

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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This study explored the relationship between ethnic and ego identities taking into consideration age at arrival in the U.S., gender of adolescent, family functioning, and parental performance of ethnic behaviors/activities. In addition, this study described the general nature of ethnic and ego identity development among Korean-American adolescents.

One hundred and twenty-two Korean-American adolescents completed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status, Family Assessment Measure III, Parental Performance of Ethnic Activities and Behaviors Questionnaire, and a Demographic Questionnaire. Results revealed that the overall relationship between ethnic and ego identity seemed to be positive, particularly in the ideological ego identity domain, and less in the interpersonal ego identity domain. In addition, this relationship appeared to be particularly evident when considering adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores. This relationship, however, was complex and multidimensional. It appeared to be partially influenced by Korean-American adolescents' arrival time in the U.S., gender, and family functioning. Results

also indicated that family functioning and parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities had a significant impact on adolescents' ethnic identity, independent of ego identity.

Limitations and suggestions for future research were discussed. Implications for those who work with Korean-American adolescents in relation to their ethnic and ego identities were also presented.

Ethnic and Ego Identity among Korean-American Adolescents

by

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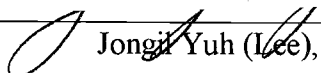
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Jongil Yuh (Lee), Author

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Ethnic and Ego Identity among Korean-American Adolescents

INTRODUCTION

The growing number of minority group members in the United States has gained increasing attention. If present trends continue until the end of the twentieth century, the Asian-American presence will have increased by 22%, the Hispanic-American presence by 21%, African-Americans by 12%, and Americans of European descent by only 2% (Henry, 1990 in McAdoo 1993). These changing demographics have resulted in an increasing concern with regard to ethnic diversity.

Issues associated with ethnic diversity become predominant in adolescence. With cognitive maturity, adolescents are keenly aware of the evaluations of their group made by the majority culture. Adolescents come to have the ability to interpret cultural knowledge, to reflect on the past, and to speculate about the future (Spencer & Dornborch, 1990). As researchers confront the different realities that members of diverse cultural backgrounds face, there has been an emerging interest in ethnic identity among adolescents.

Ethnic identity is a dynamic and multidimensional concept (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). An adequate understanding of ethnic identity requires an appreciation of how developmental and contextual factors interact in the formation of ethnic identity in adolescence (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Researchers continue to investigate the link between ethnic identity and psychosocial adjustment, including self-

esteem and ego identity. The relationship between ethnic identity and psychological well-being varies depending on the particular ethnic group, environmental factors such as family, as well as the adolescent's way of dealing with his or her ethnicity within a particular social context (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992).

Previous research has suggested that ethnic identity may be important in ego identity, but the relationship between ego and ethnic identity still remains somewhat obscure. In addition, although several studies have tried to clarify the relationship between ego and ethnic identity, they focused on African and Hispanic Americans (Nunez, 1990; Turner, 1990; Wiggins, 1988). Studies focused on Asian minority groups, however, are quite sparse.

Asian and Western cultures have been differentiated on an individualism-collectivism dimension (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986; Kim & Choi, in press). Asians value the rights and needs of the group and emphasize duty, obligation, and hierarchy (Hui & Triandis, 1986). By contrast, in Western societies, individualistic values prevail and the focus is on independence, equality, individual achievement, and personal growth. These cultural values remain strong among immigrant families (Parrillo, 1991) and first-generation individuals or people who come to a host country after the age of 20 (Kim 1984 in Kim & Choi, in press; Parrillo, 1991). Differences in ego and ethnic identity, and the relationship between the two may vary according to the generation or arrival time of the adolescent, gender of the adolescent, or the degree to which the family retains its cultural orientations.

The present study investigates the relationship between ego and ethnic identity among Asian adolescents in a sample of Korean-American families. Korean-American families, one of the most rapidly increasing immigrant groups in the U.S. (Fischman, 1986), were chosen because they have not been studied extensively, they maintain their own homogeneity, and their value orientations differ significantly from those of the West.

More specifically, the primary purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between ethnic and ego identity taking into consideration age at arrival in the U.S., gender of adolescent, family functioning and degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors/activities. In addition, this study describes the general nature of ethnic and ego identity development among Korean-American adolescents.

Definition of Terms

The definitions of the relevant terms associated with this study are as follows.

- (1) Ethnic Identity -- refers to a person's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perception, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership. It was assessed via Phinney's (1992a) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), which allows researchers to obtain three aspects of a person's ethnic identity, including Ethnic Affirmation/Belonging, Identity Achievement, and Behaviors.

- (2) Ethnic Affirmation/Belonging -- refers to ethnic pride, feeling good about one's background, and being happy with one's group membership, as well as with the feeling of belonging and attachment to the group.
- (3) Ethnic Identity Achievement -- refers to efforts to learn more about one's background and a clear understanding of the role of ethnicity for oneself. A low score is indicative of ethnic identity diffusion; a high score, of ethnic identity achievement.
- (4) Ethnic Behaviors -- refers to involvement in social activities with members of one's group and participation in cultural traditions.
- (5) Ego Identity -- refers to an existential position of a person; an inner organization of needs, abilities, self-perceptions, and sociopolitical stances. It will be assessed via Bennion and Adams' (1986) Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2), which allows researchers to obtain an evaluation of a person's ego identity status on the basis of scores on this measure, placing individuals in the overall, ideological, and interpersonal domains or the achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, or diffusion classification categories (Adams, Benniion, & Huh, 1989).
- (6) Ideological Identity -- refers to the aspects of identity that includes individual identity concerns. The content of ideological identity covers vocational choice, religious beliefs, political ideology, and philosophical life style. Ideological identity in the current study was measured by the ideological identity subscale of the EOMEIS-2.

- (7) Interpersonal Identity -- refers to the aspect of identity that includes the more social content domains of friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreational choices. Interpersonal identity in this study was measured by the interpersonal identity subscale of the EOMEIS-2.
- (8) Identity Achievement -- refers to an autonomous resolution of identity, incorporating a set of commitments adopted during a period of exploration.
- (9) Identity Moratorium -- refers to the process of a person undergoing crisis and exploration but not having yet made any firm commitment.
- (10) Identity Foreclosure -- refers to a high level of commitment following little or no exploration.
- (11) Identity Diffusion -- refers to the least developmentally advanced status. Commitment to an internally consistent set of values and goals is absent, and exploration is either missing or shallow.
- (12) Family Functioning -- refers to the family strengths and weaknesses, including such aspects listed below and is assessed via Skinner, Steinhauer, and Santa-Barbara's Family Assessment Measure-III (1983).
- Task accomplishment evaluates a family's ability to solve problems, identify tasks, and respond to crises.
- Role performance evaluates the allocation, assumption, and performance of prescribed activities designed to accomplish family tasks.
- Communication assesses mutual understanding and ability to clarify misunderstanding.

Affective expression describes the exchange of feelings among family members.

Affective involvement measures the quality and degree of family members' interest and concern for one another.

Control evaluates patterns of influence and flexibility.

Values and norms describes the degree of agreement among components of the family's system.

- (13) Parental Performance -- refers to the degree to which adolescents perceive their parents perform ethnic activities and behaviors. It will be assessed using a revised form of Ou and McAdoo's (1980) Parental Performance Questionnaire (Lin, 1989).

Assumptions

The following assumptions were made relative to the variables in this study.

- (1) The Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2) is a reliable and valid measure of aspects of Korean-American adolescents' ego identity status, including achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion (Bennion & Adams, 1986).
- (2) The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) is a reliable and valid measure of aspects of Korean-American adolescents' ethnic identity,

including ethnic affirmation/belonging, identity achievement, and behaviors (Phinney, 1992b).

- (3) The Family Assessment Measure III (FAM III) is a reliable and valid measure of aspects of Korean-American family functioning (Skinner, Steinhauer, & Santa-Barbara, 1983).
- (4) The Parental Performance Questionnaire (PPQ) is a reliable and valid measure of Korean-American adolescents perception of their parents' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors (Ou & McAdoo, 1980; Lin, 1989).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This review of literature is divided into three main sections. The first section provides an overview of the concept of ethnic identity and reviews current research on ethnic identity. This research focuses upon how age, arrival time (age at arrival to U.S.), gender, and family functioning are related to ethnic identity development. The second section investigates the link between ethnic and ego identity. Attention is especially paid to the concept of ego identity and to research on the relationship between ego and ethnic identity. Finally, the third section describes the characteristics of Korean immigrant families.

Ethnic Identity

Components and Framework

Until recently, there has been surprisingly little attention paid to the topic of ethnic identity during adolescence (Phinney, 1992a). According to Rotheram and Phinney (1987), ethnic identity refers to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perception, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership. Ethnic identity is distinguished from ethnicity in that ethnicity refers to group patterns, and ethnic identity refers to an individual's acquisition of such a group pattern (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

Although researchers appeared to share a broad general understanding of ethnic identity, the specific aspects that they emphasized for ethnic identity differed widely. Researchers have considered the key aspects to include self-identification (Tzuriel & Klein, 1977), cultural value (Ting-Toomey, 1981), attitudes and behavior (De Lucia & Balkin, 1988), and various aspects including subjective affiliation, language usage, knowledge, and preferences (Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, 1984).

It appears that the ethnic identity construct includes some or all of the following components: (a) ethnic awareness, or the understanding of one's own and other groups; (b) self-identification as a member of a group; (c) ethnic attitude; and (d) ethnic behavior or the behavior patterns. Each of the components highlights a different dimension of the construct.

Several researchers (Arce, 1981; Cross, 1978; Phinney, 1989; Smith, 1991) focus on the process of ethnic identity development. These studies targeted different ethnic groups, including the development of Black consciousness among college students (Cross, 1978), issues associated with Chicanos (Arce, 1981) and Asian-Americans (Kim, 1981 in Phinney 1989), and those associated with individuals in both minority and majority ethnic groups (Smith, 1991).

The Cross (1978) model describes progressive changes in the identity of Black college students during the civil rights era, from the pre-encounter stage characterized by a negative view of one's own group membership, through a process of search or immersion in one's culture, leading to a clear, confident internalization of one's racial identity, that is, the internalization-commitment stage. The Cross Model deals

primarily with the issue of racial oppression and African Americans' psychological responses to oppression. In Kim's study, based on retrospective interviews with adult Japanese-American women, all of the subjects saw themselves as having changed toward more advanced stages (Phinney, 1989). Arce (1981) discussed the process conceptually with regard to Chicanos. To provide a framework for conceptualizing ethnic identity development that can be used for members of both minority and majority ethnic groups, Smith (1991) proposed the following four phases: preoccupation with self, preoccupation with the ethnic conflict and with the salient ethnic outer-boundary group, resolution of conflict, and integration.

The formation of ethnic identity may be thought of as a process similar to ego identity formation that takes place over time as people explore and make decisions about ethnic groups (Phinney, 1990). Phinney (1989) examined commonalities across various models and proposed a three-stage progression from an unexamined ethnic identity through a period of exploration, and to an achieved or committed ethnic identity. In the unexamined ethnic identity stage, young people may simply not be interested in ethnicity, and may give it little thought. This is comparable to the diffusion ego identity status stage. The ethnic identity exploration stage is characterized by an exploration of one's own ethnicity, which is similar to the moratorium ego identity status stage. Finally, after engaging in a search and making a commitment, they achieve an ethnic identity characterized by a secure sense of themselves as minority group members, which is comparable to the ego status stage of achievement. This developmental model postulated that all ethnic group members have

the option to explore and resolve issues related to their ethnicity, although they may vary in the extent to which they engage in this process, at both the individual and the group levels (Phinney, 1990).

In summary, ethnic identity has been conceptualized as dynamic and multidimensional. Although the specific aspects that researchers emphasized for ethnic identity differed widely, studies have generally addressed some of the following components: (a) ethnic awareness or the understanding of one's own and other groups, (b) self-identification as a member of a group, (c) ethnic attitude, (d) ethnic behavior or behavior patterns, and (e) ethnic identity achievement as a developmental process.

Age Differences

Research focusing on the process of ethnic identity development suggested age differences. Developmentally it is assumed that, with increasing age, subjects will gradually develop an achieved ethnic identity. Although there is little empirical support for this assumption, some studies indicate that there is such a developmental progression. In order to investigate the beginning of ethnic identity formation, Phinney and Tarver (1988) conducted open-ended interviews on ethnic identity search and commitment with 24 African-American and 24 white eighth-grade students from an integrated junior high school. Findings revealed that about a third of the subjects were engaged in an ethnic identity search. There was also evidence that ethnic identity begins to form as early as the eighth-grade.

Among tenth-graders in a related study, about one-half of the subjects were engaged in ethnic identity exploration (Phinney, 1989). Furthermore in another study, using an ethnic identity questionnaire, college students showed higher ethnic identity achievement than high school students (Phinney, 1992b).

Finally, in a three year longitudinal study of ethnic identity development among 18 adolescents from these ethnic groups beginning at 16 years of age, results revealed a significant change towards higher stages of ethnic identity among the subjects. Taken together, these studies indicate that stages of ethnic identity do exist at a rudimentary level. It also appears that older adolescents are more likely than younger adolescents to have explored their ethnic identity.

Arrival Time

One example of an underdeveloped research topic is the effect of arrival time in a host country or generation status on minority adolescents. An important task for immigrants and their descendants is to adapt to their new cultural environment and thus, learn to function comfortably in the context of norms that may differ from those of their native country.

It appears that the arrival time at the host country influences individuals' ethnic practice or activities. Arrival at a younger age limits past social experiences in the original society and, hence, the sense of ethnic identity is less firmly established

(Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, 1984). Ethnic identity was found to be weaker among those who arrived at younger age (Garcia & Lega, 1979).

As immigrants stay longer in the U.S., they are generally more Americanized socially and culturally (Kim, Kim, & Hurh, 1991). In a study conducted by Kim (Kim, 1984 in Kim & Choi, in press) Korean adults who came to Canada after the age of 20 reported significant difficulties learning English and participating in Canadian society. Participating in Korean organizations and maintaining Korean language were not considered to be problems for them. Korean children and adolescents, on the other hand, reported difficulties maintaining Korean language fluency.

In a study focusing upon intergenerational changes in ethnic identity, Rogler, Cooney, and Ortiz (1984) investigated education, age at arrival, duration in U.S., Puerto Rican composition of neighborhood, gender, and family cohesion in relation to ethnic identities of children, mothers, and fathers from 400 Puerto Rican families. The analysis was guided by the theoretical postulate that ethnic identity was influenced by receptivity to external influences stemming from the host society and by length of exposure to the new host environment. Findings indicated that both education and age at arrival had independent effects upon the ethnic identity of children, mothers, and fathers. Results revealed that children born on the mainland and those born in Puerto Rico who arrived during the preschool years showed a small, but statistically insignificant difference in ethnic identity. Both of these groups of children showed less subjective affiliation as exclusively Puerto Rican, less reliance on Spanish in speaking to family and friends, greater proficiency in English, less proficiency in Spanish and less

attitudinal preference for Puerto Rican culture than did children born in Puerto Rico who arrived during their school years.

Studies of generational differences in ethnic identity tended to show an erosion of ethnic identity in later generations of immigrants (DeLucia & Balkin, 1988; Fathi, 1972; Masuda, Matsumoto, & Meredith, 1970). Several studies, however, suggested no difference between third- and fourth- generation in ethnic identity (Wooden, Leon, & Toshima, 1988) or an occurrence of the resurgence of ethnic identity after the third generation (Ting-Toomey, 1981).

In a study of ethnic identification among second and third generation Italian-American police officers, DeLucia and Balkin (1988) administered a series of questions about customary Italian-American attitudes and behaviors to 320 Italian-American New York City police officers. The results revealed a decline in ethnic practices and feelings of group cohesion from the second to the third-generation.

In a study of ethnic identity in three generations of Japanese Americans, Masuda, Matsumoto, and Meredith (1970) administered the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire for Japanese Ethnicity to 125 Issei (first-generation), 114 Nisei (second-generation) and 94 Sansei (third-generation). The results indicated differences across generations, showing a gradual erosion of ethnicity in 30 of 50 items.

Another study indicated no generational differences in ethnic identity. In a study by Wooden, Leon, and Toshima (1988), examining the ethnic identity of 61 third- and 51 fourth-generation Japanese-American youth, results revealed no generational differences in the Ethnic Identity Scale.

In contrast, other studies suggested a resurgence of ethnic identity after the third generation. Ting-Toomey (1981) administered an Ethnic Identity questionnaire focused on cultural values to 20 first generation, 19 second generation, 18 third generation, 3 fourth generation Chinese Americans. The results indicated that the first generation Chinese-Americans identified themselves with the Chinese culture, the second and third generation mainly identified themselves with both Chinese and American cultural values, and among the fourth generation respondents, two of the three subjects maintained a Chinese cultural identity, while one of them identified themselves mainly with the American culture.

In a study of Greek Americans, Constantinou and Harvey (1985) investigated 17 attributes of Greek American ethnicity by administering a questionnaire to 44 first generation, 56 second generation, and 19 third generation Greek Americans. Subjects consisted of one member per family selected from a church directory. The first generation was the most cohesive and identified most strongly with the ancestral land. The second generation was the least cohesive of the three. The third generation showed less cohesive than the first generation, but showed signs of ethnic revival.

Some studies suggested that while behavioral and cognitive elements of ethnic identity decline, immigrants still retain a commitment and cohesiveness to their culture. Rosenthal and Feldman (1992b) explored the ethnic identity of 62 first- and 34 second-generation Chinese-Australians and 77 first- and 64 second-generation Chinese-Americans. Ethnic identity was assessed by ethnic identification, the extent to which individuals engaged in culturally expected behaviors and their knowledge of the culture,

the importance of maintaining these behaviors, and the value ascribed to their ethnic origins. Responses of Chinese-Australians and Chinese-Americans were remarkably similar. The results indicated that while ethnic knowledge and behavior decreased between the first and second generations, there was no change in the importance or positive valuation of ethnicity. The authors suggested that despite some attrition over time of the most external aspects of ethnic identity, those that are more internal are more resistant to change.

