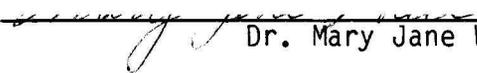


AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Phyllis S. Lee for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Counseling presented on April 25, 1983  
Title: Intraethnic Diversity: An Exploratory Study of Ethnic  
Identity of Chinese American Adolescents

**Redacted for Privacy**

Abstract approved:

  
Dr. Mary Jane Wall

The purpose of the study was to explore the ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents through the investigation of relationships between ethnic identity and selected demographic, sociocultural, and psychological characteristics.

Data were obtained from 106 Chinese American youth between the ages of 14 and 21 through the use of two instruments designed for the study. Three dimensions of ethnic identity were measured by subscales of the Sinoethnic Identity Scale. Demographic, sociocultural, and psychological data were obtained from the Background Information Survey.

The strongest ethnic identities were found in the traditional, or core, dimension which was comprised of fundamental values, customs, and traditions. Weaker ethnic identities were exhibited in the intermediate, or familial, dimension which was responsible for the transmission of the ethnic culture as well as the preparations for interfacing the larger society. It was suspected that this dimension held the greatest potential for intercultural and intragenerational

conflicts for Chinese American adolescents. The neutral stance taken in the societal dimension suggested two divergent interpretations: students may be exhibiting ambivalent feelings toward their ethnic identities within the scheme of life, or students may have come to terms with the notion of bicultural identities.

Step-wise multiple regression was used to analyze the data. School achievement emerged as the most significant variable in the traditional dimension, suggesting that a Chinese heritage may not ensure school success, but school success contributed to the definition of being Chinese. In the familial dimension it was found that the gender of the subject was the most important variable. Subjects appeared to be highly socialized into ethnically appropriate sex roles, although there were indications of disagreement with the actual practice of these roles. Church attendance was identified as the most significant variable of the societal dimension. Those who attended church exhibited stronger agreement with ethnically appropriate social behaviors and expressed preferences for social activities and relationships within the ethnic community.

The findings indicated that ethnic identity was a multidimensional aspect in the lives of Chinese American youth. The three dimensions that comprised Chinese ethnic identity appeared to be differentially affected by demographic, sociocultural, and psychological phenomena. It was also speculated that there was a relationship between the acknowledgement and expression of ethnic identity and historical and contemporary social, economic, and political conditions of society.

The range of intraethnic diversity expressed by Chinese American

adolescents suggested the need for reexamination of assumptions and expectations currently held by educational personnel. Recommendations for future research which might lead to the provision of educational policies and practices appropriate to Chinese American youth, a more informed understanding of the Chinese experience in the United States, and a greater understanding of the impact of ethnic identity in the lives of minority youth were presented.

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Intraethnic Diversity: An Exploratory Study  
Of Ethnic Identity of Chinese American Adolescents

by

Phyllis S. Lee

A THESIS

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INTRAETHNIC DIVERSITY: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY  
OF ETHNIC IDENTITY OF CHINESE AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

The ebb and flow of immigrants and refugees into the United States over the past two hundred years has maintained cultural and ethnic diversity within a monolithic social system. Despite time and circumstance, there is evidence that ethnic attachments have not been relinquished or diminished (Abramson, 1971; Greeley, 1969, 1974; Pavlak, 1976; Masuda, Matsumoto, & Meredith, 1970). A continuing influx of newcomers who espouse distinctive cultural traditions, values and beliefs, who speak a variety of languages, and in some cases, who bear distinguishing physical features have heightened the multicultural characteristics of this nation.

The growing number of different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups continues to substantially modify the composition of the population. This change has directly manifest itself in the educational system, compounding the complexity of tasks and responsibilities of counselors, teachers and administrators. Faculty and staff are challenged to assist the increasingly diverse student population in facing educational, psychological, social, economic, and political challenges. The kind of education ethnically and culturally different students receive has immeasurable impact on school achievement and how they well they can function within culturally divergent social systems. The unique characteristics and backgrounds these students bring to the learning process can support and enhance the development of skills which lead to productive school experiences

and quality existence as members of society (Castenada, James, & Robbins, 1974; Brown, 1978).

While there is a growing body of literature investigating the ethnic minority experience, it is only recently that the investigations have included an increasingly broader range of ethnic minority groups. Chinese Americans are among the least studied groups although they comprise one of the most rapidly increasing populations in the country. Over the last decade, the Chinese population in the United States increased by 85%, from 435,062 to 806,017, while the entire country increased by 11% (Bureau of Census, 1980). It is estimated that more than 50% of the 1980 Chinese population are foreign-born (Mark & Chih, 1982).

The cultural heritage brought to this country by the 18th and 19th century immigrants has been altered by time, environment, and circumstance. There are vast differences between the traditions, beliefs, and behaviors of their American-born descendants and those of recent immigrants. Moreover, there are differences between Chinatown residents and suburbanites, northern Chinese and southern Chinese, Catholics and Protestants, Christians and non-Christians, professionals and laborers, wealthy and poor. This diversity of background, language, class, values, and customs has not precluded a continuing perception of an ethnic homogeneity among the Chinese American population. Widely held images of a school-age population comprised of uniformly high achieving, well-disciplined, and academically motivated Chinese Americans are being mediated rapidly by the expanded diversity in demographic, sociocultural, and linguistic

characteristics. There is a wide range of behaviors relative to attitudes toward school, readiness for the educational process, and expected outcomes of schooling.

If both the population trends occasioned by the shift in immigration policies since 1965 and a concomitant rise in the Chinese American birthrate continue, it is very likely that migratory patterns will bring to many communities individuals whose familiarity is based on portrayal in the mass media. Population dispersion rather than the ghetto existence of Chinatowns create the potential for new and stressful intergroup relations. A significant increase of foreign-born youth is likely to bring to the educational system students with new and different educational needs which school districts may be ill-prepared to address. Changes in numbers and composition of the school-aged Chinese population in America create the need for studies which will assist responsible agencies and institutions in the development and delivery of appropriate policies and practices (Liu & Yu, 1975; Sue, D. W., 1973; Sue, D. W. & Sue, S., 1972).

Familiarity with diverse cultures and an understanding of the influence of ethnicity upon educational processes as well as the psychological growth and development of students are necessary for addressing the needs of the changing student body. However, studies examining the relationship of ethnicity to educational processes have been largely neglected. There is, however, a substantial body of literature on race. A review of literature examining studies of identification with ethnic groups revealed that there was a common

practice among researchers to treat race and ethnicity as interchangeable variables, overlooking the fact that race is only one of many other factors contributing to ethnic identity (Rice, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974).

The recent renewal of interest in ethnicity has resulted in studies which concluded that ethnic identity affects the learning process, the life of the student in the school environment, classroom interactions, and school-home communications (Gay, 1978a, 1978b; Leacock, 1968). Other studies have indicated relationships between ethnic identity and learning styles (Burgess, 1978; Castenada, 1974; Hale, 1978; Tong, 1978), personality development (Sue, D. W., 1973; Marsella, Walker, & Johnson, 1973), self concept (McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978; Zirkel & Moses, 1971), and school achievement (Mayeske, Ikada, Cohen, Beaton, & Wisler, 1973). A comprehensive review of educational, occupational and income data by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission (1978) delineated the relationships between ethnicity and the indicators of success in the United States.

In a study of elementary and junior high school students, the saliency of ethnicity was found to increase as the number of ethnic minority students decreased (McGuire et al., 1978). This finding has implications for school systems where there are sparse enrollments of ethnic minority students. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) reported that ethnicity was found to be more significant in the self concepts of minority students than in the self concepts of majority students. It has also been hypothesized that there is a positive relationship

between the importance of ethnic identity and age (Rice et al., 1974).

Literature on the use of counseling facilities by Chinese American adolescents is lacking. However, studies conducted with college age students by Sue, D. W. and Kirk (1972) revealed marked differences between Chinese and non-Chinese populations relative to rates of usage, purpose for seeking counseling, and reported outcomes of counseling. Studies investigating the use of mental health facilities disclosed that low rates of usage by ethnic clients was due to fear that their problems would not be understood and that they would not receive appropriate assistance (Padilla, Ruiz, & Alvarez, 1975; Sue, S., Sue, D. W., & Sue, D., 1975). High early-termination rates were attributed to ethnic clients' perceptions that counselors lacked sensitivity and used inappropriate communication styles (Sue & McKinney, 1974).

These data raise concern for a more informed perception of the influence of ethnic identity on personality development. The diligent efforts by students to become "100% Americans" and successful in the best American sense may be impressive, but there are questions as to the extent of identity loss and conflict associated with these accomplishments. Furthermore, there must also be an awareness of the various manifestations of identity conflict which surface in a society with a history of racist values and attitudes, whose ethnic minorities are devalued, and whose definition of diversity is "deficient" (Daniels & Kitano, 1970; Sherman, 1974). While prejudice and discrimination against Chinese Americans may appear to be less intense

and less overt than that practiced against other minorities, their effects are no less damaging.

Because of the determinant influence ethnicity has upon the whole developmental process and the attitudes and behaviors in school situations, the study of ethnic identity in adolescents is particularly critical and timely (Gay, 1978b). In addition to responding to intense psychological, social, and physical pressures and being involved with complex identity development tasks, minority students must also address the dimension of ethnicity in their lives. This dimension is manifest in varying degrees by a continuing subjective and objective attachment to racial and cultural heritage, including physical characteristics, kinship, language, values, attitudes, behaviors, and social patterns. According to Masuda et al. (1970):

In the search for self-identity, and the personal meaning that attaches to purposes and place in life, ethnic membership is an important factor in this self-crystalization of identity. (p. 204)

The role one's ethnicity plays in the scheme of life is, for some, perplexing but tolerable in the face of pressures brought about by living in a majority culture. Other individuals are able to sort out the viable elements of both the ethnic culture and the majority culture and integrate them into healthy bicultural personalities. Then there are those who cling to traditional values and attitudes. These individuals often experience high levels of stress that emanate from the cultural dissonance of living in a contemporary and alien society (Sue & Sue, 1974).

Because a dearth of information on Chinese ethnic identity as well as the lack of research with adolescents leaves teachers, counselors, and school administrators in a vacuum when addressing needs and concerns of Chinese American adolescents, it is proposed that a study exploring ethnic identity will assist in the development of an accurate portrayal of contemporary Chinese American youth. This information will assist educators and social scientists in developing appropriate interpretations of phenomena unique to this ethnic group.

Furthermore, it is proposed that such a study might encourage institutions and agencies which serve minority populations to reflect more appropriate policies and practices. For example, schools are in a unique position to provide supportive environments for ethnic minority students to develop an acceptance of their distinct characteristics as valuable and worthwhile components of their definitions of self. The findings of this study can contribute to the re-evaluation and revision of instructional practices and guidance and counseling services which are sensitive and responsive to the broad and diverse range of needs and interests present among the youth of an ethnic minority group. On a more global perspective, schools can play an important role in the development of an appreciation of the multicultural world through the actualization of the potential resources inherent in an ethnically diverse student body.

#### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to explore the ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents. Relationships between ethnic identity and

selected demographic, sociocultural and psychological characteristics were investigated.

This study is designed to answer the following questions:

1. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and the selected demographic characteristics (age, grade level, sex, nativity, citizenship status, and generational status)?
2. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and the selected sociocultural characteristics (religious preference, family structure, Chinese language proficiency, academic achievement, and socioeconomic status)?
3. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and selected psychological characteristics (self concept and future orientation as manifest by educational and occupational aspirations)?

Rather than focusing on traditional cause and effect relationships, this study is predicated on Bertrand Russell's contention that sequences between variables A and B (or S and R) can reflect "functional" relationships rather than only cause and effect. He writes:

Causes...do not compel their effects, anymore than effects compel causes. There is a mutual relation so that either can be inferred from the other.  
(p. 230, in Rychlak, 1968)

#### Significance of the Study

The educator can be the withholder as well as the giver of life. (Eiseley, 1962, p. 52)

A child goes to school to wonder. The school is where he enters the Anglo world with shy curiosity; it is a magical microcosm of society to

him. The teacher is his sorcerer, a mother who is worldly-wise, knowing all sorts of facts and magic, powerful as the policeman, but human as an aunt or uncle. In the beginning that is how school seems to a child. (Steiner, 1969, p. 213)

...multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and extensions of cultural alternatives. Multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. (American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, 1972)

For many decades, one of the major goals of education was to implement public policies designed to "Americanize" ethnic immigrants. Assimilation, or enfolding immigrants into the dominant culture, was promised as the reward for setting aside ancestral culture, language, and other symbols of ethnicity. In more recent times, the emerging ideology of cultural pluralism has been proposed as a more appropriate guide for implementing goals of education which acknowledge the cultural diversity inherent in this nation. Multicultural education acknowledges the integrity and dignity of cultural diversity, promotes an appreciation of the richness of ethnic backgrounds students bring to school, and ensures a more humane and productive school experience (Gay, 1978a; Krug, 1977; Castenada et al., 1974).

However, translating the philosophy of multicultural education into operational policies and practices is handicapped by the lack of knowledge about ethnic groups and their experiences as minority Americans. Even with an increasing number of studies investigating ethnic groups, there exists a relatively small number studying Chinese

Americans (Staples & Mirande, 1980; Liu & Yu, 1975). Review of the limited literature revealed a noticeable void in studies investigating Chinese ethnic identity as well as a lack of studies of the Chinese American adolescent (Sue, D. W., 1973; Sue, D. W. & Sue, D., 1975).

The lack of data has led to the use of a similarity-and-success theme as the basis for evaluating the status of an ethnic minority group. It has been asserted that the degree of similarity of one's beliefs, values, and behaviors to those of the dominant culture and the achievement of success as indicated by high educational attainment, occupational status, and commensurate income signified acceptance into the mainstream of American society (Kitano, 1974; Peterson, 1978). Chinese Americans are considered an example of an ethnic group fitting the theme by their appearance of having acquired the indicators of success and social acceptance. Some claim such success was the result of retention of ethnic values (Peterson, 1978) while others assert subordination or loss of ethnic identity was the high price of success (Chun, 1980; Endo, 1974).

Much of the scholarly literature and research which has provided glimpses of Chinese in America has emphasized their educational, economic, and social achievements. They are considered symbolic of a minority group's transcendence over a documented history of racism, prejudice, and discrimination (Lee, 1960; Hsu, 1971; Peterson, 1974, 1978). Peterson (1978) described Chinese as a minority group who:

broke through the barriers of prejudice and, by such key indices of education and income, surpassed the average levels of native-born whites. (p. 65-66)

According to Stone and deNevi (1971), possession of a "proud sense of noble and cultural heritage" contributed considerably to the economic and social successes (p. 369).

These themes were echoed by the popular press as an image of Chinese Americans as a "model minority" was being formed (Newsweek, 1971; U.S. News and World Report, 1966). U. S. News and World Report (1966) noted:

At a time when Americans are awash in worry over the plight of racial minorities...one such minority, the Nation's 300,000 Chinese-Americans, is winning wealth and respect by dint of its own hard work...an important minority pulling itself up from hardship and discrimination to become a model of self-respect and achievement in today's America...moving ahead by applying the traditional values of hard work, thrift, and morality. (pp. 73-76)

Cultural and ethnic proclivities, industriousness, uncomplaining perseverance, docile accommodation to prevailing social pressures, and replacement of ethnic attitudes and behaviors with those of the majority have been suggested as major factors contributing to economic success and social mobility (Hsu, 1971; Peterson, 1978; Sue and Kitano, 1973). Social and political observers also propose a concurrent theme that inasmuch as Chinese Americans, along with other Asian Americans, appear to have moved relatively easily through the requisite processes of assimilation despite extreme prejudice and discrimination, they are well-qualified to serve as models for other less successful minority groups to emulate (Endo, 1974; Kim, 1975; Kitano, 1971).

Assertions such as these have tended to obscure the full range of

social, economic, and political realities faced by the majority of Chinese as well as other Asian Americans. Conclusions that a high degree of success was representative of Chinese Americans as a group have been questioned when census data on educational achievement, occupational attainment, and income were analyzed and compared with those of the majority population (Chun, 1980; U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1978).

In the midst of conflicting and contradictory descriptions and conclusions in the literature and the limited availability of information and research, those who work with Chinese American students are faced with the challenge of providing appropriate developmental and learning experiences. Divergent views of educational, social and economic achievements and the assertions of related benefits and costs of such achievements suggest the need for exploring ethnic identity and the Chinese American adolescent. Awareness and understanding of the role of ethnicity is particularly significant to ethnic adolescents as they work toward the crystallization of healthy and functional identities.

#### Definition of Terms

The following definitions have been used in this study:

Ethnic group: a group characterized by combinations of such features as common geographic origin; race; language or dialect; religious faith; shared traditions, values, and symbols; literature, folklore and music; institutions that specifically serve and

maintain the group; an internal sense of distinctiveness; an external perception of distinctiveness; and ties that transcend kinship, neighborhood, and community boundaries (Thernstrom, 1980). Collectively, members share "a sense of peoplehood" (Gordon, 1964, p. 28).

**Ethnic minority group:** an ethnic group whose unique physical (racial) characteristics socially distinguish them, thereby enabling persons outside the group to easily identify its members. The group constitutes a numerical minority within the national population and is comprised of persons who are entirely or substantially non-European. The group and its members experience, or have experienced, institutional, cultural, and individual racism (Banks, 1975). A primary distinction between minority ethnic groups and white European-American ethnic groups is the matter of choice. Even though other indicators of ethnic identity may be transformed, cast aside, or new ones adopted, most nonwhites have no choice in the matter of not being perceived as ethnic because of their distinguishing physical features.

**Majority group:** the larger group, in terms of holding the major share of social, economic and political power as well as comprising the major portion of the national population. The group is also called the dominant group. Membership is comprised of white, and usually Anglo, Americans. Members are representative of the larger society and are generally referred to as Americans, in

contrast to identifying nonwhite Americans by their ethnic and racial identity.

**Ethnic identity:** a dimension of identity which represents a continuing subjective (individual) and objective (group) identification with, and/or attachment to, racial and cultural heritage, including such dimensions as physical features, kinship structures, language, food, social interaction patterns, values, beliefs, and attitudes (Gordon, 1964; Shibutani & Kwan, 1965, 1976).

**Nativity:** the place of birth, categorized as U. S.-born or foreign-born.

**Chinese American:** a person of Chinese ancestry who is, or has intentions to be, a citizen or permanent resident of the United States. The term applies to recent immigrants as well as descendants of earlier immigrants. Differentiating criterion among the foreign-born is the intent to gain permanent resident status or citizenship by naturalization. This definition does not include individuals who are temporary U. S. residents for purposes of education, business or pleasure, and who do not plan on seeking permanent resident or citizenship status.

**Chinese American adolescent:** a high school student in grades nine through twelve (freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior years) who is of Chinese ancestry by virtue of having at least one natural parent who is full-blooded Chinese, and who meets the description of Chinese American.

Foreign-born Chinese American adolescent: a student whose birth place is a country other than the United States.

Strength of ethnic identity: a measure of the extent of attachment to racial and cultural heritage, including physical features, kinship structures, language, food, social interaction patterns, values, beliefs, and attitudes, as measured by the subscales of the Sinoethnic Identity Scale.

#### Limitations of the Study

The following limitations of the study must be recognized:

1. The sample was not representative of the entire Chinese high school population because the criteria for participation required:
  - a. enrollment in a public high school in Portland, Oregon;
  - b. permission granted by parent or guardian;
  - c. full-blooded Chinese ancestry of at least one parent;
  - d. English language proficiency sufficient to respond to survey instruments.

Therefore, generalizations beyond the present sample can only be made on a hypothetical basis.

2. The accuracy of the responses may have been influenced by language difficulties related to immigrant status, bilingualism, or reading disabilities, despite the caution that was exercised in selecting the sample. Readability tests were applied to ensure that

instructions and items in the surveys did not require reading ability beyond the 7.5 grade level.

3. The variables influencing the testing situation may have affected the results of the data. Students were tested as a group at their respective high schools. The assembling of a visibly identifiable group of students may have influenced respondent behavior. The school environment, the test location, interaction between researcher and participants, and perceptions of the participants toward testing may also have influenced results.
4. The sex, age, occupational status, and ethnicity of the researcher may have introduced experimenter bias by influencing expectational sets of the participants.
5. The Sinoethnic Identity Scale developed for the purposes of this study carries cross-cultural implications. The traditional values, attitudes, and behaviors of a 19th century agrarian culture interface third and fourth generation values, attitudes, and behaviors evolved in an industrialized 20th century United States. The majority of current immigrants originate from a number of countries in Asia rather than only Hong Kong and the China mainland of pre-1965 immigrants. The limitations of cross-cultural comparisons over several generations warrant caution against the misuse and misinterpretation of the data.
6. The manner in which participants responded to the Sinoethnic Identity Scale may not accurately represent their true position on

the attitude statements. It was not possible to completely prevent or neutralize the possibility of response sets, that is, the tendency to reply to attitude scale items in a particular way independent of content (Oppenheim, 1966). Two response sets which were pertinent to this study because of their cultural implications were (a) "social desirability", which is the tendency to reply "agree" to those items believed to reflect socially desirable attitudes, thus casting the respondent in a more favorable light; and (b) "acquiescence", the tendency toward assent rather than dissent in responding to items (Oppenheim, 1966, p. 117). However, assurance of anonymity and confidentiality may have had some effect on reducing the likelihood of response sets.

#### Summary

Chapter I provided the context for the study. The influence of ethnic identity on the developmental and educational processes was described. Development of an ethnic identity was described as occurring concomitantly with the universal identity development tasks of adolescence. It was proposed that sensitivity to ethnic backgrounds of culturally different students can facilitate productive school experiences. Limitations of sparse and often conflicting data of a rapidly increasing population emphasized the significance of the study.

Research questions were presented. The definition of terms clarified their use in the study. Limitations of the study identified the variables which may have influenced the findings.

## II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### Introduction

Chapter II begins with a discussion of ethnic identity, followed by a description of the ethnic minority adolescent. A tentative model for exploring the ethnic identity of minorities in the United States is proposed. This presentation includes a narration of the Chinese experience in America, a schematic of past and present historical, social, political, and economic conditions affecting Chinese ethnic identity, and an examination of the proposed model. The chapter concludes with a discussion of variables related to the exploration of ethnic identity.

### Ethnic Identity

The content and meaning of ethnic identity has drawn special attention in the last two decades. In a contemporary society which has seen other social roles such as occupation and religion become more abstract and impersonal and less important in the scheme of life, ethnicity has emerged as a synthesizer of psychological and sociological dimensions of one's identity (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975). The resurgent interest in ethnicity by white ethnics has been attributed by Bell (1975) to the emergence of long suppressed "primordial feelings" associated with religious, linguistic, national, or communal groups. For ethnic minority persons in this country, ethnic identity has always been a conspicuous manifestation.

At the root of ethnic identity is the sense of ethnicity, or

the presence of a cultural heritage that influences attitudes, values, personality, and behavior, even if the people influenced are unconscious of the impact of past on present.  
(Greeley, 1976)

DeVos (1975) asserts that while ethnicity may be determined by how individuals feel about themselves, it cannot be defined without interaction with others. Therefore, it is not only how people define themselves, or the group with which they identify, but also how the larger society identifies them. Ethnicity is that which is individually (or subjectively) claimed and socially (or objectively) accorded (Isajiw, 1974).

Ethnicity is an extremely complex phenomenon. Thernstrom (1980) characterized it as being composed of a combination of 14 attributes, or features, which are expressed in varying combinations and by varying degrees according to the history and status of the group in the United States. A survey of the extant literature on ethnicity indicates that a list compiled by Thernstrom included the most frequently discussed attributes cited by social scientists (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975; Gordon, 1964; Greeley, 1974; Isajiw, 1974; Shibutani & Kwan, 1976). The critical attributes of ethnicity as articulated by Thernstrom (1980) include:

1. common geographic origin;
2. migratory status;
3. race;
4. language or dialect;
5. religious faith or faith;
6. ties that transcend kinship, neighborhood, and community boundaries;
7. shared traditions, values, and symbols;
8. literature, folklore, and music;
9. food preferences;
10. settlement and employment patterns;

11. special interests in regard to politics in the homeland and in the U. S.;
12. institutions that specifically serve and maintain the group;
13. an internal sense of distinctiveness;
14. an external perception of distinctiveness. (p. vi)

The definitive attributes of ethnicity, in varying combinations and by varying degrees, are expressed as ethnic identity. They provide the substance for self-identity and for group identification. They help answer the life-long questions of Who am I? from the individual's perspective, and Who are you? as posed by society. In addition to responding to psychological needs, ethnicity has been a significant force in the development of educational, social, political, and economic policies in the United States. The implementation of these policies have directly affected intergroup relations and the quality of life for ethnic minorities (Cafferty & Chestang, 1976; Greeley, 1974; Golladay & Noell, 1978; Kitano, 1974).

The literature contains a range of definitions and explanations for ethnic identity. Adorno (1950) described ethnic identity as an indication of ethnocentrism. More recently, researchers claimed that ethnicity was a critical factor in personality development that had received too little attention from social scientists (Kim, 1978; Morris, 1978; Sue, D. W. & Sue, D., 1976; Vontress, 1972), an assertion supported by the limited research in the literature.

From the sociologist's perspective, Gordon (1964) observed that the degree of ethnic identity was in direct proportion to the degree of assimilation or absorption of ethnic group members by the dominant society, and to the extent which members of ethnic groups were so

categorized. Whether or not a person identified himself or herself as an ethnic group member determines one's ethnic identity, according to Rose and Rose (1965). In their view, ethnic identity exists through associations with like individuals who reinforce the meanings and values of shared symbols through intragroup interaction. Barth (1969) pointed out that ethnic identity is developed and reinforced by others who identify individuals as belonging to one or another ethnic group whenever an ancestral link can be made. In this definition, an ethnic identity is attributed, regardless of one's degree of personal identification or attachment to cultural patterns.

Psychological theory suggests that ethnic identity is just one aspect of the total identity (Erikson, 1968). Kiefer, Clark, and Kaufman (1980) describe it as:

the sense of coherence, continuity, and social relatedness which the individual derives from the perception of himself as a member of an ethnic group. This ethnic component of the total identity is in constant interaction with other components, and is constantly subject to retesting as the individual develops throughout the lifecycle and as his milieu changes. (p. 6)

Allport (1976) perceives that ethnic identity is linked with attitude formation emanating from both in-group loyalty or ethnic group identification, and out-group hostility or prejudice. Erik Erikson (1968) proposed that for racial minority persons, the development of an ethnic or racial identity was an integral task in the development of identity. It was his contention that feelings of inferiority and self-hate were experiences resulting from racism, and that the defense mechanisms which were developed to contend with the negative feelings

exacerbated the problems associated with identity development.

