from the study at any time during the completion of the questionnaires without penalty, and they could decline to answer any individual question. Families were assigned code numbers and participants were asked not to write their names or other types of identifying information on the questionnaires. The consent forms and any other forms containing identifying information were locked and stored separately from the questionnaires.

Finally, the results are presented in group form only, so that no one individual's responses may be identified.

### *Participants*

Fathers ( $N = 165$ ), mothers ( $N = 179$ ) and adolescents ( $N = 181$ ) from 182 immigrant Chinese families participated in the study. The average age of fathers was 47.15 years old ( $SD = 5.73$ ), mothers was 44.74 years old ( $SD = 4.68$ ), and adolescents was 14.95 years old ( $SD = 1.70$ ). There were approximately equal numbers of girls (51.9%) and boys (48.1%). Nearly all parents were married (92.7%), with a small proportion of single mothers (5.6%) represented, one remarried mother, and two single fathers. Among two parent families, the average length of marriage was 19.02 years ( $SD = 4.17$ ). Parents in the current study lived in Canada between 2 and 36 years, with fathers averaging 11.01 years ( $SD = 7.07$ ) and mothers averaging 10.56 years ( $SD = 6.52$ ). Approximately half of the adolescents were first-generation immigrants who immigrated after the age of 6 (54.7%), and the remaining half were second-generation adolescents who were born in Canada or had immigrated before the age of six (45.3%). On average, the first-generation adolescents had lived in Canada for 7.53 years ( $SD = 3.18$ ).

The families are representative of current immigration trends in BC with 65.0% of the families in our sample originating from mainland China, 20.2% from Taiwan, and 14.7% from Hong Kong. Throughout the 1990s, immigration from mainland China has increased steadily, and currently accounts for the largest numbers of immigrants to two of BC's major cities (i.e., Vancouver and Victoria; Chui, Tran & Flanders, 2005). Immigration from Taiwan has experienced a similar, but less dramatic increase. Immigration from Hong Kong has steadily declined in the last 10 years, with a sharp

decline in migration from this region since the country's return to governance by the People's Republic of China in 1997 (Guo & Devoretz, 2005).

Immigrants to British Columbia are generally well-educated, with nearly two thirds (63%) having completed a university degree or graduate work (Guo & Devoretz, 2005). Consistently, the parents in the IFS-ST1 sample are fairly well-educated, with many parents (Fathers = 60.3%; Mothers = 46.3%) having completed a university degree or graduate work. There is a wide range of education levels represented in the current study, including college or vocational school (Fathers = 20.1%; Mothers = 33.3%), high school (Fathers = 11.0%; Mothers = 14.0%), and a small number who did not complete high school (Fathers = 8.5%; Mothers = 6.7%). Most of the parents are currently employed (Fathers = 88.5%; Mothers = 69.8%).

### *Measures*

A subset of the IFS-ST1 measures completed by family members was used in the present study. *Parents* reported on, family demographics, their enculturation efforts, cultural orientation goals for their adolescent, ethnic identity, perceptions of discrimination, use of warmth in their parenting, and the presence of grandparents in the home. *Adolescents* reported on their demographics, ethnic identity, ethnicity of friends, perceptions of discrimination, and their parents' use of warmth. Items were translated into Chinese script by a team of Chinese-speaking research assistants, and translated back to English by another team of research assistants. Discrepancies were resolved by discussion. Parents were given the option of completing the consent form and measures in their language of choice (i.e., either English or Chinese script). Nearly all parents chose to complete the measures in Chinese, whereas all but one youth completed the

measures in English. The current study only used a subset of measures in IFS-ST1 questionnaire booklet completed by participants.

*Demographics.* A background questionnaire gathered information from parents and adolescents about their characteristics such as age, gender, highest level of education completed, employment status, length of residence in Canada, and the age and gender of additional family members living in the home who were not taking part in the study.

*Parental enculturation efforts.* Mothers' and fathers' enculturation efforts were assessed using 12 items derived from an enculturation scale designed for use among Mexican Americans (see Knight et al., 1993a). It included items that assessed parents' teaching about the Mexican culture, parents' teaching about ethnic pride. These were adapted for the current study. The word "Mexican" in the original scale was replaced with "Chinese." Items were scored on a scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). The scale assessed a variety of enculturation methods such as encouraging ethnic behaviours (e.g., "*Encourage your child to participate in cultural events*"), encouraging a sense of ethnic pride (e.g., "*Tell your child to be proud to be Chinese*"), talking about ethnic values (e.g., "*Talk to your child about the importance of family*"), and teaching about the ethnic culture (e.g., "*Tell your child about the accomplishments of the Chinese people*"). The internal consistencies of these items was excellent for fathers ( $\alpha = .92$ ) and mothers ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

*Cultural orientation goals for their adolescents.* Mothers and fathers gave separate reports on their goals for their adolescents' cultural orientation. This scale consists of 9 items that were created for the IFS-ST1. The item responses ranged from 1 (*Not at all important*) to 5 (*Of great importance*). Four items asked parents how

important it was to them that their adolescents engage in certain aspects of the Chinese culture (e.g., “*Identify strongly as Chinese*” and “*Follow traditional Chinese values*”). The internal consistency of the items assessing parents’ Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents was good for mothers ( $\alpha = .85$ ) and fathers ( $\alpha = .86$ ). Five items asked parent how important it was to them that their adolescents engage in the Canadian culture (e.g., “*Develop a strong identity as a Canadian*” and “*Adopt the values of the Canadian culture*”). The internal consistency of the items assessing parents’ Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents was also good for mothers ( $\alpha = .86$ ) and fathers ( $\alpha = .91$ ).

*Reports of discrimination.* Parents’ and adolescents’ reports of perceived discrimination were assessed using the perceived discrimination subscale from the acculturation stress scale that was created by Gil and colleagues (Gil, Wagner, & Vega, 2000; Gil & Vega, 1996). The scale consists of three items that assessed how often the respondent perceived discrimination (e.g., “*How often do people dislike you because of your ethnicity?*”). The response choices ranged from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Very often*). Previous studies have found internal consistencies of .63 for adolescents’ reports of perceived discrimination and .77 for parents’ reports of perceived discrimination (Gil & Vega, 1996). Evidence of criterion-related validity is indicated by the significant positive relations between reports of perceived discrimination and acculturation stress (Gil & Vega 1996). The Cronbach’s alphas of reports on the scale assessing perceived discrimination were good, .87 for mothers, .86 for fathers, and .84 for adolescents.

*Ethnic identity.* Parents and adolescents gave separate reports of their own ethnic identity using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992). This scale consists of 20 items rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*).

The MEIM includes subscales assessing ethnic identity and attitudes towards other ethnic groups. Only items that pertain to ethnic identity were used in the current study. Twelve items assessed two aspects of ethnic identity: ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging. The ethnic identity achievement subscale consists of seven items that assess the extent to which the individual has explored and resolved identity issues (e.g., *“I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life”* - reverse scored). Only adolescents’ reports on this subscale were examined. The ethnic affirmation and belonging subscale consists of five items that assess positive feelings and sense of belonging to their ethnic group (e.g., *“I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background”*). Both parent and adolescents’ reports on this subscale were used.

In past studies, Phinney (1992) found an overall reliability on the MEIM of .81 for high school students. Yip and Fuligni (2002) with Chinese adolescents living in the United States found good internal consistency for adolescents’ reports of both ethnic affirmation and belonging ( $\alpha = .84$ ) and ethnic identity achievement ( $\alpha = .78$ ). In the current study, comparable high reliability was observed for the adolescents’ ethnic affirmation and belonging ( $\alpha = .81$ ), however, internal consistency for ethnic identity achievement was moderate ( $\alpha = .68$ ).

Studies with adults have also found high internal consistency for the ethnic affirmation subscales of the MEIM. Kester and Marshall (2003) found internal consistencies of .93 for Chinese mothers’ reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging, but they did not examine fathers’ reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Similarly high internal consistency has been found for ethnic affirmation and belonging ( $\alpha = .88$ ) with Chinese young adults (Dion & Dion, 2004). In the current study, the internal

consistencies for parent reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging were .84 for mothers and .74 for fathers.

*Chinese friends.* Adolescents' reports of their Chinese friends (i.e., amount of Chinese friends and frequency of contact with Chinese friends) were assessed using 7 items that were created for the IFS-ST1 study. Four items assessed *how many* of the adolescent's friends are Chinese (e.g., "How many of your friends that you study with are Chinese?"). The items were rated on a scale of 1 (*Almost none*) to 5 (*Almost all*). Three items assessed *how often* the adolescent spends time with other Chinese youth (e.g., "How often do you spend time with other Chinese kids at school?"). The items were rated on a scale of 1 (*Almost never*) to 5 (*Almost always*). The Cronbach's alpha for the seven items that assessed Chinese friends was .91.

*Parental warmth.* Parents' and adolescents' reports of parental warmth were assessed using 7 items that were created for an earlier IFS project (Su & Costigan, 2009). Items were scored on a scale ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 7 (*Always*). The items assessed parents' overt displays of affection, care, and concern from both parent and adolescent perspectives. For example, parents answered "Are you affectionate with your child?" and "When your child has troubles, do you comfort and help him or her?" Adolescents responded to parallel questions about their mother and father separately (e.g., "Does your mom [dad] smile at you?"). Parents' and adolescents' reports of parental warmth were combined calculating the average of mothers' reports and adolescents' reports of mothers' warmth, and the average of fathers' reports and adolescents' reports of fathers' warmth.

Previous studies using this measure of parental warmth have found high internal consistency ( $\alpha = .92$  for fathers,  $\alpha = .88$  for mothers,  $\alpha = .85$  for adolescent reports of fathers, and  $\alpha = .86$  for adolescent reports of mothers) (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). In the current sample, good internal consistencies were observed for mothers' ( $\alpha = .85$ ) and fathers' ( $\alpha = .85$ ) reports of parental warmth. Adolescent's reports of mothers' ( $\alpha = .89$ ) and fathers' ( $\alpha = .90$ ) warmth also showed good internal consistency. High internal consistencies were also observed when mothers' reports of parental warmth were combined with adolescents' reports of mothers' warmth ( $\alpha = .87$ ) and when fathers' reports of parental warmth were combined with adolescents' reports of fathers' warmth ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

*Presence of grandparents.* The presence of grandparents in the home was assessed using a table that asked parents to list all family members that lived in the home and describe the relationship of each with the target adolescent, the age and gender of the listed family member, and the number of months each resided with the family. A research assistant then examined the table to determine whether or not a grandparent was present in the household. The percentage of families in the current study that included a grandparent as a consistent family member was 12.6%, which is comparable to national studies (ranging from 10 to 13%, Citizen and Immigration Canada, 2005).

*Evidence supporting combination of samples.* Because the participants were recruited using two sampling methods, analyses were conducted to determine if the samples were comparable. Specifically, the two-thirds of the families that were recruited randomly through Malatest (random families) were compared with the remaining families

recruited through social network referrals (referred families). Independent samples t-tests were used to test for differences in all variables.