In summary, empirical finding for arrival time revealed age at arrival to host country impacts on ethnic activities. Previous studies on generational differences suggest that while the first generation maintains ethnic identity, and later generations show contradictions, either an erosion or resurgence of ethnic identity. Recent studies suggest that separate analyses of the distinct components of ethnic identity through the generations be carried out.

Gender Differences

Research regarding the relationship between gender and ethnic identity has produced mixed results. Ting-Toomey (1981) administered an Ethnic Identity Questionnaire (EIQ), and a Friendship Communication Questionnaire (FCQ) to 27 male and 33 female Chinese- American students in the early twenties. Results indicated that females were more ethnically-oriented towards their ancestral culture than males, while males manifested a greater degree of adaptability towards the white culture.

Similarly, among Irish-adolescents in England, females were significantly more likely than males to adopt Irish identities (Ullah, 1987).

Other research studies are available, however, which provide contrasting results. Fathi (1972) administered questionnaires to 110 Jewish boys and 130 Jewish girls, aged 10 to 19, in Canada. Results indicated that Jewish boys had a more Jewish-oriented identification than Jewish girls.

In an effort to develop the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, Phinney (1992a) compared the ethnic identity of 182 males and 235 females in high school, and 47 males and 89 females in college. High school participants included 134 Asian-Americans, 131 African-Americans, 89 Hispanics, 41 students with mixed backgrounds, 12 whites, and 10 other. College participants included 58 Hispanics, 35 Asians, 23 whites, 11 African-Americans, eight of mixed backgrounds, and one American Indian. Results revealed no statistically significant differences between males and females in their ethnic identity within either the high school or college samples.

In another study by Wooden, Leon, and Toshima (1988), examining the ethnic identity of 112 third- and fourth-generation Japanese-American males and females, results revealed no overall gender differences in the Ethnic Identity Scale. However, item analysis of Ethnic Identity Scale items by gender revealed that girls were more likely to feel comfortable living in a neighborhood with other Japanese, and agreed that the opinions of the eldest sibling was more valued than those of younger siblings. In addition, girls disagreed they were too casual with people, and did not feel it was the sole duty of the eldest son to take care of their aged parents.

Rosenthal and Feldman (1992a) explored the ethnic identity of 62 first- and 34 second-generation Chinese-Australians and 77 first- and 64 second-generation Chinese-Americans. There were no significant effects of gender of subject but there was a significant group by gender interaction on the Importance Subscale of Ethnic Identity Scale. First-generation females rated the importance of their ethnic identity higher than did males, whereas second-generation females rated importance lower than did their males.

Phinney and Tarver (1988) conducted open-ended interviews on ethnic identity search and commitment with 24 African-American and 24 white eighth grade students from an integrated junior high school. The results revealed that while there were no significant ethnic and gender differences in amount of search or commitment, there was a trend toward higher search among African-American females.

In summary, because of the diverse manner in which ethnic identity was assessed in studies of gender and ethnic identity, results obtained were highly mixed and difficult to compare. These contrasting results do not allow for a clean conclusion regarding the relationships between gender and ethnic identity.

Family Context

Adolescents' consciousness of their ethnic identity often varies with the situations they are in. One context that has not been directly examined, which is clearly important in establishing and maintaining ethnic identity is that of the family (Rosenthal

& Cichello, 1986). There is a surprising dearth of research directed toward exploring ways in which parents and the family shape an adolescent's sense of belonging to an ethnic group (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992).

The family provides the earliest context for a developing sense of ethnicity, and is a continuing influence throughout adolescence (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). In childhood, the family is the source of children's first experiences related to ethnicity, and it is generally with parents and other family members that children make their first identifications as part of a group. Beyond childhood, concerns about ethnicity shift from the learning of one's ethnic label to understanding the significance of one's ethnic group membership.

Families serve as an important context in which cultural values and traditions are transmitted to adolescents. Families that participate with pleasure in their cultural traditions and express positive feelings about their group are likely to lay a basis for a positive ethnic identity (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). In a study exploring the nature of ethnic identity, Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) administered a self-report questionnaire and interviewed 285 Anglo-Australian, 176 Greek-Australian, and 171 Italian-Australian high school students. Findings revealed that the family was the predominant context in which Greek-Australian and Italian-Australian adolescents experienced their ethnicity.

In a three year longitudinal study of ethnic identity development among adolescents from various minority groups, beginning at 16 years of age, Phinney and Chavira (1992) found that the two participants who regressed in their ethnic identity

had notably low scores in the area of family interactions. They suggested that strong family support may be an important resource for minority adolescents as they explore their cultural heritage.

Families may vary greatly in their ability to serve as cultural transmitters for their adolescents. Rosenthal and Feldman (1992a) administered an ethnic identity questionnaire and parenting behavior questionnaire to 128 first- and second-generation Chinese-American and 89 first- and second-generation Chinese-Australian high school students. Results indicated that parenting behaviors did not predict levels of ethnic behavior and knowledge, but ethnic pride was associated with such family environments as warmth, regulating (controlling), and autonomy-promoting. Neither gender of respondent nor geographical location added significantly to explaining the students' ethnic identity. This study indicated that parenting practices did contribute significantly to an adolescents' sense of pride and positive evaluation of their ethnic heritage.

Specific family or parental variables can have an influence on adolescents' ethnic identity. In an effort to examine the relationship between perceived family functioning and personality variables, Schwalbenberg (1993) administered the Ego Identity Process Questionnaire, FACES III, MEIM, the Suinn-Lew Self Identity Acculturation Scale, the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale, and the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory to 151 male and 112 female Filipino college students. Results revealed that family cohesion was positively correlated with ethnic identity achievement. These studies used adolescents' assessment of family or parental

characteristics. Adolescents' assessments of parental nurturance and authority were more strongly related to self-esteem than were the parents' assessment of these variables (Buri, 1989).

In an effort to explore the predictors of ethnic identity, Rosenthal and Cichello (1986) administered five questionnaires to 82 Italian-Australian high school students, and found that parents' involvement in the ethnic community particularly through language and media was associated with a strong sense of ethnic identity among these adolescents, but parental traditionality failed to contribute to ethnic identity.

In summary, families serve as an important context in which ethnic identity is developed. Family cohesion promotes ethnic identity, and specific parental variables such as warm, regulating, autonomy-promoting parenting behaviors have influences on adolescents' ethnic identity development.

Ethnic and Ego Identity

Erikson's Theory and Marcia's Ego Identity Status Paradigm

Erikson proposed that psychosocial development continues over the entire lifespan. According to Erikson, psychosocial development results from the interaction between maturational processes or biological needs, and the societal demands and social forces encountered in everyday life. In Erikson's model, each psychosocial crisis is defined as a stage of the life span. Erikson describes each of the eight crises as a

continuum with positive and negative poles. The eight stages in order of appearance are: basic trust vs. mistrust, autonomy vs. shame and doubt, initiative vs. guilt, industry vs. inferiority, identity vs. identity confusion, intimacy vs. isolation, generativity vs. stagnation, and ego integrity vs. despair. Each of these eight normative crises presents the individual with a challenge, which the person must meet, for better or worse, depending on the current maturity of the person's ego functions and the support received from society. Erikson believes that the establishment of a coherent sense of identity is the chief psychosocial crisis of adolescence (Steinberg, 1989).

Within Erikson's framework, identity is epigenetically based and psychosocially task distinctive, but not restricted to adolescence (Marcia, 1980). The identity process neither begins nor ends with adolescence. It begins with the self-object differentiation at infancy and reaches its final phase with the self-mankind integration at old age. But adolescence is the first time that physical development, cognitive skills, and social expectations coincide to enable young persons to sort through and synthesize their childhood identification, and to construct a viable pathway toward their adulthood (Marcia, 1980).

Erikson provides many dimensions to identity (Waterman, 1988). Not being a research methodologist, Erikson did not attempt to find an operational definition of identity. As a clinician he did an exquisite job of conveying the complexity and richness of the concept that perhaps defies a single definition (Archer, 1992). Erikson (1963), in describing ego identity at adolescence, writes:

The integration now taking place in the form of ego identity is, as pointed out, more than the sum of the childhood identifications. It is the accrued experience of the ego's ability to integrate all identifications with the vicissitudes of the libido, with the aptitudes developed out of endowment, and with the opportunities offered in social roles. The sense of ego identity, then is the accrued confidence that the inner sameness and continuity prepared in the past are matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others, as evidenced in the tangible promise of a "career." (p.261-262).

In Erikson's definition, three elements emerge as necessary for a sense of identity. First, the person must experience inner sameness, or integrity, so that actions and decisions are not random. Second, the sense of inner sameness is continuous over time. Third, identity is experienced within a community of important others (Patterson, Sochting, & Marcia, 1992).

The identity formation process includes interaction and mutual regulation. The sense of identity does not automatically occur to an individual adolescent when the individual starts puberty, nor is it simply given by the society. Forging an identity, therefore, is a social as well as mental process.

Building upon Erikson's work, Marcia (1966; 1980) has extended Erikson's notion of a bipolar identity continuum into four distinct statuses. Marcia (1980) construes identity as a reflective self-structure:

... an internal, self-constructed organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history. The better developed this structure is, the more aware individuals appear to be of their own uniqueness and similarity to others and their own strengths and weaknesses in making their way in the world. The less developed this structure is, the more confused individuals seem about their own distinctiveness from others and the more they have to rely on external sources to evaluate themselves. The identity structure is dynamic, not static. (p.159).

Marcia (1966) conceptualized the process of identity formation in terms of four identity statuses characterized by the presence or absence of exploration, and a commitment to occupation and ideology. Ideological commitment is further broken down into political and religious attitudes and beliefs. Exploration refers to a period of struggle or active questioning in arriving at various aspects of personal identity, such as vocational choice, religious beliefs, or attitudes about the role of a spouse or parenting in one's life. Commitment involves making firm, unwavering decisions in such areas and engaging in appropriate implementing activities (Waterman, 1992).

These statuses describe four alternative modes of response on the part of the young person to complex intrapsychic and social demands. The four statuses are: identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion. Identity achievement represents an autonomous resolution of identity, incorporating a set of commitments adopted during a period of exploration (Patterson et al., 1992). The optimum outcome of the identity process is an achieved identity (Phinney, 1989). Identity achievers are individuals who have experienced a decision-making period, and are pursuing self-chosen goals. Moratorium status refers to the process of forging an identity from the myriad possibilities available. The person in moratorium is intensely preoccupied with exploring options and working toward commitment (Patterson et al., 1992). Identity foreclosure represents a high level of commitment following little or no exploration. People who follow the foreclosure pattern have made a firm commitment to values and goals, usually those of their parents. Identity diffusion is the least developmentally advanced status. Identity diffusion refers to a time of neither adopting an internally

consistent set of values and goals nor actively seeking them. People in identity diffusion tend to follow the paths of least resistance, and may present themselves as having a carefree, cosmopolitan lifestyle, or as being empty and dissatisfied (Patterson et al., 1992). Diffusion and foreclosure are developmentally less mature statuses than achievement and moratorium (Flum, 1994).

The identity status paradigm shares points of communality with Erikson's theory regarding the construct of identity itself, domains, epigenetic viewpoint, the time period, progressive changes, individual differences, and recognition of the social and historical contexts (Waterman, 1988). Marcia's identity status paradigm provides for a greater variety of styles in dealing with the identity issue than does Erikson's simple dichotomy of identity versus identity confusion.

Dyk and Adams (1987) argued that identity includes both individual functions and social functions for both males and females. Individual identity involves commitments to such things as work and ideological values associated with politics, religion, and philosophy of life. Social or interpersonal identity embodies self-perceptions of social roles and incorporates aspects of friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreational choices.

The Relationship between Ethnic and Ego Identity

Several researchers illustrated the following differences between the concepts of ethnic identity and ego identity (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Ethnic identity is a social

identity. Its meaning is embedded within the culture to which one belongs. Although ego identity research has given increasing recognition to the impact of the family on identity formation, it has given little attention to the role that the wider sociocultural context plays in the formation. In addition, ethnic identity deals with one of the givens in life-- one's ethnic heritage. This ethnic heritage cannot be chosen at will. In the ego identity research literature, however, aspects of the self, where adolescents can make choices among clear alternatives are emphasized. Furthermore, the importance and salience of ethnic identity among various ethnic groups, and between the majority and minority groups within a society varies. The process of ego identity formation, however, is assumed to be comparable among all adolescents, although most research has focused on Caucasian adolescents from Western cultures. Finally, ego identity has been studied primarily by psychologists focusing on adolescence, and by clinical psychologists and psychoanalysts. Ethnic identity, on the other hand, has been studied from a wide range of theoretical perspectives, including those from social and developmental psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

In spite of these differences, studies are available indicating ego identity development parallels those of ethnic identity development (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). For example, in a study by Phinney (1989) of 14 Asian-American, 25 African-American, 25 Hispanic and 27 white 10th grade students, all American born, ethnic identity was assessed through interviews, while a questionnaire was used to measure their ego identity. Findings revealed that ethnic identity achieved subjects had the highest scores on an independent measure of ego identity.

Similar findings were obtained with Asian college students. Schwalbenberg (1993) administered the Ego Identity Process Questionnaire, FACES III, MEIM, the Suinn-Lew Self Identity Acculturation Scale, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory to 151 male and 112 female Filipino college students. Results revealed that ethnic identity achievement was positively correlated with identity commitment, when the genders were pooled.

Two other studies proposed a parallel relationship between ego identity development and ethnic identity development among Black adolescents. Aries and Moorehead (1989) examined 20 male and 20 female high school students, using a semistructured interview measuring exploration and commitment in the traditional areas of occupation, ideology, sexual-interpersonal attitudes and behavior, and the newly added area of ethnicity. The results indicated that the area of ethnicity showed the highest concordance with overall identity, and was the most important to self-definition.

Similar findings were obtained with college students in a study by Wiggins (1988) who examined the relationship between ego identity status and racial identity attitudes in a sample of 166 African-American college students, aged 17 to 24, using EOMEIS, and the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS). The results revealed that high levels of racial identity attitude development, based on Cross' racial identity stages, significantly predicted high levels of ego identity status. Lower racial identity attitude development significantly predicted low levels of ego identity status. Multiple regression analysis revealed significant relationships between linear combinations of

racial identity attitudes and scores on nine of the twelve EOMEIS subscales, including ideological, interpersonal, and overall identities. But none of moratorium subscales was significantly influenced by racial identity attitudes.

An investigation of 160 Hispanic and white adolescents, aged 18 to 21, using the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Scale (OMEIS), the Parental Behavior Inventory, the Cultural Values Conflict Scale, and the Phinney Ethnic Identity Measure (PEIM-II), Nunez (1990) found that the high-ego identity groups (i.e., moratorium and identity achievement) reported higher levels of ethnic achievement than those in the low-ego identity (i.e., diffusion and foreclosure) groups.

In contrast to the studies discussed above, two additional studies are available revealing complex relationships between ethnic identity and ego identity. In an effort to investigate the psychosocial development of African Americans, Turner (1990) administered the Family Environment Scale (FES), EOMEIS, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (SES), and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), to 169 African-American College students, aged 17-23 years. Results revealed that the majority (72%) of subjects demonstrated moderately-high to high ethnic identity regardless of their ego identity status. In addition, while high ethnic identity was positively related to their identity achievement status, it was also related to their foreclosure identity status. Further, while high ethnic identity was negatively related to diffusion, it was also negatively related to moratorium.

Furthermore, Dejesus-Rueff (1986) in exploring the relationship between ego identity status and individual perceptions of ethnic identity, using the OMEIS and the

Ethnic Identity Attitudes and Perceptions Interview with 22, 11th grade Puerto-Rican females, found that 14 subjects were in moratorium with respect to their ego identity. However, the interview responses revealed that only seven of them were in a parallel stage with respect to ethnic identity. Dejesus-Rueff, thus, concluded that individual perceptions about ethnic identity may be independent of ego development.

In summary, several studies support the position that ego identity development parallels that of ethnic identity. Among a few other studies, however, such a relationship is not as clear-cut. Research on the relationship taking into consideration adolescents' characteristics such as arrival time, gender, or family context is difficult to find. In addition, although a number of research studies are available that focus on African-, Hispanic-, and White Americans, little research has been done in this area using Asian-Americans as subjects. On the basis of this review of the literature, therefore, it appears worthwhile to investigate the relationship between ethnic and ego identity among Korean-American adolescents taking into consideration arrival time, gender, and family contributions.

Characteristics of Korean Families

Koreans are one of the most rapidly increasing immigrant groups in the U.S. Census data show that the Korean population in the U.S. increased from 69,000 in 1970 to 350,000 in 1980, and then to 800,000 in 1990 (Min, 1993). The Korean population in the U.S. is projected to increase to over 1.3 million by the year 2000, at

which time Koreans are expected to rank fourth among Asian American groups, after Filipinos, Chinese, and Vietnamese (Park, Fawcett, Arnold, & Gardner, 1990). Better economic opportunity in the U.S., better opportunity for children's education, and political and social insecurity in South Korea are the major contributing factors for the current immigration of Koreans (Min, 1988).

A vast majority of Korean immigrants (over 90%) came after the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 (Arnold, Minocha, & Fawcett, 1987). The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 abolished the national origins quota system, put a limit on immigration to the Western Hemisphere, and adopted a new preference system as well as revised labor certification procedures (Hurh & Kim, 1984). Because Koreans are relatively recent immigrants to the U.S., research on Koreans in the U.S. is still in the exploratory stage. In fact, most of the empirical research on Korean-Americans has been accomplished since the mid 1970s (Hurh & Kim, 1990).

More than 80% of Korean-Americans are believed to be immigrants. The vast majority of the young Koreans in this country who have married during recent years or who have reached marital age immigrated here as children accompanied by their parents. These Korea-born and America-raised children are very often referred to as "1.5-generation Koreans" (Hurh, 1990).