From these descriptions, it may be concluded that ethnic identity is sociological and psychological in origin and interpreted within an anthropological context. As an aspect of the total identity, it contains:

a complementarity of past and future both in the individual and in society: it links the actuality of a living past with that of a promising future. (Erikson, 1968, p. 310)

Past cultural traditions and present sociological factors such as economic conditions and social political realities contribute to the definition of ethnic identity (DeVos, 1980).

Ethnic identity is a definition of the self in terms of individual and group identity. It is developed over time from the inherited and acquired characteristics of ethnicity. It takes on various meanings according to the situations and circumstances of one's life experiences as they are measured against the reference groups in one's immediate environment and in the larger society (DeVos & Romanucci-Ross, 1975).

#### The Ethnic Minority Adolescent

Adolescence is acknowledged as the critical period for the establishment of an identity, an awareness of self as an unique individual. Erikson (1959) has described adolescence as that critical period in the life cycle in which the identity takes shape against possible "role diffusion", when social roles must be consolidated in face of dramatic physical changes. If the redevelopment of childhood

ideals, models, and images do not evolve into more appropriate ones, the result is "identity diffusion", which threatens the development of an ethnic and sexual identity (Erikson, 1959, p. 90). Rather than limiting the search for an identity to answering the question, "Who am I?", Erikson (1968) argues that it is more fitting for youth to ask " 'What do I want to make of myself--and--what do I have to work with' "? (p. 314)

In addition to wrestling with the universal conflicts accompanying the transition from childhood to adulthood, ethnic minority adolescents face the resolution of issues related to an ethnic identity. Brody (1968) described an ethnic adolescent as one who must surmount the universal hurdles of adolescence while facilitating a transition of social roles beyond his or her ethnic world. There are simultaneous demands from the ethnic group and from society. The former seeks commitment to ethnicity and the latter expects transcendence of ethnicity accompanied by conformity to society's cultural norms. During the adolescent years, race and ethnicity become more salient in the actualization of values and attitudes, social behaviors, adult and peer relationships, and life and career aspirations (McGuire et al., 1978; Rice et al., 1974).

Intergroup comparisons of similarities and differences between minority youth and their counterparts become increasingly evident. Grier and Cobbs (1968) noted that the standard for beauty in America, blonde, blue-eyed, petite and white, was a basis for many of the problems associated with ethnic identity for young black women. This observation may be extended to other minority groups as well.

Interpersonal relationships become objects of scrutiny for their sexual implications (Gay, 1978a). Comparisons of sexuality between minority and majority that are based on stereotypes (for example, Black "stud," mysterious Oriental, "macho" Mexican) create dissonance in the process of identity development (May, 1976).

Another major consideration during adolescence involves the relationship of the individual to the group. Ethnic youth learn of their status in society by observing the effects of interactions between ethnic adults and the larger society (Liu & Yu, 1975). May (1976) asserts that the "melting pot" concept and related assimilation concepts have contributed to identity diffusion in some youth, heightening the problems related to being an ethnic and being an "American." These problems may take the form of shame and guilt about ethnic traditions, physical features, and family relationships.

Jersild, Brock, and Brock (1978) argue that for members of minority groups the task of establishing an ethnic identity is compounded by the effects of prejudice. It has been documented that Chinese Americans, for example, continue to be victims of covert and subtle discrimination which have had adverse effects on their lives (Liu & Yu, 1975; U. S. Civil Rights Commission, 1979; Wu, 1972). Despite efforts aimed at a just and equitable society, a disconcerting degree of racism exists. Racist behaviors which may begin with schoolyard taunts of "slant eyes," the sibilant "Ah so!," the "Ching-chong Chinaman" chants, and the sing-song of imitated language evolve into insidious social stratification primarily based upon physiognomy. Related social pressures lead to comparisons of the self

with the majority, culminating in the internalization of feelings of differentness and inferiority which are reinforced by individuals and institutions of the majority society (Kiefer, et al., 1970; Kitano, 1974; Sue, D.W., 1973). Erikson (1959) noted that harm to the "sense of identity" may result when the emergent adolescent perceives that skin color or parental background are the determinants of his or her worthiness. In Identity: Youth and Crisis (1968) he writes:

Where he finds out immediately, however, that the color of his skin or the background of his parents rather than his wish and will to learn are the factors that decide his worth as a pupil or apprentice, the human propensity for feeling unworthy may be fatefully aggravated as a determinant of character development. (p. 125)

There are psychological, social, and emotional implications in the development of a healthy and functional ethnic identity during adolescence (Bourne, 1979). According to May (1976), a healthy ethnic identity acknowledges and accepts one's own unique characteristics and considers them as valuable and worthwhile. If adolescents have not learned to accept who they are and what they represent, if they have not come to terms with themselves and achieved pride in their ethnic identity, developmental problems are compounded. Derbyshire (1966) postulated that pride in one's cultural heritage was an essential factor in reducing the crises of adolescent identity development. May (1976) concludes:

The challenge is to find a way for youth to come to terms with their background and heritage so that these contribute to a sense of positive, solid, useful identity--an identity not diffused, but solidly introjected as "me." (p. 56)

### A Model for Ethnic Identity

It has been assumed that ethnic bonds and group boundaries would eventually disappear. This assumption is based on the premise that resources for maintaining an ethnic identity were derived exclusively from limited processes within ethnic groups themselves rather than from broader processes within the larger society (Isajiw, 1974). Mitchell and Watson (1980) assert that it is inevitable that ethnic identities would be eroded by social change, economic stresses, and socialization by schools and other institutions. From the perspectives of ethnic minority groups themselves, efforts to preserve, adapt, and practice traditions and customs of the original homeland have been both self and externally imposed. For early immigrants as well as many contemporary ethnic minorities, the cherishing of unique characteristics bound like individuals into mutually supportive units necessary for survival in a strange, alien, and frequently hostile environment (Lai, 1980; Lyman, 1974; Sue, D. W., 1973). Then, as is true for the present, minority groups have found it advantageous to consolidate their advantages as ethnic individuals when political, economic, social and legal barriers inhibited mobility (Yuan, 1963).

In contemporary society, the preference to seek and remain in situations which provide positive support and reinforcement of one's ethnicity may contribute to a psychological well-being and provide a refuge from prejudice and discrimination. Feagin (1978) reported that among upwardly mobile urban minorities, kinship and friendship

attachments are so strong that, unlike many non-minorities who have become economically mobile, they choose to remain where their roots and primary ties are located. However, he also noted that fear of discrimination may have contributed to decisions to remain in ethnic neighborhoods.

It is suggested that understanding of the ethnic identity of minorities is facilitated by a model that is sensitive to the ethnic group's historical and contemporary experiences within the larger society. An examination of the Chinese experience in America is provided an example of a cultural context in which such a model may be studied.

#### The Chinese Experience in America

Chinese were the first Asians to arrive in the United States in large numbers. They were among the Forty-niners who converged on California during the Gold Rush. The period of heaviest immigration, from 1850 to 1880, coincided with the need for laborers in the West during the westward expansion of the United States. Social, economic and political unrest in China provided impetus to risk the threat of death accompanying the prohibition of any attempts of emigration from the Middle Kingdom. For these early sojourners, the promise of a life other than one eked out of impoverished soil under oppressive social and political conditions in the homeland was more powerful than the threat of death.

The Chinese were initially welcomed and praised for their industrious contributions to the development of the western frontier.

Economic conditions were such that there were high demands for cheap labor in the newly opened gold mines and, later, on the railroads. With the completion of the intercontinental rail system, Chinese sought other livelihoods. They found that the preponderance of jobs open to them were limited to the provision of personal services to the white settlers, such as domestics and laundrymen. A small number became purveyors of goods and services to growing communities of Chinese. Although most were engaged in occupations and enterprises that were deemed noncompetitive or least desirable by the white population, they became, in a growing economic depression, the targets of a hostile labor movement. The attitudes of organized labor in California were such that American antagonism toward the Chinese was well-formed by the 1870's. During this period, there were many cases of individual assaults as well as murders and massacres by white mobs in both the urban centers and the mining towns. The anti-Chinese movement culminated in the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which set the precedent for the use of national origin and ethnicity as criteria for judging a group. The Act was the forerunner of no less than 14 federal laws enacted over a 61-year period of exclusion that eventually affected all immigration from Asia. During the era of exclusion, no foreign-born Chinese residing in the United States was eligible for citizenship, thus restricting access to economic and social mobility. American-born Chinese did not fare much better. Discriminatory practices were pervasive in a broad range of social and economic arenas, such as employment, education, housing, and marriage. Laws were passed which regulated the business and

personal lives of Chinese (Lee, 1960; Lai, 1980; Lyman, 1974; Tung, 1974; Wu, 1972).

Conditions for the early Chinese immigrants were such that a well-entrenched bachelor society developed. With the prohibition of immigration and the enactment of anti-miscegenation legislation, it was with great difficulty that any form of a family-oriented Chinese community evolved.

The advent of World War II brought China and the United States together as allies in a common cause. This collaboration was a factor in changing the nation's perceptions of Chinese. In 1943, exclusionary laws were repealed, and a very limited number of Chinese were allowed to immigrate. While most discriminatory federal, state and local laws regulating employment, housing and marriage were repealed by 1952, de facto discrimination would linger.

The Naturalization and Immigration Act of 1965 equalized quotas on immigration from all nations, and the proportion of Chinese in towns and cities throughout the country were dramatically changed. The rise of civil rights legislation provided Chinese Americans with new opportunities for upward mobility. Current census data report that Chinese in America have surpassed the majority population in terms of educational achievement, occupational attainment, and family income. Yet, while the number of Chinese in the marketplace of the mainstream society has increased dramatically, there are significant discrepancies within the group as far as educational achievement, occupational status, and income are concerned (Chun, 1980; King & Locke, 1980; Peterson, 1978).

The population of Chinese in the United States has changed significantly over the past 150 years. Changes in immigration policies resulted in dramatic increases in the population in the last two decades in which an 84% increase between 1960 and 1970 was followed by an additional 85% increase between 1970 and 1980. Over half the current population is foreign-born. Immigration policies created a dichotomous immigrant group which is comprised, at one extreme, of highly educated individuals who brought desirable technical and professional skills. At the other extreme are individuals who entered the country under the non-quota provisions of immigration law. These are primarily wives, children and other immediate family members of former immigrants, many of whom are service workers and laborers with limited skills and little or no education. The socioeconomic background of this latter group severely limits their occupational mobility. Their needs, lifestyles, aspirations, and abilities are markedly different from those at the other end of the occupational and educational scales. Conclusions that all Chinese have "made it" overlook the needs and problems faced by a sizeable proportion of the Chinese American population. The propensity has been to focus primarily on those members of the group who most closely fit the image of the "model minority" (Chen, 1981; Sung, 1977; Yao, 1978).

Despite a range of behavior ranging from very traditional Chinese to very modern American, Chinese are easily identifiable group with a distinct but by no means homogenous ethnic identity. As illustrated in Figure 1, a symbiotic relationship between Chinese in America and

Figure 1. Environmental Conditions Contributing to the Maintenance of Ethnic Identity by Chinese in the United States, 1850 to the Present

Time Period	Ethnic Community Conditions	Societal Conditions
1850	<p>Since earliest arrivals in America saw themselves as temporary residents, or sojourners, ethnic culture and symbols</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--were retained for expected return to homeland;</li> <li>--utilized to assuage homesickness and hardships in a strange and harsh land.</li> </ul> <p>Attitudes and behaviors of early white settlers in the West necessitated the development of an ethnically-based network for survival, causing sojourners to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--turn to each other for purpose of mutual assistance, protection, and social interaction;</li> <li>--maintain customs and traditions, including language, dress, and food;</li> <li>--develop skills from their cultural background to cope with an alien society.</li> </ul> <p>Need for mutual support in a hostile environment resulted in</p>	<p>Initially welcomed as much needed laborers.</p> <p>Isolation by host society because of language and cultural differences.</p> <p>Economic depression and shifts in employment opportunities resulted in legalized discriminatory actions by individuals and institutions of the dominant society which</p>

Figure 1 (Continued)

Time Period	Ethnic Community Conditions	Societal Conditions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--reinforcement of ethnic identity in response to negative interactions with larger society;</li> <li>--formation of informal organizations based on regional and clan affiliations to serve as communication links with the homeland and families, as protective societies, as banking institutions, and as employment networks.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--created obstacles to free enterprise through local and state taxes affecting only Chinese;</li> <li>--enforce segregated housing, ghettoizing sojourners;</li> <li>--barred Chinese from citizenship by naturalization;</li> <li>--inhibited free travel between United States and China;</li> <li>--victimized Chinese by judicial inequities, such as not being allowed to witness against whites.</li> </ul>
1882	<p data-bbox="323 1144 785 1270">Promulgation of local, state, and federal legislation limiting social and economic mobility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--heightened need for solidarity;</li> <li>--reinforced resistance to acculturation and assimilation;</li> <li>--created a bachelor society in America;</li> <li>--created phenomenon of "mutilated families" (Sung, 1967), with fathers in the United States and mothers and children in China;</li> <li>--enforced local segregation of businesses and homes;</li> </ul>	<p data-bbox="908 1207 1355 1312">Nativist movements formed to expel Chinese from United States.</p> <p data-bbox="908 1438 1355 1701">Decrease of Chinese immigration from 40,000 in 1882 to ten persons in 1887 did not preclude enactment of 14 pieces of federal legislation between 1882 and 1924 which prohibited immigration until after 1943.</p> <p data-bbox="908 1764 1355 1827">Enactment of local, state, and federal laws which</p>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--prohibited land ownership</li> </ul>

Figure 1 (Continued)

Time Period	Ethnic Community Conditions	Societal Conditions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--resulted in occupational stratification;</li> <li>--formalized structure of social organizations, regional and clan associations, and guilds.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--legalized segregated housing;</li> <li>--forbade interracial marriages;</li> <li>--restricted occupational choices;</li> <li>--promoted segregated schools for Asians.</li> </ul>
1924	<p data-bbox="343 1062 801 1157">Further withdrawal from and increased isolation by mainstream society led to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--increased prejudice and discrimination;</li> <li>--concerted efforts toward maintenance of cultural traditions and traits to meet affiliation and esteem needs;</li> <li>--increased governance and control of community by organizations;</li> <li>--emergence of community spokesmen to interface with larger society;</li> <li>--development of socially, economically, and politically self-contained Chinatowns.</li> </ul>	<p data-bbox="934 957 1382 1125">Marginal status assigned by government and society by virtue of ethnicity, national origin, and citizenship status.</p> <p data-bbox="934 1356 1382 1545">Large-scale discrimination by larger society which limited mobility and opportunities consonant with membership in mainstream America.</p> <p data-bbox="934 1671 1382 1940">Contributions to World War II efforts through military service and defense activities welcomed despite prohibition of citizenship status for foreign-born.</p>

Figure 1 (Continued)

Time Period	Ethnic Community Conditions	Societal Conditions
1943	<p>Political, social, and economic turning points during and following World War II</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--allowed population dispersion from urban centers;</li> <li>--heightened visibility within the larger society, accompanied by increase of prejudice and discrimination due to Korean conflict;</li> <li>--provided opportunities for increased accessibility to education and occupation options;</li> <li>--enabled massive immigration which created sudden and dramatic increase in population;</li> <li>--reunified "mutilated families" and allowed new families to be formed;</li> <li>--renewed and revitalized practice and observance of traditions;</li> <li>--resulted in changed roles and responsibilities for parents, from traditional authority figures and cultural transmitters to dual-working parents with decreasing credibility with youth.</li> </ul>	<p>Repeal of exclusionary laws in 1943, followed by gradual repeal of laws affecting occupational and educational options. Anti-miscegenation laws finally repealed in 1952.</p> <p>Federal government viewed all Chinese in the United States as possible Communists and potential traitors and saboteurs during Korean conflict. Internment similar to Japanese experience during World War II was proposed.</p> <p>1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act permitted dramatic increase in immigration quota from 105 persons annually (compared to 120,000 annually for Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and Scandanavia) to 20,000 annually (the limit for any one country).</p>
1969	<p>Rise of civil rights activism accompanied by heightened ethnic awareness and cultural pride led to</p>	<p>Civil rights legislation provided relief from employment and education inequities through</p>

Figure 1 (Continued)

Time Period	Ethnic Community Conditions	Societal Conditions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--renewed interest in cultural heritage by third and fourth generation;</li> <li>--concern for social justice;</li> <li>--development of a broader ethnic identity through collaboration with other Asian American groups;</li> <li>--broadened awareness by larger society of intra-group diversity in the form of those with traditional Chinese, Westernized, and bicultural identities.</li> </ul> <p>Gradual, but limited visibility in mainstream professions, businesses, and industries.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--affirmative action programs, although Chinese were originally excluded due to being stereotyped as a successful minority group;</li> <li>--Supreme Court decision in <u>Lau vs. Nichols</u>, requiring appropriate education for limited and non-English speaking students.</li> </ul> <p>Overestimation of educational attainment and occupational achievements obscure harsh realities faced by sizeable segment of the population.</p>
1980	Increased sensitivity to role of Chinese in America as affected by political and business relationships between the United States, China, and Taiwan.	Efforts toward equitable and culturally pluralistic society offer hope for equal access to opportunities and benefits leading to productive and rewarding lives.

Sources: Chen, (1981); Hsu, (1971); Lai, (1980); Lyman, (1974); Sung (1967, 1977); Wu, (1972).

the mainstream dominant society has supported the maintenance of an ethnic identity. These interactions reflect the realities of current and historical social, economic, and political conditions. Increasing acculturation may reduce, but not likely eradicate the saliency of ethnic identity for Chinese in America.

### The Model

A growing body of literature offers psychological and sociological theories of ethnic identity, but there is less written about conceptual models which combine theory and experience. The literature also suggest that ethnic identity carries a different meaning for minorities in America than for white ethnics who have been assimilated into the larger society (Cafferty & Chestang, 1976; DeVos & Romanucci-Ross, 1975; Kitano, 1974; Sue, D. W. & Sue, S., 1972). The proposed model attempts to synthesize and integrate the characteristics, attributes and dimensions of ethnicity with the experience of being ethnic and minority in the United States.

As seen in Figure 2, the model is composed of concentric rings, or strata, representing three temporal and spatial dimensions in which ethnic identity is operationalized. The boundary of each stratum is flexible in order to accommodate the ebb and flow of circumstances and interactions between the ethnic individual or group and the larger society. The flexible boundaries underscore the dynamic quality of an ethnic identity that is formed, maintained and articulated from both an internal and external frame of reference.

The three-part model parallels George Herbert Mead's (1934)

## DIMENSIONS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

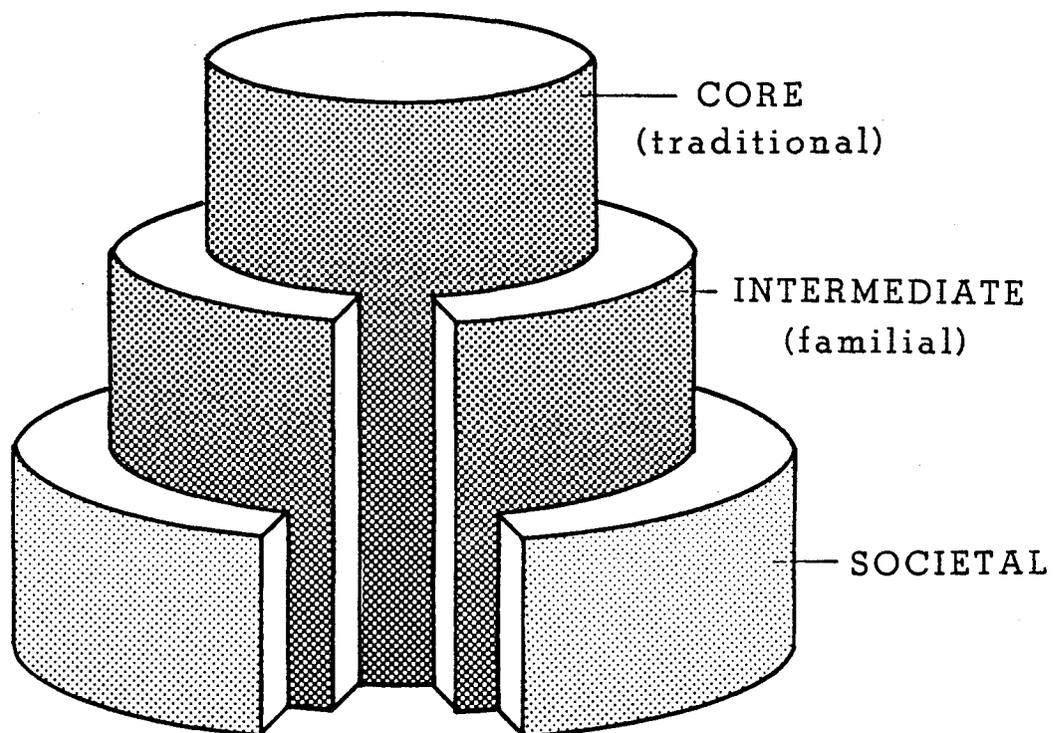


Figure 2. Dimensions of Ethnic Identity: A Theoretical Model

conceptualization the self. He envisioned the "Me" that is experienced in a need for internal harmony and consistency, the "Me" experienced in a need to differentiate self from others, and thirdly, the "Me" that is experienced as part of society. The proposed model is comprised of an internal, or core dimension, an intermediate or familial dimension, and an outer, or societal dimension.

The Core Dimension. This is the innermost statum, or core dimension, that represents the most immutable of ethnic features: the inherited and often unconscious characteristics that distinguish one ethnicity from another. The core provides stability and consistency; it is the source to which one turns, willingly or not, to seek the ultimate truths of "Who am I"? This dimension contains those inherited values, beliefs, and traditions that form the internal anchor of an ethnic person. Also lodged here are those psychobiological characteristics which distinguish an ethnic person or group by visible physical differences and intellectual propensities. As the center of gravity for ethnic identity, it is that aspect of the ethnic self that responds most forcefully to questions of self-concept. It supports an internal sense of distinctiveness, a sense of personal identity that is enmeshed in what Isaacs (1975) calls "the idols of the tribe" (p. 33). Language or dialect, religious faith, values, traditions, customs, folklore and symbols contribute to the perceptual experiences, shared symbolisms, emotions, and sentiments that emerge from this dimension.

The physiognomy of ethnic individuals is one of the most significant core characteristics. Racial features provide distinctive

clues to background, heritage, and group membership regardless of one's own sense of affiliation. Isaacs (1975) cited physiognomy as the most palpable element of identity in that all other elements of identity can be transformed. He noted that names can be changed; origins might be ignored or concealed; history of one's people can be disregarded or rewritten; nationality or citizenship can be relinquished or acquired; language can be abandoned or learned; religion can be practiced or ignored; and new mores can be embraced. Racial features, for the most part, are immutable. Stonequist (1937) noted that as far as most Americans are concerned, Chinese are always Chinese, or Asians, or Orientals, but never Americans.

Language is another particularly distinguishing characteristic that is inextricably linked to the core dimension (Burkey, 1978). Samarin (1971) noted that "touching language is like touching man deep inside himself" (p. 140). Use of the native language, or home language, enables one to identify with one's own kind. In-group solidarity is reinforced and strengthened by the capability to use appropriate colloquialisms and nuances. Security of identity is enhanced by an "internal, natural, emotional richness" (Sapir, in DeVos & Romanucci-Ross, 1975, p. 374). Since language is also the primary tool for transmitting cultural forms and rules (Bossard, 1945) its maintenance is critical to the continuity and perpetuation of ethnicity.

Even when language retention is absent, traditional Chinese values, customs, and other cultural factors will shape thought and serve as conscience and arbiter of behavior (Woodell, 1973). The

values associated with being Chinese focus on the relationship of the individual to the primary reference group, which in the case of Chinese, is the family. Personal interests, desires and needs are subordinate to those of the collective, which may even extend beyond the family to the ethnic group, the ethnic community, or the society of ancestral origin. Restraint of strong feelings, conformity, respect for authority, and submergence of individuality are reinforced by a strong sense of loyalty to the family. Behavior is controlled through the use of group evaluation and the judgement of guilt and shame by those in superordinate positions (Hsu, 1971; Lee, 1960; Sue, D.W., 1973; Sung, 1967).

These characteristics are most identifiable in the personality. Studies have shown that because these values and beliefs seem to be the inverse of those valued by American society, psychological health is threatened by the possibility of debilitating cultural conflicts. A higher level of stress has been observed with some consistency in those individuals who adhere more strongly to traditional behaviors than among those who have moved toward a bicultural socialization. Attempts to completely reject one's cultural heritage also result in dysfunction (Sue, D. W. & Frank, 1973; Sue, S. & Sue, D. W., 1973). Sue, D. W. (1973) suggested that there are consistent relationships between Chinese personality characteristics, academic abilities, and vocational aspirations. Earlier, Sue and Kirk (1972) found marked differences between Chinese Americans students and students of other ethnicities in regard to personality, ability, and aspirations. They

attributed the intergroup differences to the influences of language and culture.

Hsieh, Shybut and Lotsof (1969) studied locus of control among Chinese high school students in Hong Kong and Chinese and Anglo American students in the United States. They concluded that differences in degrees of external locus of control were related to 1) the effects of acculturation and 2) differences between the situation-centered culture of Hong Kong and an American culture which emphasizes independence, self-reliance and individuality.

Despite observed attenuation of traditional characteristics and behavior among Chinese in America, pride in cultural heritage and attachment to cultural norms emerge as significant influences in personality and identity development. Even when they may not be acted upon, they are acknowledged as one's legacy (Lai, 1980; Woodell, 1973).

The Intermediate Dimension. The middle stratum, or familial dimension, is the site at which one acquires the skills and experiences for family and group relationships and for interfacing with the larger society. Roles and responsibilities are assigned, taught and reinforced. Language is acquired and maintained, communication styles are developed and refined. It is here that one learns to differentiate between "me" and "you", and "us" and "them". This is the arena for identifying, rehearsing, practicing and affirming appropriate cultural behavior.