The adolescents from the referred families ( $M = 15.36$ ,  $SD = 1.81$ ) were significantly older than the adolescents from the randomly recruited families ( $M = 14.75$ ,  $SD = 1.60$ ),  $t(179) = -2.33$ ,  $p < .05$ . In addition, fathers of randomly recruited families ( $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = .86$ ) reported stronger goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Chinese culture,  $t(162) = 2.28$ ,  $p < .05$  compared to fathers who were referred to the project ( $M = 2.93$ ,  $SD = .91$ ). All other comparisons between referred and randomly recruited families on adolescents' gender, presence of grandparents, and reports of enculturation, ethnic identity, Canadian orientation goals, parental warmth, and perceptions of discrimination ( $n = 10$ ) were not significant. Thus, the randomly recruited sample and the referred sample were judged to be comparable and the samples were combined in subsequent analyses.

### Study 1: Correlates of Parental Enculturation

#### *Results*

##### *Preliminary analyses*

Preliminary analyses examined the factor structure of the scales created for this study and their psychometric properties. Next, country of origin differences in parents' reports of enculturation were examined and intercorrelations of the correlates with parental enculturation were computed.

The *Parental Enculturation Scale*. Factor analyses with Quartimax rotation was performed on the 12 items assessing parental enculturation (separately for mothers and fathers). Quartimax rotation is an orthogonal rotation that minimizes the complexity of

variables by increasing the loadings within variables and yields a solution where the first factor tends to be more general (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Because the Parental Enculturation Scale was designed to assess a *single* construct, that of parents' enculturation efforts, a Quartimax rotation was a better fit for the items than other orthogonal rotation techniques such as the Varimax rotation which maximizing variance of the loadings on each factor and tends to yield more than one factor (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

For both mothers and fathers, a two factor solution was identified. The rotated factor loadings of all items for mothers' and fathers' reports on the enculturation scale are presented in Table 1. The initial eigenvalue for the first factor was 5.90 with 49.17% of the variance explained for mothers and 6.55 with 54.64% of the variance explained for fathers. Mothers' reports on the item "encourage your child to speak Chinese" did not contribute significantly to the factor structure and had a loading of .30 on the first factor. All remaining items for mothers' responses and fathers' responses loaded onto the first factor with factor loadings above .46. Two items loaded on both the first factor and a second factor (i.e., "talk about the importance of respecting one's elders" and "talk about the importance of family") for both mothers and fathers. The eigenvalue for the second factor was 1.04 explaining 8.65% of the variance for mothers and 1.23 explaining 10.27% of the variance for fathers. These two items specifically address the key Chinese value of filial piety and thus, may be related and load onto a second factor. Nonetheless, the results suggest that they load equally well on the first factor.

Because the item on encouraging adolescents to speak Chinese did not contribute strongly to the first factor for mothers, it was removed to form an 11-item scale. The 11-

Table 1

*Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analyses and Quartimax Rotation of Two Factors from the Parental Enculturation Scale*

	Mothers		Fathers	
	Factor	Factor	Factor	Factor
	1	2	1	2
Participate in cultural events	.53	.04	.55	.16
Important and famous Chinese people	.74	.01	.78	.06
Proud to be Chinese	.69	.06	.78	.12
Encourage your child to speak Chinese	.30	.02	.52	.17
History of Chinese in Canada	.76	.08	.79	.05
Stories and myths from Chinese culture	.69	.04	.80	.04
Importance of respecting elders	.60	.51	.58	.60
Importance of family	.56	.68	.46	.73
Time you spent in country of origin	.62	.18	.75	.06
Accomplishments of Chinese people	.86	.02	.84	.09
Reasons for maintaining Chinese heritage in Canada	.78	.01	.79	.09
Successful Chinese Canadians in your community	.74	.13	.77	.15

item scale assessing mothers' enculturation ( $M = 3.57$ ,  $SD = .66$ ) continued to show good reliability for mothers reports,  $\alpha = .91$ , compare to  $\alpha = .91$  for the 12 item scale. The 11-item scale for mothers' enculturation was highly correlated with 12-item scale,  $r = .99$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, in order maintain equivalence in the assessment of mothers' and fathers'

enculturation efforts, the full 12-item scale was used in subsequent analyses. Based on these results, there is sufficient evidence that the 12 items are interrelated and form one scale.

The scale assessing parents' *Cultural Orientation Goals* for their adolescents was also created for the Intercultural Family Study. The scale was designed to assess parents' goals for their own cultural orientation and their goals for their adolescents to be oriented to both the Chinese and Canadian culture. The current study used only parents' reports of their goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Chinese and Canadian culture. Factor analyses with Varimax rotations were performed on the eight items assessing parents' cultural orientation goals for their adolescents (one for mothers and one for fathers). Varimax rotations simplify the factors by maximizing the loading within each factor and tend to yield more than one factor (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). A two factor solution was identified in the analyses for both mothers and fathers. The factor loadings are presented in Table 2. Factor loadings and communalities for the eight items were reviewed. For both mothers and fathers, the four items assessing parents' goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the *Chinese culture* had factor loadings above .50 on Factor 1, and communalities above .30. The initial eigenvalue for this factor was 3.92 for mothers with 43.57% of the variance explained, and 4.53 for fathers with 50.30% of the variance explained. The five items assessing parents' goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the *Canadian culture* had factor loadings above .60, and communalities above .40 on the second factor for both mothers' and fathers' reports. The initial eigenvalue for this factor was 2.14 for mothers with 23.77% of the variance explained, and 2.09 for fathers with 23.27% of the variance explained. These results provided

Table 2

*Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analyses and Varimax Rotation of Two Factors from Parents' Responses on the Cultural Orientation Goals Scale*

	Mothers		Fathers	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Identify strongly as Chinese	.09	.80	.12	.82
Participate in Chinese traditions	.12	.86	.21	.86
Speak Chinese	.17	.58	.30	.53
Follow traditional Chinese values	.16	.77	.12	.81
Develop a strong identity as Canadian	.73	.25	.74	.21
Have good relationships with Canadians	.78	.18	.87	.18
Participate fully in Canadian culture	.73	.15	.91	.19
Adopt values of Canadian culture	.80	.07	.77	.09
Understand the way most Canadians think	.69	.04	.82	.003

sufficient evidence that the items on the acculturation goals scale form two distinct scales that are consistent across mothers' and fathers' responses—one assessing parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals and the second assessing parents' Canadian cultural orientation goals.

*Psychometric properties and mother-father differences in scales.* Means, standard deviations, minimums, and maximums of scores on parents' enculturation, parents' ethnic identity, parents' Chinese and Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents, and parents' perceptions of discrimination are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

*Means, Standard Deviations, Minimums, and Maximums of Parents Responses on variables in Study*

	Mothers				Fathers			
	M	SD	Min	Max	M	SD	Min	Max
Enculturation <sup>a</sup>	3.63	.63	2.17	5.00	3.50	.68	1.33	5.00
Ethnic Identity <sup>b</sup>	3.04	.44	1.60	4.00	3.01	.39	1.60	4.00
Chinese Orientation Goals <sup>a</sup>	3.09	.86	1.00	5.00	3.15	.89	1.00	5.00
Canadian Orientation Goals <sup>a</sup>	3.74	.66	1.80	5.00	3.90	.70	1.00	5.00
Reports of Discrimination <sup>a</sup>	1.95	.70	1.00	4.67	1.94	.69	1.00	4.67

<sup>a</sup> Response scale 1 to 5

<sup>b</sup> Response scale 1 to 4

The skewness and kurtosis of parents' and adolescents' reports on each of the variables in the study were compared against zero, with the alpha levels set at  $p < .01$  (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Values of skewness that were greater than .463 and values of kurtosis that were greater than .926 indicated non-normal distributions. In general, the distribution of mothers' and fathers' reports on their enculturation, ethnic identity, Chinese and Canadian orientation goals, and perceptions of discrimination were normally distributed, with few notable exceptions. Fathers' responses on the ethnic identity measure showed a more narrow range of distribution, but the scores were not positively or negatively skewed. Fathers' Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents were significantly negatively skewed (skewed towards high scores) and leptokurtic (peaked). A reflect and square root transformation was used to produce normality. Finally,

the distribution of scores for fathers' perceptions of discrimination was positively skewed (skewed towards low scores) and leptokurtic (peaked). Square root transformations produced normality for fathers' perceptions of discrimination. Analyses involving transformed variables were run with the transformation and without the transformation. The results did not differ, and the analyses using the non-transformed variable are reported for ease of interpretability.

Paired samples t-tests examining differences between mothers and fathers in their enculturation efforts, ethnic identity, and Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals for their adolescents showed that mothers and fathers reported significantly different levels of enculturation,  $t(160) = 2.49, p < .05$  only.

*Differences in reports of enculturation, and Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals by family background variables.* The correlations between parents' age, length of residence in Canada and education level and their enculturation efforts were examined. Neither mothers' nor fathers' enculturation efforts were related to their age, length of residence in Canada, or educational level.

Enculturation efforts based on parents' country of origin (i.e., mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan) and current city of residence (i.e., Vancouver or Victoria) were compared using one-way ANOVAs. The analyses revealed no significant effect of fathers' country of origin on their enculturation efforts. Mothers' enculturation efforts differed significantly according to their country of origin,  $F(2, 173) = 6.94, p < .01$ . Post hoc analyses revealed that mothers from mainland China ( $M = 3.74, SD = .61$ ) reported engaging in more enculturation compared to mothers from Taiwan ( $M = 3.42, SD = .53$ ) and Hong Kong ( $M = 3.33, SD = .65$ ). There were no significant differences between the

mothers from Taiwan and Hong Kong in their enculturation efforts. Reports of enculturation between families living in Victoria and Vancouver did not differ for mothers or fathers.

Results of analyses examining the intercorrelations of mothers' and fathers' enculturation are presented in Table 4. As shown on the diagonal of Table 4, mothers' and fathers' reports of ethnic identity were significantly positively related to each other and mothers' and fathers' reports of Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals for their adolescents were not significantly related.

Table 4

*Intercorrelations between mothers' and fathers' responses on the correlates of parental enculturation*

	Ethnic Identity	Chinese Orientation Goals	Canadian Orientation Goals
Ethnic Identity	<b>.30***</b>	.47***	.15*
Chinese Orientation Goals	.40***	<b>.08</b>	.29***
Canadian Orientation Goals	.07	.35***	<b>.10</b>

*Note.* Mother-father correlations are presented on the diagonal; correlations for mothers' correlations are presented above the diagonal; correlations for fathers' correlations are presented below the diagonal

<sup>a</sup> < .10, \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Mothers who endorsed Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents also endorsed more Canadian orientation goals and a stronger sense of ethnic identity. Fathers who reported higher Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents also reported more Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents and a stronger sense of ethnic identity. The relation between mothers' (but not fathers') endorsement of Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents and their ethnic identity was significant.

*Study 1 main analyses: The direct relations and moderated relations between parental ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and enculturation.*

Hierarchical regression analyses were used to examine direct and moderated relations between parent ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals and parents' enculturation efforts. Following the procedures of Aiken and West (1991), parents' ethnic identity, cultural orientation goals, and perceptions of discrimination were centred around the mean of each variable. Adolescents' age and gender and the presence of grandparents in the household were entered in the first step. A dummy code was used to categorized gender (0 = male, 1 = female) and presence of live-in grandparents (0 = no live-in grandparent; 1 = at least one live-in grandparent). Parents' ethnic identity, Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and reports of discrimination were entered in the second step. Moderating relations were examined by entering interactions between the parents' ethnic identity and each hypothesized moderator (Step 3a) or the interactions between parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and each hypothesized moderator (Step 3b). Examination of tolerance and collinearity statistics revealed that none of the tolerances approached zero, the last condition index was not greater than 30, and no dimension had more than one variance

proportion greater than .50 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Therefore, multicollinearity and singularity were not problematic in the current regression analyses.