Korean immigrants are a culturally homogeneous group in terms of a common language, a set of common customs and values, and a commonality in historical experiences. Most Korean immigrants are affiliated with at least one ethnic organization and involved in active informal ethnic networks (Min, 1991). Although

many Korean immigrants have a college degree or a professional background, they concentrate in labor-intensive small businesses due to poor proficiency in English and structural barriers (Kim & Choi, in press). According to the 1980 U.S. Census, Korean-immigrant males report more than three times the national average in self-employment (24 percent versus 7 percent, respectively, Shin & Han, 1990, in Kim & Choi, in press). In a study from 615 first-generation Korean adult immigrants in the Los Angeles area, the immigrants' strong and pervasive ethnic attachment was unaffected by their length of residence in the U.S., socio-economic status, and cultural and social assimilation rate (Huh & Kim, 1984).

Although there exist intra-group differences among Korean immigrants, these people share common characteristics regarding child socialization. Generally speaking, child-rearing in Asian culture subjects girls to many restrictions not imposed on boys (Suzuki, 1980). In a study investigating the effects of gender, race, religion, and political orientation on the sex role attitudes to 556 freshmen, Loffes and Kuriloff (1992) found Asians were more traditional in attitudes toward female sexuality than were blacks or whites, and more accepting of the justification of male dominance than were whites. Immigrant females are more frequently expected by their families to maintain traditional roles and virtues (Goodenow & Espin, 1993). Korean-immigrant parents are stricter than American parents in teaching different social roles to boys and girls (Min, 1988). Korean parents' teaching of gender roles based on sex stereotypes is seen in their children's extracurricular activities (Min, 1988). In the data that were based on responses to a questionnaire by 600 Korean women in Los Angeles, fifty-four

percent of Korean boys were involved in some kind of sport as an extracurricular activity, whereas only 17 percent of them took piano lessons. Sixty-nine percent of Korean girls received piano lessons, whereas there is no girls participating in sports. Most Korean parents discourage their girls from engaging in any sport that involves much action. Instead, they encourage girls to develop talents in music and art (Min, 1988).

Overall, Koreans are relatively recent immigrants to the U.S., and Korean immigrants as a group tend to be well-educated, heavily concentrated in independent occupation, and maintain ethnic involvement. In the context of child-parent relationship, Korean immigrants utilize gender stereotyped practices.

Hypotheses

Based on theories and previous studies on ethnic and ego identity, a number of hypotheses regarding the relationship of ethnic and ego identity can be inferred in this study. These are presented under each hypothesis regarding the following topic areas with their explanations: Arrival time, gender, family type, and parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities.

Arrival Time

Hypothesis Ia: Among Korean-American adolescents in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), those who arrived in the

U.S. during adolescence will have higher ethnic identity scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during childhood.

Explanation: The longer period of time in which ethnic and ego identity could simultaneously develop within their own country among Korean-American adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during adolescence led to the development of Hypothesis Ia. In such a circumstance, the development of ethnic and ego identity would closely parallel each other. Among Korean-American adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during childhood, however, development of both ethnic and ego identity would occur in another country. Limited past social experiences within their own country and culture, therefore, would likely lead to a less firmly developed sense of ethnic identity (Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, 1984), in a way that may not parallel the development of their ego identity.

Hypothesis Ib: Among Korean-American adolescents in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion), those who arrived in the U.S. during childhood will have higher ethnic identity scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during adolescence.

Explanation: It seems reasonable to assume that among Korean-American adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during adolescence, without developing a sense of ego identity within their own country, would also not likely have developed a sense of ethnic identity as well. Those adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during childhood, however, in order to develop their ego and ethnic identities in another country, may use

whatever ethnic identity they developed in their own country as a basis from which to forge new ego and ethnic identities in another country.

Gender

Hypothesis IIa: Among Korean-American adolescents, males in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium) will have higher ethnic identity scores than females in the same ego identity status groups.

Explanation: Within Asian culture, the male role is a dominant one, overseeing the carrying out of family customs and traditions. The female role, however, is one of submission, primarily providing support to the males in carrying out such family traditions (Suzuki, 1980). In addition, Asians in the U.S. still tend to retain more traditional attitudes toward male and female roles than blacks and whites (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992). Development of ego identity might coincide with the development of ethnic identity for Korean-American males, which encourages independence and dominance. Among Korean-American adolescent males, therefore, a strong and firmly established ego identity is more likely to be positively related to their sense of ethnic identity than for females.

Hypothesis IIb: Among Korean-American adolescents, females in the less advanced identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion) will have higher ethnic identity scores than males in the same ego identity status groups.

Explanation: Asians are more traditional in attitudes toward female sexuality than are blacks or whites and more accepting of the justification of male dominance than are whites (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992). Within Asian culture, females have been encouraged to be interdependent and play a supportive role. Among Korean-American adolescent females, therefore, ego identity statuses which emphasize conformity are more likely to be positively related to their sense of ethnic identity than for males.

Family Type

Hypothesis IIIa: Among Korean-American adolescents in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), those who come from strong families will have higher ethnic identity scores than those who come from less strong families.

Explanation: Family has been considered an important aspect of ego identity development (Bhushan & Shirali, 1992; Papini, Micka, & Barnett, 1989; Jackson, Dunham, & Kidwell, 1990; Watson & Protinsky, 1988; Willemsen & Waterman, 1991) and ethnic identity (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992b). It seems reasonable to assume that individuals who are clear about who they are, and who come from strong families are likely to be reinforced for their identities. In such case, strong families would likely contribute to the person's ethnic identity as well as the person's ego identity to a point where such identities come together. In less strong families, however, such reinforcements may not be present.

Hypothesis IIIb: Among Korean-American adolescents in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion), those who come from less strong families will have higher ethnic identity scores than those from strong families.

Explanation: For adolescents in less strong families, when uncertainties arise as to their parents' affections, overconfirmity to parental standards can be a defensive strategy (Ainsworth & Ainsworth 1958 in Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990). This style may be aimed at winning what the adolescent perceives as conditional love and approval by rigidly adhering to parental expectation (Ainsworth & Ainsworth 1958 in Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990). Those adolescents from less strong families are more likely to relate to their ethnic identity than are adolescents from strong families.

Degree of Parental Performance of Ethnic Behaviors and Activities

Hypothesis IVa: Among Korean-American adolescents in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), those who come from homes in which there is a high degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities will have higher ethnic identity scores than those from homes in which such parental performance is low.

Explanation: Parental modeling of ethnic identification is clearly a critical factor influencing adolescents' own attitudes toward their ethnic group membership (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992b). Among individuals in homes where a great deal of modeling of ethnic behaviors occur, it is likely that one's ego identity and ethnic

identity would be quite close. For families in which there are low parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities, therefore, the child is left to develop an identity that may not include ethnic behaviors and activities, since they were not performed or modeled for the child.

Hypothesis IVb: Among Korean-American adolescents in less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure or diffusion), those who come from homes in which there is a low degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities will have higher ethnic identity scores than those from homes in which such parental performance is high.

Explanation: It seems reasonable to assume that adolescents who come from homes in which there is a low degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities may not be compelled to choose between the cultural values of their parents and that of the host society. However, those adolescents who come from homes in which there is a high degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities may experience pressure and may give up some of their own ethnic identity when they have two opposing cultural norms and values. When individuals have well-developed ego and ethnic identities, the two opposing cultural norms and values may not be a problem (Sam, 1995). Diffusion is especially associated with strained and distant relationships between adolescents and their parents (Douvan, 1975), and negative feelings toward the parents help set off the repudiation of parental values (Baumeister, 1986 in Markstrom-Adams, 1992). Such experiences are not likely to occur among adolescents in homes where there is not a low degree of parental performance of ethnic

behaviors and activities, since there is no pressure to conform to such ethnic behaviors, thus not leading such adolescent to give up their own ethnic identity.

METHOD

Subjects

One hundred and twenty two Korean-Americans in their late adolescence participated in this study from among college-age students enrolled at the University of Hawaii, Manoa Campus, in Honolulu. Subjects ranged in age from 16 to 25. Table 1 presents the final sample description by gender and arrival time.

Arrival time refers to the time when they arrived in the U.S. from Korea, either in adolescence or in childhood. Age 11 was used as the age to discern between adolescence or childhood, because age eleven is an important time for establishing one's own ethnic identity due to the developmental significance of preadolescent and adolescent socialization experiences (Powell, Zambrana, & Silva-Palacios, 1990). The mean age for the final sample was 21.47 (SD=1.77; males M = 21.78, SD = 1.88; females M = 21.14, SD = 1.60). As shown in Table 2, 14% of the subjects were first year college students, 24% were sophomores, 29% were juniors, and 25% were

Table 1
Final Sample Description by Gender and Arrival Time

	Arrival Time		
	Adolescence	Childhood	Total
Male	41	21	62
Female	37	23	60
Total	78	44	122

seniors. With respect to religious affiliation, the majority was either Protestant (38%) or did not have any religion (36%). The majority of subjects (75%) had a U.S.A. citizenship although most (98%) were born in Korea. Their length of residency in the United States varied from five to twenty years, with a mean of 10.91 years. The majority (75%) lived with their mother and father before entering a college. The majority (94%) was never married. Fifty-four percent used English as the primary language, while 41% used Korean as the primary language.

Table 2
Demographic Characteristics: Subjects

Questions	Category	Count	Percentage
Year in college	Freshmen	17	14
	Sophomore	29	24
	Junior	35	29
	Senior	31	25
	Missing Data	10	8
Religious Affiliation	Protestant	47	38
	Catholic	13	11
	Buddhism	8	7
	None	44	36
	Other	5	4
	Missing Data	5	4
Citizenship	U.S.A.	91	75
	Korea	28	23
	Missing Data	3	2
Place of birth	Korea	120	98
	Missing Data	2	2
Length of residency in the U.S.	Years	10.91(M)	

Table 2 (Continued)
Demographic Characteristics: Subjects

Questions	Category	Count	Percentage
Residence before college entrance	Mother & father	92	75
	Mother only	14	11
	Parents & grandparents	4	3
	Stepfather & mother	1	1
	Stepmother & father	1	1
	Other	8	7
	Missing Data	2	2
Marital status	Never married	115	94
	Married	4	3
	Separated	0	0
	Divorced	1	1
	Missing Data	2	2
Primary language	English	66	54
	Korean	50	41
	Missing Data	6	5

Table 3 presents the descriptors of subjects by parental characteristics including place of birth, generation, education level, employment, income, and marital status. With respect to the parental characteristics, the majority of fathers (96%) and mothers (98%) were born in Korea. Their generation varied from one to four, although this question might have been misunderstood to indicate how many generations live together in the same household. For mothers, the majority graduated high school (44%) or college (27%). For fathers, the majority graduated high school (34%) or college (35%). The majority of fathers (86%) and mothers (64%) were employed. Their income level varied from less than \$10,000 to above 100,000. The majority of mothers (86%) and fathers (84%) were married.

Table 3
Demographic Characteristics: Parents

Questions	Category	Count	Percentage
Place of birth: Father	U.S.A.	3	2
	Korea	117	96
	Other	1	1
	Missing Data	1	1
Place of birth: Mother	U.S.A.	1	1
	Korea	120	98
	Missing Data	1	1
Generations	One	66	54
	Two	39	31
	Three	7	6
	Four	2	2
	Missing Data	8	7
Mother's Education	Elementary School	9	7
	Middle School	15	12
	High School	54	44
	College	33	27
	Graduate School	6	5
	Missing Data	5	4
Father's Education	Elementary School	6	5
	Middle School	7	6
	High School	41	34
	College	43	35
	Graduate School	18	15
	Missing Data	7	6
Mother's Employment	Yes	78	64
	No	38	31
	Missing Data	6	5
Father's Employment	Yes	105	86
	No	5	4
	Missing Data	12	10

Table 3 (Continued)
Demographic Characteristics: Parents

Questions	Category	Count	Percentage
Annual Income	Less than \$10,000	2	2
	10,001~20,000	10	8
	20,001~30,000	21	17
	30,001~40,000	22	18
	40,001~50,000	16	13
	50,001~60,000	12	10
	60,001~70,000	12	10
	70,001~80,000	5	4
	80,001~90,000	5	4
	90,001~100,000	4	3
	>100,000	4	3
	Missing Data	9	7
Mother's Marital Status	Married	105	86
	Separated	1	1
	Divorced	12	10
	Never married	1	1
	Other	2	2
	Missing Data	1	1
Father's Marital Status	Married	102	84
	Separated	1	1
	Divorced	6	5
	Never married	1	1
	Other	3	2
	Missing Data	9	7

Instruments

Five instruments were used to collect the data for this study. They included the

(a) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), (b) Extended

Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2; Bennion & Adams, 1986),

(c) Family Assessment Measure III (FAM III); Skinner, Steinhauer, & Santa-Barbara, 1983), (d) Parental Performance of Ethnic Activities and Behaviors Questionnaire (PPQ; Ou & McAdoo, 1980; Lin, 1989) and (e) a Demographic Questionnaire.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

The MEIM (Phinney, 1992) was used to measure aspects of adolescents' ethnic identity (see Appendix B). The measure consisted of 14 items organized into three subscales including (a) Ethnic Affirmation and Belonging (5 items), (b) Ethnic Identity Achievement (7 items), and (c) Ethnic Behaviors (2 items). An example of these items included: "I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background" (Affirmation and Belonging). In addition, six items measuring attitudes toward other groups assess attitudes toward and interactions with ethnic groups other than one's own, were included to provide contrast items to balance the ethnic identity items. Subjects were asked to respond to these items using a 4-point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree (1 point) to strongly agree (4 points). Scores were derived by reversing negatively worded items, summing across items, and obtaining the mean; thus scores range from 1 to 4. Higher scores represented more aspects of ethnic identity. The present study used ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior subscales to access aspects of ethnic identity.

Internal consistency estimates for subscales in the MEIM, using both high school and college students from ethnically diverse schools indicated coefficients were

.81 and .90, respectively, for the entire Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale, .75 and .86, respectively, for the Affirmation/Belonging Subscale, .69 and .80, respectively, for the Ethnic Identity Achievement Subscale. Reliabilities for the Ethnic Behaviors Subscale could not be calculated, since it consisted of only two items.

Construct validity findings using Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale revealed that for minorities, ethnic identity showed a positive, significant correlation with self-esteem among high school students ($r=.31$) and college students ($r=.25$).

Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2)

The EOMEIS-2 (Bennion & Adams, 1986) was used to assess adolescents' ego identity status (see Appendix C). This measure consisted of 64 items containing two major scales, including an Ideological Scale, assessing subjects' identity relative to occupation, politics, religion, and philosophical lifestyle, and an Interpersonal Scale, assessing subjects' identity relative to friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreation. Examples of these items included: "I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at what is available until something better comes along" (Occupation/Diffusion), and " My own views on a desirable life style were taught to me by my parents and I don't see any need to question what they taught me" (Philosophical lifestyle/ Foreclosure). Subjects were asked to respond to each item using a 6-point Likert-type scale from strongly agree (6 points) to strongly disagree (1 point).

With respect to the scoring system, there are two diffusion, two foreclosure, two moratorium, and two achievement items for each of the four ideological- and each of the four interpersonal-content areas. Raw scale scores for diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and identity achievement were derived by summing responses to the appropriate items. Subjects were classified into an ideological identity status, or an interpersonal identity status separately, and an overall identity status by combining raw scores of ideological identity and interpersonal identity. Scale scores for each ideological and interpersonal identity status could range from 8-48. The present study examined a global concept of identity, including overall identity and also the more specific identity measures of ideological identity and interpersonal identity. Specifically, the present study used adolescents' ego identity status including achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, or diffusion associated with the aspects of ego identity, consisting of overall ego identity, ideological identity, and interpersonal identity.

Subjects were divided into achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, or diffusion groups according to Adams' et al. (1989) rules of classification. The subjects were classified into an identity status by the cut-off point. Those protocols that had two scales with raw scores exceeding the cut-off point were collapsed into the lower identity status as outlined in the manual. Those with three raw scale scores above the cut-off point were eliminated from the final sample as suggested in the manual (Adams et al., 1989).

Test-retest measures of stability over time provided evidence for stability of the instrument. One study reported no significant differences between scale means and standard deviations over four measurement times (Adams et al., 1989). The manual reported the available estimates of test-retest reliability to have a median correlation of .76 (Adams et al., 1989). Blustein, Devenis, Kidney (1989) described stability estimates ranging from .82 to .90 across a 2-week interval.

Internal consistency estimates, using 106 college students as subjects, revealed Chronbach alpha coefficients for the subscales in the Ideological Scale to range from .62 to .75, and for the subscales in the Interpersonal Scale to range from .58 to .80 (Adams et al., 1989). The construct validity by factor analysis, using 60, 16-year-old adolescents, revealed four factors, and these four factors accounted for 79% of the variance (Bennion, 1988 in Adams et al., 1989). Predictive validity in regard to five subscales from the Offer Self-Image Questionnaire, revealed 41 out of 50 predicted relationships in the anticipated direction (Bennion, 1988 in Adams et al., 1989). In addition, correlations between a social desirability scale and the EOMEIS-2 revealed no significant relationships (Bennion & Adams, 1985 in Adams et al., 1989).

Family Assessment Measure III (FAM III)

The general scale in the FAM III (Skinner, Steinhauer, & Santa-Barbara, 1983) was used to assess adolescents' perceptions of aspects of their family functioning (see Appendix D). The FAM III assessed various dimensions of family strengths and

weaknesses focusing on the family as a system. The general scale includes statements about general family relationships and interactions. The general scale consists of 50 items organized into seven subscales including (a) Task accomplishment, (b) Role performance, (c) Communication, (d) Affective expression, (f) Affective involvement, (g) Control, and (h) Values and norms. In addition to these seven subscales, a Social desirability scale and a Denial-defensiveness scale are built into the General scale. The overall family function was obtained by adding seven subscales and dividing it by seven. An example of these items included: "I can let my family know what is bothering me" (Affective expression). Subjects were asked to respond to these items using a 4-point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree (0 point) to strongly agree (3 points).