The family serves as the mediating agent, the official transmitter of Chinese culture, and the powerful reinforcer of values

and beliefs important to the family and ethnic community. According to Mindel and Habenstein (1976):

the maintenance of ethnic identification and solidarity ultimately rests on the ability of the family to socialize its members into the ethnic culture and thus to channel and control, perhaps program future behavior. (pp. 6-7)

Socialization patterns are very evident in child-rearing practices and in family interactions. The control exercised by the family unit, which frequently extends beyond the nuclear family, has been viewed as the primary reason for high academic achievement (Steward & Steward, 1973; Kriger & Kroes, 1972; Wong, 1980) and the low incidence of juvenile delinquency (Hsu, 1971; Sollengerger, 1968).

Although the Chinese family in America is changing as it transitions from one culture to another, many of the cultural values from the past continue to be transmitted (Fong, 1973; Sue, D. W., & Sue, S., 1972). Chinese children are taught the social hierarchy of the family in which roles and status are assigned according to age, sex and generation. Elders are accorded reverence and respect, and the younger generation are instilled with the responsibility of caring for elder members of the family. Males are accorded superior positions relative to females, and members of the senior generation are considered superior to junior generations. A son has proscribed responsibilities and allegiances to the family over those as husband and father. A daughter is expected to marry and not disgrace either her family or her husband's family while carrying out duties as daughter-in-law, mother (of sons, preferably), and wife. Children are expected to do well in school, for parents equate self-worth with good

grades. As adults, children are expected to continue to strive for accomplishments that reflect favorably on the family. Parent-child relationships are considered more formal in contrast to the casual relationships observed in American families. Courtship and marriage are carried out according to family and cultural precepts. While friendship circles may include non-Chinese, pressure is exerted to not marry outside the ethnic group (Hsu, 1971; Lee, 1967; Lyman, 1974; Sue, D. W. & Sue, S., 1972; Sung, 1967).

It is evident that continuity of ethnic identity is largely contingent upon the effectiveness of the family in its role as the primary socializing force. As the fundamental unit for transmitting the culture, the family inculcates appropriate behaviors by promoting the concepts of harmony, conformity, respect for authority, and subordination of personal needs and interests. By the same token, it is the primary source for developing strategies and providing resources which are advantageous for mobility in American society, including appropriate lifestyles, expectations for achievement, and support of educational and occupational aspirations (Hsu, 1971; Lee, 1960). Acculturative experiences and pressures of the larger society may mediate strong attachment and strict adherence to traditional values but their influence, in some form or the other, will not fade easily as long as self-worth and identity are defined within the family unit (Mindel & Habenstein, 1976).

The Societal Dimension. The superstratum represents that part of ethnic identity that is expressed and experienced through contact with the dominant society. In this dimension, being ethnic, and being

minority, take on new meanings. This is where Chinese become Chinese Americans.

Ethnic minorities enter the larger society bearing distinct racial features and values and behaviors developed according to cultural norms learned within the family and kin network. The majority society perceives and defines ethnics according to available information which is largely based on intergroup contacts, perceived similarity of the ethnic person to the majority group, and the perceived status of that person's ethnic group in society (Burkey, 1978; Kitano, 1974). Informal associations and confrontations as well as more formal ones within institutionalized structures such as school, church, and the workplace provide the framework for the socialization of ethnic minorities.

A critical factor in the socialization process unique to minorities is the subordinate status assigned to nonwhite ethnics by the dominant society, which is primarily comprised of whites. By holding economic, political and social power in this country, the dominant group can control the outcomes of interactions with nonwhite ethnic minorities, such as defining who is the "real American" (Burkey, 1978; Kitano, 1974). The superordinate-subordinate hierarchy supports stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination toward ethnic minority groups. Such treatment is frequently due to variances in appearances and behaviors from current norms of the dominant groups (Burkey, 1978; Gordon, 1964; Lyman, 1974).

Ethnic identity may be observed at two levels in this dimension. At one level are the most obvious features of identity, such as racial

features and distinguishing behaviors. These behaviors emanate from the ethnic culture and are manifest through interactions with the larger society. At the second level are the intrinsic ethnic characteristics that are expressed intuitively, generally in highly emotional situations. It is to the former level to which the dominant society is most responsive, and where the foundation for harmonious or adversarial intergroup relationships is laid.

For Chinese Americans, the stress of maintaining an ethnic identity in the societal dimension is exacerbated by cultural differences (Sue, D. W., 1973; Sue, D. W. & Kirk, 1972). Relationships and social and economic mobility are affected as one moves from a Chinese culture that tends to be situation-centered, favors conformity, and is rigidly defined to an American culture which emphasizes assertiveness, rewards self-reliance, and is fraught with ambiguity. The seemingly abstract nature of American culture contrasts sharply with the more formal and concretely structured and thus more predictable Chinese culture. Furthermore, differences in communication styles and the degree of facility with the English language particularly among bilingual persons influence the quality of interactions (Fong, 1973; Sue, D.W., 1973).

Perhaps the most significant feature of the societal dimension is the revelation of multiple identities developed by ethnic minorities to balance the roles which must be played within their own groups and in the larger society (Zak, 1973). Being Chinese within one's own family or ethnic community is vastly different than being a numerical and cultural minority in America, just as being Chinese in America is

vastly different than being part of a nation of one billion Chinese.

Three possible identities, adapted from the studies of Sue, S. and Sue, D.W. (1973) and Clark, Kaufman, and Pierce (1976), are suggested as applicable to the Chinese American population. The Traditionalist identity is exemplified by a strong sense of basic and fundamental Chinese values that enables one to easily participate in social activities of the ethnic family or community. The sense of identity is strongly linked to the knowledge that to be considered a worthwhile individual, one must be successful at such ethnically valued endeavors as educational achievement and occupational status, thereby accruing respect and honor to the family.

The Independent identity allows one to operate freely between the Chinese and the Western cultures, facilitating participation in both cultures with minimal stress. It attempts to avoid both rejection and overcompensation in actualizing the values and norms of each culture. This may be the most confusing of the three identities due to dissonance in addressing an individual who looks Chinese but acts White.

A third, or Integrated, identity is one which attempts to intermingle the Chinese and Western cultures, choosing the most viable aspects of each to form a syncretized identity. Aspects of heritage are reconciled with current realities, so that the chosen values from each culture are likely to coalesce into a new integrated identity that expands the label of Chinese American from a demographic category to a philosophical commitment.

The three ethnic sub-identities are aspects of the total identity

of ethnic minority persons. Zak (1973) suggests that it is possible, and perhaps necessary, for one to be able to call on any of the three sub-identities, depending on the advantage or disadvantage to the individual and the situation. The status of the ethnic minority within a dominant society requires the means to function satisfactorily within his or her own group as well as outside of it.

### Variables Related to Ethnic Identity

Recent studies of ethnic identity of minorities in the United States have begun to examine relationships between ethnic identity and demographic, sociocultural and psychological variables. A review of related literature from sociology, psychology, anthropology, and education suggest that the following variables offer promise toward understanding the ethnic identity of minority group members.

#### Demographic Variables

Age. Studies with young children revealed that they were able to recognize different ethnic cues as young as three and four years old (Clark & Clark, 1950) and that knowledge of racial differences was established by the age of seven (Rice et al., 1974). However, identification with one's own ethnic group appeared at a later age (Brand et al., 1974), implying that the saliency of ethnic identity increased with age. This hypothesis was supported by the findings of McGuire et al. (1978) which showed that high school students were more likely to mention their ethnicity than junior high school

students, and junior high school students more than those in elementary schools.

Sex. Differential socialization of males and females is a dual process for ethnic minority individuals. There is the process associated with living in the American culture and the socialization that takes place within the ethnic family and ethnic group.

From a study of white, Hispanic and Black students, McGuire et al. (1978) concluded that sex was not a significant factor in making spontaneous responses which mentioned ethnicity. Although not a statistically significant factor, it was observed that boys tended to mention ethnicity more frequently than girls. This trend was reversed in the case of Hispanics. St. John (1975) reported that black girls and white boys were more ethnically conscious (and more racially hostile) than white girls and black boys. This finding may be a function of adolescent peer relationships and dating activities. Sex differences reported in studies reviewed by Brand et al. (1974) indicated that Anglo, Black, and Mexican American females tended to have stronger needs to meet Anglo standards of appearance and behavior than males in their respective groups.

There are contradictory conclusions that gender differences may be more apparent in cultures with rigidly defined sex roles. When given a choice to identify themselves as more Chinese, more American, or bicultural, a greater number of females were more oriented toward Chinese cultural beliefs and values than their male counterparts (Ting-Toomey, 1981). However, in a study of ethnic identity among three generations of Japanese Americans, no significant sex

differences were found (Masuda, Matsumoto, & Meredith, 1970).

There also appear to be sex differences in the ability to respond to stresses related to ethnic identity. The increasing tensions created by current social issues related to equity in sex role expectations, and the desire or need for more assertive behavior, has placed minority women in especially stressful situations (Fujitomi & Wong, 1973). Fong and Peskin (1969) postulated that female Chinese students would experience more stress than male Chinese students because support of education was a traditional male prerogative. Deviation from traditional female Chinese roles would likely foster alienation. This hypothesis was supported by Sue and Kirk (1975), who also proposed that domestic versus feminist conflicts would be quite intense for Chinese females.

Generation. Generational identification serves several purposes in the study of ethnic identity. First, it distinguishes foreign-born from native-born. Secondly, it places individuals according to their longevity in the United States. Immigrants are first generation, their children are second generation, their grandchildren are third generation, and so on. The second and subsequent generations help establish the length of time a family or group has been in this country.

The pattern of immigration and settlement of Japanese Americans permitted the identification of generations by age as well as immigration factors. The relatively homogenous nature of generations permitted the development of norms for evaluating characteristics of each generation. Generation members were able to recognize each other

and to use the collective as a reference group (Kiefer, 1974).

While there is no similarly neat pattern of time-generational uniformity among age groups in the Chinese population, generational identification is useful for identifying time perspectives in this population. Ongoing immigration over the past two decades has created the wide range of ages found within any one generation. This trend will continue so long as the current flow of immigration continues.

Masuda, Matsumoto, and Meredith (1970) conducted one of the few intergenerational studies in one ethnic group. They were not surprised to find attenuation of ethnic identity among three generations of Japanese Americans, but the process was not at the expected rate nor in the expected manner. Despite attenuation, there was still considerable retention of Japanese culture among the third generation. Among the first generation, there was a surprising degree of agreement with American values.

Ethnic identification among third generation Japanese was investigated by Hosokawa (1978), who reported that it was the values and interests of the generational group, rather than that of parents or grandparents, which formed the basis for ethnic identity. The influence of Japanese culture was very slight and expressed as knowledge rather than behavior.

In a study of San Francisco youth, Wong, J. (1977) identified a number of environmental conditions which caused deep feelings of marginality. Most of the sample were second generation, caught between the culture of non-English speaking immigrant parents and the lure of American ways.

### Sociocultural Variables

Academic Achievement. The landmark Coleman Report (1966) found substantial differences in the scores of standardized tests taken by various racial/ethnic minority students. Results indicated that Asian American students scored as well as or better than the average white pupil, while scores of other minority students were distinctly lower. This pattern was also reflected in other measures of intellectual achievement and aspiration.

Explanations which have been offered to account for differences in school achievement among different ethnic groups tend to place responsibility for achievement or nonachievement with the cultural group of the student rather than teaching style or the learning environment (Castenada et al., 1974). Successful students are perceived to come from home environments which value education and exert strong family control and parental authority (Lesser & Stodolsky, 1967; Mayeske et al., 1973; Peterson, 1978).

Chinese students have been identified as model-students by virtue of cultural background and home environment (Fong, 1973; Sollenberger, 1968). A study of elementary and secondary schools reported that teachers expected their Asian American students to be more academically competent than other ethnic or white students. When these expectations were met, the stage was set for repetitive teacher-student interaction that encouraged achievement and provided positive reinforcement (Wong, M., 1980).

Herman (1974) cited differential treatment of children from

culturally different backgrounds rather than assumed cultural deficiencies or disadvantages as the cause for limited development of appropriate learning styles. Cultural differences in socialization practices have been cited as likely to create dissonance between the teacher and the learner with respect to the student-teacher relationship as well as school-home communication (Ramirez & Price-Williams, 1974). Other studies showed that differences in cognitive styles were functions of culture rather than the disadvantages of low social class. Educational programs and practices which recognized this correlation provided more productive and rewarding school experiences for ethnic minority students (Hale, 1978; Marsella & Golden, 1980; Ramirez, Castenada, & Herold, 1974).

Religion. Kiefer (1974) described religion as a "cultural bridge" that provided relief from the stresses of acculturation (p. 145). He found this to be particularly true among elderly first generation (issei) Japanese, who reported that church activities were significant factors in their lives regardless of a strength of belief. Churches provided the issei with English language instruction and their only orientation to Western values and lifestyles. Missions of Protestant and Catholic churches has historically served Asian immigrants in this capacity (Kim, 1978). Continuing immigration suggests an investigation of this relationship.

Family Structure and Relationships. In almost every culture, the family is seen as the principal socializing agent. Among ethnic minority families, responsibilities are compounded by the desire to perpetuate the ethnic culture and the concomitant need to socialize

children for survival in the dominant society (Mandel & Habenstein, 1976).

In an analysis of data in the Coleman Report (1966), Mayeske et al. (1973) found that family life had a greater effect on student achievement than family socioeconomic status. Motivational aspects such as parental support of educational aspirations and interest in children's school progress were identified as the most important family processes affecting school achievement. Data also revealed that family background was a more important influence on minority students' attitudes toward life than it was for white students.

Literature on Chinese Americans emphasizes the dynamic role of the family in every aspect of the life cycle from birth to old age. Passage into adulthood does not loosen bonds between parent and child. They are merely expanded to encompass an ever-broadening kinship network that is multiplied by marriage and the formation of new families (Hsu, 1971; Lyman, 1974; Sung, 1967) In a study of a contemporary Chinese community, Woodell (1973) found overwhelming agreement among a multigenerational sample that family structure and relationships, more than language or any other ethnic indicators, were the keys to a continued sense of ethnic identity.

There do not appear to be empirical studies of the effects of ordinal position of children in ethnic families. Chinese cultural imperatives for eldest sons suggest the possibility of a relationship with ethnic identity. The investigations of Gandy (1973) on the relationship of birth order and vocational choice showed that parents had expectations of their first-borns that were significantly

different from those of second-born children.

Language. The retention of a first language, particularly if it contrasts greatly with that of the dominant society, is considered one of the more primary indicators of ethnic identity. Its use determines the relevance of ethnicity and ethnic group placement in society (Burkey, 1978).

Perhaps because the importance of language as an element of ethnicity has not been fully recognized, research examining that relationship is just emerging. However, the primacy of language in the lives of ethnics who are also linguistic minorities is reflected in the recent implementation of educational and public policies with bicultural and bilingual emphases. Available research findings on the relationship between language and ethnic identity have been equivocal, providing support for advocates of a monolingual (English) culture as well as support for advocates of bilingualism (Olmedo, 1981; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979).

While there have been cases of Spanish and Chinese speaking students placed in classes for mentally retarded on the basis of tests administered in English (Olmedo, 1980), it has also been reported that coming from non-English speaking homes does not interfere with school progress (Yee & LaForge, 1974). Kuo (1974) found that contrary to assumptions, competence in Chinese did not interfere with the development of English language proficiency.

Woodell's (1973) ethnographic study of Chinese reported that among third generation youth, a strong ethnic identity was evident despite the lack of language retention. Other features weighed more

heavily in the definition of ethnic identity. This finding was supported by Ting-Toomey (1981), who found that her sample had strong identification with being Chinese despite the lack of Chinese language proficiency. These results may be more indicative of the relative salience of language in specific circumstances than signifying its demise as an indicator of ethnicity.

The primacy of language was the basis for a rare public demonstration of solidarity and public protest by Chinese American parents who claimed that the continuity of cultural training would be disrupted by a school desegregation busing proposal. It was their contention that transporting their children away from the home community was detrimental to Chinese language education (Yee, 1972).

On January 21, 1974, in a unanimous landmark decision, the United States Supreme Court declared in Lau vs. Nichols that failure to provide special assistance to non-English speaking students:

denied them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational programs...made a mockery of public education...[and ensured that such students]...would be certain to find their classroom experience wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. (Supreme Court of the United States, No. 72-6520, in Wang, 1980, p. 181)

Socioeconomic Status. Socioeconomic status, as determined by level of education, occupation status, income, and site of residence, is a traditional measure of one's place in the social structure of society. It is frequently used to identify the socially and culturally advantaged or disadvantaged status of ethnic minority groups without regard to differences within groups. For example, such

labels as "successful minority" are attributed to all Asian Americans, and "lower class disadvantaged" has been inferred to all Mexican Americans. Yet, recent research has indicated that factors other than socioeconomic status are more important and more accurate in accounting for intergroup and interethnic differences and variations.

According to Stodolsky and Lesser (1967), social scientists err in assuming that educational difficulties of minority groups are predicated on low income and low social class. Their study of Chinese, Jewish, Black, and Puerto Rican youth revealed that ethnic group membership and the identity accruing from that affiliation was a more crucial factor than social class in accounting for differences in tests of mental abilities. Yee and LaForge (1974) also found low correlation between social class and scores on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. Rather, there were indications of significant correlations between students' performance and the manifestation of traditional cultural values, such as attendance at language school, respect for education, and high motivation toward achievement. And, contrary to more common findings, the achievements of minority students were found to be more related to family life than to socioeconomic status (Mayeske et al., 1973).

Brand et al. (1974) postulated that the tendency to reject dominant definitions of success and to pursue sources of identity from within their own ethnic group may account for the consistently higher ethnic identification exhibited by lower class ethnic minority students. It may also be that awareness of the relative

inaccessibility of the traditional indicators of success may encourage turning to one's own group.

### Psychological Variables

Self-concept. McGuire et al. (1978) found ethnicity to be more salient in the self-concept as the social milieu became more heterogenous. Apparently, intergroup mixing heightens the sense of ethnicity. They also noted that saliency of ethnic identity appeared to decrease as a particular ethnic group becomes proportionally more preponderant in the group, except in the case of Blacks. This finding has implications for school desegregation and integration efforts.

Contradictory conclusions on the relationship of self-concept and ethnic identity were found in several studies. The Coleman Report (1966) indicated that self-concepts of Mexican American children to be significantly lower than those of white children, while DeBlassie and Healey (1970) found no significant differences along those lines. The findings of Zirkle and Moses (1971) corroborated earlier investigations by Soares and Soares (1969) which indicated that self-concepts of Black children did not differ significantly, and in some cases, were even higher than those of White children. It has been suggested that differences in findings may be due to the fact that ethnic researchers elicit different responses from ethnic respondents (Yee and LaForge, 1974).

Kim (1981) hypothesized that ethnic minority youth were likely to experience painfully distressing periods of negative self-image during their adolescent years due to discrepant comparisons between

themselves and prevailing White models. Gay (1978a) identified similarity and dissimilarity of physical features, intragroup and intergroup dating, and differential access to opportunities for social interaction as primary concerns affecting adolescent self-concept.

By using data from the Coleman Report (1966), Mayeske et al. (1973) derived a measure of students' belief in themselves as persons capable of achievements without sacrificing personal identity or integrity. Scores of Asian American students were second only to those of white students. Blacks, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans tied in third place while Puerto Ricans scored the lowest.

Aspirations. Substantial ethnic differences were reported by Kuvlesky and Edington (1976) in a study of occupational and status aspirations among Mexican, Black, Native American and Anglo youth. Among the four groups, Mexican American youth generally had the highest degree and strongest intensity of aspirations. Conversely, Navajo youth demonstrated the lowest level of aspirations and the weakest intensity of desire to achieve their goals. Unique ethnic patterns in aspirations and expectations for particular jobs were also observed among the four groups. They found that aspirations for high occupational and social class status was common among a high proportion of minority youth. However, students expressed little expectation for the achievement of these goals. This finding indicates awareness of societal impediments to the achievement of their hopes and dreams.

Sue, D. W., (1973) found that, among Chinese American students, a preponderance of males selected science rather than social science

majors. Female students tended to prepare for elementary teaching and secretarial or clerical positions. He hypothesized that while Chinese students selected occupations with the potential for some degree of upward mobility, the jobs also were indicative of Chinese personality characteristics. The chosen occupations also required less public contact, where culturally influenced behavior were less likely to be judged negatively, and where occurrences of prejudice and discrimination might be minimal.

The ethnic family has been found to exert influence on aspirations. Chinese parents with more traditional inclinations expect aspirations to result in jobs that would bring honor to the family and also provide the means with which to support parents in their old age (Liu, 1951). A study by Brook, Whiteman, Peisach, and Deutsch (1974) revealed that while white parents had lower occupational aspirations for their daughters than did the black parents, both black and white parents had higher aspirations for their sons than for their daughters. Both Black and white middle class parents held higher aspirations for their children than did lower class parents of both group.

### Summary

Chapter II began with an overview of definitions of ethnic identity and ethnicity, particularly as they related to the ethnic minority person. Sociological and psychological perspectives were presented.

Minority adolescent identity development was discussed. In

addition to addressing the universal tasks of adolescence, ethnic minority youth must deal concomitantly with those related to their ethnicity.

A tentative model of ethnic identity appropriate to ethnic minorities was proposed. Through the presentation of the Chinese experience in America, attention was directed to historical and contemporary social, political, and economic conditions which influence the development, manifestation, and maintenance of ethnic identity. The core, familial, and societal dimensions of ethnic identity were identified and discussed. Sub-identities which facilitate satisfactory functioning within one's own ethnic groups as well as outside of it were described.

### III. METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

Chapter III begins with a description of the sample and the setting. Next, the two instruments developed for the purposes of the study are discussed. Data gathering, administration, and scoring procedures are presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion of reliability and validity and a description of the treatment of the data.

#### The Sample

The sample consisted of 106 Chinese American students drawn from the enrollment of the thirteen public four-year high schools in Portland, Oregon, during the 1979-80 school year (Table 1). Students were identified with the use of district data obtained from school registration information which aggregated under one category all Asian and Pacific American students enrolled in each high school. This category was examined for students who could be identified as Chinese by last name. A conference was then held with personnel designated by building administrators of each high school to verify the accuracy of this process and to identify additional students who might have been overlooked. Of particular concern were students whose last name might not readily identify them to be of Chinese descent, such as Chinese who use Southeast Asian spelling or children of an interethnic marriage. Leaders of family, district, and civic organizations also assisted in the identification and verification process.

Table 1. Asian/Pacific American and Chinese American Student Enrollments by High School, 1979-80

High School	Total	Enrollment			
		Asian/Pacific American <sup>a</sup>		Chinese American <sup>b</sup>	
		N	% Total	N	% Total
A	665	57	8.6	1 (0) <sup>c</sup>	0.2
B	1,560	83	5.3	39 (30)	2.5
C	1,250	176	14.1	56 (25)	4.5
D	1,497	138	9.2	48 (19)	3.2
E	1,647	112	6.8	9 (3)	0.6
F	805	17	2.1	1 (0)	0.1
G	981	32	3.3	3 (2)	0.3
H	1,098	64	5.8	3 (1)	0.3
I	1,469	223	15.2	12 (4)	0.8
J	1,163	66	5.7	26 (9)	2.2
K	1,198	194	16.2	1 (1)	0.1
L	883	35	4.0	13 (9)	1.5
M	<u>1,444</u>	<u>39</u>	2.7	<u>3 (3)</u>	0.2
District Totals	<u>15,660</u>	<u>1,236</u>	7.9	<u>215 106</u>	1.4

Sources: Report of Pupils, Oct. 1, 1980, by Race/Ethnic Category. Salem, Oregon: Oregon Dept. of Education, 1980. Portland Public Schools, Dept. of Information, 1979-80.

<sup>a</sup>Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Burmese, Thais, Samoans, Guamanians and other Pacific Islanders, and East Indians

<sup>b</sup>Students who met criteria for study

<sup>c</sup>Students who participated in study

Subjects were required to meet the following criteria:

1. Have at least one natural parent who is full-blooded Chinese;
2. Be enrolled full-time in one of the thirteen public high schools;
3. Be granted written permission from a parent or guardian to participate in the study;
4. Have sufficient English language proficiency to respond to the survey instruments.

The selection procedures identified a sample of 215 students. Self-selection and parental interest resulted in a final sample of 106 students.

The sample was comprised of students between the ages of 14 and 21, and represented enrollment in each of the four years of high school. There was almost equal distribution between males and females (51% males, 49% females). Like the national population of Chinese Americans, slightly more than half the sample are foreign-born (57%). Forty-two per cent of the foreign-born had acquired citizenship through naturalization. A majority of the total sample were bilingual, using either Cantonese or Mandarin as well as the English language. While a broad range of parental occupations was reported, almost half of the fathers (47%) were restaurant workers and almost half of the mothers (42%) were employed as machine operators in garment factories. Additional demographic characteristics are displayed in Table 2 and additional social characteristics may be found in Table 3.

Table 2. Selected Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Characteristics	N	Percent	
		Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born
Sex			
Males	54	57.4	42.6
Females	52	55.8	44.2
Age			
14-16	58	60.3	39.7
17-21	58	60.3	39.7
Year in School			
Freshman	21	57.1	42.9
Sophomore	29	55.2	44.8
Junior	31	58.1	41.9
Senior	25	56.0	44.0
G.P.A.			
1.0-1.4	3	33.3	66.7
1.5-1.9	-	-	-
2.0-2.4	7	28.6	71.4
2.5-2.9	15	53.3	46.7
3.0-3.4	29	51.7	48.3
3.5-3.9	34	64.7	35.3
4.0	17	58.8	41.2
Generation			
First	60	100.0	0.0
Second	24	0.0	100.0
Third	15	0.0	100.0
Fourth	5	0.0	100.0
Fifth	2	0.0	100.0
Citizenship Status			
Citizen	71	35.2	64.8
Non-citizen	35	100.0	0.0

Table 3. Selected Sociocultural Characteristics of the Sample

Characteristics	N	Percent	
		Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born
Family Structure			
Nuclear	15	40.0	60.0
Extended	63	61.9	38.1
Extra-extended	27	51.9	48.1
Use of Chinese Language			
Yes	93	64.5	35.5
No	13	0	100
Religious Activity			
Attend church	38	57.9	42.1
Not attend church	66	54.5	45.5
Father's Occupation			
professional, technical and kindred workers	14	57.1	42.9
Managers and admin- istrators except farm	7	14.3	85.7
Sales workers	2	50.0	50.0
Clerical and kindred workers	1	0.0	100.0
Craftsmen and kindred workers	7	85.7	14.3
Operatives except transport	1	0.0	100.0
Laborers except farm	2	100.0	0.0
Service worker	45	68.9	31.1
Other (Chinese business owners)	17	23.5	76.5

Table 3. (Continued)

Characteristics	N	Percent	
		Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born
<b>Mother's Occupation</b>			
Professional, technical and kindred workers	3	33.3	66.7
Managers and administrators except farm	2	50.0	50.0
Sales workers	2	0.0	100.0
Clerical and kindred workers	4	25.0	75.0
Craftsmen and kindred workers	1	100.0	0.0
Operatives except transport	40	72.5	27.5
Laborers except farm	2	50.0	50.0
Service workers	16	62.5	37.5
Other (Chinese business owners)	11	18.2	81.8
Housewife	14	50.0	50.0
<b>Father's Education</b>			
0 years	2	50.0	50.0
5- 8	11	72.7	27.3
9-12	31	48.4	51.6
13-16	29	41.4	58.6
17-20	7	71.4	28.6
<b>Mother's Education</b>			
4 years	4	25.0	75.0
5- 8	13	92.3	7.6
9-12	40	47.5	52.5
13-16	19	31.6	68.4
17-20	3	66.7	33.3

### The Setting

The city of Portland, Oregon, and its public school system are not unlike many other settings experiencing increases in the size and diversity of their Chinese populations. At the time the data for this study were collected, 13 four-year high schools were located throughout the city (Figure 3). Although each high school was neighborhood-based, there were magnet programs which attracted students across neighborhood attendance-area boundaries.