*Direct relations between parental ethnic identity and parental cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and enculturation.* As shown in Table 5, adolescents' gender and age, and the presence of live-in grandparents were not directly related to parents' enculturation efforts. Both mothers',  $\beta = .32, p < .001$ , and fathers',  $\beta = .21, p < .01$ , ethnic identity were significantly positively related to their enculturation efforts. Mothers' feelings of ethnic identity accounted for 10% of the variance in their enculturation efforts and fathers' feelings of ethnic identity accounted for 15% of the variance in their enculturation efforts. As expected, the more mothers and fathers reported feeling a strong sense of ethnic identity, the more enculturation efforts they reported engaging in with their adolescents.

Consistent with hypotheses, mothers' goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the *Chinese culture* was significantly positively related to their enculturation efforts,  $\beta = .31, p < .001$ , and accounted for 8% of the variance in mothers' enculturation efforts (see Table 5). Similarly, fathers' goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Chinese culture were significantly positively related to their enculturation efforts,  $\beta = .39, p < .001$ , and accounted for 15% of the variance in fathers' enculturation efforts. Consistent with hypotheses, as mothers and fathers reported higher goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Chinese culture they also tended to report engaging in more enculturation with their adolescents. Interestingly, mothers' goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the *Canadian culture* were not significantly related to their enculturation efforts. However, fathers' goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Canadian culture were

Table 5

*Hierarchical Regressions Predicting Parent Enculturation from Parent Ethnic Identity and Cultural Orientation Goals as Moderated by Adolescent Gender, Adolescent Age, Live-In Grandparents, and Perceptions of Discrimination.*

Variable Entered	Mothers <sup>a</sup>				Fathers <sup>b</sup>			
	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>	β	sr <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>	β	sr <sup>2</sup>
Step1 (control)	.01				.002			
Adolescents' Gender			.06	.004			.04	.002
Adolescents' Age			.06	.003			-.02	.000
Live-In Grandparents			-.07	.004			.001	.000
Step 2	.29	.28***			.38	.37***		
Parent Ethnic Identity			.32***	.10			.21**	.05
Chinese Goals			.31***	.08			.39***	.15
Canadian Goals			.09	.01			.20**	.05
Chinese x Canadian Goals			.24*	.07			.02	.001
Reports of Discrimination			.06	.003			.03	.003
Step 3a	.28	.000			.37	.000		
Ethnic Identity x Gender			-.07	.003			-.08	.004
Ethnic Identity x Age			-.09	.01			-.002	.000
Ethnic Identity x Grandparents			.04	.002			-.02	.001
Ethnic Identity x Discrimination			-.002	.000			.04	.002

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Step 3b	.29	.02		.40	.03	
Chinese Goals x Gender			.01	.000		.08 .004
Chinese Goals x Age			-.08	.008		.05 .003
Chinese Goals x Grandparents			.07	.001		.11 .01
Chinese Goals x Discrimination			.03	.006		-.18* .04

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<sup>a</sup>  $n = 170$  <sup>b</sup>  $n = 161$ .

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

significantly positively related to their enculturation efforts,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $p < .01$ , and accounted for 5% of the variance in their enculturation efforts. The fathers who had more goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Canadian culture made greater enculturation efforts.

Interaction terms between the centred values for mothers' and fathers' Chinese and Canadian orientation goals were computed to examine how parents' Canadian cultural orientation goals affect the relations between their Chinese cultural orientation goals and their enculturation efforts. The interaction between mothers' Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals was significantly positively related to their enculturation efforts,  $\beta = .24$ ,  $p < .01$ , and accounted for 7% of the variance in mothers' enculturation efforts. The interaction between fathers' Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals was not significantly related to their enculturation efforts.

The significant interaction between mothers' Chinese and Canadian orientation goals and their enculturation efforts was probed according to steps outlined by Aiken and West (1991). Specifically, the association between mothers' Chinese cultural orientation

goals and their enculturation efforts was evaluated at high (one *SD* above the mean) and low (one *SD* below the mean) levels of Canadian cultural orientation goals. The results of these analyses were plotted at two *SD* above and below mean reports of mothers' enculturation efforts. As shown in Figure 3, mothers' higher Chinese cultural orientation goals were significantly positively related to greater enculturation for mothers who also held relatively higher Canadian orientation goals ( $\beta = .62, p < .001; sr^2 = .22$ ). Chinese cultural orientation were less strongly related to their enculturation efforts, when mothers held relatively lower goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Canadian culture ( $\beta = .21, p < .05; sr^2 = .03$ ).

Parents' reports of discrimination were also entered in step 2, however, contrary to hypotheses, both mothers' and fathers' reports of discrimination were not significantly related to their enculturation efforts.

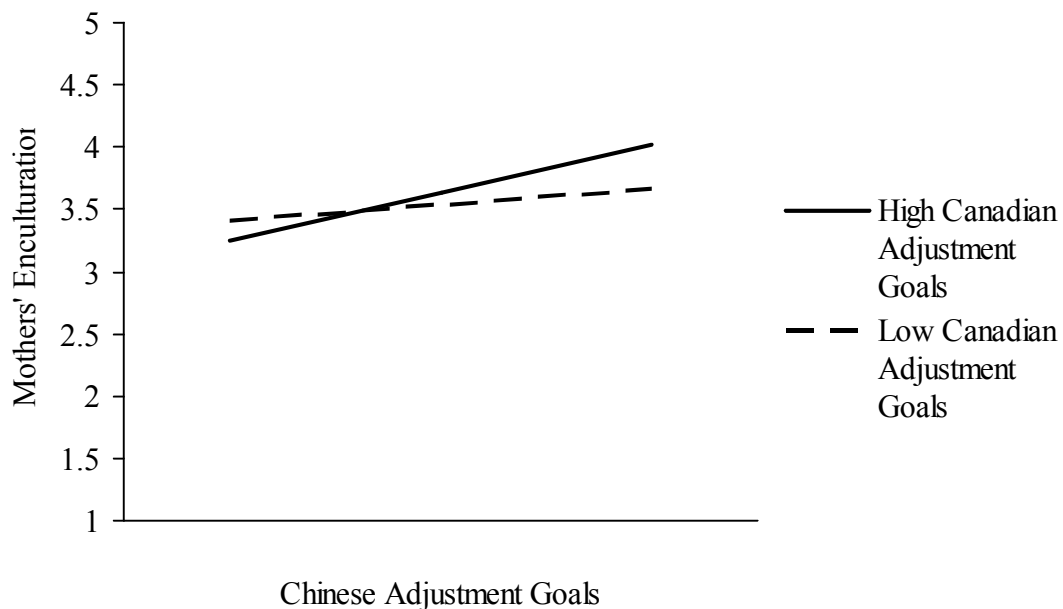
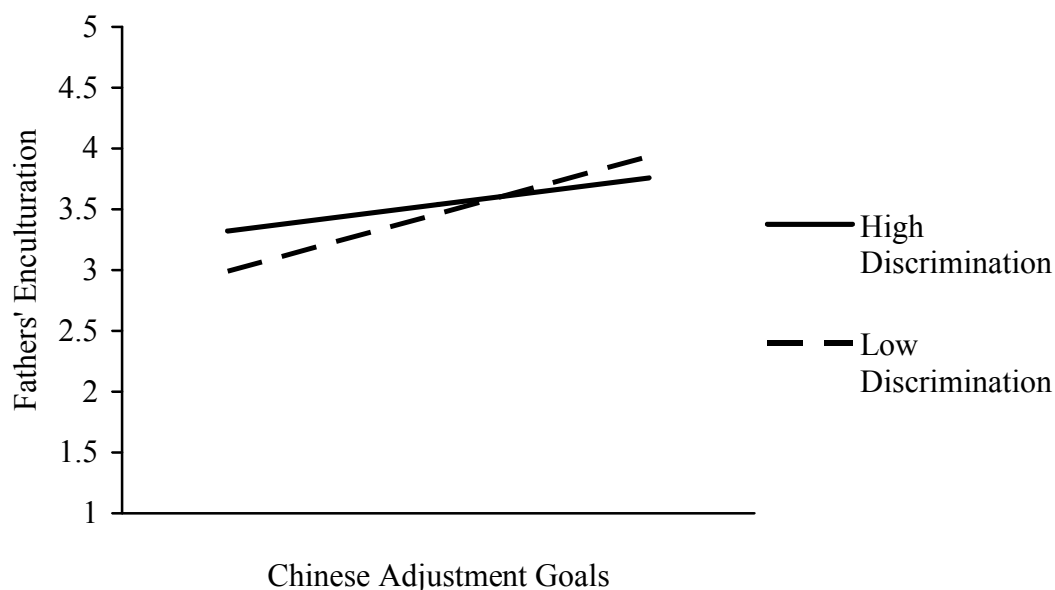


Figure 3. Interaction between mothers' Chinese and Canadian cultural orientation goals in predicting mothers' enculturation.

*Moderators in the relations between parental ethnic identity and enculturation.* In order to examine the moderating role of adolescent gender, adolescent age, the presence of live-in grandparents, and parents' perceptions of discrimination the cross-product between each moderator and parents' ethnic identity were obtained and entered in the third step. As shown in step 3a of Table 5, adolescent gender and age, the presence of grandparents, and parents' perceptions of discrimination did not moderate the relations between parents' ethnic identity and their enculturation efforts.

*Moderators in the relations between parental Chinese cultural orientation goals identity and enculturation.* As shown in Step 3b of Table 5, adolescents' gender and age and the presence of grandparents did not moderate the relations between parents' Chinese cultural orientation goals and their enculturation efforts. Mothers' perceptions of discrimination also did not moderate the relations between their Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. In contrast, fathers' perceptions of discrimination moderated the relations between their Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. The significant moderated relation was probed according to previously described steps outlined by Aiken and West (1991). As shown in Figure 4, fathers' Chinese cultural orientation goals were significantly positively related to their enculturation when they reported perceiving higher levels of discrimination ( $\beta = .22, p < .01; sr^2 = .05$ ). Fathers' Chinese cultural orientation goals were also significantly positively related to their enculturation efforts when they reported perceiving lower levels of discrimination, but to a greater degree ( $\beta = .47, p < .001; sr^2 = .29$ ). This finding is contrary to predictions.



*Figure 4.* Fathers' experiences of discrimination as a moderator in the relations between fathers' Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents and fathers' enculturation efforts.

## Study 2: Predictors of Adolescents' Ethnic identity

### *Results*

#### *Preliminary analyses*

The first purpose of these preliminary analyses was to examine the psychometric properties of the scales used in the second study. Second, I tested for differences in reports of adolescents' ethnic identity related to key family background variables. Next, I examined the intercorrelations among predictors of adolescents' ethnic identity and finally, I tested differences in key variables for the random and referred samples.

*Psychometric properties of the scales.* Means, standard deviations, minimums, maximum, skewness and kurtosis of the distribution range of scores on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging, parental warmth,

Chinese friendships, and adolescents' perceptions of discrimination are presented in Table 6.

The reports by parents or adolescents of all study variables were approximately normally distributed. Examination of skewness and kurtosis statistics revealed that adolescents' reports of perceived discrimination were positively skewed (skewed towards low scores). A square root transformation was used to increase normality for these scores. Analyses using the transformed variable were run twice, once with the transformation and once without the transformation. The results did not differ, and the analyses using the non-transformed variable were reported for ease of interpretability.