All raw scores were converted to standardized scores of $M=50$, $SD=10$. Scores of 40 or less were interpreted as areas of very healthy family, and scores of 40 to 60 represent normal family functioning. Scores of greater than 60 suggested weaknesses in the particular area, indicating significant family dysfunction. For example, weak families in the communication area included the following characteristics: communications are insufficient, displaced or masked; necessary information is frequently not exchanged effectively; lack of mutual understanding among family members; inability to seek clarification in case of confusion.

Internal consistency reliability estimates were .93 for adults and .94 for children. Intercorrelations among the subscales was .39 to .70 in a sample of clinical families. The discriminating power in differentiating problem from non-problem families was examined by Skinner, Steinhauer, and Santa-Barbara (1983). A multiple discriminant

analysis found that four discriminant functions were statistically significant. In a study of school phobia, parents of children with school phobia were significantly differentiated on Role performance, Communication, Affective expression, and Control (Bernstein & Garfinkel, 1988).

The correlation between FAM and PPQ was examined because the FAM was not standardized with Korean families. FAM scores were inverted with high scores representing family functioning. The correlation matrices are depicted in the Appendix A. The correlation between FAM, including its overall and subscales scores, the PPQ revealed all positive relationships, except for the control subscale and PPQ, which was negative. The overall positive relationships between the FAM and the PPQ partially suggests that the FAM can be validly used with Korean-American families. The only negative, statistically insignificant relationship between the control subscale in the FAM and the PPQ can be understood to indicate that parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities might not be consistent with family functioning in the area of control from the adolescents' perspectives. Previous research revealed that while parental control was perceived as parental acceptance in Korean samples (Rohner & Pettingill, 1985) it was perceived as parental rejection in Korean-Canadian and Korean-American samples (Kim & Choi, in press).

The present study focused on general family functioning by the overall scores. Scores in the FAM profile were normalized such that each subscale had a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. The present study classified very healthy and average

families (below 60) as strong families, and problematic families (above 60) as less strong families.

Parental Performance Questionnaire (PPQ)

The PPQ (Ou & McAdoo, 1980; Lin, 1989) was used to assess adolescents' perceptions of their parents' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors in the home (see Appendix E). The questionnaire was slightly modified so that it could be administered to Korean adolescents. The questionnaire consisted of 11 items which adolescents were asked to rate about their parents, using a 6-point Likert-type scale from not applicable (no point) to 5 (always). An example of these items included: "Did your parents speak Korean at home?" Higher scores across all items represented more ethnic activities and behaviors performed by parents at home as perceived by their adolescents. The present study determined high and low parental performance by using the mean score as a dividing point.

Originally, the PPQ was developed by Ou & McAdoo (1980) in consultation with parents of Chinese ancestry. It was slightly modified for use with parents of Chinese-American children in a study of ethnicity development among Chinese-American children in a study of ethnicity development among Chinese-American children from immigrant and non-immigrant families (Lin, 1989). Parents' scores on the PPQ have been related to the self-concepts of Chinese children and their attitudes toward their own ethnic groups in predicted directions (Ou & McAdoo, 1980). In

addition, the PPQ was able to discriminate between the performance scores of parents from immigrant and non-immigrant families in predicted directions (Lin, 1989). Furthermore, findings revealed that mothers' and fathers' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors at home significantly predicted ethnic awareness among four-year-old, and ethnic preferences among seven-year-old Chinese-American children.

Demographic Questionnaire

In order to obtain information on the subjects for sample description purposes, adolescents were also asked to complete a Demographic Questionnaire (see Appendix F) asking them about themselves, including questions about their age, gender, year in college, religious affiliation, place of birth, marital status, citizenship, length of residency in the U.S., and primary language. In addition, information was collected about their parents' place of birth, ethnic background, generation, educational level, income, employment, and marital status.

Procedures

Students were contacted through introductory courses in Human Development, Korean Studies, or the Korean Student Association at the University of Hawaii. Students were notified of the opportunity to participate in the study by their class instructors and the researcher. Subjects were told that participation was voluntary, and were informed that their answers would be kept confidential.

The EOMEIS-2, MEIM, FAM III, PPQ and Demographic Questionnaire were compiled in the form of a booklet for administration to subjects. A cover letter was attached to the booklet, explaining the purpose and significance of the study, asking subjects for their cooperation, and assuring them of the confidentiality of all responses given by them on the instruments. The order of the EOMEIS-2, MEIM, FAM III, and PPQ in the booklet was counterbalanced to control for order effects. The Demographic Questionnaire was placed at the end of the booklet, followed by blank spaces for subjects to make additional comments about the research project. A note of appreciation to subjects for their participation marked the end of the survey. Administration time for completing the questionnaires in the booklet was approximately 40 minutes. Data was collected through April and September, 1994.

One hundred and forty six students participated in the data collection. Twenty of the collected protocols were judged unusable due to failure to complete all four instruments or a fixed pattern of responses. Four more subjects were excluded from the analysis because of invalid scores on the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-2 (Bennion & Adams, 1986). Thus, the final sample consisted of 122 subjects.

RESULTS

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between ethnic and ego identity among 122 Korean-American college students by taking into consideration their arrival time in the U.S. (i.e., childhood vs. adolescence), gender (i.e., male vs. female), family type (i.e., strong vs. less strong), and degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities (i.e., high vs. low). Aspects of ethnic identity among adolescents included ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior. Ego identity represented adolescents' ego identity status including achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, or diffusion associated with the three aspects of ego identity: overall, ideological, and interpersonal identity.

A series of 4 (ego identity status) x 2 (arrival time or gender or family type or parental performance) MANOVAs, taking into consideration each aspect of ego identity (overall ego, ideological, and interpersonal), were applied to the ethnic identity scores of adolescents to test four general hypotheses, each with two sub-hypotheses, generated for this study. The data analyses were performed to test each hypotheses due to small sample size. MANOVA was chosen because all three dependent variables reflect various aspects of general ethnic identity. Analyses on each separate variable were also conducted because recent studies on ethnic identity suggest that separate analyses of the components of ethnic identity should be carried out. The probability level of $p = \text{or} < .05$ was used as the level of statistical significance. In addition, the probability level of $p = \text{or} < .10$ was used to explore the data for trends that might

occur. The Tukey approach was used to test all post hoc comparisons where appropriate.

Frequencies and Means of Groups

Ethnic Identity

The means and standard deviations of the ethnic identity score and its three components for this sample are shown in Table 4. There were no statistically significant differences between this sample and Phinney's sample (1992) on the total score, and affirmation and belonging score. However, this sample scored a little higher than Phinney's sample on ethnic identity achievement score ($t = 2.68, p < .05$) and ethnic behavior score ($t = 3.09, p < .05$).

Table 4
Means and Standard Deviation for Ethnic Identity, by Samples

	Present Study		Phinney's Sample	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Ethnic Identity	3.15	.48	3.04	.59
Affirmation/Belonging	3.32	.57	3.36	.59
Ethnic Identity Achievement	3.09	.49	2.90	.64
Ethnic Behavior	2.97	.72	2.67	.85

Ego Identity Status Groups

Prior to testing the hypotheses generated for this study, adolescents were categorized into the four ego identity status groups of achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion relative to their overall identity, ideological identity, and interpersonal identity scores, using the classification scheme developed by Adams et al (1989). Table 5 summarizes the number of adolescents falling into each of the varying ego identity status groups. Approximately half of the Korean-American adolescents in this study were classified as belonging to the moratorium identity status group. This percentage is consistent with Cote and Levine's (1988) finding that approximately 50% of college students experience moratorium. This may be true because college students are in a setting in which they are encouraged to explore various aspects of their lives without experiencing a high demand for commitment.

Table 5
Frequency of Ego Identity Status of Adolescents by Overall, Ideological, and Interpersonal Identity

Aspects	Ego Identity Status Groups			
	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion
Overall Identity	11	64	19	28
Ideological Identity	16	54	21	31
Interpersonal Identity	11	64	12	35

Tests of Hypotheses

Arrival Time

Hypothesis Ia: Among Korean-American adolescents in the more advanced ego identity groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), those who arrived in the U.S. during adolescence will have higher ethnic identity scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during childhood.

Hypothesis Ib: Among Korean-American adolescents in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion), those who arrived in the U.S. during childhood will have higher ethnic identity scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during adolescence.

The MANOVAs calculated to test these hypotheses are presented in Table 6. The means associated with these MANOVAs are presented in Tables 7,8, and 9. The multivariate and univariate effects of overall identity, arrival time and their interaction on adolescents' ethnic identity scores were not significant. However, the multivariate effect of ideological identity tended toward significance, $F(9,253) = 1.67, p < .10$, and its univariate tests were significant for all ethnic identity scores of adolescents (i.e., ethnic affirmation and belonging, $F(3,106) = 3.76, p < .05$; ethnic identity achievement, $F(3,106) = 4.11, p < .01$; and ethnic behavior, $F(3,106) = 2.94, p < .01$). These findings indicated that identity-achieved Korean-American adolescents in the ideological domain reported significantly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging,

ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than identity-diffused adolescents ($p < .05$; see Table 8). In addition, identity-foreclosed adolescents in the ideological domain reported significantly higher ethnic identity achievement scores than identity-diffused adolescents in the same domain ($p < .05$, see Table 8). There were no significant univariate arrival time or interaction effect between ideological identity and arrival time on adolescents' ethnic identity scores in the ideological identity domain.

Table 6
MANOVAs Applied to the Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Aspects of Ego Identity, Arrival Time, and Their Interaction

Aspects of Ego Identity	Multivariate F.	Ethnic Identity Scores		
		Affirmation & Belonging Univariate F	Identity Achievement Univariate F	Behavior Univariate F
Overall Ego Identity (OEI)	1.23	.40	1.74	.22
Arrival Time (AT)	.36	.31	.49	1.04
OEI X AT	1.13	.70	.81	.88
Ideological Identity (IDI)	1.67+	3.76*	4.11**	2.94**
Arrival Time (AT)	1.18	.28	1.66	2.60
IDI X AT	1.24	1.86	1.05	.74
Interpersonal Identity (INI)	1.66+	1.84	2.95*	.07
Arrival Time (AT)	.52	.20	.02	.26
INI X AT	3.94	.86	.50	2.57+

+ $p =$ or $< .10$; * $p =$ or $< .05$; ** $p =$ or $< .01$

With respect to the interpersonal identity domain, the multivariate effect of interpersonal identity on ethnic identity tended toward significance, $F(9,253) = 1.66$, $p < .10$, but those of arrival time and the interaction between interpersonal identity and arrival time were not. Examination of the univariate tests revealed a significant main effect for interpersonal identity on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores,

Table 7
Means Associated with the Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Overall Ego Identity, Arrival Time, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Overall Ego Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.40	3.39	3.00
Moratorium (M)	3.37	3.11	2.95
Foreclosure (F)	3.26	3.18	2.87
Diffusion (D)	3.22	2.87	2.87
Arrival Time			
Childhood (C)	3.35	3.07	2.86
Adolescence (A)	3.30	3.10	3.01
Overall Identity x Arrival Time			
A x C	3.16 (.62)	3.23 (.60)	2.60 (.82)
M x C	3.41 (.61)	3.04 (.55)	2.85 (.77)
F x C	3.35 (.53)	3.21 (.41)	3.11 (.49)
D x C	3.15 (.70)	3.07 (.55)	3.00 (.71)
A x A	3.60 (.63)	3.52 (.51)	3.33 (.82)
M x A	3.33 (.58)	3.18 (.41)	3.03 (.78)
F x A	3.23 (.53)	3.21 (.41)	3.11 (.49)
D x A	3.23 (.52)	2.83 (.41)	2.84 (.63)

$F(3,108) = 2.95, p < .05$. Identity-achieved Korean-American adolescents reported significantly higher ethnic identity achievement scores than identity-diffused adolescents in the interpersonal identity domain ($p < .05$, see Table 9). In addition, univariate tests indicated a tendency in the data relative to the interaction effect of interpersonal identity and arrival time on adolescents' ethnic behavior scores, $F(3,108) = 2.57, p < .10$.

Table 8
Means Associated with the Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Ideological Identity, Arrival Time, and Their Interaction

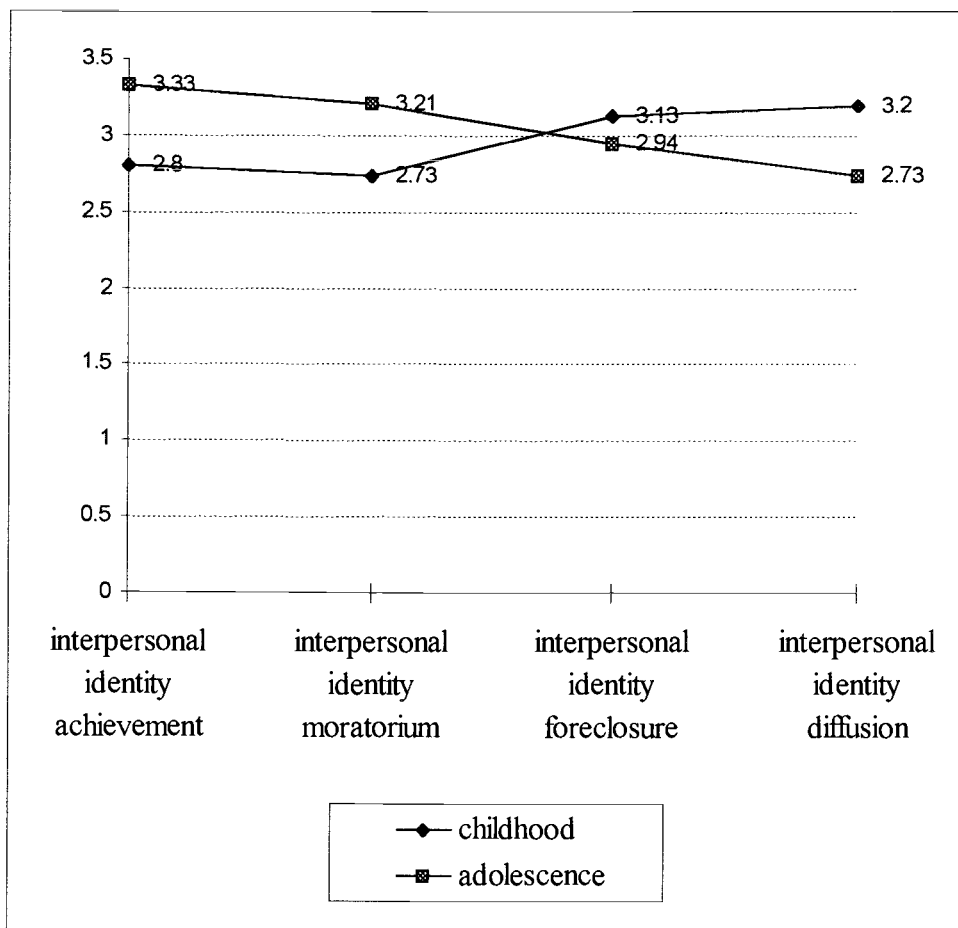
Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Ideological Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.65	3.35	3.33
Moratorium (M)	3.27	3.10	2.89
Foreclosure (F)	3.43	3.25	3.15
Diffusion (D)	3.12	2.84	2.76
Arrival Time			
Childhood (C)	3.32	3.05	2.86
Adolescence (A)	3.10	3.10	3.00
Ideological Identity x Arrival Time			
A x C	3.37 (.65)	3.12 (.53)	3.00 (.96)
M x C	3.35 (.61)	3.07 (.58)	2.87 (.52)
F x C	3.63 (.23)	3.17 (.14)	3.08 (1.07)
D x C	3.02 (.67)	2.90 (.58)	2.61 (.65)
A x A	3.90 (.19)	3.55 (.36)	3.63 (.44)
M x A	3.23 (.53)	3.11 (.40)	2.90 (.78)
F x A	3.34 (.66)	3.28 (.50)	3.18 (.61)
D x A	3.15 (.48)	2.81 (.38)	2.82 (.57)

Inspection of the means associated with this interaction effect in Table 9 and diagrammed in Figure 1 revealed that, among Korean-American adolescents in the achievement and moratorium identity status groups, those who arrived in the U.S. during adolescence tended to have slightly higher ethnic behavior scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during childhood. In contrast, among Korean-American adolescents in the foreclosure and diffusion identity status groups, those who arrived in the U.S. during childhood tended to have slightly higher ethnic behavior scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during adolescence.

Table 9
Means Associated with the Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Interpersonal Identity, Arrival Time, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Score		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Interpersonal Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.53	3.47	3.09
Moratorium (M)	3.41	3.10	3.00
Foreclosure (F)	3.14	3.05	3.00
Diffusion (D)	3.05	2.92	2.83
Arrival Time			
Childhood (C)	3.33	3.06	2.83
Adolescence (A)	3.30	3.09	3.02
Interpersonal Identity X Arrival Time			
A x C	3.48 (.54)	3.49 (.30)	2.80 (.76)
M x C	3.33 (.66)	2.99 (.57)	2.73 (.86)
F x C	3.35 (.41)	3.07 (.25)	3.13 (.25)
D x C	3.16 (.43)	2.96 (.32)	3.20 (.45)
A x A	3.57 (.50)	3.45 (.46)	3.33 (.61)
M x A	3.46 (.46)	3.19 (.43)	3.21 (.72)
F x A	2.90 (.58)	3.04 (.47)	2.94 (.50)
D x A	3.14 (.58)	2.91 (.42)	2.73 (.60)

Figure 1. Interpersonal Ego Identity X Arrival Time Interaction Effects on Ethnic Behavior
 $F(3, 108) = 2.57, p < .10$



The findings summarized above, therefore, provided only minimal support of Hypothesis Ia and Ib. There was a tendency for Korean-American adolescents' interpersonal identity to interact with their time of arrival in the U.S. (i.e., childhood vs. adolescence) in impacting on their ethnic behavior scores. Generally, adolescents who arrived in the U.S. from Korea during their adolescence, and who were classified in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium) relative

to their interpersonal identity, tended to have slightly higher ethnic behavior scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during their childhood and who were in the same ego identity status groups. In contrast, adolescents who arrived in the U.S. from Korea during their childhood, and who were classified in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion) relative to their interpersonal identity, tended to have slightly higher ethnic behavior scores, than those who arrived in the U.S. during their adolescence, and who were in the same ego identity status groups. Findings also indicated that Korean-American adolescents' ego identity status relative to their ideological identity appeared to have an impact on their ethnic identity scores, independent of their arrival time in the U.S.