The 1980 census reported that out of a city population of 366,383, nine-tenths of one percent were of Chinese descent. While there were common characteristics among the Chinese population which tended to support perceptions of ethnic homogeneity, there was, in actuality, great diversity due to differences in historical experiences, immigration patterns, dialect, and national origin. However, neither intra-group diversity nor lack of a territorially concentrated Chinatown appeared to hinder the expression of ethnic identity and a sense of Chinese community.

Both traditional and modern forms of ethnically-based social, cultural, and political systems were supported by subgroups within the community. A range of ethnic attitudes and behaviors was observed among recent first generation immigrants as well as among subsequent generations who descended from the pioneer nineteenth century immigrants.

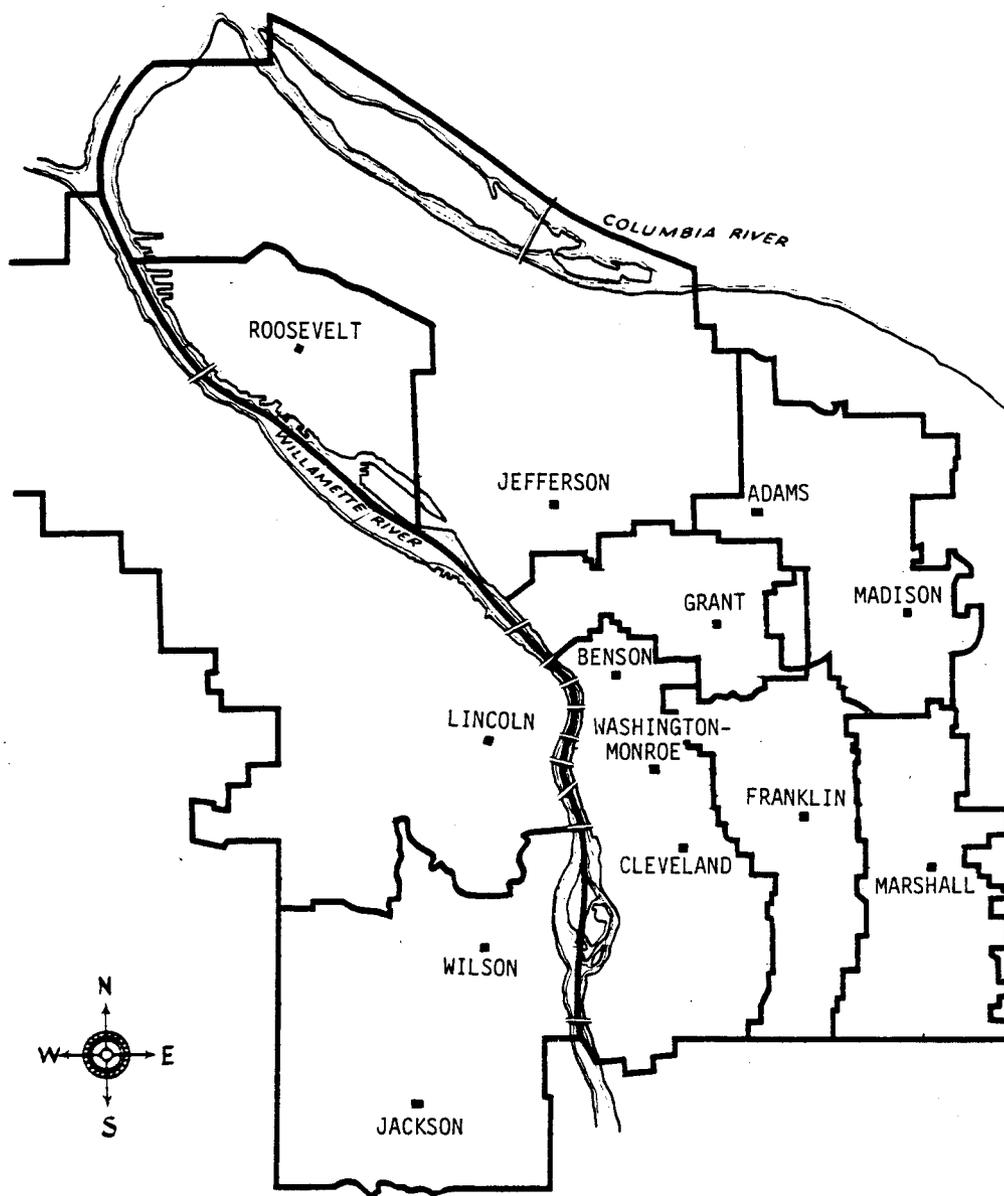


Figure 3. Location of Portland Public High Schools, 1979-80

Commitment to continuity of Chinese heritage was manifest in financial and emotional support for the restoration and preservation of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association Building which serves as the cultural center for the Chinese of the city. The building houses schools for the study of language, music, and dance; the community's library; and facilities for celebrating traditional holidays and other cultural activities.

Family and district associations were sources of social and business contacts and activities. The organizations also exerted some degree of social control upon members united by blood, land, and dialect. A number of businesses as well as professional and civic organizations appeared to be closely aligned with economic, social and political interests of the community.

A language school which provided instruction in both Cantonese and Mandarin dialects, churches which held bilingual services for their predominantly Chinese congregations, and the extensive and complex system of family and district organizations perpetuated continuity of language and culture.

Expression of ethnic identity was not uniformly subscribed to by all Chinese in the city. There were also those who made conscious attempts to obscure all vestiges of ethnicity. Barring the undeniable fact of physiognomy, these individuals generally viewed themselves as more like White Americans than Chinese Americans, concentrating their professional, social and personal lives away from Chinese associates, activities, and enterprises.

Portland, Oregon, is typical of the towns and cities which are

experiencing increases in the Chinese population, but do not have residential Chinatowns which also serve as centers for cultural, social, and economic interests. Because Portland's ecological patterns contrast with those of more established and more frequently studied Chinatowns (San Francisco, New York, and Boston, for example) the results of research in this location will contribute to the body of knowledge related to the Chinese experience in the United States. Studying the expression of ethnic identity of individuals who have comparatively limited traditional ethnic contacts and limited access to traditional ethnic resources will also contribute to the understanding of intergroup relations.

#### The Research Instruments

Two instruments were designed to obtain data to investigate the questions proposed for the study. The first instrument, the Background Information Survey (BIS), was a questionnaire which gathered information related to demographic, sociocultural, and psychological characteristics (Appendix A). The instrument was designed to obtain descriptive data of the sample.

The second instrument designed for this study, was the attitudinal Sinoethnic Identity Scale (SIS) (Appendix B). It was constructed according to the procedures outlined in Likert (1932), Oppenheim (1966), and Edwards (1957). It was necessary to develop a scale as it was not possible to locate an instrument which sampled attitudes toward Chinese ethnic identity.

Both the ethnic identity scale and the background information

questionnaire were subjected to a computerized readability assessment program (Britton and Associates, 1979) which utilized the Harris-Jacobson, Fry, Dale-Chall, and Flesch reading formulas to determine the level of reading difficulty. This procedure was utilized to increase reliability by reducing bias resulting from problems associated with inappropriate reading levels. Analyses indicated that the average reading level of the instruments ranged from grade 5 to 7.5, well within the reading ability expected of students in grades nine to twelve.

A field test of both instruments was conducted with Chinese American secondary students enrolled in an adjacent school district. The results of the field test affirmed the analyses of the readability tests and the appropriateness of the instruments for use with secondary school students.

#### The Background Information Survey (BIS)

This instrument consisted of questions which elicited information which were categorized as demographic, sociocultural and psychological variables. Demographic variables included age, grade level, sex, nativity, citizenship status, and generational status. Items in the sociocultural category identified religious preference, family characteristics, Chinese language proficiency, academic achievement, and socioeconomic status. The psychological category items related to self-concept and occupational and educational aspirations.

The data obtained from this questionnaire were comparable to information available to educational personnel through a variety of

formal and informal sources. Because such data frequently serve as the primary bases for forming perceptions and expectations of Chinese American students, it was considered appropriate to examine their relationship to ethnic identity.

Fourteen independent variables were identified for the purposes of the study. Research has found that they are correlated with the ethnic identity of minority persons. They included:

Age (AGE): the age of the subject at the time the data were collected, rounded to the closest year;

Sex (SEX): sex of the subject;

Citizenship status (CITIZEN): a subject's status relative to U. S. citizenship, classified as citizen (including naturalized citizen) or non-citizen;

Generational status (GENERTN): a subject's status relative to his or her antecedents in the United States, with first generation signifying immigrant status, second generation having at least one parent who was U. S.-born, and third generation indicating that at least one grandparent was born in this country, and so on;

Academic achievement (GPA): a subject's grade point average at the end of the first semester, ranging from 4.0 (high) to 1.0 (low);

Church attendance (CHURCH): attendance or non-attendance in either a western or Chinese religion church;

Socioeconomic status (SES): a measure based upon an occupational prestige score of father's current occupation, or mother's

current occupation if father is unemployed, retired, or deceased (Temme, 1973);

Family structure (FAMILY): type of family in which the subject is a member, classified as nuclear (mother, father and siblings), extended (nuclear family, and other multigenerational blood relatives), or extra-extended (extended family, multigenerational relatives by marriage and close friends of adult members of the extended family);

Birth order (FAMPLACE): position of subject among children in the nuclear family;

Family composition (FAMSIZE): the number of children in the subject's nuclear family;

Language usage (USECHIN): an indication of bilinguality, indicated by use or non-use of the Chinese language;

Language proficiency (LANG): a self-rating of a subject's ability to understand, speak, write, and read Chinese;

Self-concept (IMAGE): the perception one holds of himself or herself, based upon self-ratings and perceived ratings of others relative to intelligence, self-confidence, physical attractiveness, and likeability (Sung, 1980);

Future orientation (ASPIRE): plans beyond high school, relative to future educational and occupational aspirations.

### The Sinoethnic Identity Scale (SIS)

Background of Scale Development. Although self-reports, interviews, and observational approaches have been utilized to study

ethnic identity, Pavlak (1976) suggests that:

a more practical approach would be to measure individual attitudes of ethnic identification, or more precisely, since an attitude is a hypothetical construct and cannot be measured directly, to infer attitudes of ethnic identification from a measurement of subjects' responses to opinion statements on issues related to ethnic identification. (p. 24)

Summated rating scales are the most common instruments constructed to measure attitudes. Selltiz, Wrightsman, and Cook (1976) report that Likert-type scales are the most frequently used method of attitude scaling. According to Oppenheim (1966) "If we wish to study attitude patterning...then probably the Likert procedure will be the most relevant" (p. 123). Such scales have the advantages of simplicity of design, ease of construction, allow a range of alternative responses (which seems to increase reliability), and provide a quantification of an individual's attitude toward the object of study. There are also opportunities to explore subtler and deeper ramifications of an attitude which are not available with other types of scales, such as the Thurstone scale (Likert, 1932; Oppenheim, 1966).

A Likert-type scale is comprised of a pool of items which have been developed to elicit a measure of intensity and direction of agreement with each item. Intensity and direction of agreement are indicated by a set of alternative responses with values ranging from 1 to 5, with strong disagreement represented by 1, disagreement by 2, uncertainty or neutrality by 3, agreement by 4, and strong agreement by 5. Responses to items representing negative attitudes are assigned

values in reverse order prior to summation of item values into total scores. Response values are assumed to be of equal intervals. Each item is assumed to carry equal weight. The total score indicates a respondent's attitude toward the object of study. The total score also places the respondent in an attitudinal rank order.

Construction of the Sinoethnic Identity Scale. Based on a thorough review of the literature, an item pool of 125 attitude statements was developed. They addressed aspects of Chinese ethnic identity from philosophical (thinking Chinese), cognitive (knowledge of things Chinese), and behavioral (feeling and acting Chinese) perspectives.

Statements were developed according to the criteria suggested by Thurstone (1928), Likert (1932), and Edwards (1957). In summary, the statements should be clear and direct; be short (not more than twenty words); contain only one complete thought; use vocabulary and grammatical construction easily understood by the potential respondents; and allow the respondent to agree or disagree, thus revealing the respondent's attitude. Conversely, statements should not refer to the past; be factual or ambiguous; be such as to be universally accepted or rejected by respondents; use double negatives and universal words such as always, never, only, and merely.

A variation of the Delphi technique developed by researchers at the Rand Corporation (Jones and Twiss, 1978; Linstone and Turoff, 1975) was utilized to select the final items for the scale. For this study, a panel of experts evaluated the 125 attitude statements on Chinese ethnic identity. The panel was comprised of six persons of

Chinese ancestry who exhibited a broad representation of such characteristics as generational status, educational background, occupation, socioeconomic status, and personal experiences. Each person had been previously identified as knowledgeable of both traditional and modern Chinese matters and had served as spokespersons on the subject before audiences which included professional societies, educational institutions, and civic organizations.

Each panelist, who operated in isolation from each other, was requested to judge whether the original pool of 125 statements were representative of Chinese ethnic identity and to recommend acceptance, rejection or modification of each statement for use in the Sinoethnic Identity Scale. The researcher then presented the proposed and revised statements to each panel member for a second round of evaluation. Panelists were asked to review the modified list of statements, categorize them according to similarity of content and then rank order the items in each content area. Due to a high degree of consensus among the panel members, no further iterations were performed.

Through the use of the Delphi technique, the Sinoethnic Identity Scale was formed. It consisted of 103 items which were categorized into three subscales representing the inner, intermediate and outer strata of the concentric model of ethnic identity. The subscales were labelled TRADITIONS, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, and SOCIAL INTERACTIONS. The items which comprised each subscale are presented in Appendices C, D, and E, respectively. Subscale items were intermixed in the instrument administered to the subjects. As each subscale was

considered a discrete component of ethnic identity, subscale scores, rather than total scores, were used in the study.

The TRADITIONS subscale contained forty-six items referring to ethnic customs, practices and conventions, including language usage, preservation of cultural heritage, food, and observance of holidays and celebrations. These items represent the inner core of ethnicity. They included beliefs and values whose expression tended to be more covert than overt, yet served as the fundamental arbiters of behavior (Appendix C).

The thirty items in the FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS subscale addressed relationships among family members, responsibilities of family membership, and attitudes related to dating, courtship and marriage. Items referred to parent-child relationships, filial piety, individual vs. group roles and responsibilities, gender role expectations, and mate selection (Appendix D). These areas mediate basic and fundamental ethnic values which form the images and behaviors ethnic individuals choose to present to the larger society.

The twenty-seven items in the SOCIAL INTERACTIONS subscale were related to attitudes toward activities and associations outside the family circle, extending from the Chinese community to the larger society. These included reference to school and community environments, friendship patterns, and attractiveness of ethnic vs. non-ethnic activities and associates (Appendix E). Reciprocal perceptions and expectations between Chinese Americans and the larger society are largely based on these interactions.

The 103-item form of the SIS was administered to the sample.

Reduced forms of each subscale constructed for purposes of statistical analyses are displayed in Appendices F, G, and H.

### Administration of the Instruments

Subjects met as a group in a designated location at each high school to complete the two instruments. In order to minimize the possibility of response sets, the two instruments were labeled as Youth Opinion Survey, Part I (the Background Information Survey), and Youth Opinion Survey, Part II (the Sinoethnic Identity Scale). Subjects were informed that there were no right or wrong answers. Confidentiality and anonymity, which were assured in written communications to subjects and their parents or guardians, were reiterated in the written instructions on the instruments and orally during the administration process. Make-up sessions were provided for students who were absent on the original day the instruments were administered. Formal interviews were not a part of the research; however informal conversations with subjects following completion of the instruments provided insights which aided interpretation of the findings.

### Scoring

Subjects were asked to express the intensity and direction of agreement with each item of the scale by checking a descriptive response from among five alternatives. The possible alternative responses and their corresponding values were: strongly agree=5; agree=4; uncertain or neutral=3; disagree=2; and strongly disagree=1.

Items that represented disagreement were assigned values in reverse order prior to summation. The value of responses for items in each subscale were summed, with higher scores representing stronger and more positive feelings toward ethnic identity. Following the model discussed in Chapter II, the three discrete subscale scores were assumed to be more accurate measures of ethnic identity than a single total score. Thus, each subscale score was treated as a dependent variable.

#### Data Gathering Procedures

Entry into the Chinese community was approached with great caution. Research involving Chinese American populations, as with other Asian American groups, is a fairly recent phenomenon. Yu (1982) articulated methodological issues inherent in conducting research in Asian American communities, including the legitimization of ethnic researchers in both the community and academia; uncritical acceptance of theoretical presuppositions and methodology reflecting only the perspectives of the dominant society; and the lack of culturally relevant research methods and instruments. Each of these concerns was considered in the development and implementation of the study, but most particularly during the data gathering stage.

As this study was prototypical relative to site and sample, steps were taken to allay the reticence and fear that accompanied unfamiliarity with survey questionnaires and educational research. Moreover, the range of intergroup experiences between community members and the larger society influenced attitudes toward the study.

Appropriate culture-related procedures were utilized in order to increase the probability of consensual agreement by parents and guardians to allow their children's participation in the study. Despite the high regard that Chinese hold for education and related activities, reluctance toward granting permission was not unexpected. Striving for educational achievement and complying with requests for personal information and opinions were viewed by some as mutually exclusive activities. It has been observed that such attitudes are not unusual among ethnic minorities who have been the victims of discrimination (Sue & Sue, 1972).

Issues such as these emphasized the critical need to be cognizant of the inherent distrust and suspicion created by the introduction of "foreign" practices into an ethnic community, even when the researcher is of the same ethnic background. It was imperative for the researcher to be responsive and sensitive to the concerns of the group being studied.

Sue and Sue (1972) suggested that trust, rapport, and cooperation could be facilitated by involving community members in various activities during the developmental and data gathering stages of a research project. Obtaining community endorsement and involvement would legitimize the study. Therefore, leaders of the major organizations representing the Chinese population were approached for assistance with the arguments that (a) the study was both relevant and applicable to the community; (b) the results would contribute to a broader understanding of Chinese youth by institutions and agencies responsible for providing educational opportunities; and (c) the

integrity of the community and individuals would be maintained. Attainment of community endorsement and support resulted in volunteer participation during the instrument development and data gathering stages of the study.

Parental or guardian permission for student participation in the study was sought through letters which carried the endorsement of the school district and which fully described the purpose of the study as well as the researcher's background. Consent forms and stamped, self-addressed envelopes were included to facilitate cooperation with the study (Appendix I). Informational letters were also sent to the identified students (Appendix J). Follow-up letters were sent to students (Appendix K). In addition, follow-up telephone calls were made by the researcher and volunteers from the community organizations. All written communication and much of the oral communication with the home were conducted in both English and Chinese.

#### Reliability

Internal consistency of the original and reduced forms of the subscales was assessed with Cronbach's Alpha (Cronbach, 1951). The Alpha coefficients for the original and reduced forms of each subscale are shown in Table 4 and Appendices C through H. Reduction of the number of items in each subscale improved the coefficients of subscales TRADITIONS and SOCIAL INTERACTIONS, and maintained the coefficient of subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.

Table 4. Alpha Coefficients of Internal Consistency for Original and Reduced Forms of Subscales TRADITIONS, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, and SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Subscale	Items	Alpha Coefficient
TRADITIONS		
Original form	46	.82
Reduced form	14	.84
FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS		
Original form	30	.86
Reduced form	14	.86
SOCIAL INTERACTIONS		
Original form	27	.78
Reduced form	11	.84

### Validity

For this study, content validity was considered to be the most appropriate determination of validity. Content validity is concerned with the extent to which an instrument generates "good" data which reflect the object of study.

The Delphi technique (Jones and Twiss, 1978; Linstone and Turoff, 1975;) is considered a useful tool for providing content validity to a data gathering instrument (Courtney, 1982). This technique is built on the premise that informed intuitive judgments can be used to arrive at consensus. Informed and experienced persons are asked to serve as members of a panel of experts to participate in an iterative judging process. Systematic evaluation procedures are used to produce closer consensus among the panel of judges during each round of judging. The researcher maintains contact with each panel member who works in isolation from each other while evaluating succeeding forms of the instrument. The rounds continue until consensus has been reached.

Since it was not possible to locate an appropriate instrument, this technique was utilized to develop the Sinoethnic Identity Scale to measure Chinese ethnic identity.

The subscales TRADITIONS, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, and SOCIAL INTERACTIONS represented three distinct dimensions of ethnic identity. The subscales were not matched triads; therefore the total score of each subscale was treated as a discrete dependent variable. T-tests indicated that significant differences between the three subscales were not due to chance (TRADITIONS with FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS:

t=20.59, df=105, P=.000; TRADITIONS with SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: t=10.60, df=105, P=.000; SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS with FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: t=12.65, df=105, P=.000).

### Treatment of the Data

The 95 percent confidence level was used throughout the data analysis.

The data were processed at the Oregon State University Milne Computer Center using the Statistics Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) on the CYBER 73.

Pearson product moment correlation coefficients were computed for the dependent and independent variables. In order to be considered in the regression analysis, the correlation coefficient of each independent variable had to be significant at the .05 level of confidence. Step-wise multiple regression was utilized to examine relationships between a dependent variable and its correlated independent variables. Partial correlation coefficients were computed to further analyze relationships. Data were also analyzed through the use of t-tests and one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA).

### Summary

Included in this chapter were descriptions of the sample and the location for the study. The two instruments developed for gathering the data were described. Procedures leading to the development of an ethnic identity scale underscored the heuristic nature of the study. Administration procedures and scoring protocol were discussed. The

critical steps necessary to initiate and conduct research in the ethnic community were emphasized. The chapter concluded with a discussion of reliability, validity, and treatment of the data.

## IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Introduction

Chapter IV presents and discusses the data relevant to the study. It is organized around the relationships between the dependent variables TRADITIONS, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, and SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS, and fourteen independent variables representing demographic, sociocultural, and psychological characteristics.

Zero-order correlation coefficients among the three dependent variables that comprised ethnic identity and all the independent variables representing demographic, sociocultural, and psychological characteristics are shown in Table 5. Means and standard deviations are presented in a general summary in Table 6. Stepwise multiple regression models were used to analyze the research questions.

The purpose of the study was to explore the ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents through the investigation of relationships between ethnic identity and selected demographic, sociocultural, and psychological variables. Three questions were posed for the study:

1. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and the selected demographic characteristics (age, grade level, sex, nativity, citizenship status, and generational status)?
2. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and the selected sociocultural characteristics (religious preference, family structure, Chinese language proficiency, academic achievement, and socioeconomic status)?