Table 6

*Means and standard deviations for the all variables in Study 2*

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Ethnic Identity Achievement	2.74	.48	1.00	4.00
Ethnic Affirmation and Belonging	3.17	.50	1.20	4.00
Mothers' reports warmth	5.77	.70	3.86	7.00
Fathers' Reports Warmth	5.49	.73	3.86	7.00
Adolescent on Mothers' warmth	5.25	1.09	1.71	7.00
Adolescent on Fathers' warmth	4.91	1.25	1.71	7.00
Combined Fathers' Warmth	5.16	.88	1.71	6.93
Combined Mothers' Warmth	5.50	.74	3.14	6.93
Chinese Friends	3.43	1.02	1.00	5.00
Reports of Discrimination	1.78	.78	1.00	4.67

*Differences in reports of ethnic identity by background variables.* The purpose of the current analyses was to examine if adolescents' reports of ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging were related to key family background variables. The background variables that were the focus of the current analyses were adolescents' length of residence in Canada, adolescents' age at immigration, and adolescents' current city of residence.

Mean scores of adolescents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging were significantly higher than the mean reports of their ethnic identity achievement,  $t(179) = 13.43, p < .001$ . These two aspects of ethnic identity were also significantly correlated,  $r = .63, p < .001$ .

As shown in Table 7, adolescents' length of residence in Canada and age of arrival in Canada were not significantly correlated with their ethnic identity achievement or ethnic affirmation and belonging with one exception. Older age of immigration to Canada was correlated with higher ethnic identity achievement.

Table 7

*Correlations between Ethnic Identity and Adolescents' Length of Residence in Canada and Age of Arrival in Canada*

	Length of Residence in Canada	Age of Arrival in Canada
Ethnic Identity Achievement	-.12	.18*
Affirmation and Belonging	.03	.03

\*  $p < .05$

There were no significant differences in adolescents' ethnic identity achievement or ethnic affirmation and belonging for adolescents living in Victoria compared to those living in Vancouver.

Correlations were used to examine the relations among the predictors of adolescents' ethnic identity. As shown in Table 8, older adolescents were less likely to have a grandparent living in their home with them and experienced less parental warmth (based on the average of adolescents' and parents' reports of parental warmth). Age was also associated with more Chinese friendships and more perceptions of discrimination. Girls had more Chinese friendships compared to boys. Mothers' and fathers' warmth was significantly positively correlated. Interestingly, the correlations also revealed that more parental warmth was associated with less perceived discrimination by adolescents.

Table 8

*Intercorrelations between the Predictors of Adolescents' Ethnic Identity*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Adolescent Age	--	-.04	-.15*	-.21**	-.14 <sup>a</sup>	.23**	.29***
2. Adolescent Gender		--	.02	.003	-.04	.17*	-.04
3. Presence of Grandparent			--	.02	.06	.04	-.12
4. Mothers' Warmth				--	.55***	.06	-.28**
5. Fathers' Warmth					--	.03	-.23**
6. Chinese Friendships						--	.09
7. Reports of Discrimination							--

<sup>a</sup> < .10, \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

*Mother-father differences in enculturation and its relations with adolescents' ethnic identity.* Two approaches to evaluating the relations between mother-father differences in enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity were examined. In the first, a difference score was calculated by subtracting fathers' enculturation reports from mothers' enculturation reports. This method allows one to examine the relations between the *direction* of mother-father enculturation differences and adolescents' ethnic identity. High positive scores indicated that mothers engaged in more enculturation compared to fathers, high negative scores indicated that fathers engaged in more enculturation compared to mothers, and scores around zero indicated that mothers and fathers were similar in their enculturation efforts. The mean difference score suggests that mothers and fathers were generally similar in their enculturation efforts, with mothers reporting slightly more enculturation compared to fathers,  $M = .15$  ( $SD = .75$ ). Mother-father differences in enculturation varied from -2.08 to 2.00 (possible range from -4.00 to 4.00). Skewness and kurtosis statistics revealed that parental enculturation differences were approximately normally distributed. Controlling for adolescents' age of arrival in Canada, parent enculturation differences calculated in this manner were not related to adolescents' ethnic identity achievement,  $r(157) = .05$ ,  $p = ns$ , or adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging,  $r(159) = .02$ ,  $p = ns$ .

The second method for calculating differences in enculturation was to compute the absolute value of the difference between mothers' enculturation reports and the fathers' enculturation reports. This method allows one to examine the relations between the *magnitude* of parental difference in enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity. Mothers and fathers did not differ greatly in their enculturation efforts when the absolute

value of the difference was examined,  $M = .59$ ,  $SD = .49$ . The absolute difference scores ranged from .00 to 2.08 (possible range from .00 to 4.00). Partial correlations controlling for adolescents' age of arrival revealed that the absolute value of mother-father differences in enculturation was not related to adolescents' ethnic achievement,  $r(157) = .10$ . However, there was a significant positive correlation between the absolute value of parental enculturation differences and adolescents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging,  $r(159) = .20$ ,  $p < .05$ . In other words, adolescents of parents who were more discrepant in their enculturation efforts reported higher feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging compared to adolescents of parents who were less discrepant in their enculturation efforts, regardless of the direction of difference. The absolute value of parental enculturation differences was used in subsequent analyses. Using parental enculturation differences that maintain the direction of difference may wash-out potential findings because the parents reporting parental enculturation differences are spread out at the end of positive differences and negative differences. Combining parents who report high parental enculturation differences regardless of direction increases the number of parents who report parental enculturation differences and consequently may enhance the power in detecting the role of parental enculturation in adolescents' ethnic identity.

*Study 2 main analyses: The direct and moderated relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' Chinese friendships and ethnic identity.*

Hierarchical linear regressions were used to examine the direct relations among parental enculturation, parental enculturation differences, and adolescents' Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity (see Figure 2). Following the procedures of Aiken and West (1991), the correlates were centred around the mean for each variable.

Adolescents' age and gender and the presence of live-in grandparents were entered in the first step. Adolescents' age and gender and the presence of live-in grandparents were also examined as moderators in the final step. Parental enculturation efforts, parental enculturation differences, adolescents' Chinese friendships, parental warmth, and adolescents' perceptions of discrimination were individually entered in the second step. Interactions between parental enculturation and each moderator (i.e., adolescent gender, adolescent age, live-in grandparents, parental warmth, and adolescents' perceptions of discrimination) or interactions between adolescents' Chinese friendships and each moderator were then entered in the final step. In order to compare the strength of the relations between the correlates and enculturation efforts for mothers compared to fathers, correlations coefficients were transformed to z-values (Fisher, 1921) and contrasted using Fisher's z-test. Based on the significant correlations between some of the predictors of ethnic identity, collinearity statistics were examined in the main regression analyses to check for multicollinearity of the predictors of ethnic identity. Examination of tolerance and collinearity statistics revealed that none of the tolerances approached zero, the last condition index was not greater than 30, and no dimension had more than one variance proportion greater than .50 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Therefore, multicollinearity and singularity were not problematic in the current regression analyses.

*Direct relations between parental enculturation and numbers of Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity.* As shown in step 1 of Table 9, adolescents' gender,  $\beta = .17, p < .05$  and age,  $\beta = .18, p < .05$ , were significantly positively related to adolescents' reports of *ethnic identity achievement*, accounting for 6% of the variance in reports of ethnic identity achievement. As expected, girls reported stronger sense of

ethnic identity achievement compared to boys, and older adolescents had a stronger sense of ethnic identity achievement. Contrary to expectations, the presence of live-in grandparents was not related to adolescents' reports of ethnic identity achievement.

As shown in step 2 of Table 9, mothers' enculturation efforts were significantly positively correlated with adolescents' ethnic identity achievement,  $\beta = .18, p < .05$ , accounting for 3% of the variance in adolescents' reports of ethnic identity achievement. Similarly, fathers' enculturation efforts were significantly positively correlated with adolescents' ethnic identity achievement,  $\beta = .17, p < .05$ , accounting for 3% of the variance in adolescents' reports of ethnic identity achievement. Consistent with hypotheses, as mothers and fathers reported engaging in more enculturation, adolescents reported a stronger sense of ethnic identity achievement. Mothers' use of parental warmth was significantly positively related to adolescents' ethnic identity achievement,  $\beta = .17, p < .05$  accounting for 3% of the variance in adolescents' reports of ethnic identity achievement. As expected, as mothers reported using more warmth in their parenting, adolescents' reported higher ethnic identity achievement. However, fathers' use of parental warmth was not related to adolescents' reports of ethnic identity achievement. Adolescents' reports of discrimination were significantly and positively related to their ethnic identity achievement in regressions that involved mothers' enculturation and parenting,  $\beta = .25, p < .01$ , accounting for 6% of the variance in reports of ethnic identity achievement, and in regressions that involved fathers' enculturation and parenting,  $\beta = .23, p < .01$ , accounting for 5% of the variance in reports of ethnic identity achievement. Consistent with hypotheses, the more discrimination adolescents reported the stronger their sense of ethnic identity achievement.

Table 9

*Hierarchical Regressions Predicting Adolescents' Ethnic Identity Achievement from Parental Enculturation and Chinese Friendships as Moderated by Adolescent Gender, Adolescent Age, Live-In Grandparents, Parental Warmth, and Perceptions of Discrimination*

Variable Entered	Mothers <sup>a</sup>				Fathers <sup>b</sup>			
	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>	β	sr <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>	β	sr <sup>2</sup>
Step1 (control)	.06				.06			
Adolescent Gender			.17*	.03			.17*	.03
Adolescent Age			.18*	.03			.18*	.03
Live-In Grandparents			-.01	.000			-.01	.000
Step 2	.18	.12*			.16	.11*		
Parental Enculturation			.18*	.03			.17*	.03
Enculturation Differences			.05	.003			.08	.007
Chinese Friendships			.10	.01			.11	.01
Parental Warmth			.17*	.03			.13	.02
Reports of Discrimination			.25**	.06			.23**	.05
Step 3a	.20	.02			.20	.03		
Enculturation x Gender			.06	.002			.02	.000
Enculturation x Age			-.11	.01			-.19*	.03
Enculturation x Grandparents			-.07	.005			-.04	.001
Enculturation x Warmth			.04	.001			.03	.001
Enculturation x Discrimination			.11	.01			.10	.01

Step 3b	.20	.02		.17	.01
Friends x Gender			-.04	.001	-.002 .000
Friends x Age			-.11	.01	-.09 .01
Friends x Discrimination			-.05	.003	-.05 .003

<sup>a</sup>  $n = 159$  <sup>b</sup>  $n = 159$ .

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Contrary to expectations, parental enculturation differences and adolescents' Chinese friendships did not contribute significantly to adolescents' reports of ethnic identity achievement.

As presented in step 3a of Table 9, adolescents' gender and age, the presence of grandparents, mothers' warmth, and adolescents' perceptions of discrimination did not moderate the relations between mothers' enculturation efforts and adolescents' reports of ethnic identity achievement. In analyses examining the moderators on the relations between fathers' enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement, only adolescents' age was found to be a significant moderator in the relations between fathers' enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. Probing the moderating relationship revealed that the relations between fathers' enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement were not significant among fathers of older adolescents,  $\beta = .06$ ,  $p = ns$ ,  $sr^2 = .003$ . Consistent with hypotheses, the relations between fathers' enculturation efforts and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement were stronger among fathers of younger adolescents,  $\beta = .27$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $sr^2 = .05$ . The findings are presented in Figure 5.