Gender

Hypothesis IIa: Among Korean-American adolescents, males in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium) will have higher ethnic identity scores than females in the same ego identity status groups.

Hypothesis IIb: Among Korean-American adolescents, females in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion) will have higher ethnic identity scores than males in the same ego identity status groups.

The MANOVAs calculated to test the hypotheses are presented in Table 10. The means associated with these MANOVAs are presented in Tables 11, 12, and 13.

The multivariate effect of overall ego identity on adolescents' ethnic identity scores was significant, $F(9,261) = 2.14$, $p < .05$, but those for gender and the interaction between overall ego identity and gender were not. Inspection of the univariate tests indicated that adolescents' overall ego identity had a significant effect on their ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(3,109) = 4.39$, $p < .05$. This indicated that identity-achieved Korean-American adolescents had significantly higher ethnic identity achievement scores than those who were identity-diffused ($p < .05$, see Table 11).

Table 10
MANOVAs Applied to the Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Aspects of Ego Identity, Gender, and Their Interaction

Aspects of Ego Identity	Multivariate F.	Ethnic Identity Scores		
		Affirmation & Belonging	Ethnic Identity Achievement	Behavior
		Univariate F	Univariate F	Univariate F
Overall Ego Identity (OEI)	2.14*	.51	4.39*	.98
Gender (G)	.81	.88	2.01	1.67
OEI X G	1.32	2.72*	2.23+	2.51+
Ideological Identity (IDI)	2.47*	4.24**	6.35*	3.83*
Gender (G)	.16	.31	.42	.26
IDI X G	1.07	2.47+	1.85	2.28+
Interpersonal Identity (INI)	1.93*	2.06	3.09*	.62
Gender (G)	.14	.02	.08	.08
INI X G	.68	1.59	.36	.75

+ $p =$ or $< .10$; * $p =$ or $< .05$; ** $p =$ or $< .01$

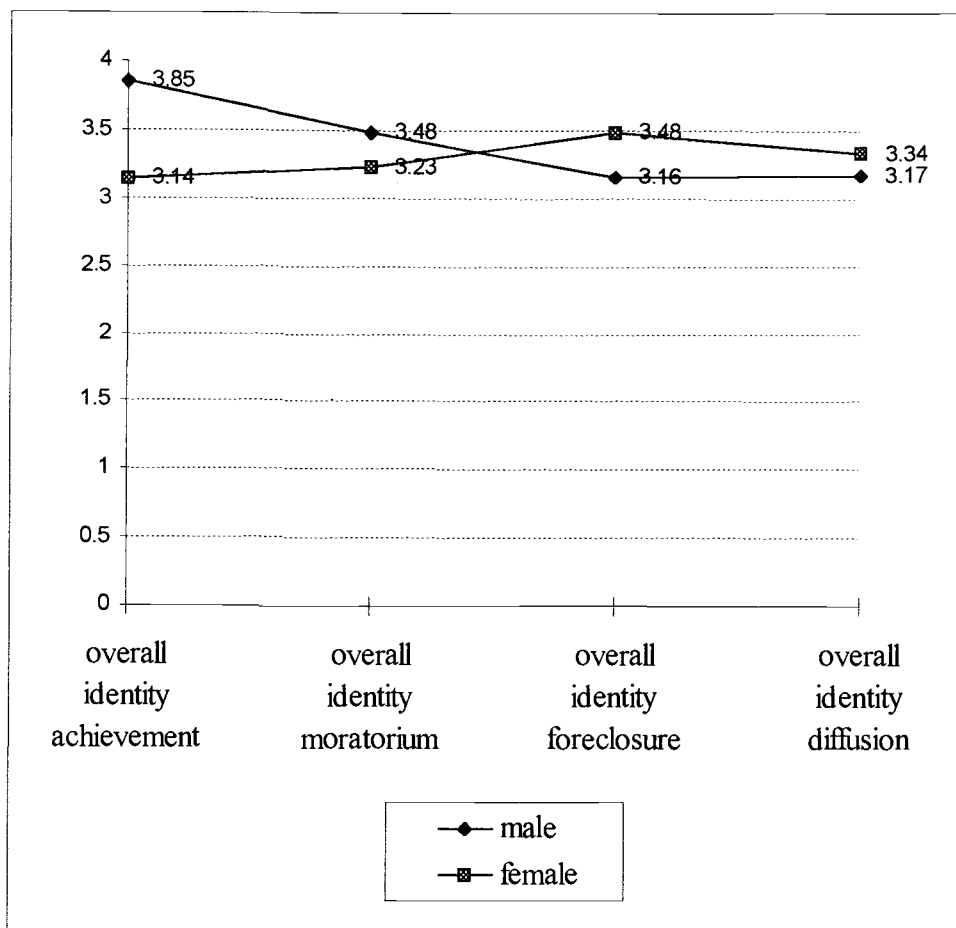
In addition, there was a significant overall ego identity and gender interaction effect on adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging scores, $F(3,109) = 2.72, p < .05$; and a tendency of such an interaction effect on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement, $F(3,109) = 2.23, p < .10$, and ethnic behavior, $F(3,109) = 2.51, p < .10$, scores.

Table 11
Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Overall Identity, Gender, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Overall Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.40	3.39	3.00
Moratorium (M)	3.37	3.11	2.95
Foreclosure (F)	3.30	3.21	3.16
Diffusion (D)	3.26	2.92	2.88
Gender			
Male (M)	3.38	3.14	3.03
Female (F)	3.28	3.07	2.90
Overall Identity x Gender			
A x M	3.85 (.20)	3.82 (.15)	3.63 (.48)
M x M	3.48 (.62)	3.17 (.52)	3.06 (.77)
F x M	3.16 (.54)	3.19 (.34)	3.09 (.54)
D x M	3.17 (.56)	2.84 (.43)	2.73 (.60)
A x F	3.14 (.67)	3.14 (.54)	2.64 (.85)
M x F	3.23 (.53)	3.04 (.42)	2.81 (.78)
F x F	3.48 (.44)	3.25 (.47)	3.25 (.38)
D x F	3.34 (.52)	2.98 (.47)	3.00 (.61)

Inspection of the means associated with this interaction in Table 11 and diagrammed in Figures 2, 3, and 4 revealed that Korean-American males in the achievement and moratorium status groups appeared to have higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than females in the same identity status groups.

Figure 2. Overall Ego Identity X Gender Interaction Effects on Ethnic Affirmation & Belonging
 $F(3, 109) = 2.72, p < .05$



In contrast, Korean-American females in the foreclosure and diffusion identity status groups appeared to have slightly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than males in the same identity status groups.

Figure 3. Overall Ego Identity X Gender Interaction Effects on Ethnic Identity Achievement
 $F(3, 109) = 2.23, p < .10$

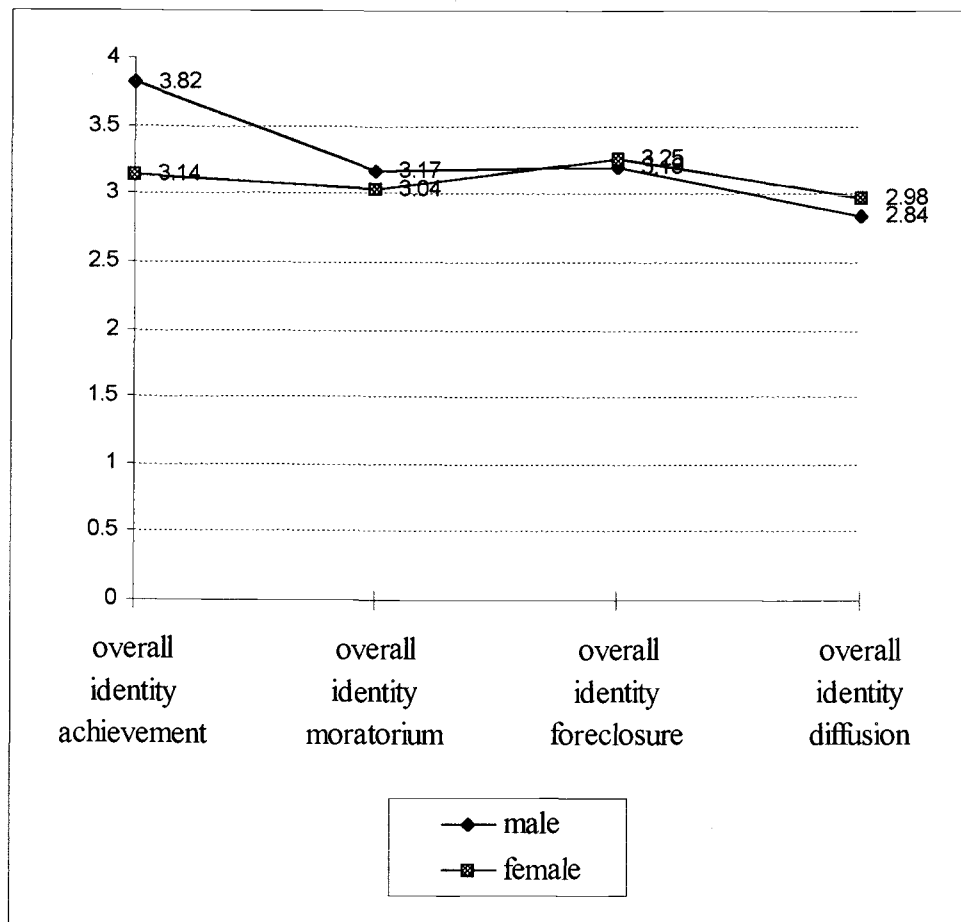
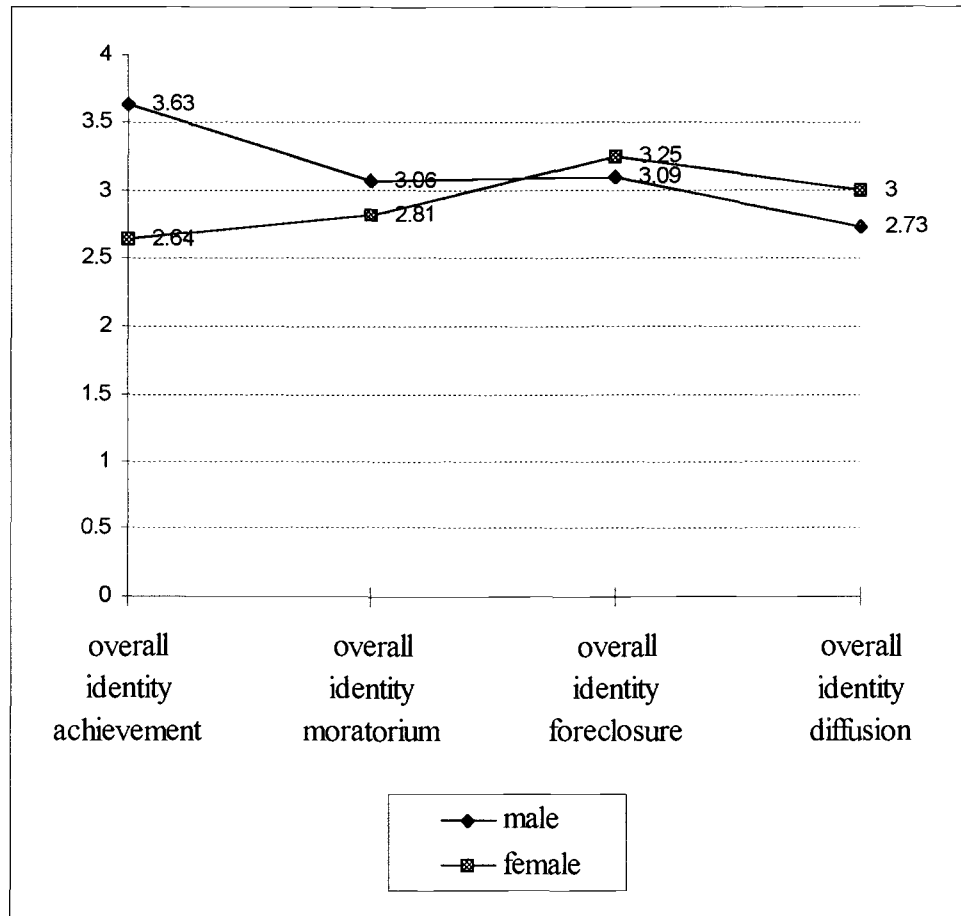


Figure 4. Overall Ego Identity X Gender Interaction Effects on Ethnic Behavior,
 $F(3, 109) = 2.51, p < .10$



The multivariate effect of ideological identity on adolescents' ethnic identity scores was significant, $F(9,261) = 2.47, p < .05$, while those for gender and the interaction between ideological identity and gender were not. Inspection of the univariate tests associated with ideological identity revealed a significant effect on adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging, $F(3,109) = 4.24, p < .01$, ethnic identity achievement, $F(3,109) = 6.35, p < .05$, and ethnic behavior, $F(3,109) = 3.83, p < .05$,

scores. Identity-achieved Korean-American adolescents in the ideological domain were found to have significantly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging scores, ethnic identity achievement scores, and ethnic behavior scores than identity-diffused adolescents in the same domain ($p < .05$, see Table 12).

Regarding the ideological identity and gender interaction effect, univariate tests revealed tendencies in the data relative to adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging, $F(3,109) = 2.47$, $p < .10$, and ethnic behavior, $F(3,109) = 2.28$, $p < .10$, scores. Inspection of the means associated with this interaction effect found in Table

Table 12
Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Ideological Identity, Gender, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Ideological Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.65	3.35	3.33
Moratorium (M)	3.30	3.11	2.89
Foreclosure (F)	3.46	3.27	3.19
Diffusion (D)	3.12	2.84	2.76
Gender			
Male (M)	3.38	3.15	3.03
Female (F)	3.27	3.06	2.90
Ideological Identity x Gender			
A x M	3.86 (.20)	3.53 (.36)	3.57 (.45)
M x M	3.46 (.56)	3.23 (.52)	3.08 (.60)
F x M	3.32 (.66)	3.19 (.42)	3.08 (.89)
D x M	3.06 (.61)	2.80 (.47)	2.63 (.61)
A x F	3.48 (.66)	3.20 (.56)	3.13 (.95)
M x F	3.15 (.53)	3.01 (.41)	2.71 (.70)
F x F	3.68 (.35)	3.41 (.42)	3.38 (.44)
D x F	3.16 (.46)	2.88 (.42)	2.88 (.56)

12 and diagrammed in Figures 5 and 6 revealed that Korean-American males in the achievement and moratorium identity status groups appeared to have slightly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, and ethnic behavior scores than females in the same identity status groups. In contrast, Korean-American females in the foreclosure and diffused identity status group appeared to have slightly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, and ethnic behaviors scores than males in the same identity status groups.