Table 5. Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficients of Subscale Scores and Selected Demographic, Sociocultural, and Psychological Variables

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	.1846 ( 106) P = .029				
SOCIAL INTERACTIONS	.4556 ( 106) P = .001	.3382 ( 106) P = .001			
AGE	.0405 ( 106) P = .340	.1260 ( 106) P = .099	-.0863 ( 106) P = .189		
SEX	.0104 ( 106) P = .458	-.2947 ( 106) P = .001	-.1759 ( 106) P = .036	-.0038 ( 106) P = .485	
CITIZEN	.0342 ( 106) P = .364	.2114 ( 106) P = .015	.0614 ( 106) P = .266	.0491 ( 106) P = .319	.0333 ( 106) P = .367
GENERTN	-.2046 ( 106) P = .018	-.0523 ( 106) P = .297	.0901 ( 106) P = .179	-.0061 ( 106) P = .475	-.0417 ( 106) P = .336
GPA	.2169 ( 105) P = .013	-.1934 ( 105) P = .024	-.0576 ( 105) P = .280	.0257 ( 105) P = .398	.0699 ( 105) P = .239
CHURCH	-.1938 ( 104) P = .204	-.1041 ( 104) P = .146	-.2924 ( 104) P = .001	.1727 ( 104) P = .040	.1052 ( 104) P = .144
SES	.0716 ( 106) P = .233	.0033 ( 106) P = .486	.1135 ( 106) P = .123	-.0020 ( 106) P = .492	-.1450 ( 106) P = .069
	TRADITIONS	FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	SOCIAL INTERACTIONS	AGE	SEX

Table 5. (Continued)

FAMILY	.2073 ( 105) P = .017	-.0096 ( 105) P = .461	.2279 ( 105) P = .010	.0712 ( 105) P = .235	.1242 ( 105) P = .103
FAMPLACE	-.0485 ( 106) P = .311	-.1106 ( 106) P = .130	-.0637 ( 106) P = .258	.0323 ( 106) P = .371	.3954 ( 106) P = .001
FAMSIZE	.1603 ( 106) P = .050	.1128 ( 106) P = .125	-.0802 ( 106) P = .207	.1758 ( 106) P = .036	-.0497 ( 106) P = .306
USECHIN	-.0981 ( 106) P = .159	-.1843 ( 106) P = .029	.0113 ( 106) P = .454	-.0556 ( 106) P = .286	.0358 ( 106) P = .358
LANG	.1501 ( 106) P = .062	.0649 ( 106) P = .254	.0330 ( 106) P = .368	.0667 ( 106) P = .248	.1295 ( 106) P = .093
IMAGE	.1848 ( 102) P = .031	-.1555 ( 102) P = .059	-.0691 ( 102) P = .245	-.0322 ( 102) P = .374	-.0164 ( 102) P = .435
ASPIRE	.0407 ( 106) P = .339	-.0366 ( 106) P = .355	.1133 ( 106) P = .124	-.0151 ( 106) P = .439	.0393 ( 106) P = .345
	TRADITIONS	FAMILY RELATION- SHIPS	SOCIAL INTER- ACTIONS	AGE	SEX

Table 5. (Continued)

---

GENERTN	-.4619			
	( 106)			
	P = .001			
GPA	-.0114	-.1655		
	( 105)	( 105)		
	P = .454	P = .046		
CHURCH	-.0512	.0884	-.0747	
	( 104)	( 104)	( 103)	
	P = .303	P = .186	P = .227	
SES	-.0916	.3101	.1406	-.0608
	( 106)	( 106)	( 105)	( 104)
	P = .175	P = .001	P = .076	P = .270
	CITIZEN	GENERTN	GPA	CHURCH

Table 5. (Continued)

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FAMILY	-.0650 ( 105) P = .255	.0838 ( 105) P = .198	.0089 ( 104) P = .464	-.0628 ( 103) P = .264	.0385 ( 105) P = .348		
FAMPLACE	.1463 ( 106) P = .067	-.1316 ( 106) P = .089	-.0994 ( 106) P = .156	.1290 ( 105) P = .096	-.2698 ( 104) P = .003	.0367 ( 105) P = .355	
FAMSIZE	.2863 ( 106) P = .001	-.2588 ( 106) P = .004	-.2171 ( 105) P = .013	-.0056 ( 104) P = .478	-.1870 ( 106) P = .027	-.0297 ( 105) P = .382	
USECHIN	-.2625 ( 106) P = .003	.5709 ( 106) P = .001	.0577 ( 105) P = .279	.1057 ( 104) P = .143	.1497 ( 106) P = .063	.1634 ( 105) P = .048	
LANG	.4532 ( 106) P = .001	-.5844 ( 106) P = .001	-.0091 ( 105) P = .463	-.1292 ( 104) P = .096	-.1107 ( 106) P = .129	-.0244 ( 105) P = .403	
IMAGE	-.1763 ( 102) P = .038	-.0077 ( 102) P = .470	.2961 ( 101) P = .001	-.1874 ( 100) P = .031	.0550 ( 102) P = .292	.1752 ( 101) P = .040	
ASPIRE	-.2744 ( 106) P = .002	.1485 ( 106) P = .064	.2778 ( 105) P = .002	-.1162 ( 104) P = .120	.0104 ( 106) P = .458	.0491 ( 105) P = .309	
	CITIZEN	GENERTN	GPA	CHURCH	SES	FAMILY	

Table 5. (Continued)

---

FAMSIZE	.4237				
	( 106)				
	P = .001				
USECHIN	-.0493	-.1823			
	( 106)	( 106)			
	P = .308	P = .031			
LANG	.1350	.1872	-.5259		
	( 106)	( 106)	( 106)		
	P = .084	P = .027	P = .001		
IMAGE	-.1079	-.1702	.0780	.0434	
	( 102)	( 102)	( 102)	( 102)	
	P = .140	P = .044	P = .218	P = .332	
ASPIRE	-.1125	-.2306	.0582	-.1065	.2161
	( 106)	( 106)	( 106)	( 106)	( 102)
	P = .125	P = .009	P = .277	P = .139	P = .015
	FAMPLACE	FAMSIZE	USECHIN	LANG	IMAGE

---

Table 6. Summary of Selected Statistical Data

Variable	N <sup>a</sup>	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation
Subscale				
TRADITIONS	106	1-5	3.800	.516
FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	106	1-5	2.346	.616
SOCIAL INTERACTIONS	106	1-5	3.200	.592
AGE	106	14-21	16.740	1.333
GPA	106	1-7	5.257	1.338
SES	106	14-88	36.283	18.015
LANG	106	1-3	1.547	1.105
IMAGE	102	8-40	29.922	3.793

<sup>a</sup>number of cases

3. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and the selected psychological characteristics (self-concept and future orientation as manifest by educational and occupational aspirations)?

For the purposes of this study, ethnic identity is defined as being comprised of three dimensions. The core or traditional dimension is represented by inherited and often unconscious characteristics that distinguish one ethnicity from another and includes such attributes as physiognomy, language, values, customs, and traditions. This dimension is measured by subscale TRADITIONS. The intermediate or familial dimension is that facet of ethnic identity in which transmission of cultural norms and socialization for interaction with the larger society occurs. Family relationships, roles, and responsibilities characterize this dimension, which is measured by subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS. The third, or societal dimension, is concerned with the ethnic values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors related to functioning in the larger society. Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS measured the features of ethnic identity which are most obvious to the dominant society. As public presentations of cultural values and beliefs which emanate from the innermost dimension of ethnicity, these features are those upon which the larger society builds its images and expectations of the minority group.

Relationships Between the Dimensions of Ethnic Identity  
and Demographic, Sociocultural, and Psychological Variables

The Core, or Traditional Dimension

Significant zero-order correlations (Table 5) were found between the core dimension of ethnic identity and five independent variables. In the demographic category, GENERTN was negatively related ( $r=-.21$ ,  $n=106$ ,  $p=.02$ ). Positive correlations were found for three sociocultural variables, GPA ( $r=.22$ ,  $n=105$ ,  $p=.01$ ), CHURCH ( $r=-.19$ ,  $n=104$ ,  $p=.02$ ) and FAMILY ( $r=.21$ ,  $n=105$ ,  $p=.02$ ). In the psychological category, IMAGE was positively correlated with TRADITIONS ( $r=.18$ ,  $n=102$ ,  $p=.03$ ).

When entered into step-wise multiple regression, these five variables explained 15 percent of the variance in the core dimension of ethnic identity ( $R=.39$ ,  $F=3.39$ ,  $df=5,94$ ,  $p=.007$ ) (See Table 7).

In descending order of explained variance, GPA entered the model first. This variable accounted for five percent of the variance ( $R=.22$ ,  $F=4.84$ ,  $df=1,98$ ,  $p=.03$ ). Pearson  $r$  indicated that as school achievement rose, so would ethnic identity scores.

FAMILY, the second variable to enter the model, contributed four percent of the variance ( $R=.30$ ,  $F=4.75$ ,  $df=2,97$ ,  $p=.01$ ). Those who defined family as extended or extra-extended units would be likely to have stronger ethnic identities than those who defined family as comprised of only parents and siblings.

Next to enter the model was GENERTN, which explained an additional four percent of the variance ( $R=.35$ ,  $F=4.57$ ,  $df=3,96$ ,

Table 7. Step-Wise Regression for Subscale TRADITIONS

Multiple R = .391					
R <sup>2</sup> = .153					
<u>Analysis of Variance</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>
Regression	4.029	5	.806	3.393	.007
Residual	22.321	94	.238		
Coeff. of Variability		12.8 Pct.			
Variables in the Equation					
<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Std. Error B</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>R<sup>2</sup> Change</u>
GPA	.584	.389	2.252	.137	.047
FAMILY	.164	.800	4.215	.043	.042
GENERTN	-.925	.490	3.567	.062	.036
CHURCH	-.148	.104	2.055	.155	.023
IMAGE	.106	.140	.573	.451	.005
(CONSTANT)	3.234	.485	44.427	.000	

$p=.005$ ). The negative Pearson  $r$  indicated that third, fourth, and fifth generation youth would not hold as strong ethnic identities as those who were immigrants or children of immigrants.

CHURCH entered the equation next, explaining another two percent of the variance ( $R=.38$ ,  $F=4.12$ ,  $df=4,95$ ,  $p=.004$ ). Church attenders would be more likely to show greater attachment to ethnic attributes than non-attenders.

IMAGE explained the final one percent of the variance in the equation ( $R=.39$ ,  $F=3.39$ ,  $df=5,94$ ,  $p=.007$ ). Higher self-concepts would be accompanied by higher ethnic identity scores.

GPA, FAMILY, and GENERTN were significant contributors to the model as each variable entered the model (Table 8).

In the case of GPA, it is suspected that Chinese American youth do not distinguish high grades from ethnic identity. For these students, high educational achievement is synonymous with being a "good Chinese." That is, being Chinese does not guarantee school success, but school success does guarantee being viewed by the family and community as being a good Chinese. This assertion is supported by the strong correlation between GPA and IMAGE ( $r=.30$ ,  $p=.001$ ). Among Chinese, there is little differentiation between a positive self-concept and academic excellence. In fact, it is strongly suspected that for Chinese students, self-concept is an effect rather than a cause of the legendary and educational achievements of Chinese students. Yet, educators tend to view academic competence as an end product, rather than as the means for expressing ethnic identity. This perception has limited the recognition of ethnicity as a

Table 8. Summary of Step-Wise Multiple Regression for Subscale TRADITIONS

Step	Variable Entered	F to Enter	P	R	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup> Change	r	F	P
1	GPA	4.840	.030	.217	.047	.047	.217	4.840	.030
2	FAMILY	4.491	.037	.299	.089	.042	.207	4.752	.011
3	GENERTN	3.940	.050	.354	.125	.036	-.205	4.577	.005
4	CHURCH	2.519	.116	.384	.148	.023	-.194	4.117	.004
5	IMAGE	.573	.451	.391	.153	.005	.185	3.393	.007

potential resource for enhancing and supporting positive educational outcomes of ethnic minority students.

Attenuation of ethnic identity by generation was postulated by a number of researcher (Fong, 1973; Gordon, 1963; Masuda et al., 1970). A gradual diminishing of ethnic attachment was considered a natural outcome of acculturation. However, the hypothesis did not hold true for this sample. No significant differences were found between the ethnic identity scores of first, second, and later generations ( $F=3.012$ ,  $df=3,103$ ,  $p=.054$ ) (Table 32). This finding suggests the presence of compelling factors supporting the maintenance of cultural values and beliefs.

When all five variables entered the model, only FAMILY remained as a unique contributor to the variance in the traditional dimension. First- and second-order partial correlations show that when FAMILY is controlled, relationships between the other four variables and TRADITIONS remained significant and, in several instances, strengthened (Table 9). However, correlation coefficients dropped to insignificance when FAMILY was held constant along with either GPA, IMAGE, and CHURCH. While there did not appear to be clear explanations for these interactions, it may be assumed that each of these variables are integral to the traditional dimension of ethnic identity.

CHURCH and IMAGE each correlated significantly with TRADITIONS, but neither were significant contributors to the model (Table 7). In fact, when each entered the model, GPA and GENERTN lost significance.

Yet, differences in the ethnic identity scores of attenders and

Table 9. Partial Correlation Coefficients for Subscale TRADITIONS and Related Independent Variables

Zero-Order Correlation by Independent Variables				First- and Second-Order Correlation by Controlling Variables			
Variable	r	N	P	Variable	r	DF	P
GPA	.217	105	.013	FAMILY	.228	95	.012
				GENERTN	.203	95	.023
				CHURCH	.214	95	.018
				IMAGE	.175	95	.043
				FAMILY & GENERTN	.206	84	.022
				FAMILY & CHURCH	.219	94	.016
				FAMILY & IMAGE	.188	94	.033
				GENERTN & CHURCH	.196	94	.028
				GENERTN & IMAGE	.147	94	.077
				CHURCH & IMAGE	.175	94	.044
FAMILY	.207	105	.017	GPA	.202	95	.023
				GENERTN	.230	95	.012
				CHURCH	.190	95	.031
				IMAGE	.175	95	.043

Table 9. (Continued)

Variable	r	N	P	Variable	r	DF	P
				IMAGE	.160	95	.058
				GENERTN & CHURCH	.223	94	.014
				GENERTN & IMAGE	.195	94	.029
				GENERTN & GPA	.232	94	.011
				CHURCH & IMAGE	.161	94	.059
				CHURCH & GPA	.196	94	.028
				IMAGE & GPA	.175	94	.044
GENERTN	-.205	106	.018	GPA	-.167	95	.051
				FAMILY	-.226	95	.013
				CHURCH	-.182	95	.037
				IMAGE	-.213	95	.018
				CHURCH & IMAGE	-.203	94	.023
				CHURCH & GPA	-.160	94	.059
				CHURCH & FAMILY	-.217	94	.017
				IMAGE & GPA	-.191	94	.031

Table 9. (Continued)

Variable	r	N	P	Variable	r	DF	P
				IMAGE & FAMILY	-.239	94	.009
				GPA & FAMILY	-.203	94	.024
CHURCH	-.194	104	.024	GPA	-.188	95	.033
				FAMILY	-.192	95	.030
				GENERTN	-.190	95	.031
				IMAGE	-.162	95	.056
				IMAGE & GPA	-.162	94	.057
				IMAGE & FAMILY	-.163	94	.057
				IMAGE & GENERTN	-.149	94	.074
				GPA & FAMILY	-.182	94	.038
				GPA & GENERTN	-.182	94	.038
				FAMILY & GENERTN	-.181	94	.038
IMAGE	.185	102	.031	GPA	.159	95	.059
				FAMILY	.178	95	.040
				GENERTN	.231	95	.011

Table 9. (Continued)

Variable	r	N	P	Variable	r	DF	P
				CHURCH	.178	95	.041
				GPA & FAMILY	.122	94	.119
				GPA & GENERTN	.184	94	.036
				GPA & CHURCH	.128	94	.107
				FAMILY & GENERTN	.196	94	.028
				FAMILY & CHURCH	.199	94	.026

non-attenders were not due to chance ( $t=1.99$ ,  $df= 102$ ,  $p=.049$ ) (Table 10). This finding suggests that the church plays a primary role in the lives of Chinese American adolescents. It is not known whether it is the liturgy which is the attraction, or whether it is the availability of activities and interactions which provide opportunities for association with one's own kind. With social contacts limited by the dispersion of Chinese throughout the city and the sparse enrollments in high schools (Table 1) it is suspected that the latter reason cannot be discounted as a compelling factor for church attendance. Mingling with age mates who speak the same dialect, act in similar ways, and practice familiar customs assist in affirming and maintaining the features of ethnic identity.

Examination of first- and second-order partial correlations reveals that IMAGE interacted with every other variable so as to detract from their relationships with TRADITIONS. IMAGE appears to be inextricably involved with each variable in the model. There is little disagreement among self-concept theorists that self-concept and self-esteem are based upon an individual's perception of himself or herself in relation to others in the social context in which he or she exists. The significant others in the lives of these youth are found in the family and ethnic community. Therefore, the perceptions of family and community members take precedent over all others, including those of peers in school, and society in general. The nature of Chinese culture defines self-concept in terms of the the worth attributed to an individual by his or her family network and the ethnic community. The family and other elders of the community exert

control over personal inclinations. The peer pressure that is central in relationships during adolescence is more likely to have an effect on self-concept if it comes from other Chinese youth. It is postulated that, by and large, Chinese youth are more like each other than like their non-Chinese peers. If this were not true, there would be evidence of behaviors and attitudes in both their academic and social activities that were more like those of their non-Chinese cohorts.

American culture emphasizes individuality and independence in decision making. Chinese culture promotes loyalty to the family and the group and commands respect for the guidance and advice of elders. For Chinese American youth, one's self-concept and sense of worth has meaning only in reflection from the family, or the church (which is a form of the extended family), or the Chinese community. In short, self-concept is one's ethnic identity.

It is not surprising that FAMILY, among the five variables, was the sole significant contributor to the model. The family is foremost in the lives of Chinese Americans. Having no family is the greatest of misfortunes (Lee, 1960, Hsu, 1971; Nee & Nee, 1972). The degree to which one expresses the core ethnic identity is dependent upon resources and abilities within the family to carry out its socialization responsibilities. It would follow, then, that the very nature of extended and extra-extended families would provide a more extensive network of role models and teachers.

As indicated by the Pearson coefficient, those who defined family as extended or extra-extended units were more likely to hold stronger

ethnic identities that those who saw family as a nuclear unit. Although observed differences were not statistically significant ( $F=1.194$ ,  $df=2,102$ ,  $p=.106$ ) (Table 36), there were strong indications that despite the prevalence of nuclear and single parent families in contemporary society, Chinese youth still defined family in the traditional sense. This perception held regardless of the composition of their own families. Thus, by definition and by roles and responsibilities, the family and traditional ethnic identity seem to be one and the same in the minds of Chinese American youth. Without family, the interpretation and internalization of the fundamental aspects of being Chinese are in jeopardy. Without a sense of ethnic identity, the quality of existence is greatly diminished.

A summary of the results of the independent variables correlated with the traditional dimension of ethnic identity is shown in Table 10.

#### The Intermediate, or Familial Dimension

Zero-order correlations (Table 5) revealed significant correlations between the familial dimension and two demographic variables, SEX ( $r=-.29$ ,  $n=106$ ,  $p=.001$ ) and CITIZEN ( $r=.21$ ,  $n=106$ ,  $p=.015$ ). Among the sociocultural variables, GPA ( $r=-.19$ ,  $n=105$ ,  $p=.024$ ) and USECHIN ( $r=-.18$ ,  $n=106$ ,  $p=.029$ ) showed significant, but negative correlations. Neither of the psychological variables, IMAGE ( $r=-.16$ ,  $n=102$ ,  $p=.059$ ) or ASPIRE ( $r=-.037$ ,  $n=106$ ,  $p=.355$ ) correlated significantly.

As shown in Table 11, the four variables explained 18 percent of

Table 10. Summary of Statistics for Subscale TRADITION and Related Independent Variables

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Statistic	DF	P
Demographic						
GENERTN	106			F = 3.012	2,103	.054
Sociocultural						
GPA	105			r = .217		.013
FAMILY	105			F = 2.294	2,102	.106
CHURCH						
attenders	38	2.419	.572	t = 1.06	102	.049
non-attenders	66	2.286	.638			
Psychological						
IMAGE	102			r = .185		.031

the variance in the intermediate dimension of ethnic identity when they were entered into the step-wise regression model ( $R=.42$ ,  $F=.001$ ,  $df=4,100$ ,  $p=.001$ ).

SEX entered the model first, explaining nine percent of the variance ( $R=.29$ ,  $F=9.79$ ,  $df=1,103$ ,  $p=.002$ ). The negative Pearson  $r$  indicated that males held stronger attachment to the familial characteristics of ethnic identity than females.

Another five percent of the variance was explained by CITIZEN ( $R=.37$ ,  $F=8.15$ ,  $df=2,102$ ,  $p=.001$ ). Higher ethnic identity scores were more likely to be found among that portion of the sample which had not yet attained citizenship by naturalization.

The third variable to enter the model, GPA, explained another three percent of the variance ( $R=.41$ ,  $F=6.64$ ,  $df=3,101$ ,  $p=.000$ ). The negative coefficient indicated that those who held higher ethnic identity scores tended to achieve lower grades.

The final one percent variance was explained by USECHIN ( $R=.42$ ,  $F=5.38$ ,  $df=4,101$ ,  $p=.001$ ). Users of the Chinese language showed stronger ethnic identities than those who were monolingual English.

Of the four variables in the model, only SEX and CITIZEN contributed significantly to the variance in FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS (Table 12).

The successful socialization of culturally appropriate sex-role behavior by the family is shown in the significant differences between the scores of males and females ( $t=3.14$ ,  $df=104$ ,  $p=.002$ ). Roles and responsibilities assigned to males and females in the Chinese culture are clearly differentiated and are taught from early childhood by the

Table 11. Step-Wise Regression for Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Multiple R = .421					
R <sup>2</sup> = .177					
<u>Analysis of Variance</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>
Regression	6.980	4	1.745	5.378	.001
Residual	32.449	100	.325		
Coeff. of Variability				24.3 Pct.	
Variables in the Equation					
<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Std. Error B</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>R<sup>2</sup> Change</u>
SEX	-.350	.112	9.814	.002	.087
CITIZEN	.246	.123	4.026	.047	.049
GPA	-.758	.419	3.270	.074	.029
USECHIN	-.215	.176	1.490	.225	.012
(CONSTANT)	3.180	.384	68.721	.000	

Table 12. Summary of Step-Wise Multiple Regression for Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Step	Variable Entered	F to Enter	P	R	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup> Change	r	F	P
1	SEX	9.793	.002	.295	.087	.087	.295	9.793	.002
2	CITIZEN	5.782	.018	.369	.136	.049	.211	8.145	.001
3	GPA	3.504	.064	.406	.165	.029	-.193	6.642	.000
4	USECHIN	1.490	.225	.421	.177	.013	-.184	5.379	.001

elders within the family and community. Neither is there little uncertainty of the behaviors expected of boys and girls nor is there questioning of frequently inequitable treatment applied according to one's gender and age. Even when one does not strongly agree with the ideals, socialization processes leave little room for doubt that one does not know how one should believe and behave as a young Chinese man or woman. Sex-role relationships within the Chinese family and culture are practiced conscientiously in a highly predictable and precise fashion.

The correlation between citizenship and the familial dimension indicated that non-citizens tend to have higher scores than those who were born in the United States or those who had acquired citizenship by naturalization. t-test showed that the observed differences in scores were not due to chance ( $t=-2.21$ ,  $df=104$ ,  $p=.03$ ). It is speculated that those who had not yet acquired citizenship or who were not yet eligible would have a greater need as well as desire toward the familiarity found in the ethnic family and group. Non-citizenship status is also somewhat indicative of the length of time one has been in the United States. The comparatively short residency of non-citizens may not have allowed acculturative processes to exert any influence on ethnic attitudes. It may also be that some of the students have chosen not to attain citizenship, although that would more likely be a family than an individual decision. Perhaps the possession of citizenship moves allegiance and loyalty away from the ethnic family and group toward the larger society. This may be a first step toward acculturation of the immigrant group and an

indication of biculturality for both U.S.-born and naturalized foreign born.

While GPA was a primary contributor to the variance in the TRADITIONS subscale, it has a minor role in the model for the intermediary or familial dimension. The family serves as the agent for transmitting the basic values and beliefs that spur one to act in a certain manner and provides insight into the means for actualizing those values and beliefs. The negative relationship may be an indication of the diminished influence of parents in overseeing day-to-day activities, as a large percentage of families are supported by two working parents. Eighty percent of all mothers and 91 percent of all fathers worked outside the home. Mothers were primarily employed by the garment industry(42%), while most fathers were cooks (47%).

The lack of significant contribution to the model by the variable USECHIN seemed to be due to the effect of citizenship. First- and second-order partial correlations revealed that when CITIZEN was held constant, correlations between USECHIN and FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS disappeared (Table 13).

Citizenship appeared to be a better indicator of ethnic identity than the use of the native language. Recent studies among Chinese Americans noted that despite the lack of fluency in Chinese, ethnic identity was still very evident in both attitudes and behaviors (Ting-Toomey, 1981; Woodell, 1973). The diminishing value of language as an indicator of ethnicity among Chinese may be due to limited access to formal language training, natural acculturative processes,

Table 13. Partial Correlation Coefficients for Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS and Independent Variables

Zero-Order Correlation by Independent Variables				First- and Second-Order Correlation by Controlling Variables			
Variable	r	N	P	Variable	r	DF	P
SEX	.295	106	.001	CITIZEN	-.307	102	.001
				GPA	-.288	102	.002
				USECHIN	-.293	102	.001
				CITIZEN & GPA	-.299	101	.001
				CITIZEN & USECHIN	-.304	101	.001
				GPA & USECHIN	-.286	101	.002
CITIZEN	.211	106	.015	GPA	.217	102	.014
				USECHIN	.176	102	.037
				SEX	.231	102	.009
				GPA & USECHIN	.180	101	.035
				GPA & SEX	.233	101	.009
				USECHIN & SEX	.194	101	.025

Table 13. (Continued)

Variable	r	N	P	Variable	r	DF	P
GPA	-.193	105	.024	USECHIN	-.186	102	.029
				SEX	-.181	102	.033
				CITIZEN	-.196	102	.023
				USECHIN & SEX	-.174	101	.039
				USECHIN & CITIZEN	-.190	101	.027
				SEX & CITIZEN	-.183	101	.032
USECHIN	-.184	106	.029	SEX	-.181	102	.033
				CITIZEN	-.137	102	.083
				GPA	-.177	102	.036
				SEX & CITIZEN	-.129	101	.097
				SEX & GPA	-.175	101	.039
				CITIZEN & GPA	-.129	101	.098

and the desire to provide evidence of eligibility for membership in the mainstream by exclusive use of English. The potency of CITIZEN also indicated that gaining citizenship inevitably, at least for this sample, resulted in diminished importance in using Chinese as a means of communication and its relinquishment as a mark of ethnicity. In a word, CITIZEN is a sign of English language usage just as USECHIN is an indicator for Chinese language usage.

A summary of the results of findings between the familial dimension of ethnic identity and related variables is found in Table 14.

#### The Societal Dimension

One demographic variable, SEX ( $r=.18$ ,  $n=106$ ,  $p=.04$ ), and two sociocultural variables, CHURCH ( $r=-.29$ ,  $n=104$ ,  $p=.001$ ) and FAMILY ( $r=.23$ ,  $n=105$ ,  $p=.01$ ), were found to be significantly related with that dimension of ethnic identity which interfaced with the larger society. Relationships were not found between the two identified psychological variables (IMAGE,  $r=.07$ ,  $n=102$ ,  $p=.25$ ; and ASPIRE,  $r=.11$ ,  $n=106$ ,  $p=.12$ ) and SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS. When entered into step-wise multiple regression, SEX, CHURCH, and FAMILY explained 16% of the variance in Social Relationships (Table 15).

In descending order of explained variance, CHURCH entered the model first, accounting for nine percent of the variance ( $R=.29$ ,  $F=9.44$ ,  $df=1,101$ ,  $p=.003$ ). The negative correlation indicated that church attenders would express higher societal identities than non-attenders.