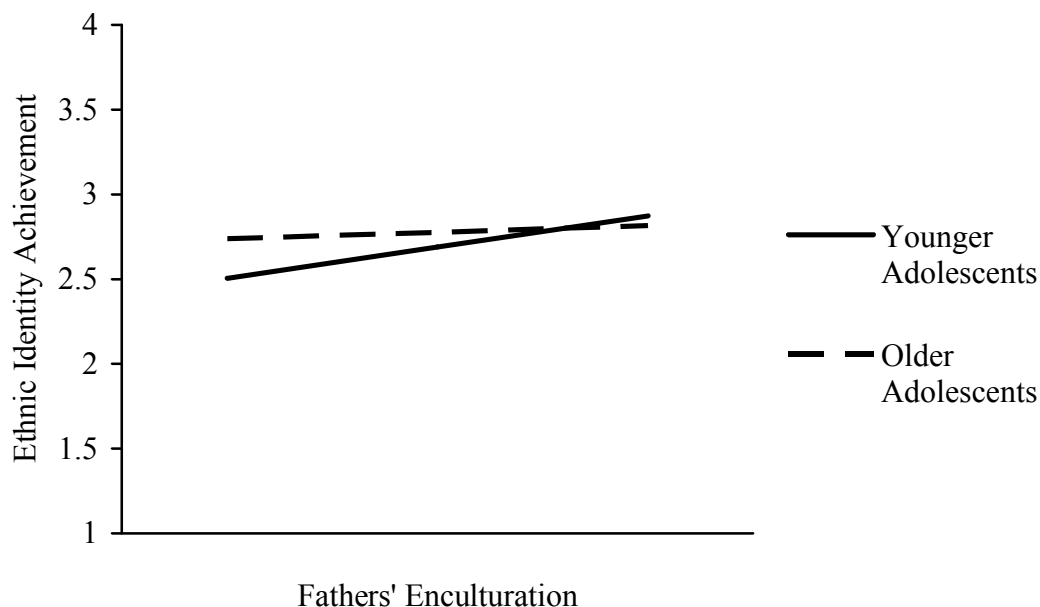


Figure 5. Adolescents' age as a moderator in the relations between fathers' enculturation efforts and adolescents' sense of ethnic identity achievement.

Contrary to expectations, adolescents' gender and age, and their reports of discrimination did not moderate the relations between adolescents' Chinese friendships and their reports of ethnic identity achievement (see step 3b of Table 9).

As shown in Table 10, adolescents' gender,  $\beta = .14$ ,  $p < .05$  and age,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $p < .05$  also contributed to adolescents' feelings of *ethnic affirmation and belonging* accounting for 6% of the variance in reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Consistent with previous findings, girls reported stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging than boys and adolescents' age was significantly positively related to adolescents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging. The presence of live-in grandparents did not contribute significantly to adolescents' feelings of ethnic affirmation

Table 10

*Hierarchical Regressions Predicting Adolescents' Ethnic Affirmation and Belonging from Parental Enculturation and Chinese Friendships as Moderated by Adolescent Gender, Adolescent Age, Live-In Grandparents, Parental Warmth, and Perceptions of Discrimination.*

Variable Entered	Mothers <sup>a</sup>				Fathers <sup>b</sup>			
	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>	β	sr <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>	β	sr <sup>2</sup>
Step1 (control)	.06				.06			
Adolescent Gender			.14*	.02			.14*	.02
Adolescent Age			.20*	.04			.20*	.04
Live-In Grandparents			.02	.001			.02	.001
Step 2	.16	.11**			.16	.10**		
Parental Enculturation			.09	.01			.12	.01
Enculturation Differences			.15*	.03			.17*	.03
Chinese Friendships			.17*	.03			.18*	.03
Parental Warmth			.16*	.03			.11	.01
Reports of Discrimination			-.03	.000			-.05	.002
Step 3a	.19	.02			.18	.03		
Enculturation x Gender			.14	.01			-.01	.000
Enculturation x Age			-.05	.002			-.14	.02
Enculturation x Grandparents			.10	.01			.03	.001
Enculturation x Warmth			.02	.000			-.003	.000
Enculturation x Discrimination			.10	.01			.13	.02

Step 3b	.18	.02	.17	.02
Friends x Gender		.04	.001	.07 .003
Friends x Age		-.13	.02	-.11 .01
Friends x Discrimination		-.04	.001	-.03 .001

<sup>a</sup>  $n = 158$  <sup>b</sup>  $n = 158$ .

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

and belonging. As shown in step 2 of Table 10, mothers' and fathers' enculturation efforts were not significantly related to adolescents' feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging when entered in the second step. However, differences between mothers and fathers in their enculturation efforts made a significant contribution to adolescents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging,  $\beta = .15, p < .05$ , accounting for 3% of the variance in reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Mothers' warmth was positively related to adolescents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging,  $\beta = .16, p < .05$ , accounting for 3% of the variance in reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging, but fathers' warmth was not. The number of Chinese friendships in adolescents' network was significantly positively related to their reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging in regressions equations for mothers,  $\beta = .17, p < .05$ , and for fathers,  $\beta = .18, p < .05$ . In both equations numbers of Chinese friendships accounted for 3% of the variance in adolescents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Contrary to expectations, adolescents' reports of discrimination were not significantly related to their feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging.

As presented in step 3a of Table 10, adolescents' gender and age, the presence of grandparents, maternal and paternal warmth and adolescents' perceptions of

discrimination did not moderate the relations between parents' enculturation efforts and adolescents' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging.

The relations between adolescents' Chinese friendships and their reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging also were not moderated by adolescents' gender and age, or their reports of discrimination (see step 3b of Table 10).

### Study 1: Predictors of Enculturation

#### *Discussion*

In study 1, I examined the direct and moderated relations of parents' ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals for their adolescents on parents' enculturation efforts and found that higher ethnic identity and Chinese and Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents by parents were associated with higher enculturation efforts. Below the specific ways in which parents' ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals may contribute to parents' enculturation efforts are discussed.

*Parents' ethnic identity.* Consistent with hypotheses and with previous research, the results from the current study suggest that parents who are highly identified with their ethnic background are also motivated to engage in enculturation and teach their children about their ethnic background (Hughes, 2003; Romero et al., 2000). A strong sense of ethnic identity may serve as a "cultural anchor" from which parents can persist in their enculturation efforts. Having a strong sense of ethnic identity may also suggest that parents highly value the importance of developing a sense of ethnic identity for their children and consequently, they may engage in enculturation in order to promote their children's ethnic identity development. Finally, parents who have a strong sense of ethnic identity may have more internal resources from which to engage in enculturation. For

example, parents who reported higher levels of ethnic identity may know more cultural traditions and stories about the Chinese culture and thus can create more opportunities for their children to engage in Chinese culture related activities.

*Parents' cultural orientation goals for their children.* Parents who highly endorsed *Chinese culture orientation goals* may be more likely to engage in enculturation because enculturation is a means by which parents can encourage their children to be oriented to the Chinese culture. Interestingly, parents' *Canadian cultural orientation goals* also played a role in their enculturation efforts. Fathers who endorsed high Canadian orientation goals were also highly likely to engage in efforts to teach and socialize their adolescents into the Chinese culture. Having high goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Canadian culture was associated with stronger relations between mothers' Chinese orientation goals and their enculturation efforts. Perhaps parents who strongly desire their children to be oriented to the Canadian culture and adopt Canadian practices and values may also be ensuring that their children not lose the practices and values of the Chinese culture by also engaging in high levels of enculturation. For example, immigrant Chinese parents may welcome their children's increasing mastery of English and encourage their children to learn about Canadian history through their school work. However, in order to ensure that their children continue to maintain their knowledge of Chinese language and traditions, these immigrant Chinese parents may engage in more enculturation as a result.

The current study also found that among mothers who hold high Canadian cultural orientation goals for their adolescents, there is a particularly strong positive relationship between their Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and

their enculturation efforts. Perhaps mothers who highly value Canadian cultural orientation are acutely aware of cultural orientation issues for their adolescents. This heightened awareness may subsequently potentiate the positive relations between mothers' Chinese orientation goals for their adolescents and their efforts to engage in enculturation. In contrast, mothers who have relatively lower goals for their adolescents to be oriented to the Canadian culture may be more mixed about their goals for their adolescents' cultural orientation. As a result, the relations between mothers' Canadian orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts, although they are positively related, are less strong. Contrary to my hypotheses, fathers' valuation of Canadian culture orientation goals for their children did not have a significant impact on the relations between their Chinese orientation goals for their children and their enculturation efforts. This is one of the few mother-father differences in examining the predictors of enculturation that was found in the current study.

#### *Mother-father differences in correlates of enculturation*

Previous literature has suggested that mothers hold the distinct role in Chinese families as the parent who is highly involved in childrearing and is the carrier of the culture in the family (Phinney, 1990; Phinney et al., 2001). In addition, Chinese mothers were also found to report stronger feelings of ethnic identity and endorse Chinese cultural values more highly than fathers (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Su & Costigan, 2009). As a result, mothers were expected to engage in more enculturation, have a stronger sense of ethnic identity, and hold more goals for their children to be oriented to the Chinese culture than fathers. However, the current study did not find differences between mothers and fathers in their reports of ethnic identity, and Chinese and Canadian culture

orientation goals. Mothers and fathers' ethnic identity were also highly correlated. These findings indicate that previous conceptions of mothers as the carriers of culture in Chinese families may be changing. Perhaps as the Chinese culture changes, with increasing intercultural contact through means such as the mass media, the role distinctions between mothers and fathers may become blurred. Indeed, recent research on the parenting of Chinese mothers and fathers revealed that the traditional notion of "strict father, kind mother" is no longer applicable as today's Chinese fathers are reportedly less strict compared to mothers (Shek, 2008). Given that traditional Chinese parenting roles may be changing, the findings among the parents in the current study may reflect the phenomenon that today's Chinese parents no longer adhere to traditional Chinese parenting roles. Furthermore, many of the families in the current study reported that both parents were working outside of the home. With mothers engaging in employment outside of the home, fathers may be called upon to become increasingly involved in childrearing responsibilities. Immigrant Chinese parents may also share the responsibilities of cultural socialization due to a perceived lack of resources for adolescents to learn more about their ethnic culture. For example, compared to the opportunities for Chinese adolescents in Canada to be exposed to Canadian culture, there are fewer opportunities to be exposed to the Chinese culture. Consequently, immigrant Chinese parents may hold similar levels of enculturation, ethnic identity, and Chinese cultural orientation goals in order to compensate for the relatively fewer opportunities for their adolescents to learn about their Chinese heritage after immigration. Thus, after immigration, the onus of cultural socialization of adolescents may no longer be placed on

mothers; rather, it may be frequently shared between mothers and fathers in modern immigrant Chinese families.