Figure 5. Ideological Ego Identity X Gender Interaction Effects on Ethnic Affirmation & Belonging,
 $F(3, 109) = 2.47, p < .10$

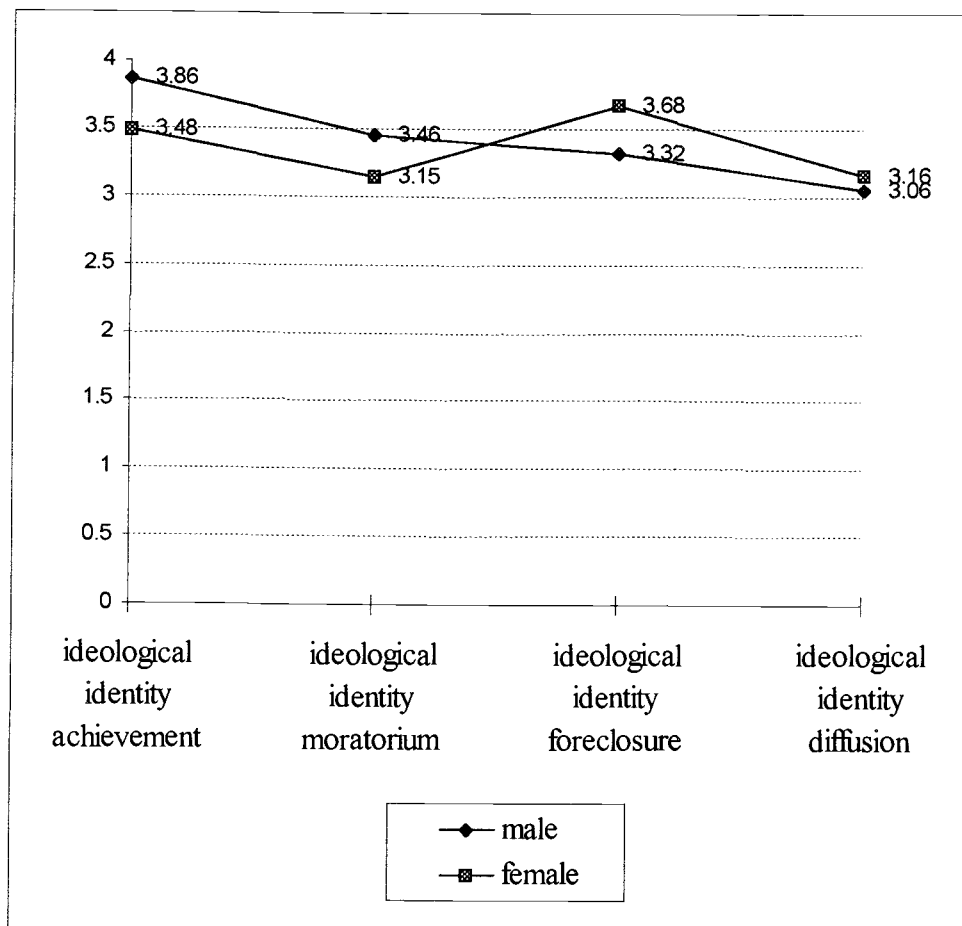
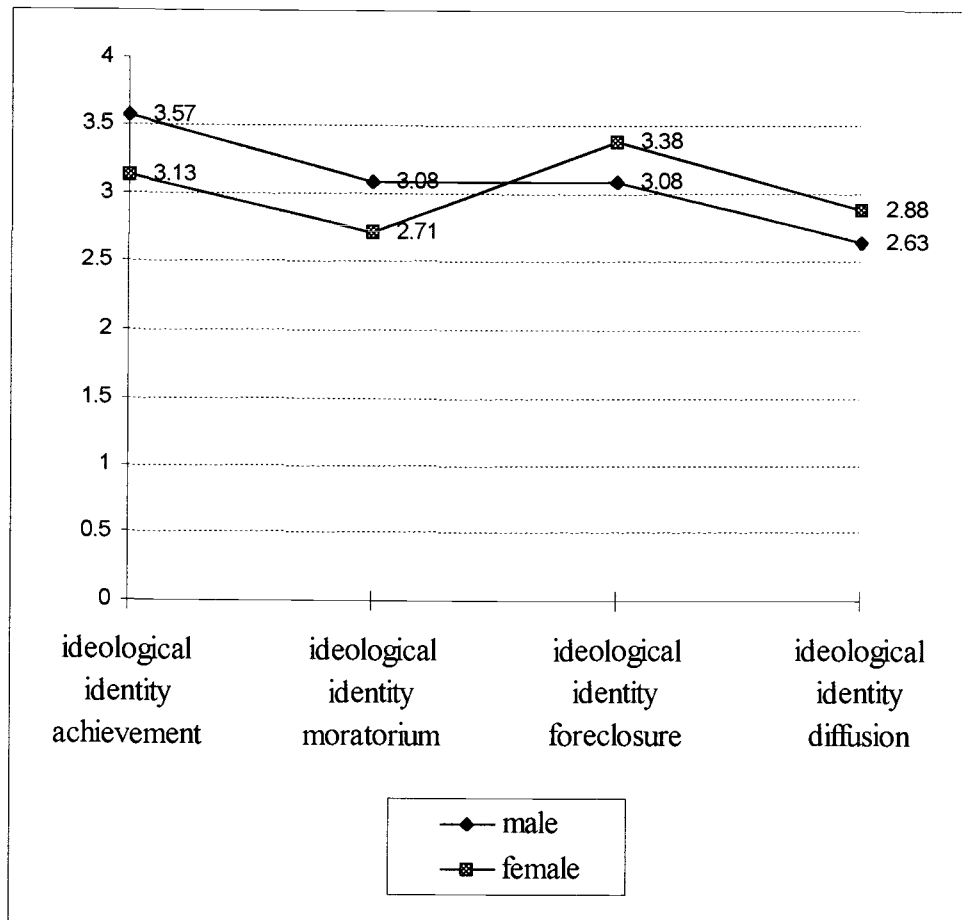


Figure 6. Ideological Ego Identity X Gender Interaction Effect on Ethnic Behavior,
 $F(3, 109) = 2.28, p < .10$



Finally, the multivariate effect of interpersonal identity on adolescents' ethnic identity was significant, $F(9,261) = 1.93, p < .05$, although those for gender and the interaction were not. The inspection of univariate tests revealed that adolescents' interpersonal identity had a significant effect on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(3,109) = 3.09, p < .05$. Identity-achieved Korean-American

adolescents in the interpersonal domain reported significantly higher ethnic identity achievement scores than identity-diffused adolescents in the same domain ($p < .05$, see Table 13).

Table 13
Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Interpersonal Identity, Gender, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm. /Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Interpersonal Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.53	3.47	3.09
Moratorium (M)	3.39	3.11	3.01
Foreclosure (F)	3.05	3.05	3.00
Diffusion (D)	3.22	2.96	2.82
Gender			
Male (M)	3.36	3.13	3.11
Female (F)	3.27	3.06	2.91
Interpersonal Identity x Gender			
A x M	3.63 (.39)	3.55 (.35)	3.25 (.52)
M x M	3.48 (.59)	3.15 (.54)	3.11 (.77)
F x M	2.77 (.43)	2.95 (.38)	2.83 (.52)
D x M	3.26 (.60)	2.99 (.44)	2.80 (.62)
A x F	3.40 (.62)	3.37 (.41)	2.90 (.89)
M x F	3.30 (.51)	3.06 (.47)	2.89 (.79)
F x F	3.33 (.55)	3.14 (.42)	3.17 (.26)
D x F	3.17 (.56)	2.94 (.45)	2.84 (.62)

The findings summarized above appear to provide some support for hypotheses IIa and IIb. Korean-American males in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), particularly those related to overall and ideological identity, appeared to have slightly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors scores than females in the same identity status groups. In contrast, Korean-American females in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion), particularly those related to overall and ideological identity, appeared to have slightly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than males in the same identity status groups. Findings also indicated that all aspects of Korean-American adolescents' ego identity (i.e., overall, ideological, and interpersonal) had a significant relation to their ethnic identity scores, particularly those related to ethnic identity achievement.

Family Type

Hypothesis IIIa: Among Korean-American adolescents in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), those who come from strong families will have higher ethnic identity scores than those who come from less strong families.

Hypothesis IIIb: Among Korean-American adolescents in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion), those who come from less strong families will have higher ethnic identity scores than those from strong families.

The MANOVAs calculated to test these hypotheses are presented in Table 14. The means associated with these MANOVAs are presented in Tables 15, 16, and 17. The multivariate effect of overall ego identity was significant, $F(9,239) = 2.19, p < .05$, but those for family type and their interaction were not. Inspection of the univariate tests indicated that adolescents' overall ego identity tended to have a significant effect on their ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(3,100) = 2.12, p < .10$. This indicated that identity-achieved and foreclosed Korean-American adolescents tended to report higher ethnic identity achievement scores than identity-diffused adolescents.

Table 14
MANOVAs Applied to the Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Aspects of Ego Identity, Family Type, and Their Interaction

Aspects of Ego Identity	Ethnic Identity Scores			
	Multivariate F	Affirmation & Belonging Univariate F	Ethnic Identity Achievement Univariate F	Behavior Univariate F
Overall Ego Identity (OEI)	2.19*	0.25	2.12+	1.56
Family Type (FT)	1.76	3.00+	2.19	5.09*
OEI X FT	0.95	0.66	1.00	1.63
Ideological Identity (IDI)	1.80+	1.19	3.76*	2.11+
Family Type (FT)	2.99*	4.92**	3.28+	8.29**
IDI X FT	1.56	.96	.27	2.52+
Interpersonal Identity (INI)	1.55	.54	1.99	.90
Family Type (FT)	.98	.30	.02	2.11
INI X FT	1.97*	2.61+	3.30*	2.59+

+ $p = \text{or} < .10$; * $p = \text{or} < .05$; ** $p = \text{or} < .01$

In addition, there was a significant effect for family type on adolescents' ethnic behavior scores, $F(1,100) = 5.09, p < .05$, and a tendency toward such an effect on adolescents' affirmation and belonging scores, $F(1,100) = 3.00, p < .10$. Korean-American adolescents in strong families had significantly higher ethnic behavior and tended to have higher ethnic affirmation and belonging scores than those in less stronger families (see Table 15).

Table 15
Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Overall Identity, Family Type, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Overall Ego Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.20	3.39	3.00
Moratorium (M)	3.36	3.10	2.92
Foreclosure (F)	3.31	3.25	3.17
Diffusion (D)	3.22	2.87	2.82
Family Type			
Strong (S)	3.37	3.12	3.00
Less Strong (LS)	3.14	2.90	2.75
Overall Identity X Family Type			
A x S	3.48 (.61)	3.43 (.56)	3.15 (.75)
M x S	3.42 (.54)	3.18 (.40)	2.99 (.79)
F x S	3.33 (.49)	3.26 (.36)	3.18 (.54)
D x S	3.23 (.61)	2.87 (.48)	2.82 (.65)
A x LS	2.60 (.)	3.00 (.)	1.50 (.)
M x LS	3.13 (.79)	2.81 (.61)	2.68 (.60)
F x LS	3.25 (.70)	3.21 (.44)	3.13 (.25)
D x LS	3.18 (.25)	2.86 (.28)	2.81 (.37)

The multivariate effect of ideological identity on adolescents' ethnic identity scores only tended toward significance, $F(9,239) = 1.80, p < .10$, while that for family type was significant, $F(3,98) = 2.99, p < .05$. However, the interaction between these variables was not significant. Inspection of the univariate tests associated with ideological identity revealed that it had a significant effect on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(3,100) = 3.76, p < .05$, and tended to have an effect on adolescents' ethnic behavior scores, $F(3,100) = 2.11, p < .10$. Identity-achieved and foreclosed Korean-American adolescents in the ideological domain had ($p < .05$) or tended to have significantly higher ethnic behavior and ethnic identity achievement scores, respectively, than identity-diffused adolescents in the same domain (see Table 16).

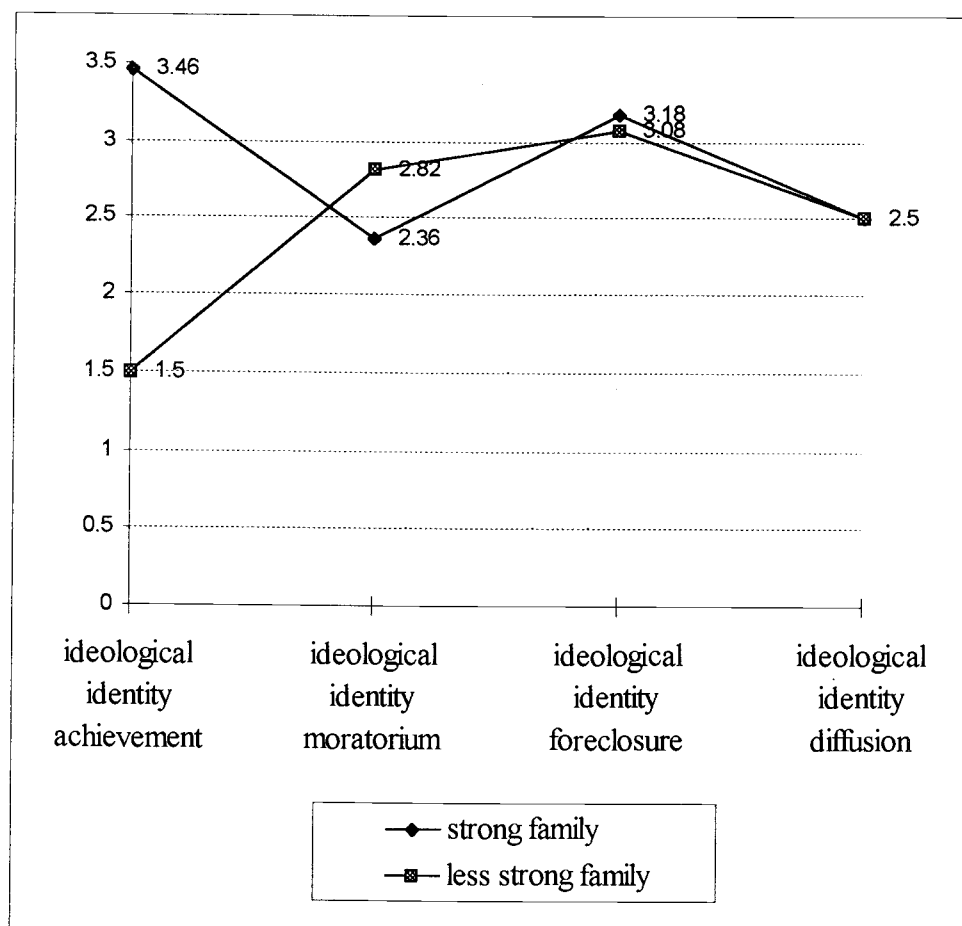
In addition, univariate tests associated with the variable of family type in the ideological domain had a significant effect on adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging, $F(1,100) = 4.92, p < .05$, and ethnic behavior, $F(1,100) = 8.29, p < .01$, scores, as well as a tendency toward an effect on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(1,100) = 3.28, p < .10$. Apparently, Korean-American adolescents in strong families had or tended to have significantly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors scores than those in less strong families (see Table 16). Furthermore, there was a tendency toward a significant interaction effect between ideological identity and family type relative to adolescents' ethnic behavior, $F(1,100) = 2.52, p < .10$. Inspection of the

means found in Table 16 and diagrammed in Figure 7 appeared to indicate that identity-achieved Korean-American adolescents relative to their ideological identity scores, who were from strong families appeared to have higher ethnic behavior scores than those from less strong families in the same identity status group. Of Korean-American adolescents in the moratorium, foreclosure, and diffused identity status groups, however, coming from a strong or less strong family did not appear to make a major difference between them.

Table 16
Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Ideological Identity, Family Type, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Ideological Ego Identity (IEI)			
Achievement (A)	3.65	3.35	3.33
Moratorium (M)	3.28	3.10	2.85
Foreclosure (F)	3.43	3.24	3.15
Diffusion (D)	3.10	2.84	2.72
Family Type (FT)			
Strong (S)	3.36	3.15	2.99
Less Strong (LS)	3.14	2.90	2.75
Ideological Ego Identity X Family Type			
A x S	3.73 (.45)	3.58 (.50)	3.46 (.60)
M x S	3.30 (.73)	3.17 (.41)	2.36 (.69)
F x S	3.49 (.59)	3.27 (.44)	3.18 (.87)
D x S	3.13 (.39)	2.60 (.35)	2.50 (.55)
A x LS	2.60 (.)	3.00 (.)	1.50 (.)
M x LS	3.20 (.73)	2.90 (.55)	2.82 (.46)
F x LS	3.30 (.59)	3.19 (.36)	3.08 (.38)
D x LS	2.97 (.39)	2.60 (.35)	2.50 (.55)

Figure 7. Ideological Ego Identity X Family Type Interaction Effects on Ethnic Behavior,
 $F(3, 100) = 2.52, p < .10$



The multivariate effect of the interaction between adolescents' interpersonal identity and family type was significant, $F(9,237) = 1.97, p < .05$, although the multivariate effects of interpersonal identity, and family type was not. Inspection of the univariate tests associated with this interaction effect indicated that it was significant for adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(3,99) = 3.30, p < .05$, and tended to be significant for adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging, $F(3,99) = 2.61, p <$

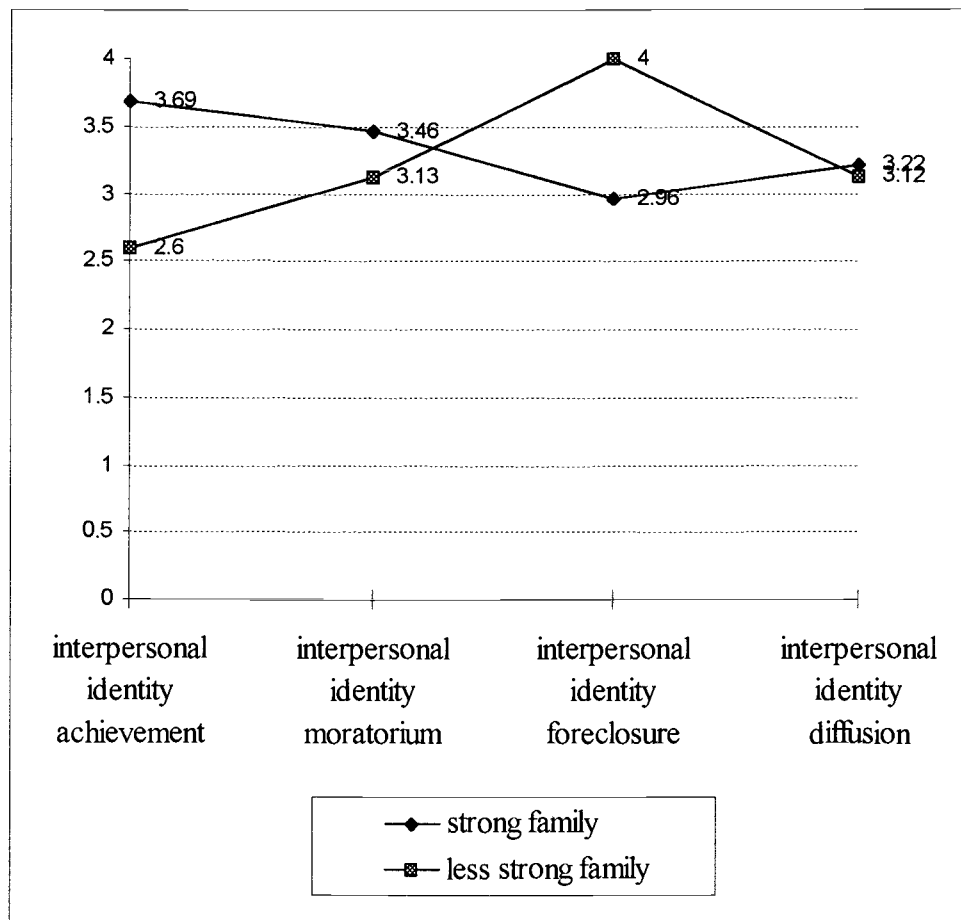
.10, as well as ethnic behavior scores, $F(3,99) = 2.59, p < .10$. Inspection of the means found in Table 17, and diagrammed in Figures 8, 9, and 10 generally indicated that Korean-American adolescents in the achievement and moratorium identity status groups from strong families appeared to have higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors scores than adolescents from less strong families. In contrast, Korean-American adolescents in the foreclosure and diffusion identity status groups from less strong families appeared to have higher or similar ethnic affirmation and belong, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than adolescents from strong families.