Table 14. Summary of Statistics for Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS and Related Independent Variables

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Statistic	DF	P
Demographic						
SEX						
male	54	2.523	.641	t = 3.14	104	.002
female	52	2.162	.534			
CITIZEN						
yes	71	2.255	.614	t = -2.21	104	.030
no	35	2.531	.586			
Sociocultural						
GPA	105			r = .193		.024
USECHIN						
yes	93	2.388	.620	t = 1.91	104	.059
no	13	2.044	.509			

Table 15. Step-Wise Regression for Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTION

Multiple R = .400					
R <sup>2</sup> = .160					
<u>Analysis of Variance</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>
Regression	5.730	3	1.910	6.296	.001
Residual	30.034	99	.303		
Coeff. of Variability				17.2 Pct.	
Variables in the Equation					
<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Std. Error B</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>R<sup>2</sup> Change</u>
CHURCH	-.317	.114	7.770	.006	.086
FAMILY	.221	.882	6.302	.014	.044
SEX	-.209	.110	3.616	.060	.031
(CONSTANT)	3.563	.299	141.813	.000	

FAMILY entered second, explaining an additional four percent of the variance ( $R=.36$ ,  $F=7.442$ ,  $df=2,100$ ,  $p=.001$ ). Those who defined a family as extended or extra-extended were expected to hold higher ethnic identity scores than those for whom family meant parents and siblings.

The last variable to enter this model, SEX, explained the remaining three percent of the variance ( $R=.40$ ,  $F=6.30$ ,  $df=3,99$ ,  $p=.001$ ). Males were likely to hold stronger ethnic attitudes than females.

Whether or not one attended church was significant to the expression of ethnic identity in the larger society ( $t=3.09$ ,  $df=102$ ,  $p=.003$ ). Given a choice, church attenders were more likely to prefer the company of other Chinese and to participate in ethnically related activities. Those who attended church generally attended churches with high concentrations of Chinese. While these churches advocated Western religions, services were conducted bilingually and the ministry provided English as a Second Language and citizenship preparation classes.

Even though attenders represented four generations, 78 percent were from homes in which English was not the first language, and socialization to American ways of life was most likely an on-going task. It can be assumed that church served as a center for social as well as religious activities, providing opportunities for companionship with individuals from similar backgrounds, who speak the same language or dialect, and who practice familiar customs.

The role of the church in supporting ethnic identity may be seen

as a critical one. In this location, there is no territorial Chinatown which provides opportunities for socializing with one's own kind, where the native language is used, and where cultural values and behaviors are formally transmitted and reinforced. Furthermore, as relatively new Americans, some of the attenders may not have acquired sufficient language and social skills for functioning in the larger society and therefore are dependent upon the ethnically-based church as the source of social interaction.

To the extent that a church provides English language and citizenship classes, it also serves as an agent for acculturation into American society while also serving as a socializing agent of Chinese culture. Thus, parents who are eager for their children to become Americanized and/or to acquire citizenship without the high price of giving up their ethnic identities may view the church as an Americanization institution which is supportive of the maintenance of ethnic qualities. Learning to become American Chinese may be perceived as less threatening and less alien when it takes place in the church. For this portion of the sample, the church may well serve as the "cultural bridge" to ease the stresses of acculturation (Kiefer, 1974).

The literature has noted the role of the family in both transmitting the ethnic culture and in socializing its members for interacting with the larger society (Castenada et al., 1974; Hsu, 1971; Lyman, 1974; Mindel and Habenstein, 1976). For these adolescents, the structure and composition of the family in which one belonged was a significant factor of the societal ethnic identity.

Although observed differences in ethnic identity scores among youth who defined the family as nuclear, extended or extra-extended units were not significant, there were indications that those who held the more expansive definition held slightly higher scores ( $F=3.062$ ,  $df=2,102$ ,  $p=.051$ ).

When one held the traditional image of family as encompassing more than kin to include close family friends, relatives by marriage, and even the church, it appeared that the size and mix of the family provided strong reinforcement for maintaining ethnic behaviors and beliefs. The relationship of family and ethnic identity may also be due to the fact that recency in this country may hamper some youth in the acquisition of appropriate skills for interactions outside the ethnic enclave.

Of the three variables in the model, SEX was not a unique contributor to the variance (Table 16). As shown in Table 17, when CHURCH is held constant, the correlation between SEX and SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS is no longer significant. However, when CHURCH AND FAMILY are both controlled, the relationship between SEX and SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS is significant.

It appears that both singly and in combination, church and family processes affect societal ethnic identities. The negative zero-order correlation indicates that this effect is more serious for males than females. Weiss (1973) claims that Chinese males have difficulty in interpersonal relationships within the ethnic community as well as the larger society, and that the difficulty was in part due to the strictly proscribed role of males in Chinese society. A strong sense

Table 16. Summary of Step-Wise Multiple Regression for Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Step	Variable Entered	F to Enter	P	R	R <sup>2</sup> Change	r	F	P
1	CHURCH	9.440	.003	.292	.086	-.292	9.440	.003
2	FAMILY	5.064	.027	.360	.044	.228	7.442	.001
3	SEX	3.616	.060	.400	.031	-.176	6.300	.001

Table 17. Partial Correlation Coefficients for Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTION and Related Independent Variables

Zero-Order Correlation by Independent Variables				First- and Second-Order Correlation by Controlling Variables			
Variable	r	N	P	Variable	r	DF	P
CHURCH	.292	104	.001	FAMILY	.286	100	.002
				SEX	.280	100	.002
				FAMILY & SEX	.270	99	.003
FAMILY	.228	105	.010	CHURCH	.220	100	.013
				SEX	.256	100	.005
				CHURCH & SEX	.245	99	.007
SEX	-.176	106	.036	CHURCH	-.153	100	.063
				FAMILY	-.211	100	.016
				CHURCH & FAMILY	-.188	99	.030

of responsibility to follow cultural dictates combined with limited opportunities for refining social skills led to awkward social interactions. Ineptness in social situations led to a preference for activities within the family and close community, including the church. Inward withdrawal and external social isolation both support the maintenance of ethnic identity.

Church attendance or non-attendance may affect behavior and attitudes because of the potential of the church as a primary resource for acquiring social education and skill building outside the family. The predominantly Chinese congregation serves as an arm of the family as well as the community, while the church itself serves as a link to the larger society.

The negative zero-order correlation indicated that males tend to hold stronger ethnic identities than females; however, no significantly different scores were found between these two groups ( $t=1.82$ ,  $df=104$ ,  $p=.071$ ). It is suspected that males may be more cognizant of the higher expectations and differential responsibilities assigned to them than females might be of their roles. Or, perhaps males are more accepting of the cultural norms than females. Despite the finding that there were no significance differences in the scores of males and females the fact remains that the burden for continuity of the culture rests upon Chinese males.

Table 18 reports the results of correlations between the societal dimension of ethnic identity and related independent variables.

Table 18. Summary of Statistics for Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS and Related Independent Variables

Variable	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Statistic	DF	P
Demographic						
SEX						
male	54	3.302	.612	t = 1.82	104	.071
female	52	3.095	.557			
Sociocultural						
CHURCH						
attenders	38	3.429	.640	t = 3.09	102	.003
non-attenders	66	3.068	.534			
FAMILY	105			F = 30.62	104	.051

### Summary

Preliminary examination of relationships between three measures of ethnic identity and a number of demographic, sociocultural, and psychological variables revealed correlations with eight variables at the .05 or less level of significance. The subscale TRADITIONS of the Sinoethnic Identity Scale measured the core or traditional dimension of ethnic identity. The intermediate or familial dimension was measured by subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS while the third dimension, the societal, was measured by subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS.

No one variable emerged significantly related to all three subscales. Of the demographic variables, SEX, CITIZEN, and GENERTN were associated with at least one dimension. GPA, CHURCH, FAMILY, and USECHIN were the sociocultural variables which were correlated with at least one dimension. Only the IMAGE variable of the psychological category was significant, and only in the traditional dimension of ethnic identity.

The relationships between each dimension and its related variables were analyzed through step-wise multiple regression analyses. As shown in Table 19, three distinct models emerged, one for each dimension of ethnic identity. First- and second order partial correlations provided additional insight into the effects of variables in each model.

In descending order of importance, school achievement (GPA), family structure (FAMILY), generational placement (GENERTN), church attendance (CHURCH), and finally, self-concept (IMAGE) comprised the

Table 19. Summary of Independent Variables in Step-Wise Multiple Regression Models for the Traditional, Familial, and Societal Dimensions of Ethnic Identity

Independent Variable	Dimensions		
	Traditional <sup>a</sup>	Familial <sup>a</sup>	Societal <sup>a</sup>
AGE			
SEX		1*	3
CITIZEN		2*	
GENERTN	3*		
GPA	1*	3	
CHURCH	4		1*
SES			
FAMILY	2*		2*
FAMPLACE			
FAMSIZE			
USECHIN		4	
LANG			
IMAGE	5		
ASPIRE			

<sup>a</sup>number represents order of entrance into step-wise multiple regression model

\*p =  $\leq$  .05

model for the traditional dimension of ethnic identity. The familial dimension was, in descending order of importance, represented by SEX (gender of the student), CITIZEN (citizen or non-citizen), GPA (school achievement), and USECHIN (use of the Chinese language). The societal dimension was comprised of CHURCH, FAMILY, and SEX.

Significance differences in scores were found between males and females and between citizens and non-citizens in the familial dimension. In the traditional and societal dimension, significant differences were found between church attenders and non-attenders.

The findings indicate that ethnic identity is a multidimensional aspect in the lives of Chinese American youth that is differentially affected by demographic, sociocultural, and psychological phenomena.

## V. INTERPRETATIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Introduction

Chapter V discusses the concept of ethnic identity in relation to the findings of the study. The ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents is interpreted in light of historical and contemporary social, economic, and political conditions. The implications for educational personnel are presented followed by recommendations for future research.

The purpose of the study was to explore the ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents through the investigation of relationships between ethnic identity and selected demographic, sociocultural, and psychological variables. Three questions were posed for the study:

1. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and the selected demographic characteristics (age, grade level, sex, nativity, citizenship status, and generational status)?
2. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and the selected sociocultural characteristics (religious preference, family structure, Chinese language proficiency, academic achievement, and socioeconomic status)?
3. What relationships exist between Chinese ethnic identity and the selected psychological characteristics (self-concept and future orientation as manifest by educational and occupational aspirations)?

Data were gathered with the use of two instruments designed for

the purposes of the study. Information on demographic, sociocultural, and psychological characteristics was obtained from the Background Information Survey, and ethnic identity was measured by the Sinoethnic Identity Scale.

A three-dimensional model for ethnic identity was proposed. Each dimension was measured by a subscale of the Sinoethnic Identity Scale. The traditional or core dimension represented the inherited and generally immutable characteristics of ethnic identity, including values, customs, traditions, physiognomy, and language. This dimension was measured by the subscale TRADITIONS. The intermediate or familial aspect of ethnic identity was concerned with the transmission of cultural norms and the socialization of individuals for interaction with the larger society. Features of this dimension, measured by the subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, included rules and regulations governing family relationships, roles and responsibilities of males and females, and parameters for interaction with members of the larger society. The societal dimension was characterized by the expression of ethnic values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviors outside the family and ethnic community. This dimension was measured by the subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS.

The study was conducted with a group of 106 Chinese American adolescents between the ages of 14 and 21 who were enrolled in one of the 13 four-year public high schools in Portland, Oregon, during the 1979-80 school year. Students represented five generations of Chinese, of which 57% were members of the immigrant, or first generation. This pattern reflects the generational distribution of

the national population of Chinese in the United States.

Pearson product moment correlations were used for preliminary examination of the data, which were then further analyzed through step-wise multiple regression. t-test and one-way analysis of variance were used to test for significance between groups. Data were considered significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Interpretations of the findings and conclusions to the study are offered with due consideration for the limitations outlined in Chapter I. The heuristic nature of the study suggests a conservative approach.

### Interpretations of the Research

#### The Concept of Ethnic Identity

The three dimensional model of ethnic identity provided a more expansive view of a complex and elusive concept. It permitted exploration of the various features which are claimed to represent ethnic identity as well as investigation of relationships between demographic, sociocultural, and psychological characteristics which have been assumed to make a difference in the maintenance and expression of ethnic identity.

The findings of the study strongly suggest that ethnic identity is comprised of at least three dimensions. Intercorrelation coefficients among the three dimensions were relatively low. t-tests indicated that mean scores of each subscale were significantly different from each other. Demographic, sociocultural, and

psychological variables differed for the three dimensions. Therefore, the postulate of multidimensionality seems reasonable. There were also different patterns of correlated variables in each dimension. The implication here is that as one aspect of the total identity, ethnic identity can neither be defined as a static, unidimensional quality in Chinese Americans, nor can its presence or absence be generalized across all group members. The three dimensions of ethnic identity are differentially manifest by individuals just as each dimension is likely to be differentially affected by social, economic, and political conditions of society. It is speculated that this is also true for other ethnic minority groups.

The demographic, sociocultural, and psychological characteristics which have been identified in the literature as significant to ethnic identity can only account for a minimal amount of the variation in the scores of each dimension. Despite the evidence of a relatively reliable instrument for measuring ethnic identity, the lack of greater explanation of variances suggests that perhaps ethnic identity is more independent of commonly used references than is expected. Questions are also raised as to the propriety of using such variables as references for presence or strength of ethnic identity.

The study of ethnic identity has generally been approached from observations of the behavior of ethnic group members by "outside" researchers, that is, researchers who are not members of the group being studied. Therefore, such research has been conducted and conclusions drawn from external contexts which may not having meaning to the ethnic group in question. The findings of this study suggest

the presence of powerful underlying elements not available to public scrutiny and evaluation. Use of ethnic researchers may lead to the identification of more appropriate factors related to the object of study.

The varying strengths of significant correlations between independent and dependent variables, and the patterns of independent variables in the step-wise multiple regression models suggest that ethnic identity is neither linear nor bipolar in its manifestation. One does not "have it" or "not have it". Rather, ethnic identity is expressed on a number of continua within each dimension. Placement on any continuum is dependent upon a number of factors. For the Chinese American adolescents in this study, sex of the individual, the structure of his or her family unit, whether or not church is a part of his or her life, and the degree of responsibility he or she is willing to accept in order to be considered Chinese appeared to be the most salient factors.

#### The Ethnic Identity of Chinese American Adolescents

The mean scores of each dimension revealed an interesting pattern that provides insight into the nature of ethnic identity for this particular adolescent group. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean scores were 3.8 for the traditional dimension, 2.4 for the familial, and 3.2 for the societal dimension. As shown in Figure 4, each dimension of ethnic identity as expressed by the sample is comprised of a unique set of related variables. The ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents may be tentatively described from these findings.

## DIMENSIONS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY CHINESE AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

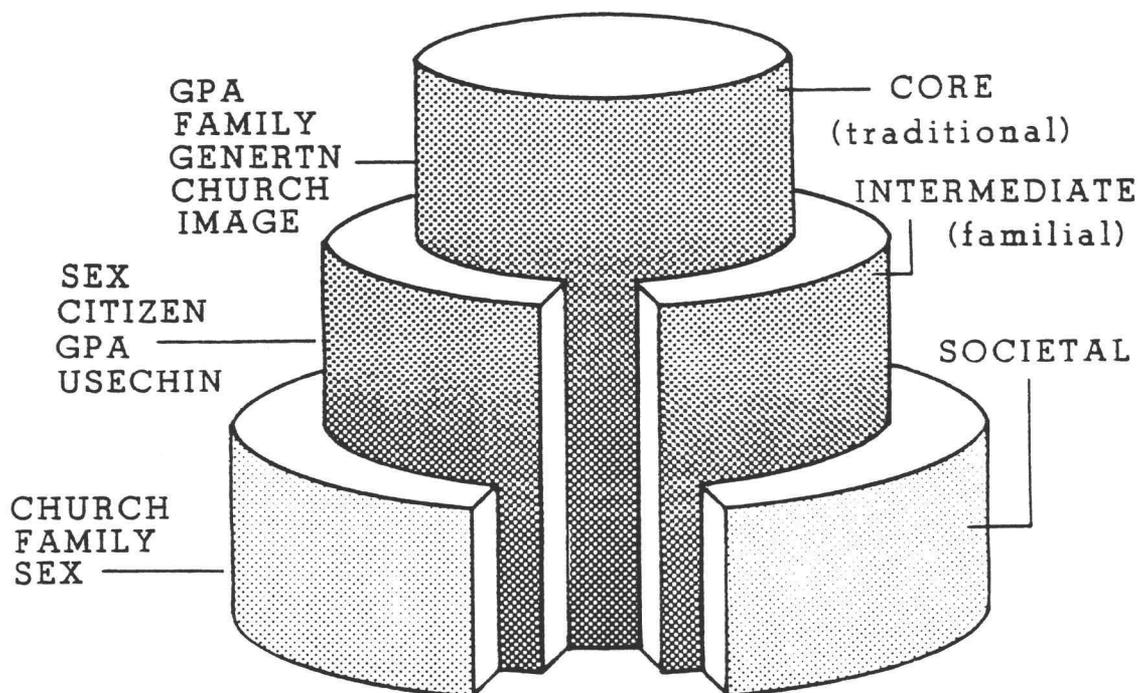


Figure 4. Dimensions of Ethnic Identity: A Theoretical Model for Chinese American Adolescents.

It is suggested that the sample has a strong sense of ethnic identity as far as the fundamental features of ethnicity are concerned. There is cognizance of basic values, customs, and traditions. That students believe in them was demonstrated by agreeing with statements in the subscale TRADITIONS that referred to the appropriateness of maintaining an ethnic identity, in assuring continuity of the culture, and in practicing holiday customs and rituals. Students also expressed pride in being Chinese, in having a Chinese name, and given the choice, would choose to be more Chinese than American. Most importantly, students did not distinguish school achievement from being Chinese. One's degree of Chineseness is a direct measure of one's ability to meet the cultural standards of academic excellence. Failure to do so is perceived as failing the family, who then are perceived as failing the ethnic group. Shame and guilt fall heavily on the shoulders of children who do not bring honor to the family.

The lowest mean score was found in the familial dimension, which is not surprising when present circumstances are examined. On the one hand, there are the traditional family responsibilities related to transmission of cultural norms. On the other are intrafamilial conflicts arising from the transitions experienced by immigrant families and intergenerational conflict arising from differences in experience and perspective between children and parents of later generations. Not only are parents torn between performing their duties while attempting to meet economic needs, but children are torn between allegiance to the family and culture and the seemingly more

attractive larger society. The mean score for this group indicated a move away from Chinese to American ideals. This may be interpreted as a move away from family and parental guidance, and a move toward attitudes and behaviors more like those of their non-Chinese cohorts. At this stage of development, this may be most apparent in the adoption of American mannerisms, speaking English rather than Chinese, and in interracial dating. These indications should not, however, be taken to mean the impending demise of the familial dimension of ethnic identity. Rather, this dimension is only less ethnic relative to the traditional and social dimensions

Scores of males and females were significantly different in this dimension, indicating that despite whatever internal conflicts and stress may be present within the family, the socialization of appropriate sex-role behavior has not been deterred. It is suspected that sex-role socialization was not due to the sole endeavors of the family, but also strongly supported by the community in the form of social sanctions through a complex but efficient communication network. While there was little doubt that both males and females knew the cultural expectations regarding such family responsibilities as care and respect of parents, deference to male family members, dating behaviors, and choice of marriage partners, boys showed stronger attachments to ethnic familial indicators than girls. While boys are given the greater responsibility for family and cultural continuity, they are also more highly recognized and rewarded for their efforts.

If ethnic identities of Chinese American adolescents were indeed

on the path to extinction, it would most likely be most evident in the societal dimension, where interactions with non-Chinese take place. However, for this sample, ethnic values, beliefs and behaviors appear to play influential roles in interactions outside the family and ethnic community. When one cannot deny ethnic affiliation due to physiognomy, one cannot deny one's ethnicity. Therefore, the least stressful path may be to use whatever resources are at hand to facilitate survival and mobility in the larger society, particularly the ethnic resources.

It was of interest that the societal dimension had no unique aggregate of correlated demographic, sociocultural, or psychological variables that were not related to one of the other two dimensions. However, this follows the concept of the proposed model, that interface with society was predicated upon the family's facility in preparing ethnic youth to function in both the ethnic and the larger society. The church played an important function in this dimension. The predominantly Chinese congregation churches may serve as links between family and society, providing a supportive resource in the transition from family unit to the larger society. However, it is not known whether the church provides a refuge or a launching site for venturing away from familiar territory. There were distinctive differences in the ethnic identity scores between church attenders and non-attenders. Non-attenders had lower ethnic identity scores, which may either indicate greater efforts to be perceived as more American or less interest in the underlying requisite of Christianity in exchange for social contacts and acculturative experiences such as

citizenship classes. Non-attenders were not isolated cases in the sample. On the contrary, a majority did not attend church, and if they were to, would have no preference for Chinese congregation churches over white congregation churches.

The nearly neutral scores suggest two divergent interpretations. On the one hand, neutrality may indicate satisfactory and relatively stress-free adaptation to two culturally different worlds. On the other hand, a neutral score may indicate confusion and ambivalence over one's identity and one's place in the scheme of life. A student's acceptance or an educator's attribution of either interpretation is likely to have profound psychological consequences.

In summary, ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents is expressed through three dimensions: the traditional, the familial, and the societal. The strength of ethnic identity in each dimension is contingent upon the relationships of certain demographic, sociocultural, and psychological characteristics. For this group of adolescents, school achievement was most important to the traditional dimension. Sex-role orientation was vital to the familial dimension, and the church was significant in the societal dimension. Each dimension was perceived as discrete and unique for each student. Generalizations of the degree of ethnicity without acknowledgement of each dimension would lead to grossly misleading perceptions of Chinese American youth. The existence of three dimensions is less an indication of ethnic schizophrenia than this ethnic group's response to the realities facing ethnic minority youth.

The Effects of Current Social, Economic, and Political Conditions on the Ethnic Identity of Chinese American Adolescents

It has been suggested that ethnic identity cannot be considered apart from societal conditions which affect its expression and persistence. As the sample of the study is comprised of school-aged youth, it seems most appropriate to examine the effects of social, economic, and political conditions on their ethnic identity from an educational perspective.

As a preface to the discussion, a general picture of Chinese American youth is presented. Available literature, which is severely limited, presents conflicting descriptions. On the one hand, Chinese American students are viewed as academically motivated and exemplary in attitudes and behaviors while maintaining pride in their cultural heritage (Fong, 1968; Kitano, 1974; Peterson, 1978). Steward and Steward (1973) noted that there were "fewer dropouts, higher educational achievement, and a larger proportion of college attendance among Chinese Americans than the white middle-class population" (p. 330). In a study of elementary and secondary teachers, Wong, M. (1980) found that their perceptions and expectations of students led them to perceive Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese American students as more academically competent and more emotionally stable than their white counterparts. The resulting image of the "model student" led teachers to have higher educational expectations of their Asian American students. Low rates of juvenile delinquency have been heralded in the popular press (U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 1966) as well as scholarly literature (Abbott and Abbott, 1968; Hsu,

1971; Sollenberger, 1968).

On the other hand, other studies have revealed a plethora of problems facing Chinese American youth. The Lau vs. Nichols (1974) case before the United States Supreme Court was based on the fact that many Chinese speaking students were experiencing great difficulties in school due their inability to either comprehend classroom instructions or to interact with other students and educational personnel. Language barriers, present at all levels of education from elementary school through higher education, were described as having profound effects on school achievement (Tucker, 1972; Wang, 1980) interpersonal relationships (Sue, D. W., & Frank, 1973) and mental health (Sue, S., 1973; Sue, S., & Sue, D. W., 1971).

Conflicting behavioral expectations of school, home, the ethnic community and the majority society are exacerbated by intergenerational disagreements and miscommunication. These discordant interactions were cited by Fong (1968), Wang (1972), and Yee (1972) as factors contributing to the rise in deviant behavior. Researchers have suggested that the rise in juvenile delinquency activities and the formation and maintenance of street gangs are manifestations of the stresses faced by a number of Chinese American youth. The gangs are comprised of young men who see no other alternatives for coping with intercultural conflicts, limitations of English language proficiency, and a bleak occupational future (Kendis & Kendis, 1976; Sung, 1977).

These dissimilar descriptions, and variations between them, provide evidence that Chinese Americans cannot be generalized or

stereotyped as model students without jeopardizing the educational and life chances of a sizeable portion of the population. It is maintained that the social, economic, and political conditions which impact the school setting must be addressed.

Social conditions. Probably the most devastating of social conditions is the that of prejudice and discrimination. Although illegal by federal, state, and local legislation, the perpetration of subtle discrimination in schools and in the public sector send messages of deficiency, inadequacy, and/or false confidence. Youth are particularly affected as they try to decipher the ambiguous message of positive reinforcement for academic achievement and yet observe the absence of role models in both public and private sectors. Exclusion from the mainstream of society is quite clear; yet entry and acceptance continue to be offered as rewards for school success.

Social change affects all individuals within the society, but there is not often the cognizance that for minority persons, such change carries additional meanings. One example is the move toward greater equality of the sexes. Both Chinese American males and females must reconcile contemporary sex roles with past sex roles both in the educational (as well as societal) setting and within the family and ethnic community. Fong (1973) noted that the educational ambitions of contemporary Chinese women has not been fully accepted. Because males have traditionally received the financial and emotional support to continue their education, females who have similar ambitions may face great stress in their educational endeavors. To the extent that this may be true for the sample in this study, not

only must tradition be considered, but also the fact of limited financial resources of families whose parents who work as cooks or factory sewers. Contrary to cultural expectations for females, self-assertion and equitable sharing of household and childrearing responsibilities have been encouraged by educational institutions through curricula and by example. The conflict between domestic and feminist roles may be quite intense for Chinese females as well as highly confusing and disappointing for males expecting to find Chinese wives who are knowledgeable and amenable toward traditional marriage and family customs.

Economic conditions. The Chinese student achieves well in school to uphold expectations of being a good Chinese. Strongly related to that ambition is the desire to acquire the requisite education for a status occupation with commensurate income, for that, too, brings honor to the family. By and large, such education is attained through sacrifices of parents and other family members. While the majority of the sample of the study are achieving above average grades, a number are doing less well (Table 2). There do not appear to have been studies which explore the effects of not meeting cultural expectations of high academic achievement, with the additional possibility of failing to meet another expectation, that of a prestigious job. The psychological costs associated high achievement (or overachievement, for some) or with those related to lower achievement are not known.

The irony of the tremendous effort to be academically excellent and to follow strenuous programs of study in order to be eligible for a chosen occupation is found in the realization that for Chinese

Americans, the outcomes of these efforts may be quite elusive. Educators lead students to believe that they will experience little difficulty in entering their chosen professions upon the completion of their rigorous schooling. In reality, statistics show that especially for Chinese Americans, educational achievement does not guarantee entry into the desired career field (regardless of economic conditions), and that attaining a position in the desired field does not bring income commensurate with the position. Frequently salaries and wages are lower than those of white employees in similar positions. Realities faced by Chinese Americans in the world of work are overshadowed by the assumption that not only are Chinese successful as students, they have also "made it" in the working world. There is a great lack of understanding of the economic conditions of a population with widely disparate educational backgrounds and abilities.