There were two exceptions to the general observed similarities between mothers and fathers. First, Canadian culture orientation goals moderated the relations between mothers' Chinese culture and their enculturation efforts, but did not moderate the same relations for fathers. Second, mothers' Canadian orientation goals and their ethnic identity were positively related, whereas fathers' Canadian orientation goals and their ethnic identity were not related. These mother-father differences may be a reflection of the different experiences and roles mothers and fathers have upon immigration, which may have an impact on their approach to cultural orientation both for themselves and for their adolescents. In a previous study of immigrant Chinese families living in Canada, Costigan and Su (2004) found mother-father differences in their approach to cultural orientation and proposed that such differences may be due to the extent to which the parents maintained ties with the family's country of origin and participated in interactions with the Canadian culture. The mothers in the current study may have less contact with individuals outside of the Chinese community compared to fathers. Due to the nature of mothers' childrearing duties and their jobs, mothers may have more opportunities to maintain contact with friends and family from their country of origin, but fewer opportunities to interact with the Canadian culture compared to fathers (Costigan & Su, 2004). As a result, mothers who highly emphasize Canadian cultural orientation for their children may become particularly aware of their sense of ethnic identity and feel their children's orientation to the Chinese culture is threatened. The mothers in the current study may have attempted to equalize their valuation of Canadian cultural orientation for

their adolescents by placing particular emphasis on their own sense of ethnic identity and relations between their valuation of Chinese culture orientation and their enculturation efforts.

For fathers, on the other hand, valuing Canadian culture orientation goals for their children may not be related to their sense of ethnic identity or moderate the relations between their Chinese culture orientation goals and enculturation efforts because fathers may have more experience with the Canadian culture as a result of the nature of their work and their role in the family. For example, fathers are likely the ones who interacted with immigration officials when the family was first immigrating. They also may have been the ones to contact cable, telephone, and electrical companies in setting up the home upon immigration. Having more experience with the Canadian culture may result in fathers being better able to move more frequently and readily between the Canadian and Chinese cultures compared to mothers (Costigan & Su, 2004). Having frequent contact with the Canadian culture and being able to move between Canadian and Chinese cultures may help fathers feel less threatened by their valuation of the Canadian culture and may result in greater independence between fathers' ethnic identity and Chinese culture orientation goals on the one hand and to be independent from their Canadian culture orientation goals on the other.

*The role of moderators in the relations between parents' ethnic identity and cultural orientation goals and their enculturation efforts.*

Only fathers' reports of discrimination moderated the relations between fathers' Chinese orientation goals and their enculturation efforts. More specifically, experiencing lower levels of discrimination enhanced the relations between fathers' Chinese cultural

orientation goals and their enculturation. Perhaps for fathers, experiencing less discrimination may indicate to them that Canada is accepting of their cultural background, which may further strengthen the relations between fathers' Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts. Experiencing more discrimination as a result of their day-to-day interactions with the Canadian culture may cause fathers to question the benefits of maintaining the Chinese culture in their adolescents and consequently temper the strength of the relations between fathers' Chinese cultural orientation goals for their adolescents and their enculturation efforts.

In contrast to the findings for fathers, the relations between mothers' Chinese cultural orientation goals and their enculturation efforts may not have been moderated by mothers' experiences of discrimination due to mothers having fewer experiences with the Canadian culture compared to fathers. Because mothers may be less likely to interact with individuals outside the Chinese community, they may view maintaining the Chinese culture as important regardless of their experiences of discrimination. For example, due to mothers' experiences with Chinese speaking service professionals, the benefits of maintaining the Chinese culture may be more salient for mothers compared to fathers. Mothers may view orientation to the Chinese culture as being advantageous to their adolescents who will be able to speak another language and thus be able to provide services to a wider range of clients. Thus, mothers may view strong orientation to the Chinese culture as being of benefit to their adolescents and consequently, continue to emphasize the importance of Chinese cultural orientation goals in their enculturation efforts regardless of their experiences of discrimination

The fact that there were few moderated findings supports Hughes' (2003) proposal that enculturation is a "proactive phenomenon." Immigrant parents are intrinsically motivated to engage in enculturation as an integrated part of their parenting. Parents' ethnic identity is a core aspect of parents' sense of self and parents' goals for their adolescents' cultural orientation are values parents hold toward their adolescents' development. These internally held sense of self and values are not easily changed by transient and external experiences such as adolescents' age, presence of grandparents, and discrimination. The current findings are similar to those of previous studies that have found that parents' childrearing ideas are based on their cultural values and are not easily malleable by external events such as parents' engagement in the new culture (Costigan & Su, 2008). Perhaps the process of teaching adolescents about their ethnic culture is better viewed as a constant process that is ever present in immigrant parents' interaction with their adolescents (Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), regardless of external factors, many of which may be temporary or fleeting. In the same way that changes in parents' childrearing ideas would require changes in parents' cultural values (Costigan & Su, 2008), changes in parents' enculturation efforts would require fundamental shifts in parents' own ethnic identity and goals for their adolescents.

The few moderated relations may also be attributed to the changing nature of Chinese families. Parents did not differentially engage in enculturation based on beliefs of who would carry on cultural traditions and who would be better able to understand cultural messages. Given the few sources of ethnic socialization upon immigration, immigrant parents may engage in enculturation regardless of their adolescents' age and gender in order to provide their adolescents with as many opportunities as possible to

learn about their ethnic culture as possible. Furthermore, policy changes such as the one child policy in China may have resulted in parents treating both sexes more equally and making the same cultural demands of their sons as they would their daughters.

Lack of moderation by live-in grandparents may reflect the minimization of grandparents in today's immigrant Chinese families. In a review of recent changes in the role of Chinese grandparents, Mjelde-Mossey (2007) proposed that demographic changes (e.g., one-child policy) and cultural changes (e.g. acquiring western values) may have reduced the status of grandparents in the family and limited the role of grandparents in areas of influence (e.g., childrearing). Qualitative interviews with immigrant Chinese American parents revealed that some immigrant parents perceived the involvement of grandparents in their childrearing as unfavourable (Tam & Detzner, 1998). More specifically, the Chinese American parents in the study viewed the parenting ideas of grandparents as running counter to the needs of the modern-era and impeding their children's development of personal autonomy—an attribute parents viewed as being important for their children's success in Western individualistic cultures (Tam & Detzner, 1998). Immigrant Chinese grandparents may also voluntarily reduce their involvement in their grandchildren's lives. In a qualitative study of immigrant Chinese American grandmothers, the participants reported a preference towards not interfering with the raising of their grandchildren (Nagata, Cheng, Tsai-Chae, 2010).

Finally, limitations of the current sample may also contribute to the few moderated relations. For example, the adolescents in the current study ranged from 12 to 17 years of age. Because younger children may have less awareness of ethnicity issues and more concrete understandings of ethnicity, the moderating role of adolescents' age

may be more clearly observed when younger children are included. Furthermore, relatively few families in the current study reported having a live-in grandparent. Only 23 (12.6%) families in the current study reported a grandparent as a consistent family member in the home, compared to 160 families who did not report having a live-in grandparent. This is consistent with previous research that suggests a majority of Chinese youth do not live in households with their grandparents. In a survey study of Chinese high school and university students living in two urban cities in China, about one third of students reported sharing their homes with their grandparents (Zhan, 2004). The proportion of families that reported having live-in grandparents was also comparable to census findings on the proportions of Chinese families in Canada who reported grandparents as permanent members of the household. In the 2001 Vancouver census, seniors aged 65 and over made up only 10% of the Chinese community, and of those, 16% of Chinese seniors lived with relatives, such as a son or daughter (Lindsay, 2001). In another examination of the 2001 Canadian census, only 10% of Canadian-born and immigrant Chinese youth under the age of 15, and 10% of Canadian-born and 13% of immigrant Chinese youth between the ages of 15 and 24 reported living in an extended family (Citizen and Immigration Canada, 2005). However, the small number of families that report having live-in grandparents in the current study may not be sufficient to detect group differences in reports of enculturation between families that have a live-in grandparent and families who did not. As seen in Table 6, based on the squared semi-partial correlation, the contribution of live-in grandparents suggested a small effect. Perhaps the findings may differ if there were more families with live-in grandparents and hence more power with which to detect group differences in enculturation.

## Study 2: Predictors of Adolescents' Ethnic Identity

### *Discussion*

In study 2, I examined direct and moderated relations of parents' enculturation efforts and the number of Chinese friendships on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging. More enculturation efforts from mothers and fathers, mothers' warmth, and adolescents' reports of discrimination all served to promote a stronger sense of ethnic identity achievement. Greater enculturation differences, having more Chinese friends, and higher levels of maternal warmth all contributed to promote stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging. The specific ways in which parental enculturation and Chinese friends contribute to adolescents' ethnic identity are discussed below.

#### *Parental Enculturation and Adolescents' Ethnic Identity*

Consistent with hypotheses and with previous research (e.g., Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Xu et al., 2004), more parental enculturation efforts contributed to a stronger sense of *ethnic identity achievement* among adolescents. Cultural knowledge is an important component in adolescents' development of a sense of ethnic identity achievement (Phinney, 1989; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Thus, parents who make conscious efforts to pass on their cultural knowledge may provide their adolescents with background information which adolescents may access in deriving a stronger sense of ethnic identity achievement. Having more knowledge of their ethnic culture due to parents' enculturation efforts may help immigrant Chinese adolescents reflect on the role of ethnicity in their identity and achieve a sense of ethnic identity. Furthermore, adolescents may also model themselves after their parents in their own ethnic identity

development. When parents actively engage their adolescents in ethnic culture conversations and practices, adolescents may subsequently internalize and model their ethnic identity achievement based on the extent to which their parents emphasize ethnicity in the household. Thus, having frequent conversations about the Chinese culture, routinely engaging in Chinese traditions, and consistently speaking Chinese in the home may encourage adolescents to feel that the Chinese culture is an important and integral part of who they are. As a result, Chinese adolescents may report a strong sense of ethnic identity achievement due to the strong presence of the Chinese culture in the home.

Both mothers' and fathers' enculturation efforts contributed to adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. This finding underscores the notion that today's Chinese mothers and fathers are increasingly sharing the task of cultural socialization. The involvement of fathers in the lives of children may reflect the increasing "westernization" of parenting as a result of the one-child policy, acculturation, and/or higher education levels (Chuang & Su, 2008; Chuang & Su, 2009). The current findings also suggest that Chinese adolescents learn from both mothers' and fathers' enculturation efforts in their ethnic identity achievement. It may be necessary for Chinese adolescents to learn from both parents because many Chinese adolescents in Canada have limited resources on which to draw from in learning about their ethnic culture and deriving a sense of ethnic identity.

Differences between mothers and fathers in their enculturation efforts were not related to Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. This finding suggests that having at least one source to draw from in learning and reflecting on their ethnic background may be sufficient for the Chinese adolescents to develop a sense of ethnic identity achievement. Greater discrepancies between parents' enculturation efforts were

associated with stronger feelings of *ethnic affirmation and belonging*. In developing a sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging, having parents who engage in differing levels of enculturation may promote a sense of choice and flexibility for adolescents. Perceiving choice and flexibility from parents regarding Chinese cultural retention may reflect well on the Chinese culture and contribute to more positive feelings towards the Chinese culture and being one of its members. Having parents who are similarly strong in their enculturation efforts may result in adolescents feeling that they have little choice when it comes to their feelings towards their ethnic belonging, and consequently engender negative feelings towards their ethnic culture and contribute to lower feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Likewise, parents who are similarly low in their enculturation efforts may provide fewer opportunities for their adolescents to feel good about being a member of their ethnic group because they are not regularly communicating with their adolescents about their ethnic culture and encouraging their adolescents to feel positive about their ethnic background.