Table 17
Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Interpersonal Identity, Family Type, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Interpersonal Identity (INI)			
Achievement (A)	3.58	3.49	3.15
Moratorium (M)	3.39	3.11	2.96
Foreclosure (F)	3.19	3.09	3.00
Diffusion (D)	3.06	2.92	2.81
Family Type (FT)			
Strong (S)	3.36	3.15	3.99
Less Strong (LS)	3.14	2.90	2.75
Interpersonal Ego Identity X Family Type			
A x S	3.69 (.36)	3.54 (.37)	3.33 (.43)
M x S	3.46 (.50)	3.21 (.45)	3.02 (.81)
F x S	2.96 (.51)	3.01 (.30)	2.92 (.44)
D x S	3.22 (.63)	2.92 (.44)	2.79 (.68)
A x LS	2.60 (.)	3.00 (.)	1.50 (.)
M x LS	3.13 (.75)	2.79 (.59)	2.71 (.58)
F x LS	4.00 (.)	3.86 (.)	3.50 (.)
D x LS	3.12 (.37)	2.93 (.24)	2.85 (.34)

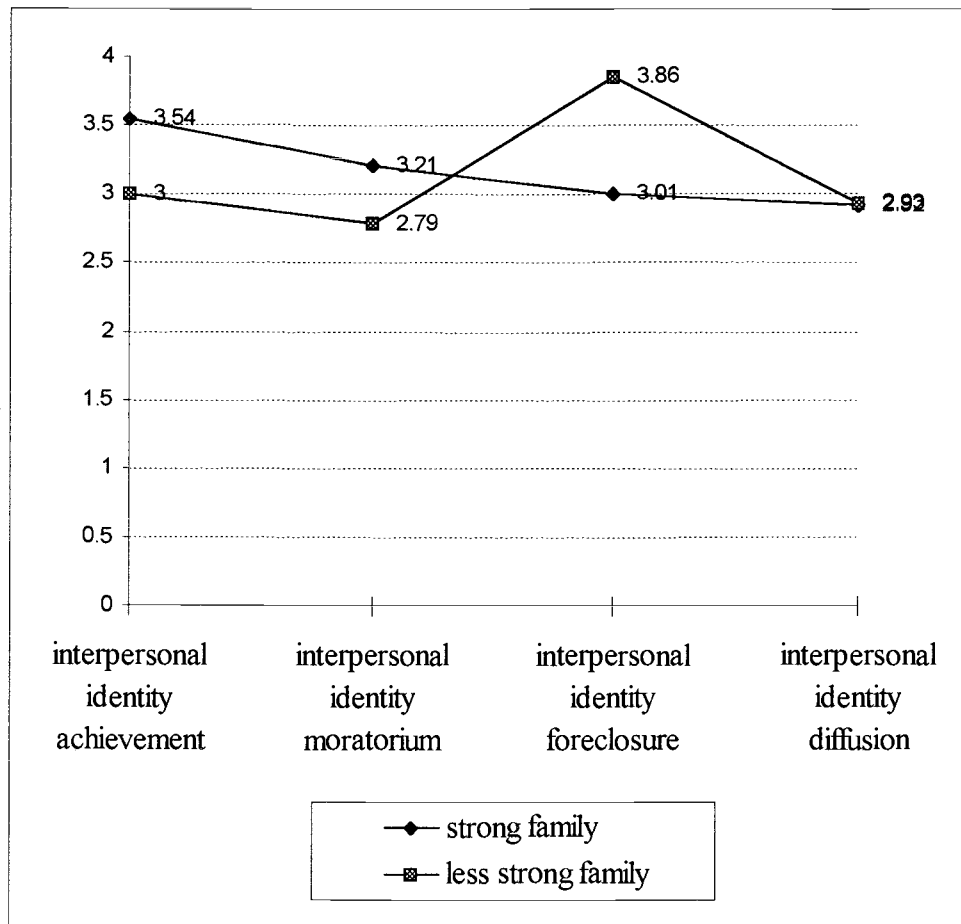
The findings summarized above appear to provide some support for Hypothesis IIIa and IIIb. Generally, Korean-American adolescents from strong families who were in the more advanced ego status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), particularly relative to their interpersonal identity, appeared to have slightly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than adolescents from less strong families in the same identity status groups.

Figure 8. Interpersonal Ego Identity X Family Type Interaction Effects on Ethnic Affirmation & Belonging
 $F(3,99) = 2.61, p < .10$



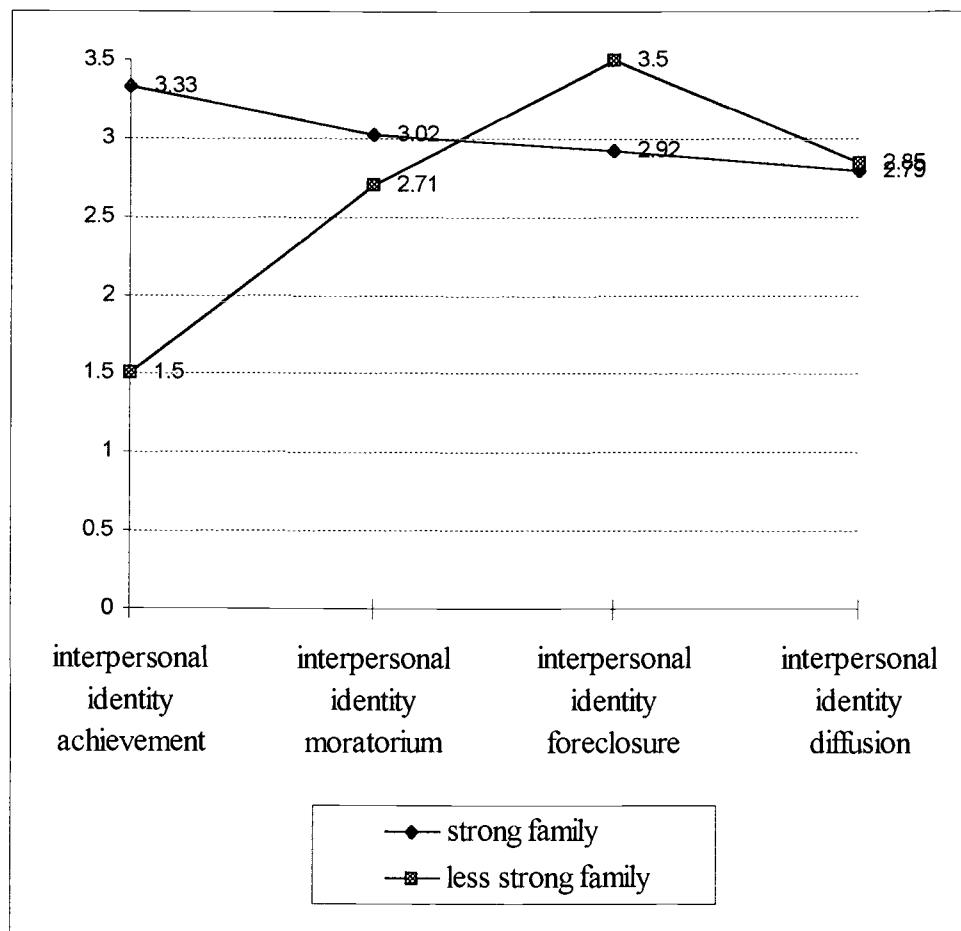
In contrast, Korean-American adolescents from less strong families in the lower ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion) appeared to have slightly higher or similar ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than adolescents from strong families in same identity status groups.

Figure 9. Interpersonal Ego Identity X Family Type Interaction Effects on Ethnic Identity Achievement, $F(3,99) = 3.30, p < .05$



Findings also indicated that family type appeared to have an impact, independent of ego identity on aspects of ethnic identity, especially in the ideological domain, and partially in the overall ego identity domain. Ego identity also had or tended to have an impact on ethnic identity, in the overall and ideological identity domains relative to adolescents' ethnic achievement identity scores.

Figure 10. Interpersonal Ego Identity X Family Type Interaction Effects on Ethnic Behavior, $F(3,99) = 2.59, p < .10$



Degree of Parental Performance of Behaviors and Activities

Hypothesis IVa: Among Korean-American adolescents in the more advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), those who come from homes in which there is a high degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities will have higher ethnic identity scores than those from homes in which such parental performance is low.

Hypothesis IVb: Among Korean-American adolescents in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion), those who come from homes in which there is a low degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities will have higher ethnic identity scores than those from homes in which such parental performance is high.

The MANOVAs calculated to test these hypotheses are presented in Table 18. The means associated with these MANOVAs are presented in Tables 19, 20, and 21. The multivariate effect of overall ego identity on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores was significant, $F(9,246) = 2.00, p < .05$, and also those from parental performance tended to be significant, $F(3,101) = 2.54, p < .10$. However, the interaction effect of overall ego identity and parental performance was not significant. The examination of univariate effect revealed that overall ego identity on ethnic identity achievement tended toward significance, $F(3,103) = 2.62, p < .10$., thus, identity-achieved or foreclosed adolescents appeared to have slightly higher ethnic identity achievement scores than identity-diffused adolescents. The examination of univariate effect revealed that parental performance on adolescents' ethnic affirmation and

belonging, $F(1,103) = 5.42, p < .05$, on ethnic identity achievement, $F(1,103) = 6.97, p < .01$, and on ethnic behavior scores, $F(1,103) = 4.48, p < .05$, were significant.

Korean-American adolescents whose parents who performed a high degree of ethnic behaviors and activities reported significantly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than adolescents whose parents performed less ethnic behaviors and activities (see Table 19).

Table 18
MANOVAs Applied to the Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Aspects of Ego Identity, Parental Performance, and Their Interaction

Aspects of Ego Identity	Multivariate F.	Ethnic Identity Scores		
		Affirmation & Belonging Univariate F	Ethnic Identity Achievement Univariate F	Behavior Univariate F
Overall Ego Identity (OEI)	2.00*	.16	2.62+	1.03
Parental Performance (PP)	2.54+	5.42**	6.97**	4.48*
OEI X PP	.77	.54	1.21	1.17
Ideological Identity (IDI)	1.47	2.34+	4.05**	1.54
Parental Performance (PP)	1.73	2.62	2.08	5.01*
IDI X PP	.20	.45	.22	.15
Interpersonal Identity (INI)	1.73+	1.91	2.97*	.65
Parental Performance (PP)	1.67	3.40+	4.95*	2.01
INI X PP	.71	.31	.19	.77

+ $p = \text{or} < .10$; * $p = \text{or} < .05$; ** $p = \text{or} < .01$

With respect to ideological identity, the multivariate effects of ideological identity, parental performance, and their interaction on adolescents' ethnic identity scores were not significant. However, univariate analyses revealed adolescents' ideological identity scores made a significant impact on their ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(3,103) = 4.05, p < .01$, and tended to have a significant effect on adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging scores, $F(3,103) = 2.34, p < .10$.

Table 19

Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Overall Identity, Parental Performance, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Overall Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.40	3.39	3.00
Moratorium (M)	3.38	3.10	2.96
Foreclosure (F)	3.29	3.22	3.00
Diffusion (D)	3.27	2.92	2.89
Parental Performance			
High (H)	3.47	3.43	3.16
Low (L)	3.18	2.98	2.78
Overall Identity x Parental Performance			
A x H	3.67 (.55)	3.71 (.37)	3.33 (.98)
M x H	3.53 (.52)	3.19 (.49)	3.18 (.78)
F x H	3.33 (.60)	3.24 (.45)	3.18 (.46)
D x H	3.37 (.45)	3.00 (.46)	3.04 (.66)
A x L	3.08 (.64)	3.00 (.47)	2.60 (.55)
M x L	3.18 (.65)	3.00 (.48)	2.69 (.73)
F x L	3.23 (.46)	3.16 (.37)	3.33 (.41)
D x L	3.19 (.62)	2.86 (.46)	3.04 (.66)

Identity-achieved or foreclosed Korean-American adolescents reported higher ethnic identity achievement scores ($p < .05$) and tended to report slightly higher ethnic affirmation and belonging scores than identity-diffused adolescents (see Table 20). In addition, univariate tests revealed parental performance had a significant main effect on adolescents' ethnic behavior scores, $F(3,103) = 5.01, p < .05$. Korean-American adolescents whose parents performed more ethnic behaviors and activities reported higher ethnic behavior scores than those whose parents performed less of these behaviors and activities ($p < .05$) (see Table 20).

Table 20
Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Ideological Identity, Parental Performance, and Their Interaction

Variables	Ethnic Identity Scores		
	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Ideological Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.65	3.35	3.33
Moratorium (M)	3.30	3.10	2.90
Foreclosure (F)	3.47	3.28	3.26
Diffusion (D)	3.11	2.83	2.78
Parental Performance			
High (H)	3.46	3.20	3.16
Low (L)	3.17	2.98	2.77
Ideological Identity x Parental Performance			
A x H	3.73 (.43)	3.40 (.45)	3.45 (.76)
M x H	3.47 (.56)	3.22 (.55)	3.07 (.77)
F x H	3.52 (.54)	3.32 (.43)	3.33 (.56)
D x H	3.12 (.43)	2.86 (.39)	2.88 (.65)
A x L	3.45 (.75)	3.21 (.63)	3.00 (.82)
M x L	3.14 (.55)	3.01 (.40)	2.75 (.57)
F x L	3.32 (.77)	3.14 (.47)	2.90 (1.19)
D x L	3.10 (.64)	2.82 (.51)	2.69 (.57)

Finally, with respect to interpersonal identity, the multivariate effects of interpersonal identity on adolescents' ethnic identity scores tended toward significance, $F(9,244) = 1.73, p < .10.$, while those related to parental performance and the interaction between these variables were not. In addition, its univariate tests revealed a significant effect for interpersonal identity on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(3,102) = 2.97, p < .05.$ Identity-achieved Korean-American adolescents reported slightly higher ethnic identity achievement scores than identity-diffused adolescents ($p < .05$, see Table 21).

Table 21
Means Associated with Ethnic Identity Scores of Korean-American Adolescents by Interpersonal Identity, Parental Performance, and Their Interaction

Variables	Affirm./Belonging	Ethnic Identity Scores	
		Ethnic Identity Ach.	Behavior
Interpersonal Identity			
Achievement (A)	3.58	3.49	3.15
Moratorium (M)	3.40	3.11	3.02
Foreclosure (F)	3.24	3.04	3.05
Diffusion (D)	3.04	2.98	2.84
Parental Performance			
High (H)	3.46	3.20	3.15
Low (L)	3.18	2.98	2.78
Interpersonal Identity x Parental Performance			
A x H	3.60 (.58)	3.69 (.41)	3.20 (1.04)
M x H	3.53 (.51)	3.21 (.50)	3.25 (.74)
F x H	3.28 (.59)	3.17 (.42)	3.10 (.22)
D x H	3.34 (.51)	3.05 (.45)	2.94 (.66)
A x L	3.56 (.43)	3.29 (.27)	3.10 (.22)
M x L	3.21 (.60)	2.97 (.51)	2.69 (.75)
F x L	2.83 (.53)	2.93 (.41)	3.00 (.55)
D x L	3.13 (.66)	2.90 (.44)	2.73 (.62)

Furthermore, univariate tests revealed significant effects for parental performance on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores, $F(1,102) = 4.95, p < .05$, and a tendency toward significance on adolescents' ethnic affirmation and belonging scores, $F(1,102) = 3.40, p < .10$. Korean-American adolescents whose parents performed more ethnic behaviors and activities reported or tended to report significantly higher ethnic identity achievement scores, and ethnic affirmation and belonging scores than adolescents whose parents performed less ethnic behaviors and activities (see Table 21).

Overall, findings summarized above provided no support for Hypothesis IVa and IVb. However, the variable of parental performance appeared to have a significant impact on adolescents' ethnic identity scores, independent of the ego identity scores, especially when considering adolescent overall ethnic identity. In addition, the variable of ego identity in all domains (i.e., overall, ideological, and interpersonal) appear to impact on adolescents' ethnic identity achievement scores.

DISCUSSION

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between ethnic and ego identity among 122 Korean-American college students by taking into consideration their arrival time in the U.S. (i.e., childhood vs. adolescence), gender (i.e., male vs. female), family type (i.e., strong vs. less strong), and degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities (i.e., high vs. low).

Multivariate examinations of the relationships between the constructs of ethnic and ego identity were conducted separately for the variables of arrival time, gender, family type, and degree of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities. In this section, the results of these analyses will be presented and discussed separately. The section about the relationship between ethnic identity and ego identity will then be presented.

Arrival Time

Application of a 4 (ego identity status) x 2 (arrival time) MANOVAs, taking into consideration each aspect of ego identity (i.e., overall, ideological, and interpersonal), provided only minimal support for Hypotheses Ia and Ib. As expected, there was a tendency for Korean-American adolescents' interpersonal identity to interact with their time of arrival in the U.S. in impacting on their ethnic behavior scores. More specifically, adolescents who arrived in the U.S. from Korea during their

adolescence, and who were classified in achievement and moratorium status in their interpersonal identity, tended to have slightly higher ethnic behavior scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during their childhood, and who were in the same ego identity status groups. Evidently, the longer period of time in which ethnic and ego identity could simultaneously develop with their own country among Korean-American adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during adolescents, can be used as an explanation for this finding. In such a circumstance, the development of ethnic and ego identity would closely parallel each other. Among Korean-American adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during childhood, however, development of both ethnic and ego identity would occur in another country. Limited past social experiences within their own country and culture, therefore, would likely lead to a less firmly developed sense of ethnic identity (Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, 1984), in a way that may not parallel the development of their ego identity.