Recent analyses of census data, employment practices and patterns, academic admissions records, educational attainment data, and income statistics (Chun, 1980) provides a glimpse of what the future might hold for Chinese American youth.

The high level of educational attainment by Chinese Americans is evident in Table 20. Census data and studies which analyzed such data (Schmid & Nobbe, 1965; Varon, 1967) have supported the notion of high educational attainment in comparison to the majority and other minority groups. However, little attention has been directed toward the disproportionately high percentage of Chinese Americans who have little or no education. For example, while 36 percent of the Chinese

Table 20. Level of Educational Attainment: Whites and Asian Americans, 1970.

Ethnic Group	School Years Completed								
	Median %	0 to 4		5 to 8		9 to 12		1 to 4+ college years	
		Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Whites	12.2	4.9	4.1	23.0	21.5	46.7	54.9	25.5	19.1
Chinese	12.4	12.5	20.3	16.6	16.0	30.0	32.5	41.4	31.0
Japanese	12.5	3.8	4.5	14.0	15.3	46.0	56.0	36.0	24.0
Filipino	12.2	19.5	9.1	18.5	14.5	33.4	33.2	28.5	43.8
Korean <sup>a</sup>	12.9	5.7	5.7	13.5	13.5	32.3	32.3	48.5	48.5

<sup>a</sup>data not available by sex

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of the Population, 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-C1; Summary Reports: Educational Attainment, PC(2)-5B; Summary Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, PC(2)-1G.

Americans have four or more years of college, 34 percent have eight years or less education. Today's youth will most likely have at least eight years of education, but the possibilities of some leaving school before completing high school, or earlier, should not be overlooked. This more likely to occur among immigrant youth than U.S.-born, primarily due to language barriers and problems related to cultural dissonance. Despite contradictory evidence, the prevailing assumption is that there are few, if any, problems associated with the attainment of an education, whether at the elementary, secondary, or postsecondary levels (Kim, 1978, Peterson, 1978). In addition to difficulties related to English language usage, intergroup conflicts with majority students, feelings of isolation and alienation, the costs of education relative to family income must be considered.

It has been claimed that education is the only available means for upward mobility of Chinese in the United States. Indeed, investment in education has assisted many in the climb up the ladder from service workers to professionals. Yet, it has been shown that education has not helped Chinese to obtain the most prestigious and financially rewarding occupations, because entry and acceptance into these professions require more than academic competence. Employers need to overcome stereotypes and prejudices toward Chinese in the more prestigious and more remunerative professions and not assume that non-assertive and non-aggressive behaviors indicate satisfaction with entry level and middle management positions. Chinese American youth, in looking ahead to future careers, need to understand that ethnicity is neither an occupational hazard nor a job requirement. Career

counselors can prepare Chinese American and other minority youth face the realities of the mainstream marketplace.

Figures in Table 21 indicate a high proportion of Chinese American professionals and white-collar workers in the overall labor force. However, a disproportionate number can be found in the lower paying and less prestigious occupations. The bipolar occupational distribution may be attributed to cumulative historical events and immigration patterns. In the early days of immigration, it was necessary for Chinese to adapt their skills to the needs of the western frontier environment. From that period, "women's work" became the trademark of Chinese. At the other end of the occupational scale are recent immigrants who are scholars and professionals, including Nobel prize winners. Thus numbers at the upper end of the occupational scale may be more a reflection of selective immigration practices rather than upward mobility of second and third generation citizens and permanent residents.

It has been suggested that a reason for the high number of Chinese Americans in the technical professions is due to the fact these positions required mathematical and tactile skills over English language skills. However, another view of the low numbers in other professions is provided by Lyman (1974) who notes:

A Chinese lawyer might not appeal to white clients because of his allegedly poor facility in English, supposedly lower status in the courts, and general lack of contacts and widespread experience. (p. 139)

Those who hold managerial positions are often found to be self-employed owners of small retail businesses rather than salaried

Table 21. Occupational Categories and Educational Attainment: Whites and Asian Americans, 1970

Ethnic Group	High Status/Pay Positions:				Low Status/Pay Positions:		Education:	
	Professional and Technical		Managerial and Administrative		All Farm, Service and Household Workers and Laborers		1 to 4+ years College Completed	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
White	15.1	16.3	12.0	3.9	17.5	19.1	25.5	19.1
Chinese	30.2	20.2	11.6	4.3	27.6	16.0	41.4	31.0
Japanese	21.6	15.8	11.8	4.0	22.5	24.2	36.0	24.0
Filipino	18.3	30.6	2.9	1.5	40.6	22.0	28.6	43.8
Korean <sup>a</sup>	--	--	--	--	--	--	48.5 <sup>b</sup>	48.5 <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>occupational data not available

<sup>b</sup>data not available by sex

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Census of the Population, 1970, Subject Reports: Occupational Characteristics, (PC(2)-7A; Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, PC(2)-1G; Subject Reports: Educational Attainment, PC(2)-5B.

employees. This statistic may be a reflection of employment practices which limit entry into the mainstream of this occupational category (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1980). In a study by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978) it was found that college-educated Chinese males, along with Japanese, and Filipino American males, were considerably underemployed in jobs they held. This finding was similar to results of earlier studies conducted by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1974) which concluded that:

It is easier for persons in the majority population to obtain employment in higher level jobs without a college degree than it is for Asian Americans [with a college degree]. (p. 103)

The discrepancies between level of education and the level of income as shown in Table 22 indicate that high educational attainment does not necessarily ensure a high paying job. In addition to underemployment, figures in Table 22 reveal that the income of Chinese Americans was lower than that of majority whites with similar levels of education. Chinese, as well as Japanese and Filipino Americans were much more likely to have completed a college education than majority males, but, as college graduates, they earned far less than majority males (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978). In an analysis of 1970 census data for the U. S. Department of Labor, Sung (1975) reported that Chinese American males who were earning at least \$10,000 annually were, at every educational level, earning proportionately less than majority American males. She concluded that the income of Chinese Americans was "in no way commensurate with their

Table 22. Income and Educational Attainment: Whites and Asian Americans, 1970.

Ethnic Group	Males			Females		
	Median Income	Median School Years Completed	1 to 4+ Years College Completed	Median Income	Median School Years Completed	1 to 4+ Years College Completed
Whites	\$7875	12.1	25.5%	\$3738	12.1	19.1%
Chinese	5223	12.6	41.4	2686	12.3	31.0
Japanese	7574	12.6	36.0	3236	12.4	24.0
Filipino	5019	11.9	28.6	3513	12.6	43.8
Korean	6435	12.9 <sup>a</sup>	48.5 <sup>a</sup>	2741	12.9 <sup>a</sup>	48.5 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>data not available by sex

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of the Population, 1970, General Social and economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-C1; Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1; Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States; Subject Reports: Educational Attainment, PC(2)-5B.

educational achievement" (1975, p. 95). In other words, the greater educational attainment of Chinese Americans does not result in increased financial rewards compared to majority males, as would be expected if everything else were equal.

Underemployment statistics clearly show that a good education did not necessarily either to a high paying job or to income equal to that of comparably educated majority Americans (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978). The notion that all Chinese Americans are uniformly successful and enjoy a high level of economic well-being and social acceptance is distortion of reality, and for educators to perpetuate this myth is a great disservice to Chinese American youth.

Political conditions. Chinese American students have, in the recent past, benefitted from legislation ensuring equal educational opportunities. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited educational programs and services which discriminated against students on the basis of race and national origin. The 1974 U. S. Supreme Court decision in Lau vs. Nichols required schools to provide appropriate educational programs for non- or limited-English speaking students. Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts also provided services to students whose first language was not English. This series of legislation promoted multicultural education programs implicitly and explicitly. These political actions are quite the opposite from the Americanization programs of the early 20th century when the role of the public schools was to eliminate, as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible, overt manifestations (e.g., language,

dress, customs, etc.) of the cultural heritage of the immigrants of that period.

A second area of political action is concerned with the future of Chinese American students, that of employment opportunities. Although early affirmative action programs excluded Chinese Americans and other Asians on the assumption that this group had no employment problems, testimony to the contrary eventually afforded Asian Americans the benefits of affirmative action as well as Economic Opportunity Acts. These efforts have reduced, though not eliminated, job discrimination and have resulted in greater occupational opportunities for Chinese Americans. Continuation of the educational and occupational opportunity gains of Chinese Americans is contingent upon the current administration's support.

Inasmuch as a majority of the sample are foreign-born, mention must be made of past federal legislation which has affected the status of Chinese in this country, and which continue to set the tone for intergroup relations. The passage of legislation in 1943 granted citizenship to Chinese, providing the right to participate in professional and commercial activities which had been denied because of alien status. Since most certified or licensed professions required citizenship, the acquisition of citizenship greatly expanded occupational opportunities. Legislation in 1965 abolished the quota of 105 Chinese immigrants per year which permitted the reunification of many families separated by earlier legislation prohibiting immigration.

These social, economic and political conditions singly and in

concert affect the expression and maintenance of ethnic identity because they determine the climate in which Chinese Americans must live, attend school, and work.

### Implications for Education

The findings of the study suggest a number of implications for teachers, counselors and administrators. The purpose of the study does not provide for an exhaustive review; however, three major issues are presented.

The image of success. Although the changing Chinese American student population has brought many new problems into the school setting the singular image of successful and high achieving students persists. While some fit the model student description, there are others who are experiencing a myriad of academic and personal problems rising from the shock of cultural transitions. Educators must be able to distinguish between students who fit the highly desirable success image and those whose problems of language and acculturation override any school concerns.

There are inherent dangers in the positive stereotyping of all Chinese students as highly successful and free of academic or personal problems. First, idealizing these students as "model" (or "deficient" or "disadvantaged" when the ideal is not met), creates caricatures with related pressures that are debilitating. Secondly, such stereotyping obscures the needs of lower achieving students. The school can become aware of the cultural definitions and expectations for high achievement and respond to those who are having difficulty in

meeting cultural norms. Through appropriate advising and guidance, it can help mediate the stress accompanying pressures of the family and community for academic excellence. Education cannot continue to be satisfied with academically competent Chinese students and ignore those who are in need of assistance.

The provision of counseling and guidance services. One of the most hardy myths of Chinese American youth is that their cultural background is such that there are few personal and academic problems. Any difficulties which do emerge are presumed to be resolved within the family. When educators become aware of the effects of acculturation and social, economic, and political conditions on the family, a realization of the fallacy of this myth should emerge.

While, indeed, the family may play a major role in the life of young people, an equally valid reason for the limited use of counseling and guidance services by Chinese, and perhaps other minority youth, is the lack of culturally sensitive counselors. Pine (1972) reported from a review of literature that many minority individuals described counselors as being arrogant, contemptuous, and unwilling to accept, respect, and understand cultural differences.

Related to these attitudes is the lack of understanding of the impact of social change upon the lives of young people who must live in two worlds. Sex equity is one area of major concern. On the one hand, there is the reality of providing adequate and appropriate counseling to prepare students for a life which may require deviation from traditional roles. On the other hand, there are the powerful cultural forces which define appropriate sex-roles. Instruction in

sex equity and assertiveness training are two areas which hold some of the greatest potential for intrafamilial and intracultural conflicts. Sociopolitical forces in society and changing influence of parents and family will require schools to be more prepared to work with Chinese American students and to provide appropriate guidance and counseling services.

Schools might become more involved in career counseling of Chinese American students. There are consistent indications of the propensity for Chinese American youth, particularly males, to move toward technical professions. This sample is no different, with the majority of males selecting future careers in scientific and technical professions. Female students tended to select a broader array of careers, although there also were the more familiar choices of nurse, secretary, and teacher. Counselors can help students explore the reasons for their choices and provide options to broaden occupational horizons which will meet both cultural expectations to be good Chinese and student expectations of a rewarding and fulfilling career. It has been suggested that the limited view of occupations may be due to the known opportunities they offer for upward mobility. They are also the occupations which are likely to be the least discriminatory toward Chinese Americans. Understanding the external pressures for career choices can help counselors become more sensitive advisors. Culturally sensitive counselors can prepare students to face the possibility of discrimination in the workplace that is unrelated to educational training and job skills.

Concern for students who may not be able to meet cultural

standards should be not overlooked. What happens to Chinese American youth, particularly males, who, for whatever reason, fail to exemplify the model student and continue on to entry into the acceptable profession? Another neglected segment of the population are those students who expressed no future plans after high school. Due to the perceived influence of the family and culture, schools have largely left career counseling to the family. With the rapid rate of change in occupational roles, and the limited access families have to current and accurate labor market information, the school can play a much larger role in expanding the horizons of both male and female Chinese American students. Teachers and counselors can work collaboratively to create classroom environments which invite exploration and examination of career options.

The school climate. Chinese students, as do other ethnic minority students, come to school with their cultural background in hand. The school environment can either support the uniqueness and individuality of these students or it can largely ignore their inherent differences. The consequences of such action have implications for the mental health of students. Denial of ethnic identity is denial of the essence of existence. Situations which force one to choose between being Chinese or being American cannot help but be damaging to mental health and detrimental to school achievement.

Chinese American students have been the recipients of mixed messages. There is ready acceptance of the high degree of motivation for school achievement brought to school, but there is the

accompanying message that those who are "different" are not quite equal. There seems to be a reluctance on the part of education to take responsibility for educational excellence, but there is a willing eagerness to take credit for outstanding achievement.

There is no evidence that attending American schools will extinguish ethnicity (Stewart, Dole, & Harris, 1967). For Chinese Americans, socialization into the ethnic role supports high achievement. Thus, any efforts to diminish or ignore their ethnic identity may lead to lowered school achievement. Teachers, counselors, and educators should not assume that because minority students have attended school for several years, there is no longer any need to be sensitive to cultural differences or to recognize the impact of culture on school achievement. In other words, "acting American" and "talking American" is not the same as "being American," that is, a person of the mainstream majority.

The psychological costs of being a minority person in a majority milieu must be recognized. Subtle prejudice and discrimination may create intergroup tension between Chinese and non-Chinese students. Intergroup friction may be caused by the lack of understanding by non-Chinese students of the single-minded dedication of some Chinese students to academic excellence. There may also be intragroup problems between U.S.-born and foreign-born Chinese, who represent vastly different backgrounds and experiences. While basic values of the both groups of Chinese may be similar, their expression is likely to be dissimilar.

These three issues have been presented because of their direct

relationship to the expression and maintenance of ethnic identity in Chinese American adolescents. They also indicate the need for educational personnel who are both culturally knowledgeable and culturally sensitive. One is inoperative without the other.

Teachers, counselors, and administrators can expand the more usual means for developing cultural awareness available through preservice and inservice classes. They can seek out publicly presented cultural activities to gain a sense of familiarity with different cultures. If they are interested in gaining entry into the ethnic community or homes of their students, this can be facilitated identifying the spokespersons for the ethnic community in question. This is particularly true for Asian communities. Entry into the community can also be gained by volunteering to share expertise in community activities. However, educators should be aware of the meaning of school-initiated contacts to various segments of an ethnic community. There are those more acculturated families who are not threatened by such contact, and there are those more traditional families who would view school contact as a negative indicator.

One means which could be used more by educators is to adopt the role of the learner and seek out teachers within the community who can assist in developing a knowledge base as well as sensitivity to the nuances of the culture. Within the school setting, the use of ethnic peer groups has been found to be facilitative for both students and teachers in becoming adapted to new educational settings.

Culturally competent educators are aware of their attitudes toward ethnic minority groups and the effects those attitudes have on

their relationships with students and parents. They are also as aware of the social, economic, and political forces which have impacted various ethnic groups as they are of the more obvious signs of ethnicity, such as language, food, and holiday customs. Culturally competent educators have developed the skills for establishing rapport and communicating with ethnic groups, and have acquired culturally appropriate teaching skills and techniques which facilitate a variety of learning styles. Educators with these skills not only enhance the education of ethnic minority students, but likely will provide an enriched experience for all students.

#### Recommendations for Future Research

This research was an initial exploration of the ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents. The results suggest several directions for future studies which will lead to a greater understanding of ethnic identity of Chinese American adolescents and of the Chinese experience in America.

1. The model of ethnic identity proposed for Chinese Americans and the scale for measuring ethnic identity both warrant further use with other Chinese American populations. This study was limited to high school students in a location with a dispersed Chinese population. Studies need to be conducted with other age groups in a variety of locations. Previous studies of Chinese Americans have been primarily limited to urban collectives, such as the Chinatowns of San Francisco, New York, and Boston. Expanding the sample will provide a more accurate picture of Chinese in America,

and provide a more inclusive portrayal of the ethnic identity of this minority group. Within group comparisons, such as male and female, cross-generational, Chinatowns and dispersed communities, and U.S.- and foreign-born will provide additional insight.

2. Despite the use of a reliable research instrument for measuring ethnic identity, only a minimal amount of the variance in each subscale could be accounted for by the independent variables identified from the literature. This result suggests the need for further research to investigate the possibility of more critical variables.
3. There were indications of the need for further study of the relationships of ethnic identity and self-concept. The peripheral role of this variable in the exploration of ethnic identity raises the possibility that this concept, when examined from the perspective of a Confucian-based culture, is uniquely different from generally accepted applications.
4. The effects of social change upon ethnic identity warrants study particularly as changes affect the education and future quality of life for Chinese American adolescents. Understanding the psychological impact of change will provide information to assist in the delivery of counseling and guidance services.
5. The possible application of the model of ethnic identity to other minority groups can be investigated with the use of culturally appropriate instruments for measuring ethnic identity. Such studies can provide insight into the nature of ethnic identity and

assist in developing a better understanding of minority groups in the United States.

6. Investigating the applicability of the model of ethnic identity to white ethnic groups may lead to the development of strategies which will broaden and deepen knowledge of oneself. Greater self-understanding may be conducive to greater tolerance for differences in others

These suggestions for further research may be helpful in promoting self-awareness of Chinese Americans. The role of minority groups in this country is not well-known to either the group in question or to society in general, due to omission in the annals of American history. Furthermore, the applications and implications of the suggested research extend beyond the boundaries of the educational setting and multicultural education to the larger society and the concept of cultural pluralism.

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## APPENDICES

Appendix A  
Background Information Survey  
(Youth Opinion Survey, Part II)

## YOUTH OPINION SURVEY

## PART II

Please complete the questions on the following pages as well as you can. If there are some questions that you cannot answer, write in "Don't Know" in the blank spaces.



CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

8. Is your father Chinese (check one)?

 Yes No If not, what is he? \_\_\_\_\_

9. Is your mother Chinese (check one)?

 Yes No If not, what is she? \_\_\_\_\_

10. Put a check by those you would call your family:

 mother grandmother(s) father grandfather(s) sister(s) cousin(s) brother(s) friend(s) of older relatives aunt(s) other (describe): uncle(s)

\_\_\_\_\_

11. How many children are there in your family (fill in the numbers)?

 older brothers younger brothers older sisters Younger sisters

12. Put a check by all the members of your family who were born in the United States.

 self mother's mother father mother's father mother father's grandparents father's mother mother's grandparents father's father

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

13. Do you attend church (check one)?

Yes    What is the name or denomination of your church?

\_\_\_\_\_

No    If you decided to attend a church, which one would you choose?

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of church or denomination

14. Do you use the Chinese language?     Yes     No

If you do, please check the boxes that describe you:

	VERY WELL	PRETTY WELL	SOME	A LITTLE
I can read Chinese				
I can write Chinese				
I can speak Cantonese				
I can speak Mandarin				
I can understand Cantonese				
I can understand Mandarin				

15. What language did you learn first? \_\_\_\_\_ At what age? \_\_\_\_\_

second? \_\_\_\_\_ At what age? \_\_\_\_\_

third? \_\_\_\_\_ At what age? \_\_\_\_\_

fourth? \_\_\_\_\_ At what age? \_\_\_\_\_

16. Did you learn some of them at the same time?

Yes    If so, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

No

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

17. What is your father's present occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

What does he do on the job? \_\_\_\_\_

If he is retired or unemployed, describe his former occupation:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this the work he was trained/educated for?

 Yes No If not, what was he trained/educated for?

\_\_\_\_\_

18. What is your mother's present occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

What does she do on the job? \_\_\_\_\_

If she is retired or unemployed, describe her former occupation:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this the work she was trained/educated for?

 Yes No If not, what was she trained/educated for?

\_\_\_\_\_

19. Circle the number of years of schooling completed by your father:

Elementary								High School				College				Graduate School			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

20. Circle the number of years of schooling completed by your mother:

Elementary								High School				College				Graduate School			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

ABOUT YOURSELF (Check the boxes that describe you)

	Excellent	Good	Average	Below Average	Poor
21. I would rate my intelligence as . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
22. I would rate my self-confidence as . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
23. I would rate my physical attractiveness as . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
24. I would rate my likeability as . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
25. Most people would rate my intelligence as . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
26. Most people would rate my self-confidence as . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
27. Most people would rate my physical attractiveness as . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>				
28. Most people would rate my likeability as . . . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>				

29. What are your plans after you graduate from high school?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

30. Comments you want to make about today's activity:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Appendix B  
Sinoethnic Identity Scale  
(Youth Opinion Survey, Part I)

YOUTH OPINION SURVEY

PART I

## DIRECTIONS

Rate the statements on the following pages according to how you feel about them. It is important that you show how you feel, rather than how you think others might feel, or how others might expect you to feel.

There are no right or wrong answers. Record your reactions by putting an X in the box that best describes how you feel at this moment. Here is an example:

ITEM:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
It is important to read the sports section of the newspaper every day.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

If you feel that sports are an important part of your life, you will most likely put an X in the box labeled "strongly agree".

- If you feel sports are overrated and you do not have favorable feelings about them, you will most likely put an X in the box marked "strongly disagree".

If you do not care one way or the other, you will most likely mark the box labeled "no opinion".

If you have no strong feelings, but still have an opinion, you will either mark the "agree" or "disagree" box.

All your answers will be kept confidential and will be used only for the purposes of this study on adolescent attitudes as individuals, as members of a community, and as members of a larger society.

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

## YOUTH OPINION SURVEY

## PART I

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Being a member of a Chinese family is reassuring.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
2. When I help make a group project successful, it is more proper for me to give most of the credit to others and take very little credit for myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
3. Being Chinese limits my participation in school activities.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
4. I would rather use chopsticks than knives, forks, and spoons.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
5. A son is more valuable than a daughter.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
6. I rate the opinions of my American friends higher than those of my Chinese friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
7. I believe that Chinese families should join family-name or clan associations.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
8. If there were a Chinese history and culture class at my school, I would be sure to take it.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
9. Things that I might do poorly should be no reflection on the Chinese community or my family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
10. An informal and casual family relationship does not show proper respect to parents and elders in the family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
11. Sometimes I wish I could change my Chinese features.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
12. Dating a non-Chinese is as bad as marrying one.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13. It is desirable to be able to talk freely about myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
14. A son's duty to his parents should come before his duties as a husband or father.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
15. There is nothing wrong with expecting praise when I do something well.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
16. It's important to pass on knowledge about Chinese culture from generation to generation.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
17. It is my responsibility to follow family traditions and customs rather than to try and change them to suit myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
18. I have the most fun when I'm around Chinese kids.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
19. I am proud of my cultural heritage.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
20. In matters of importance I would expect my parents to make the decisions for me.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
21. It is proper for Chinese people to be quiet, polite and well-behaved, especially around Americans.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
22. There is little need for me to know Chinese customs and traditions.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
23. After parents decide what is best for their children, children must be respectful of their guidance in making important decisions.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
24. One is more Chinese if he or she is able to read, write and speak the language.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
25. It is more appropriate for us to follow the ideas of Confucius than the ideas of the Western world.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
26. I would speak up if I felt someone was picking on me because I'm Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
27. I am more comfortable being around Americans than Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
28. It would be great to live in a neighborhood where most of the people are Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
29. I would not mind giving up Chinese ways in order to be considered an American.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
30. I wish there was a place where Chinese kids could get together for meetings and other social activities.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
31. I believe I should maintain my Chinese identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
32. If I had to, I would give up friends before giving up my Chinese ways.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
33. It is OK to let my feelings show even though they may disturb peace and harmony in the family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
34. It makes me angry when we're called "Chinks".	<input type="checkbox"/>				
35. There's no reason for a family to feel ashamed if any of the children were to marry a non-Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
36. If I could, I would limit my activities to those which include only Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
37. A daughter's education is just as important as a son's education.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
38. I am disturbed when other people ignore my cultural heritage.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
39. It doesn't matter who you marry as long as you love each other.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
40. It does not matter to me whether or not I have Chinese friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
41. It is no longer necessary for Chinese in the the United States to learn the Chinese language.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
42. It would be nice to have lots of Chinese kids at my school.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
43. It doesn't hurt anyone if I occasionally wise off at parents, teachers, and other adults.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
44. When all is said and done, my successes in my life will be due to my own efforts rather than those of my parents or family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
45. As an adult, I expect to be active in some of the organizations for Chinese, such as family associations.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
46. There is no question among our people about the responsibility of taking care of parents in their old age.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
47. The opinions of family and relatives are more important to me than those of my friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
48. We should think of ourselves as Americans first and Chinese second.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
49. Parents should not hesitate to praise children for good behavior that brings honor to the family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
50. A proper Chinese girl will serve her father and brother until she gets married, then it is her duty to serve her father-in-law, then her husband, then her sons.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
51. In order to avoid discrimination, Chinese should avoid places where they are not welcome.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
52. Generally speaking, Chinese parents have more influence on their children's future than non-Chinese parents.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
53. It is the duty of the eldest son to take care of his parents in their old age.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
54. Organizations such as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Chung Wah) and the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA) are important to the Chinese community.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
55. I would do anything so that people would look upon me as a good Chinese person.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
56. I am more loyal to my Chinese friends than to my non-Chinese friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
57. If I had to choose to be more Chinese or American, I would choose to be more American.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
58. There are closer friendships in the Chinese community than outside of it.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
59. I would like non-Chinese to know of the contributions my culture has made to civilization.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
60. I would like to act naturally and freely around other people.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
61. A wife's career is just as important as a husband's career.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
62. Chinese who live in the United States should not try to keep their Chinese ways.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
63. It would be awful to be called a "banana", that is, someone who tries to forget he or she is Chinese by acting as American as possible.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
64. It's foolish to think that the most important job a Chinese mother has is to raise her children properly.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
65. I am embarrassed when my Chinese name is used in public.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
66. I would like school better if there were more Chinese teachers there.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
67. It's more important that Chinese boys marry Chinese girls than for Chinese girls to marry Chinese boys.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
68. It is my misfortune to have been born Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
69. I prefer attending church where there are Chinese members.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
70. There is nothing wrong with asking outsiders to help us solve our family problems	<input type="checkbox"/>				
71. It is too bad there is no Chinatown where we can live in one community.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
72. My American friends would consider me more American than Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
73. Chinese in America have been successful because we have kept our Chinese ways.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
74. It is unreasonable to expect one's children to provide peace and contentment when one gets old.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
75. If I were to cook my own meals, I would prefer to cook American style rather than Chinese style.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
76. I am proud to have a Chinese name.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
77. Behaving like a Chinese limits my activities.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
78. I look forward to celebrating Chinese holidays.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
79. I should not have to be responsible for bringing honor to my family by earning good grades.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
80. Our people should work only those jobs where we will be accepted as Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
81. Participation in the youth activities sponsored by the Chinese organizations is not very important to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
82. It is generally more fun to date American kids than Chinese kids.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
83. I should know about Chinese religious customs so I can practice them.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
84. Even though it may be difficult, it is my duty to behave in a way that would cause others to look favorably on my family.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
85. It is better to find a husband or wife the American way rather than to have my parents do the choosing.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
86. I would rather have American food than a bowl of rice anytime.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
87. Children should listen to their parents' advice even when they are grown up.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
88. Repaying personal debts of all kinds is one of the most important characteristics of being Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
89. I do not think it is my duty to live up to the expectations others have of Chinese people.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
90. It is better for Chinese to date Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
91. Being Chinese helps young people to stay out of trouble.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
92. It is alright for children to question their parents' authority.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