*Moderators of the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity*

Adolescents' age moderated the relations between fathers' enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. As expected, there was a significant positive relationship between fathers' enculturation and younger adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. Compared to older adolescents, younger adolescents may require more parental instruction in developing a sense of ethnic identity achievement. Consequently, younger adolescents may need to rely heavily on both mothers' and fathers' enculturation efforts in achieving a high sense of ethnic identity achievement. For older adolescents,

who may have other sources of ethnic influence, fathers' enculturation efforts may become less important. Perhaps as adolescents become older, their views on the roles of fathers may change. For example, because fathers are more likely to work outside of the home and likely have more experiences with the Western society, adolescents may look more to fathers than mothers in other aspects of their development such as academic and career choices. The finding that adolescents' age did not moderate the relations between mothers' enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement suggests that the role of mothers' enculturation in adolescents' ethnic identity achievement may remain consistently important for youth across the period of adolescence. Perhaps mothers have a longer lasting role in adolescents' ethnic identity achievement because they are more likely than fathers to be the primary caregiving parent for adolescents (Chao & Tseng, 2002) and are more likely than fathers to have better parent-child relations with their adolescents (Kanatsu & Chao, 2008).

The few moderated findings underscore the importance of parents' enculturation efforts in the ethnic identity development of Chinese adolescents. Indeed, in a study of college age ethnic minorities, Juang and Syed (2010) found evidence that family cultural socialization remains salient past adolescence, well into the time when adolescents have left the home for post-secondary schooling. The findings from the current study suggest that having fewer Chinese people to learn from may result in adolescents making use of every cultural resource. Boys and girls may feel equally motivated to learn from their parents and feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic culture through their parents because they may perceive there are fewer individuals to teach them about their ethnic culture. Similarly, regardless of experiences of discrimination and parental warmth, adolescents

may continue to rely on their parents' enculturation in achieving a strong sense of ethnic identity as there are few cultural resources after immigration.

Demographic changes, such as parents having fewer children, and cultural changes that occur after immigration, such as parents adopting more Western ideas of parenting, may have contributed to the limited role of grandparents in the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity. Qualitative research has also found that some parents do not readily welcome grandparents' involvement, because they perceive the traditional ideas of grandparents as hindering children's acquisition of skills that would advance them in the new culture (Tam & Detzner, 1998). Conversations and interactions with grandparents may be separated by a large generational gap that renders cultural learning more difficult. The stories from the Chinese culture based on the grandparents' experiences in the home country may feel more foreign to the current generation of adolescents. For instance, grandparents may tell culturally related stories based on superstitions or cultural traditions that are no longer carried out by the parents' generation. Adolescents may not derive much cultural learning from such interactions with grandparents and as a result, the impact of grandparents on the relations between parental enculturation and adolescents' ethnic identity development may be minimal. In addition, having a grandparent living in the home may be viewed as a hindrance, and consequently, adolescents may not readily include grandparents as a resource in their ethnic identity development. Indeed, research on Chinese young adults' attitudes towards filial responsibility found that sharing the same household with grandparents and having dependent grandparents in the family were negatively associated with young adults' openness towards filial responsibility (Zhan, 2004).

Finally, limitations in the current study may also contribute to the non-significant moderating role of live-in grandparents. The current study assessed grandparent involvement by asking families if there is a grandparent living in the home. However, grandparents do not have to live in the home to influence the process of parental enculturation of adolescents' ethnic identity. For example, a grandparent could be highly involved in supporting the parents' enculturation efforts and could have close emotional ties to their grandchildren but not be living in the home.

#### *Chinese Friends and Adolescents' Ethnic Identity*

Consistent with findings from previous studies, the current study found that adolescents who reported having more Chinese friends reported stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging (Kiang et al., 2007; Xu et al., 2004). Having a large group of Chinese friends may provide adolescents with a group of social supports that enable them to feel positively about their ethnic background and consequently feel a stronger sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging. For example, having a large group of Chinese peers may allow the adolescent to speak Chinese, which may encourage them to feel a sense of belonging to the Chinese culture (Kiang & Fuligni, 2008; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Being able to speak about common ethnic cultural experiences may also contribute to Chinese adolescents' sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Same-ethnic friends may be better able to empathize with adolescents who are struggling with being an ethnic minority, which may help them feel less isolated and promote a positive sense of group belonging. In sum, having Chinese friends may provide Chinese adolescents with support when they do struggle with their sense of belonging and contribute to their positive feelings towards their ethnic group membership.

Contrary to expectation, having more Chinese friends did not support the ethnic identity achievement of Chinese adolescents in the current study. Having a large group of Chinese friends may slow down ethnic identity achievement because adolescents with more Chinese friends may not need to explore and contemplate the meaning of their ethnic group membership. In a study that focused specifically on ethnic identity achievement, ethnic identity exploration was found to increase when adolescents moved from ethnically homogenous elementary and middle schools to more ethnically diverse high schools (French et al., 2006). Thus, having more Chinese friends may not be related to adolescents' ethnic identity achievement because adolescents may be insulated within their ethnic culture and as a result may not need to readily engage in the processes that would result in a strong sense of ethnic identity achievement.

*Moderators of the relations between numbers of Chinese friends and adolescents' ethnic identity*

The relations between the number of Chinese friends and adolescents' ethnic identity were not moderated by adolescents' gender and age or their reports of discrimination. Chinese adolescents may need to rely on all the resources around them and consequently, the importance of Chinese friends in enhancing their sense of ethnic identity may not be easily influenced by adolescents' characteristics and experiences.

The lack of moderation by adolescents' gender and age may also reflect limitations in the current study and highlight directions for future research. My hypotheses on the moderating role of adolescents' gender and age were based on assumptions that friendships of girls and older adolescents were more supportive and nurturing (De Goede et al., 2009, Maccoby 1990). Experiencing more support and

nurturance from their Chinese friends was expected to enhance the relations between the number of Chinese friends and adolescents' ethnic identity. However, the current study did not directly assess adolescents' feelings of nurturance and support from their Chinese friends. Adolescents' age and gender are likely poor estimates of the quality of their Chinese friendships. Thus, it is more informative to examine how the *quality* of the Chinese friendships may impact the relations between the *quantity* of Chinese friendships and adolescents' ethnic identity.

*Ethnic Identity Achievement versus Ethnic Affirmation and Belonging*

The findings on the direct relations between parental enculturation, parental enculturation differences, Chinese friends, parental warmth, and adolescents' reports of discrimination and adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging highlight differences between the two aspects of ethnic identity.

The factors that were directly related to adolescents' *ethnic identity achievement* were factors that directly enhanced adolescents' ethnic knowledge and encouraged them to contemplate ethnicity issues in their identity development (i.e., parental enculturation and adolescents' experiences of discrimination). This finding suggests that developing a sense of ethnic identity achievement requires active awareness and deliberation. Having parents who make efforts to teach and socialize the adolescent into the Chinese culture may help adolescents understand more about how their ethnicity fits into their identity and prompt adolescents to learn about and reflect on their ethnic background. Experience of discrimination may bring the issue of ethnicity to the forefront and enhance adolescents' curiosity about their ethnic background. Encouraging adolescents'

awareness and knowledge about their ethnic background may contribute to a clearer understanding on the role of their ethnicity in their identity.

The factors that were found to influence adolescents' feelings of *ethnic affirmation and belonging* were enculturation differences between parents and the number of Chinese friends. These findings suggest that promoting a sense of flexibility and autonomy is important in the development of a strong sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Parental enculturation differences may provide adolescents with a family context that supports adolescents' flexibility to make their own choices on their feelings towards being a member of the Chinese ethnic group. When parents are similarly high or low in their enculturation efforts, adolescents may feel that they have little flexibility in terms of their ethnic group membership and consequently may feel less inclined to feel good about being a member of their ethnic group. Chinese friends provide adolescents with an alternative source from which to feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic culture separate from their parents.

### Conclusions and Implications

Developing a sense of ethnic identity is important to the psychological well-being of immigrant youth. Higher reports of life satisfaction and self-esteem, better academic achievement, and lower reports of negative psychological symptoms are all associated with higher reports of ethnic identity (Costigan et al., 2010; Kiang et al., 2006, Sam 2000; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). In addition, a strong sense of ethnic identity has also been found to ameliorate the negative psychological impact of lower achievement (Costigan et al., 2010) and increase immigrant or ethnic minority adolescents' network of social supports (Kiang et al., 2006; Oppedal et al., 2004). Thus, highlighting the factors that promote ethnic

identity development among immigrant youth is important in understanding how best to help these youth adapt to life as an ethnic minority in Canada.

Among studies of adolescents' ethnic identity development, parents have consistently been highlighted as important sources of cultural socialization for immigrant or ethnic minority youth (e.g., Collins et al., 2000; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006). However, little is currently known about why some parents emphasize cultural socialization more than others. Recent studies have found that parents' own experiences of cultural socialization may play a role in their enculturation efforts (Hughes et al., 2006; White-Johnson et al., 2010). In understanding adolescents' ethnic identity development, researchers are also increasingly emphasizing other factors in the adolescents' context that may directly impact adolescents' ethnic identity development or may do so indirectly by affecting the relations between parental enculturation and adolescent's ethnic identity (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006). Thus, through two studies, I attempted to better understand what may motivate immigrant Chinese parents to engage in enculturation and what other factors are important in Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity development.

The findings from the first study suggest that immigrant Chinese parents' decision to engage in enculturation may be *intrinsically motivated*. More specifically, parents' sense of ethnic belonging and their valuation of the importance for their children to be oriented to Chinese and Canadian cultures are parts of parents' concept of self and values. These internally held concepts and beliefs, in turn, may motivate parents to engage in enculturation. The fact that there were few moderated findings suggest that parents who are highly internally motivated to engage in enculturation may not wait until their

adolescent is of sufficient age and will do so regardless of their adolescents' gender or the presence grandparents in the home. Therefore, in understanding what motivates immigrant Chinese parents to engage in enculturation, the current study shows that parents' ethnic identity and goals for their adolescents' cultural orientation play important roles that are not easily modified by external factors. The findings from the first study also *dispel previous notions of traditional Chinese gender roles*. For example, mothers and fathers did not differ in their reports of enculturation and there were no significant differences in enculturation efforts between parents of boys and parents of girls. Thus, Chinese gender roles may not be as rigid as previously assumed (e.g., Phinney et al., 2001). Parents may engage in similar levels of enculturation and may not differ in their enculturation efforts based on the gender of their adolescent as a result of policy changes, such as the one-child policy in China, and the shortage of cultural resources upon immigration. Furthermore, with exposure to Western culture through the mass media, today's Chinese parents may be adopting the more egalitarian gender views of Westernized nations (Shek, 2008) and consequently, may be less rigid in their parenting roles and increasingly open to having similar expectations for both sons and daughters.

Factors that support adolescents' ethnic identity development, according to the findings from the second study, differ according to the aspect of ethnic identity being examined. The results of the second study suggest that opportunities for adolescents to *learn and think* about their ethnicity are associated with higher levels of ethnic identity achievement. More notably, experiencing direct teaching and encouragement from their parents through parental enculturation and increased awareness of their ethnicity through experiencing discrimination may enhance opportunities for adolescents to learn about

their culture and reflect on what it means to be a member of their ethnic group. In contrast, feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging were supported by factors that enabled more *autonomy and flexibility* for adolescents' feelings toward their ethnic group membership. Specifically, higher parental enculturation differences and having more Chinese friends may support adolescents' autonomy from parents and enable them to feel more positively towards their ethnic group membership without pressure from parents.

The few moderated findings further underscore the importance of parents in Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity development. Parents are key representatives and sources of knowledge for children of immigrants (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997). Immigrant families generally have fewer ethnic culture resources, which may potentiate the importance of the remaining sources of ethnic cultural knowledge. For example, with immigration, Chinese adolescents have fewer extended family members and limited Chinese youth with whom to socialize with. Thus, in order to learn more about their ethnic culture, they may rely on and even seek out the involvement of parents in their ethnic identity development. Consequently, the direct effects of parents' deliberate cultural teachings and the number of Chinese friends may be robust and withstand the impact of adolescents' gender and age, parental warmth, presence of grandparents, and adolescents' experiences of discrimination.

Overall, the current research illuminated what motivates some parents to engage in enculturation with their children, and illustrated that parents' enculturation efforts and the number of Chinese friends are of paramount importance to Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity development. Promoting ethnic identity development will in turn contribute to better psychological functioning for these immigrant youth. These findings

suggests that programs that help immigrant parents feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic group and assist them in reflecting on their goals for their adolescents and their values may ultimately have an impact on adolescents' ethnic identity development. Perhaps creating mentorship programs for new and established immigrant families may create opportunities for immigrant parents to feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic culture and for them to speak with each other about their goals for their adolescents. Having contact with other Chinese families may also help adolescents develop a stronger sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Programs within schools that provide opportunities for immigrant parents to become involved may ultimately promote immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development by encouraging parents to engage in enculturation. For example, actively recruiting the involvement of immigrant parents in schools may expose these parents to different cultures, which consequently may provide more opportunities for parents to reflect on their cultural orientation goals for their adolescents.

Promoting adolescents' ethnic identity achievement involves active reflection on part of the adolescents. Although perceiving discrimination may motivate adolescents to engage in a process of reflection on the meaning of their ethnicity, research has shown that experiencing discrimination can be associated with negative socio-emotional outcomes and lower academic functioning (Benner & Kim, 2009). In addition, experiencing and perceiving discrimination even at low frequencies may accumulate over time to have deleterious impacts on ethnic minority adolescents' development (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Thus, providing opportunities for adolescents to perceive discrimination is not a healthy way to promote Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity

achievement. Activities that encourage adolescents to discuss and reflect on what it means to be a member of their ethnic group may be a more healthy way to promote ethnic identity achievement because it enhances awareness of cultural differences without the sense of cultural exclusion that often accompanies discrimination.

#### Limitations and Future Directions

Although the current research contributes to the understanding of enculturation and ethnic identity development, some limitations and caveats are noted. First, like most studies about enculturation and cultural socialization, the findings in this study were based on correlations, and thus, causal conclusions cannot be drawn. For instance, it was assumed that high levels of parental enculturation encouraged stronger feelings of ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging among adolescents. However, it is also possible that parents of adolescents who report stronger feelings of ethnic identity may engage in more parental enculturation because their adolescents are already interested in identifying and learning more about their ethnic culture. The direction of the relationship between parental enculturation and ethnic identity could be better assessed by following the participants across time to determine if changes in parents' enculturation efforts also result in changes in adolescents' reports of ethnic identity.

In addition, in analyses involving grandparents there were unequal sample sizes for group-level comparisons. Examination of the squared semi-partial correlation indicated a small effect. Although the variance in each group was comparable, the smaller sample size may not have been sufficient in detecting relationships with small effect sizes. Thus, including a larger sample of families with grandparents in future studies is necessary determining whether or not live-in grandparents had a significant

impact on parents' enculturation efforts and the ethnic identity development of Chinese adolescents.

The current study only examined one side of the cultural orientation process; namely, the study focused on adolescents' ethnic identity development. However, cultural orientation is not a linear process. Previous research has shown that it is important to consider orientation to the new culture in conjunction with orientation to the ethnic culture (Costigan & Su, 2004; Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, & Wong, 2002). In fact, research suggests that successful identity development for immigrant adolescents involves the creation of a bicultural sense of self, in which the adolescent feels attachment and competence in both cultures (Sam, 2000). Solely focusing on Chinese adolescents' ethnic identity development only enhances understanding in one aspect of their cultural orientation. It is important to consider Chinese adolescents' identification with the Canadian culture along with their identification with the Chinese culture. For example, Yip (2009) found that equally salient Chinese and American identities were associated with better mood among Chinese college age students. Future studies on the ethnic identity of Chinese adolescents should involve simultaneous examinations of their Chinese identity as well as their Canadian identity in order to better understand how parents and friends affect the development of these two aspects of their identity.

The current study focused on ethnic identity development among adolescents between the ages of 12 to 17. However, ethnic identity develops well into adulthood and substantial literature exists that focuses on the ethnic identity development of college age students (e.g., Juang & Nguyen, 2010; Juang & Syed, 2010; Yip, 2009). Furthermore, Chinese adolescents pursue autonomy at a later age (Fuligni, 1998) and consequently, the

impact of parents may remain salient until the adolescent leaves the household for post-secondary education. This is consistent with the findings from the current study in which the amount of Chinese friends was not significantly related to adolescents' ethnic identity achievement. Perhaps the role of Chinese friends in adolescents' ethnic identity achievement may be more readily detected in future studies with Chinese college age students who may experiences less parental enculturation than Chinese adolescents still living in the home.

Finally, the current study consisted of two separate parts. The first examined the predictors of parental enculturation, while the second examined the predictors of adolescents' ethnic identity achievement and ethnic affirmation and belonging. Examining the full model from the predictors of parents' enculturation to adolescents' ethnic identity development is a direction for future research that may further contribute to the growing knowledge on how immigrant Chinese families adapt after immigration.

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## Appendix A: Parent Background

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Birth: Month \_\_\_\_\_/Day \_\_\_\_\_/Year \_\_\_\_\_

How long have you been married? \_\_\_\_\_ years

What is the highest level of education you have completed? (check one)

\_\_\_\_\_ Elementary (Grade 6)

\_\_\_\_\_ Junior High (Grade 8)

\_\_\_\_\_ High school (Grade 12)

\_\_\_\_\_ Vocational school or college

\_\_\_\_\_ 4-year University

\_\_\_\_\_ Graduate/ Professional

Are you currently employed? No \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_

When did you immigrate to Canada? Year \_\_\_\_\_ Month \_\_\_\_\_

Where did you emigrate from?

Mainland China \_\_\_\_\_ Taiwan \_\_\_\_\_ Hong Kong \_\_\_\_\_

What is the name of the city or region that you emigrated from? \_\_\_\_\_

Was the region you emigrated from: Urban \_\_\_\_\_ Rural \_\_\_\_\_

Were you and your spouse married before you immigrated to Canada? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B: Adolescent Background

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Birth: Month\_\_\_\_\_/Day\_\_\_\_\_/Year\_\_\_\_\_

Gender (circle one)    Male            Female

Grade level in school: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C: Enculturation Scale

**Enculturation – Parent****How often do you ...**

	<b>Never</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Some- times</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Very often</b>
1. Encourage your child to participate in cultural events	1	2	3	4	5
2. Tell your child about important and famous Chinese people in history	1	2	3	4	5
3. Tell your child to be proud to be Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
4. Encourage your child to speak Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
5. Tell your child about the history of the Chinese people in Canada	1	2	3	4	5
6. Tell your child stories or myths from the Chinese culture	1	2	3	4	5
7. Talk to your child about the importance of respecting one's elders	1	2	3	4	5
8. Talk to your child about the importance of family	1	2	3	4	5
9. Tell your child about the time you spent in your country of origin	1	2	3	4	5
10. Tell your child about the accomplishments of the Chinese people	1	2	3	4	5
11. Talk to your child about the reasons for maintaining your Chinese heritage in Canada	1	2	3	4	5
12. Tell your child about successful Chinese Canadians who live in your community	1	2	3	4	5

### Appendix D: Goals for Adolescents' Cultural Orientation

There are many different ways to live in Canada and everyone have different goals.

How important is it to you that **YOUR CHILD**:

	<b>Not Important at all</b>	<b>A little Important</b>	<b>Of Medium Importance</b>	<b>Quite Important</b>	<b>Of Great Importance</b>
1. Identify strongly as Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
2. Participate in Chinese traditions	1	2	3	4	5
3. Speak Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
4. Follow traditional Chinese values	1	2	3	4	5
5. Develop a strong identity as Canadian	1	2	3	4	5
6. Have good relationships with Canadians	1	2	3	4	5
7. Participate fully in Canadian culture	1	2	3	4	5
8. Adopt the values of Canadian culture	1	2	3	4	5
9. Understand the way most Canadians think	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix E: Experiences of Discrimination

*In general, how often do you experience the following?*

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1. How often do people dislike you because of your ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
<hr/>					
2. How often are you treated unfairly because of your ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
<hr/>					
3. How often have you seen friends treated badly because of their ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5

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## Appendix F: Ethnic Identity Measure

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or *ethnic* groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Indo-Canadian, Chinese, Black, First Nations, and White. Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two groups, but people differ in how important their *ethnicity* is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4
4. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4
5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	2	3	4
6. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	1	2	3	4
7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.	1	2	3	4
8. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4
9. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
10. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	1	2	3	4
11. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
12. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group	1	2	3	4

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13. I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4
14. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music or customs.	1	2	3	4
15. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4
16. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
17. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4
18. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	1	2	3	4

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## Appendix G: Chinese Friends

How often do you spend time with *other Chinese kids*...

	<b>Almost never</b>	<b>Not very often</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Quite a bit</b>	<b>Almost always</b>
at school	1	2	3	4	5
in your free time	1	2	3	4	5
in organized activities	1	2	3	4	5

About your *friends*:

	<b>Almost none</b>	<b>A few</b>	<b>Some</b>	<b>A lot</b>	<b>Almost all</b>
a) How many of your close friends are Chinese?	1	2	3	4	5
b) How many of your friends that you study with are Chinese?	1	2	3	4	5
c) How many of your friends that you can talk to about things that are bothering you are Chinese?	1	2	3	4	5
d) How many of your friends that you participate in extracurricular activities with are Chinese?	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix H: Parent reports of parental warmth

Please circle the number that best indicates how you relate to your child and what kind of expectations you have of him or her.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Never</b>	<b>Almost never</b>	<b>Not often</b>	<b>About 1/2 of the time</b>	<b>Fairly often</b>	<b>Almost always</b>	<b>Always</b>

Are you affectionate with your child?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you enjoy talking things over with your child?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you feel you understand what your child is really like?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When your child has troubles, do you comfort and help him or her?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Are you cheerful when your child is with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you feel satisfied with the relationship you have with your child?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you smile at your child?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix I: Adolescent reports of parental warmth

Please circle the number that best indicates how your **MOM** and **DAD** relate to you and what kind of expectations they have of you.

<b>1= Never</b>	<b>2= Almost never</b>	<b>3= Not often</b>	<b>4= About 1/2 of the time</b>	<b>5= Fairly often</b>	<b>6= Almost always</b>	<b>7= Always</b>
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	<b>MOM</b>							<b>DAD</b>						
1. Does your parent smile at you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Do you feel satisfied with the relationship you have with your parent?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Is your parent affectionate with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Do you think your parent enjoys talking things over with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Do you feel your parent understands what you are really like?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. When you have troubles, does your parent comfort and help you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Is your parent cheerful when he/she is with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