CODE # \_\_\_\_\_

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
93. I should behave as a Chinese whether I am around Chinese or American friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
94. I would not do anything that would cause my family to "lose face", or be ashamed.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
95. I do not see any reason to keep quiet if I feel that what I have to say is important.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
96. The American way of life is ideal for me.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
97. The word of an elder son is worth more than that of a younger son.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
98. My personal happiness is more important than family approval.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
99. Because people judge you by the way you look, I would prefer to look more like my American friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
100. A good Chinese is someone who is respectful, humble, and a hard worker.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
101. If I have children, it won't matter to me whether or not they can speak Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
102. It is embarrassing to me when I hear Chinese spoken around people who aren't Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				
103. Once a Chinese, always a Chinese.	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Appendix C  
Items Representing the Subscale  
TRADITIONS  
Analysis of Variance for Forty-Six Items  
Representing the Subscale TRADITIONS

Table 23. Items Representing the Subscale TRADITIONS

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
2	When I help make a group project successful, it is more proper for me to give most of the credit to others and take very little credit for myself.	CREDOTHR
4	I would rather use chopsticks than knives, forks, and spoons.	CHOPSTKS
8	If there were a Chinese history and culture class at my school, I would be sure to take it.	HISTCLASS
9	Things that I might do poorly should be no reflection on the Chinese community or my family.	REFLCOMM
11	Sometimes I wish I could change my Chinese features	CHNGLOOK
13	It is desirable to be able to talk freely about myself.	TALKSELF
15	There is nothing wrong with expecting praise when I do something well.	PRAISE
16	It's important to pass on knowledge about Chinese culture from generation to generation.	PASSCULT
19	I am proud of my cultural heritage.	CULTRID
22	There is little need for me to know Chinese customs and traditions.	KNOWTRAD
24	One is more Chinese if he or she is able to read, write, and speak the language.	CHILANG
25	It is more appropriate for us to follow the ideas of confucius than the idea of the Western world.	CNFUCIUS
26	I would speak up if I felt someone was picking on me because I'm Chinese.	SPKUPDIS
29	I would not mind giving up Chinese ways in order to be considered an American.	GVUPWAYS

Table 23. (Continued)

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
31	I believe I should maintain my Chinese identity.	MNTNIDEN
33	It is OK to let my feelings show even though they may disturb peace and harmony in the family.	SHOWFEEL
34	It makes me angry when we're called "Chinks".	CHINKS
38	I am disturbed when other people ignore my cultural heritage.	IGNRHRTG
41	It is no longer necessary for Chinese in the United States to learn the Chinese language.	LRNLANG
43	It doesn't hurt anyone if I occasionally wise off at parents, teachers, and other adults.	WISEOFF
46	There is no question among our people about the responsibility of taking care of parents in their old age.	CAREPRNT
48	We should think of ourselves as Americans first and Chinese second.	AMERFRST
55	I would do anything so that people would look upon me as a good Chinese person.	GDPRSN
57	If I had to choose to be more Chinese or American, I would choose to be more American.	CHOOSEAM
59	I would like non-Chinese to know of the contributions my culture has made to civilization.	CONTRIBS
62	Chinese who live in the United States should not try to keep their Chinese ways.	KEEPWAYS
63	It would be awful to be called a "banana", that is someone who tries to forget he or she is Chinese by acting as American as possible.	BANANA
65	I am embarrassed when my Chinese name is used in public.	USERNAME

Table 23. (Continued)

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
68	It is my misfortune to have been born Chinese.	BORNCHI
73	Chinese in America have been successful because we have kept our Chinese ways.	SUCCESS
75	If I were to cook my own meals, I would prefer to cook American style rather than Chinese style.	MEALS
76	I am proud to have a Chinese name.	PRDNAME
78	I look forward to celebrating Chinese holidays.	HOLIDAYS
79	I should not have to be responsible for bringing honor to my family by earning good grades.	BRGHONOR
83	I should know about Chinese religious customs so I can practice them.	CHIRELIG
86	I would rather have American food than a bowl of rice anytime.	AMERFOOD
87	Children should listen to their parents' advice even when they are grown up.	HEEDADV
88	Repaying personal debts of all kinds is one of the most important characteristics of being Chinese.	PRSDEBT
89	I do not think it is my duty to live up to the expectations others have of Chinese people.	EXPECTATN
91	Being Chinese helps young people to stay out of trouble.	PREVTRBL
95	I do not see any reason to keep quiet if I feel that what I have to say is important.	IMPTSAY
96	The American way of life is ideal for me.	AMERLIFE
99	Because people judge you by the way you look, I would prefer to look more like my American friends.	LOOAMER

Table 23. (Continued)

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
100	A good Chinese is someone who is respectful, humble, and a good worker.	GDTRAITS
101	If I have children, it won't matter to me whether or not they can speak Chinese.	LANGCHLD
103	Once a Chinese, always a Chinese.	ALWYSCHI

Table 24. Analysis of Variance for Forty-Six Items Representing the Subscale TRADITIONS

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between People	466.333	94	4.961		
Within People	5861.239	4275	1.371		
Between Measures	2145.446	45	47.677	54.274	.000
Residual	3715.794	4230	.878		
Nonadditivity	31.416	1	31.416	36.060	.000
Balance	3684.377	4229	.871		
Total	6327.572	4369	1.449		

Alpha = .82

Appendix D

Items Representing the Subscale

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Analysis of Variance for Thirty Items

Representing the Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Table 25 Items Representing the Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
1	Being a member of a Chinese family is reassuring.	FAMILYMBR
5	A son is more valuable than a daughter.	VALUESON
10	An informal and casual family relationship does not show proper respect to parents and elders in the family.	RSPECTFAM
12	Dating a non-Chinese is as bad as marrying one.	DATING
14	A son's duty to his parents should come before his duties as a husband or father.	SONSDUTY
17	It is my responsibility to follow family traditions and customs rather than to try and change them to suit myself.	FLLWTRAD
20	In matters of importance, I would expect my parents to make the decisions for me.	PARDECIS
23	After parents decide what is best for their children, children must be respectful of their guidance in making important decisions.	PARGUID
35	There's no reason for a family to feel ashamed if any of the children were to marry a non-Chinese.	MARRNCHI
37	A daughter's education is just as important as a son's education.	EDIMPDAU
39	It doesn't matter who you marry as long as you love each other.	MARRLOV
44	When all is said and done, my success in my life will be due to my own efforts rather than those of my parents or family.	OWNEFFRT
47	The opinions of family and relatives are more important to me than those of my friends.	FAMFIRST
49	Parents should not hesitate to praise children for good behavior that brings honor to the family.	PARPRAIS

Table 25 (Continued)

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
50	A proper Chinese girl will serve her father and brother until she gets married, then it is her duty to serve her father-in-law, then her husband, then her sons.	GIRLSERV
52	Generally speaking, Chinese parents have more influence on their children's future than non-Chinese parents.	PARINFLU
53	It is the duty of the eldest son to take care of his parents in their old age.	SONSCARE
61	A wife's career is just as important as a husband's career.	CAREERWF
64	It's foolish to think that the most important job a Chinese mother has is to raise her children properly.	MTHRSJOB
67	It's more important that Chinese boys marry Chinese girls than for Chinese girls to marry Chinese boys.	BOYSMARR
70	There is nothing wrong with asking outsiders to help us solve our family problems.	FAMPROBS
74	It is unreasonable to expect one's children to provide peace and contentment when one gets old.	EXPCTPAX
82	It is generally more fun to date American kids than Chinese kids.	AMERDATE
84	Even though it may be difficult, it is my duty to behave in a way that would cause others to look favorably on my family.	BHVRFAM
85	It is better to find a husband or wife the American way rather than to have my parents do the choosing.	FINDHUSB
90	It is better for Chinese to date Chinese.	CHIDATE
92	It is alright for children to questions their parents' authority.	QUESAUTH

Table 25 (Continued)

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
94	I would not do anything that would cause my family to "lose face", or be ashamed.	LOSEFACE
97	The word of an elder son is worth more than that of a younger son.	SONSWORD
98	My personal happiness is more important than family approval.	PRSHAPPY

Table 26. Analysis of Variance for Thirty Items Representing the  
Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between People	566.928	94	6.031		
Within People	3724.667	2755	1.352		
Between Measures	1376.879	29	47.479	55.127	.000
Residual	2347.788	2726	.861		
Nonadditivity	11.460	1	11.460	13.366	.000
Balance	2336.329	2725	.857		
Total	4291.594	2849	1.506		

Alpha = .86

Appendix E

Items Representing the Subscale

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Analysis of Variance for Twenty-Seven Items

Representing the Subscale

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Table 27. Items Representing the Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
3	Being Chinese limits my participation in school activities.	SCHLACTS
6	I rate the opinions of my American friends higher than those of my Chinese friends.	FRNDOPIN
7	I believe that Chinese families should join family-name or clan associations.	CLANJOIN
18	I have the most fun when I'm around Chinese kids.	FUNCH
21	It is proper for Chinese people to be quiet, polite, and well-behaved, especially around Americans.	PROPBHVR
27	I am more comfortable being around Americans than Chinese.	COMFORT
28	It would be great to live in a neighborhood where most of the people are Chinese.	NGHBRHD
30	I wish there was a place where Chinese kids could get together for meetings and other social activities.	PLCMEETS
32	If I had to, I would give up friends before giving up my Chinese ways.	GVUPFRNS
36	If I could, I would limit my activities to those which include only Chinese.	LIMITACT
40	It does not matter to me whether or not I have Chinese friends.	CHIFRNDS
42	It would be nice to have lots of Chinese kids at my school.	SCHLKIDS
45	As an adult, I expect to be active in some of the organizations for Chinese, such as family associations.	CHIORGS
51	In order to avoid discrimination, Chinese should avoid places where they are not welcome.	AVOIDDIS

Table 27. (Continued)

Item Number	Attitude Statement	Variable Label
54	Organizations such as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Chung Wah) and the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA) are important to the Chinese community.	COMMORGS
56	I am more loyal to my Chinese friends than to my non-Chinese friends.	LOYALTY
58	There are closer friendships in the Chinese community than outside it.	FRNDSHPS
60	I would like to act naturally and freely around other people.	ACTNATRL
66	I would like school better if there were more Chinese teachers there.	CHITCHRS
69	I prefer attending church where there are Chinese members.	CHICHRCH
71	It is too bad there is no Chinatown where we can live in one community.	CHITOWN
72	My American friends would consider me more American than Chinese.	MOREAMER
77	Behaving like a Chinese limits my activities.	CHILIMIT
80	Our people should work only at those jobs where we will be accepted as Chinese.	CHIJOBS
81	Participation in the youth activities sponsored by the Chinese organizations is not very important to me.	CHYTHACT
93	I should behave as a Chinese whether I am around Chinese or American friends.	CHIBHAV
102	It is embarrassing to me when I hear Chinese spoken around people who aren't Chinese.	SPKNGCHI

Table 28. Analysis of Variance for Twenty-Seven Items Representing the Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between People	368.505	94	3.920		
Within People	3010.148	2470	1.219		
Between Measures	941.916	26	36.228	42.810	.000
Residual	2068.232	2444	.846		
Nonadditivity	.198	1	.198	.234	.629
Balance	2068.034	2443	.847		
Total	3378.65	2564	1.318		

Alpha = .78

Appendix F  
Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient of  
Internal Consistency for Subscale  
TRADITIONS

Analysis of Variance for Fourteen Items  
Representing the Subscale TRADITIONS

Table 29. Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient of Internal Consistency for Fourteen Items Representing the Subscale TRADITIONS

Item Number	Attitude Statement Label	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha If Deleted
8	HISTCLASS	.446	.835
16	PASSCULT	.534	.830
19	CULTPRID	.467	.834
31	MNTNIDEN	.607	.827
38	IGNRHRTG	.438	.835
41	LRNLANG	.508	.831
48	AMERFRST	.506	.831
57	CHOOSEAM	.434	.836
75	MEALS	.564	.827
76	PRDNAME	.521	.831
78	HOLIDAYS	.464	.834
79	BRGHONOR	.369	.841
88	PRSDEBT	.374	.839
101	LANGCHLD	.577	.826

Table 30. Analysis of Variance for Fourteen Items Representing the Subscale TRADITIONS

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between People	389.096	103	3.778		
Within People	963.143	1352	.712		
Between Measures	167.527	13	12.887	21.688	.000
Residual	795.615	1339	.594		
Nonadditivity	2.750	1	2.750	4.641	.031
Balance	792.865	1338	.593		
Total	1352.239	1455	.929		

Alpha = .84

Appendix G

Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient of  
Internal Consistency for Subscale  
FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Analysis of Variance for Fourteen Items  
Representing the Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Table 31. Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient of Internal Consistency for Fourteen Items Representing the Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Item Number	Attitude Statement Label	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha If Deleted
5	VALUESON	.542	.848
12	DATING	.655	.842
14	SONSDUTY	.421	.855
20	PARDECIS	.486	.851
23	PARGUID	.392	.857
35	MARRNCHI	.468	.853
39	MARRLOVE	.483	.852
50	GIRLSERV	.565	.847
53	SONSCARE	.590	.845
61	CAREERWF	.539	.849
67	BOYSMARR	.470	.852
85	FINDHUSB	.560	.848
90	CHIDATE	.483	.852
97	SONSWORD	.493	.851

Table 32. Analysis of Variance for Fourteen Items Representing the  
Subscale FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between People	550.208	103	5.341		
Within People	1377.214	1352	1.019		
Between Measures	370.644	13	28.511	37.927	.000
Residual	1006.571	1339	.752		
Nonadditivity	.004	1	.004	.005	.944
Balance	1006.567	1338	.752		
Total	1927.422	1455	1.325		

Alpha = .86

Appendix H

Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient of  
Internal Consistency for Subscale

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Analysis of Variance for Eleven Items  
Representing the Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Table 33. Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient of Internal Consistency for  
Eleven Items Representing the Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

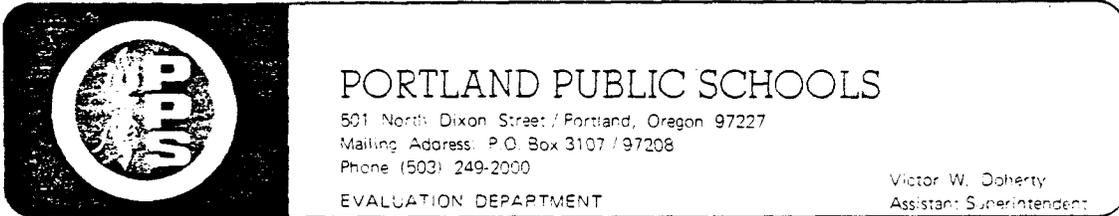
Item Number	Attitude Statement Label	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha If Deleted
18	FUNCH	.668	.807
27	COMFORT	.331	.836
28	NGHBRHD	.569	.816
30	PLCMEETS	.549	.818
40	CHIFRNDS	.492	.824
42	SCHLKIDS	.405	.829
45	CHIORGS	.533	.820
58	FRNDSHPS	.568	.816
66	CHITCHRS	.438	.827
69	CHICHRCH	.620	.811
71	CHITOWN	.443	.827

Table 34. Analysis of Variance for Eleven Items Representing the  
Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between People	404.978	103	3.931		
Within People	776.182	1040	.746		
Between Measures	107.670	10	10.767	16.589	.000
Residual	668.512	1030	.649		
Nonadditivity	1.064	1	1.064	1.641	.201
Balance	667.448	1029	.649		
Total	1181.160	1143	1.033		

Alpha = .84

Appendix I  
Letters to Parents



April 21, 1980

Dear Parent/Guardian:

The study proposed by Phyllis Lee, in my opinion, will provide the school district with information that can be valuable in understanding and attempting to provide for the educational needs of Chinese students.

The shifting character of the Chinese population in Portland that has been occasioned by influx of immigrants from Southeast Asia creates a need for a review of educational backgrounds, language patterns, and expressed needs of the entire Chinese population. We hope, therefore, you will grant permission for your child (children) to participate in this study.

Sincerely yours,

Redacted for Privacy

Victor W. Doherty  
 Assistant Superintendent  
 Evaluation

Redacted for Privacy

James Finwick  
 Assistant Superintendent  
 Curriculum

VWD/ams

3817 East Burnside  
Portland, Oregon 97214  
April 21, 1980

Dear Parents/Guardians:

As a graduate student working toward a doctoral degree at Oregon State University, I am currently studying Chinese youth in the United States. The cover letter indicates the importance of this topic to the Portland School District; therefore they have granted me permission to conduct a research study in the high schools. I am requesting that your child (children) be permitted to participate in this activity.

The purpose of the study is to gain an overall picture of how Chinese high school students feel about themselves as individuals who are also members of a community as well as a larger society. The results of the study will be shared with school administrators, teachers, counselors and others who work with young people in the schools in order to better understand the educational needs of Chinese students. The information will also be available to you as parents.

The study will be conducted in each of the high schools and will take from 30 to 45 minutes to complete. Students will be asked to respond to two questionnaires that ask them to tell how they feel about a variety of topics. All the information will be kept in strict confidence. Materials will be coded so that no name is required and none of the responses used in the final report will be traceable to an individual student.

As a Chinese parent myself, I appreciate your concern and interest in a good educational experience for your child. It is the intent of this study to provide useful and meaningful information toward that goal. You can help reach this goal by completing the enclosed form which grants permission for your child's (children's) participation. Please return the signed form to me within the week in the stamped, self-addressed envelope which is enclosed with this letter. If you have more than one child enrolled in high school, please sign one slip for each child.

While I have tried to identify students of Chinese descent enrolled in the Portland Schools, it is possible that some families may have been overlooked. If you know of such omissions, please let the families know that extra copies of this letter and forms are available through the school office, or they may call me at the number below.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me by mail at the above address or by calling 235-6007 in the evenings. Your cooperation in returning the permission form immediately is sincerely appreciated. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Redacted for Privacy

Phyllis S. Lee

PSL/bl  
Enclosures

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

Please check the appropriate box and fill in the necessary information and return in the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope.

I grant permission for \_\_\_\_\_, who  
(student's name)  
attends \_\_\_\_\_ High School, to  
participate in the study of Chinese students.

I do not wish \_\_\_\_\_, who attends  
(student's name)  
\_\_\_\_\_ High School, to participate  
in the study of Chinese students.

\_\_\_\_\_, who attends \_\_\_\_\_  
(student's name)  
\_\_\_\_\_ High School, has been identified  
incorrectly as a student of Chinese descent.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Parent or guardian)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Address)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(City, state, zip code)



## PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

501 North Dixon Street / Portland, Oregon 97227  
 Mailing Address: P.O. Box 3107 / 97208  
 Phone (503) 249-2000

EVALUATION DEPARTMENT

Victor W. Doherty  
 Assistant Superintendent

各位家長：

最近東南亞之局勢，間接影響本埠華人移民  
 數量劇增，教育部有見於此，極是增加認識及  
 了解華人學生之教育背景，言語及所需。

本人深感李女士之研究報告，將有助於教  
 育部瞭解及發展適應華裔學生之教育，切祈各  
 家長同意貴弟子提供李女士資料以助此項調  
 查。

Victor W. Doherty  
 Assistant Superintendent  
 Evaluation  
 助理督

James Feawick  
 Assistant Superintendent  
 Curriculum  
 助理督

各位家長：

本人於奧勒迺州之大學進修博士學位專研在美華人青年。現得俄裔市教育部批准。將在本埠搜集資料。提供教育部增加認識及了解華人學生之教育背景。言語及所需。故切望各家長批准貴子弟協助是項調查。

要點為華人子弟對其身為華人而處身異國之觀感。調查結果將呈上教育部以便行政人員及教師使用。以增長校方對華人學生之了解。調查結果歡迎各家長索取。

此調查將在各中學進行。需時三十至四十分鐘。問題分為二大部。所有答案均代字號。所有表格只用號碼作記號。調查結果與學生姓名絕無聯帶關係。

身為華人家長。本人與閣下均有同感。切望下一代能接受最佳教育。此研究報告將供給無限寶貴資料。如閣下同意貴子弟參加是項調查。請填隨信附上表格。用附上之回郵信封寄回本人。閣下每一次讀中學子弟需個別表格。

雖然本人積極謀求於本埠中學求學之華人子弟。遺漏者在所不免。如閣下知道有此情形。請轉告學校當局。

如閣下有任何問題。請於晚上電 235-6007。或寄信至下列地址聯絡。

3817 E. BURNSIDE

PORTLAND, OR 97214.

願得閣下合作。本人由衷感激。

Redacted for Privacy

4月21日

## 家長允許表格

請答覆下列各問題，並用附上之回郵信封將表格寄回本人。

本人同意 \_\_\_\_\_ (學生姓名)，  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (校名) 中學學生，參加閣下於  
 本學之調查工作。

本人反對 \_\_\_\_\_ (學生姓名)，  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (校名) 中學學生，參加閣下於  
 本學之調查工作。

\_\_\_\_\_ (學生姓名)  
 於 \_\_\_\_\_ (校名) 中學，並非華裔  
 子弟。

簽名: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (家長或監護人)

\_\_\_\_\_ (地址)

\_\_\_\_\_ (城市) (##) (郵政號碼)

Appendix J  
Letter to Students

3817 E. Burnside  
Portland, OR 97214  
April 21, 1980

Dear Student:

You are invited to take part in a study of Chinese students in Portland, Oregon. The purpose of this study is to find out how this group of high school students feel about being individuals who are members of a community as well as a larger society. The results will be used to help create a description of the Chinese youth in this city. This description should be useful in helping people who are responsible for making plans and developing programs to better understand the educational needs and interests of Chinese students. We think the design of the study will also be helpful to people in other communities who have similar interests. I will also be reporting the results in a dissertation being completed for a doctoral degree in Counseling and Guidance at Oregon State University.

It is a pleasure to offer you the opportunity to help in the design and creation of this description. Your involvement would consist of spending from 30 to 45 minutes to fill out a set of questionnaires at your high school. Each person's answers will be kept confidential and will not be identified with you individually.

Permission from your parents or guardians will be necessary in order for you to participate in this activity. Please talk this over with them and then return the permission form with their signatures within the week in the self-addressed envelope enclosed in their letter. No postage is needed. When the permission form has been received, you will be notified of the date the study will take place at your high school.

Any Chinese student in the Portland School District is invited to take part in the study. If you know of anyone who has not received this letter, or the parent/guardian letter, copies may be picked up at your school's office.

If you have any questions, please contact me at 235-6007 after 7:00 p.m.

Sincerely,

Redacted for Privacy.

Phyllis S. Lee

PSL:bl

Appendix K  
Follow-up Letter to Students

3817 E. Burnside  
Portland, OR 97214  
May 9, 1980

To Chinese students in Portland high schools:

A letter was sent to you and your parents last week regarding a study of Chinese students enrolled in Portland high schools. I am pleased that many of you are interested in taking part in this activity and have sent in the permission forms signed by your parents. Thank you for your prompt replies.

Others of you may not have mailed the permission forms to me yet. I hope you will do so immediately, or turn it in to the school office. A copy of the Parental Consent Form is attached. If you or your parents do not wish your participation in the study, please mark the box on the Parental Consent Form and return it to me by mail or leave it at the school office.

This study is drawing a lot of interest from people in the field of education as well as people within the Chinese Community. It is an unusual study because it is one of the very few ever conducted with a large group of Chinese young people by a Chinese person. The results are expected to have an important effect on the education of students of different cultures as well as building a better understanding of the Chinese young people in the United States.

Students at your school are scheduled to take part in the study on \_\_\_\_\_ in Room \_\_\_\_\_

The activity will take about 45 minutes.

If you have not mailed the Parental Consent Form by then, please bring it with you at that time.

I am very grateful for the opportunity to work with you, and appreciate the interest shown by you and your parents. If you have questions, you can call me after 7:00 p.m., at 235-6007.

Sincerely,

Phyllis S. Lee

PSL:bl

## Appendix L

One-Way Analysis of Variance for:

Subscale TRADITIONS and GENERTN

Subscale TRADITIONS and FAMILY

Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS and FAMILY

Table 35. One-Way Analysis of Variance Between  
Subscale TRADITION and GENERTN

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between Groups	1.544	2	.772	3.012	.054
Within Groups	26.403	103	.256		
Total	27.947	105			

Table 36. One-Way Analysis of Variance Between  
Subscale TRADITION and FAMILY

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between Groups	1.203	2	.601	2.294	.106
Within Groups	26.741	102	.262		
Total	27.944	104			

Table 37. One-Way Analysis of Variance Between  
Subscale SOCIAL INTERACTIONS and FAMILY

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Between Groups	2.082	2	1.041	3.062	.051
Within Groups	34.670	102	.340		
Total	36.752	104			