On the other hand, findings also revealed that adolescents who arrived in the U.S. from Korea during their childhood, and who were classified in the foreclosure and diffusion identity groups relative to their interpersonal identity, tended to have slightly higher ethnic behaviors scores than those who arrived in the U.S. during their adolescence, and who were in the same ego identity status groups. As previously predicted, this finding appears reasonable from the point of view that Korean-American adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during adolescence, and who had not developed a sense of ego identity within their own country, would also not likely have developed a sense of ethnic identity as well, since ego and ethnic identity appear to parallel each

other. Those adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during childhood, however, in order to develop their ego and ethnic identities in another country, may be using whatever ethnic identity they developed in their own country as a basis from which to forge new ego and ethnic identities in another country.

Finally, the fact that the significant relationship between ethnic and ego identity discussed above occurred relative to Korean-American adolescents' ethnic behaviors, and the interpersonal ego identity domain is noteworthy. This is so because of the fact that the interpersonal ego identity domain involves adolescents' self-perceptions of social roles and the practical aspects of ethnic identity, including ethnic behaviors. As such, we expected these aspects of ethnic and ego identity to be related together.

Although limited tendencies of what was expected occurred in the data, the lack of significant interaction effects obtained were unexpected. This lack can be explained from several different perspectives. First, one possible explanation could be that the classification of subjects using age 11 as the point of differentiation between arrival time groups may not have been sufficient to allow for a detection of arrival time differences. Although age 11 is an important time for establishing one's ethnic identity (Powell, Zambrana, & Silva-Palacios, 1990), subjects' arrival in the U.S. during middle childhood may not have impacted on the relationships between their ego and ethnic identity. By age 11, the parallel relationship between ego and ethnic identity may have been solidified, thus making the age at arrival time in the U.S. not important in understanding the relationship between ethnic and ego identity. Possibly, if the present

study included Korean-American adolescents who arrived in the U.S. during infancy, or who were born in the U.S., significant interaction effects might have been found.

Second, the absence of interaction effects might also have been due to the multicultural environment of Hawaii in which the subjects resided. Hawaii consists of a wide range of ethnic groups. In Hawaii, people are exposed to a more diverse society with cultural values and standards associated with a variety of ethnic backgrounds. When people arrive in Hawaii, they are confronted by a diversity of values and standards, regardless of age of arrival. Due to Hawaii's ethnic diversity, the expected interaction effects may not have been found.

Third, the absence of interaction effects might be due to the status of Koreans in the U.S. Although Koreans are one of the most rapidly growing immigrant groups in the U.S., Koreans have been perceived as part of a "lower-ranked race" not likely to be preferred as neighbors (Korean Times, 1994). Past empirical studies on social distance have also repeatedly demonstrated that the American people want even less association with Koreans than with other Asian groups (Hurh, 1977; Owen, Eisner, & McFaul, 1981). One reason for this might be that Koreans in the U.S. are concentrated in labor-intensive small businesses, depending on kinship (SyCip, 1990) rather than nationally recognized and esteemed professions. Such weak Korean-American status in the mainstream interferes with the way that ethnic identity is related to their psychosocial adjustment, especially their ego identity and self-esteem.

Gender

Application of a 4 (ego identity status) x 2 (gender) MANOVAs, taking into consideration each aspect of ego identity (i.e., overall, ideological, and interpersonal) provided some support for hypotheses IIa and IIb. As predicted, Korean-American males in the advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium) -- particularly those related to overall and ideological identity-- appeared to have higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than females in the same identity status groups. Within Asian culture, the male role is a dominant one, overseeing the carrying out of family customs and traditions. The female role, however, is one of submission, primarily providing support to males in carrying out such family traditions (Suzuki, 1980). In addition, Asians in the U.S. still tend to retain more traditional attitudes toward male and female roles than blacks and whites (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992). The development of ego identity, therefore, might coincide with the development of ethnic identity for Korean-American males, which encourages independence and dominance. Among Korean-American males, therefore, a strong and firmly established ego identity is more likely to be positively related to their sense of ethnic identity than for females.

In addition, the present study found Korean-American females in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion) --particularly those related to their overall and ideological identity-- appeared to have higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than

males in the same identity status groups. As noted previously, Asians are more traditional in their attitudes toward female sexuality than black or whites, and are more accepting of the justification of male dominance than whites (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992). Within Asian culture, females have been encouraged to be interdependent and play a supportive role. Among Korean-American adolescents females, therefore, ego identity statuses which emphasize conformity are more likely to be positively related to their sense of ethnic identity than for males. Goodenow and Espin (1993) continue on by describing the special problems in ego identity formation immigrant females face in adapting to a culture with different gender role norms. In many cultures, like Korea, where gender differentiation is more strongly emphasized than in the American culture, conflict is likely to arise with regard to issues of appropriate gender role behavior and sexuality in a new culture. Deviating from the ethnic role norms may be more complex for females than for males, due to the limited availability of choices females had in their traditional culture, as they grow up in a new country to behave in more independent ways.

Finally, the fact that significant relationships between ethnic and ego identity were associated with the ideological rather than the interpersonal ego identity domains related to all aspects of ethnic identity is important to discuss at this point. These findings can be explained on the basis of society's differential value placed on gender. Ego identity achievement in the ideological domain coincides well with the development of ethnic identity for males in the Korean culture, since it encourages such characteristics as independence and dominance. In contrast, foreclosure in the

ideological domain appears more uniquely relevant to the ethnic identity of females in the Korean culture, since it encourages interdependence and a supportive role. This has been suggested by Mellor (1989), who indicated that males have been encouraged to be independent and to resolve crises, while females have been expected to be connected and attached to others in order to develop identity achievement. This inference seems particularly relevant to a person's ideological identity, since it is related to the concepts of value and work. It is supported in Bilsker, Schiedel, and Marcia's (1988) study, revealing issues of ideological identity to be more relevant to male than female identity development.

Family Type

Application of a 4 (ego identity status) x 2 (family type) MANOVAs, taking into consideration each aspect of ego identity (i.e., overall, ideological, and interpersonal) provided some support for hypothesis IIIa and IIIb. First, Korean-American adolescents from strong families who were in the more advanced ego status groups (i.e., achievement and moratorium), particularly relative to their interpersonal identity, appeared to have higher ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than adolescents from less strong families in the same identity status groups. As suggested previously, families have been considered an important aspect of ethnic and ego identity development among adolescents (Bhushan & Shirali, 1992; Papini, Mika, & Barnett, 1989; Jackson,

Bunham, & Kidwell, 1990; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992b; Watson & Protinsky, 1988; Wilemsen & Waterman, 1991). It seems reasonable to assume that individuals who are clear about who they are, and who come from strong families are likely to be reinforced for their identities. In such case, strong families would likely contribute to a person's ethnic and ego identity to a point where such identities come together. In less strong families, however, such reinforcements are not likely to be present.

In contrast, Korean-American adolescents from less strong families in the less advanced ego identity status groups (i.e., foreclosure and diffusion) appeared to have higher or similar ethnic affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behavior scores than adolescents from strong families in the same identity status groups. This finding seems reasonable in light of the fact that for adolescents from less strong families, when uncertainties arise as to their parents' affections, overconformity to parental standards can be a defensive strategy (Ainsworth & Ainsworth, 1959 in Frank, Pirsch, & Wright 1990). This style may be aimed at winning what the adolescents perceive as conditional love and approval by adhering to parental expectations (Ainsworth & Ainsworth, 1958 in Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990), which may include ethnic values and behaviors. Adolescents from less strong families, therefore, may be more likely to have higher ethnic identity scores. On the other hand, identity achieved adolescents in less strong families, may wish to move away from the negative influences of a less favorable family functioning environment, thus reject parental expectations, which includes characteristics such as ethnic values and behaviors.

Finally, family type appeared to have an impact on aspects of Korean-American adolescents' ethnic identity, independent of ego identity, especially in the ideological, and partially in the overall ego identity domain. Previous research (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992b) found similar results, indicating that warm, regular, autonomy-promoting family environments were related to ethnic pride. It should be indicated, however, that the present results differed from Rosenthal & Feldman (1992a)'s findings, in the fact that significant findings of the present study were also related to ethnic behavior. One possible explanation for this discrepancy may be due to the differences between the ethnic groups studied in both investigations. In the present study, Korean-Americans acted as subjects, while in the previous study, Chinese-Americans were used. Korean-American adolescents may be more influenced by their families than Chinese-Americans, due to the fact that presently, Korean-Americans, on the whole, are a more homogenous group. Another possible explanation, however, may be that subjects in the present study were first-generation adolescents, while those in Rosenthal & Feldman's (1992a) study included both first- and second- generation adolescents.

Degree of Parental Performance of Ethnic Behaviors and Activities

Application of a 4 (ego identity status) x 2 (degree of parental performance of ethnic activities and behaviors) MANOVAs, taking into consideration each aspect of ego identity (i.e., overall, ideological, and interpersonal) provided no support for

hypothesis IVa and IVb. A possible reason for this failure may be due to the multicultural environment in which the Korean-American adolescents in this study resided. In Hawaii, where different cultural values and standards co-exist, some of the ethnic norms experienced by adolescents may not have conflicted with the host culture. Adolescents in such diverse culture may not have needed to give up some of their own ethnic identity.

It is clear from the findings, however, that the variable of parental performance of ethnic behaviors and performance appeared to have a significant impact on adolescents' ethnic identity scores, independent of their ego identity scores, especially when considering their overall ego identity. These findings are understandable if people assume that parents do play a major role as significant models and reinforcers of children's social learning (Bandura, 1965). It supports the proposition that observation of parents' involvement in and display of activities and behaviors, as well as parental reinforcement of children for involvement in these activities and behaviors are related to the learning of these activities, behaviors, as well as the attitudes that are attached to them (Bandura, 1965). They coincide with findings by Denny-Frank (1982 in Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993) which indicated that parents who strongly identified with and valued their ethnicity desired the same for their adult children, and reported that their children valued their ethnic heritage as well.

Relationship between Ethnic and Ego Identity

After reviewing the results of all the MANOVAs applied to the ethnic identity scores of subjects, and exploring the overall impact of ego identity on Korean-American adolescents' ethnic identity, the following general statements can be made about findings in this study. First, there appears to be an overall positive relationship between ethnic and ego identity among Korean-American adolescents in this study. Findings such as these support the notion that ethnic and ego identity occur as parallel processes in development (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; Schwalbenberg, 1993; Aries & Moorehead, 1989; Wiggins, 1988; Nunez, 1990). Except for a few discrepancies associated with subjects classified in the moratorium group, findings in the present study indicated that identity-achieved Korean-American adolescents reported higher ethnic and ego identity scores than moratorium, foreclosed, and diffused adolescents. The exceptions of subjects in the moratorium group, in which this was not true, was also supported by Wiggins (1988), who suggested that these discrepant findings may be due to the fact that adolescents who are in moratorium are still in the process of resolving their ethnic identities.

Second, the positive relationship between ethnic and ego identity appears to be associated with Korean-American adolescents ideological ego identity scores, and only partially with their interpersonal identity scores. These findings can be explained on the basis of Korean-American society's value. For example, Korean-American society has emphasized successful "achievement" in occupations. This inference seems particularly

relevant to the college sample used in this study, since many are involved in an education with intent to prepare them for a future occupation.

Finally, the positive relationship between ethnic and ego identity appears to be associated with Korean-American adolescents' ethnic identity achievement rather than ethnic affirmation and belonging, and ethnic behavior scores. This finding is consistent with previous research by Phinney (1989) with high school students, and Schwalbenberg (1993) among Philippine college students. Those adolescents who had explored and were clear about the meaning of their ethnicity may recognize their uniqueness, and incorporate it to achieve ego identity. This relationship between ethnic identity achievement and ego identity was also supported by Phinney and Alipuria (1987), who suggested that the process of ethnic identity development is a key factor in understanding the self-esteem and adjustment of minority adolescents.

CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Overall, the present study of Korean-American adolescents revealed four major findings relative to the relationship between ethnic and ego identity. First, the relationship between ego and ethnic identity appeared to be positively related, particularly in reference to adolescents' ideological ego identity, and less so in relation to their interpersonal ego identity. In addition, this relationship seems particularly evident when considering adolescents' ethnic achievement identity scores.

Second, the positive relationship between ethnic and ego identity can be influenced by Korean-American adolescents' arrival time in the U.S., their gender, and family functioning environment. As such, the relationship between ethnic and ego identity is complex and multidimensional in nature.

Third, family type or degree of family functioning (i.e., strong vs. less strong families) can exert a significant influence on ethnic identity among Korean-American adolescents, independent of their ego identity. The family environment in which an adolescent is socialized and the kinds of socialization experiences encountered, therefore, has an impact on the adolescent's ethnic development.

Finally, the degree to which Korean-American adolescents' parents performed ethnic behaviors and activities in the home has a powerful impact on their adolescents'

ethnic identity, irrespective of their adolescents' ego identity. Parents as role models and reinforcers of their children's ethnic identity, therefore, cannot be overlooked.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Although results of this study provided a more detailed picture of the relationship between ethnic and ego identity among Korean-American adolescents, a number of limitations were encountered in this study. Some of these limitations will be discussed, and then followed by suggestions for future research.

Sample

The fact that the sample primarily consisted of Korean-American students from an urban university in a multi-ethnic setting may decrease the generalizability of the results obtained. Such results may not be representative of those that would be obtained from a more homogeneous society, where experiences encountered may be quite different from those found in a more diverse society.

Another limitation encountered relative to the sample had to do with the size of the sample employed. Although this study investigated Korean-Americans --a growing immigrant group not previously extensively studied-- the small sample size used requires caution relative to analyzing the data and interpreting the results.

Based on these limitations, future research needs to include larger samples of Korean adolescents living in a variety of different environments. Future studies might

expand on the present one by including a variety of ethnic groups living in multi-ethnic environments in their samples. These comparative studies could help to provide us with a more detailed picture of how social and cultural forces influence adolescents' ethnic and ego identity formation. Future researchers might also want to compare the ethnic and ego identity of Korean-Americans in environments with different ethnic proportions. Since exploration of ethnic identity issues appears greater among minority groups (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990), it might be worthwhile to look at Koreans in other contexts (e.g., Korean-Canadians, etc.) and to try to understand which contexts are crucial, and which identity processes are enhanced by which contexts.

A population which has been virtually ignored in research has been those individuals from mixed ethnic backgrounds (Phinney, 1990). Little documentation is presently available on people from mixed ethnic backgrounds, despite intermarriage occurring as a growing phenomenon in our society. Additional research in this area might render greater understanding of both ethnic and ego identity development among individuals.

Measurement

Limitations associated with the measurement devices used in this study can also be noted. Subjects in this study were assessed in terms of their perceptions concerning their family functioning and their parents' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors. While subjects' perceptions may be more important than parents' rating of

their behavior, because adolescents' assessments have been shown to be more strongly related to their psychosocial functions, such as self-esteem (Buri, 1989), some discrepancies between subjects' and parents' perceptions may be important to understand in deciphering their relationships to ethnic and ego identity. Furthermore, future research can collect data from various family members and compare the congruence/discrepancy between the perceptions of family members. Such research might provide more fertile information for interpretation and help to determine the influences family members have on adolescents' development.

More than one-seventh of the subjects in this study were excluded from analysis due to missing data or their fixed pattern of responses. Such occurrence may have been due to the relatively large number of items used in assessing subjects' identity statuses. Regarding the ego identity measurement, categorizing items into different aspects of ego identity were based on the standardized rules, and categorization of subjects into different identity groups has been a popular scoring procedure used in research. However, utilizing a method which employs the raw scores of subjects in future studies may allow for more sophisticated statistical analyses to be performed on the data.

Concerning the measurement of family variables, although this study focused on Korean-American adolescents, the measurement devices used were not standardized with Korean families. In order to strengthen the measurement devices used in this area, therefore, extended studies need to be conducted using measurement devised particularly for Korean families.

Data Analysis

In the present study, quantitative data collection and analyses were primarily used. The related areas of ethnic identity and intergroup relations, however, seem especially likely to profit from an attempt at integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches (Schofield & Anderson, 1987). Quantitative and qualitative research methods, each with its own strengths and weaknesses, can provide somewhat different ways of approaching the understanding of psychosocial development among individuals. Further research using both quantitative and qualitative methods may provide us with more fruitful information about ethnic and ego identity formation among immigrant adolescents.

Implications for Those Who Work with Korean-American Adolescents Related to Their Ethnic and Ego Identity

On the basis of the four major findings obtained in this study, the following implications can be drawn for those who work with Korean-American adolescents. First, the overall relationship between ethnic and ego identity appears to parallel each other, particularly in the ideological domain, and less in the interpersonal domain. This finding implies that a process which preserves both Korean-American adolescents' own ethnic values and those of the host society will help first-generation Korean-American adolescents maintain their mental health. Such integration involves a strong acceptance and involvement with one's traditional ethnic culture as well as those of the larger host

society. Assimilation and ethnic attachment would neither necessarily be mutually exclusive nor opposing processes. In the study by Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki (1989), which was conducted within a multicultural context, such integration was found to be the most preferred mode of acculturation among the various acculturating groups of first-generation adolescents. Those who work with Korean-American adolescents are encouraged to help them integrate the various aspects of their identities together by becoming aware of the adolescents' ethnicity, so that characteristics of ethnic diversity are not seen as problems, but as assets. For example, programs for such psychological integration may utilize more liaison workers whose role is primarily to operate as cultural resources between the immigrant families and community resources.

Second, the relationship between ethnic and ego identity is complex and multidimensional in nature. Variables such as gender, arrival time in U.S. and family functioning can play important roles in their relationship. In reference to the variable of gender, Korean-American families' own expectations and attitudes toward their daughters in the first generation might be quite different from those of the host society. Dealing with conflicts that arise in such situations will serve as an important factor in the successful adjustment of these females. Those who work with Korean-American adolescents in aiding their positive psychosocial development must consider how to help first-generation immigrant females to reconcile gender-role conflicts. For example, on the basis of evidence presented in this research, increased conflict or losing emotional support from parents may serve as reluctance by immigrant female

adolescents to move toward the achievement of identity. Understanding and support through counseling with these adolescents can help to facilitate healthy adjustment among these immigrant adolescents.

Third, with respect to the variable of family functioning, this study indicated that the environment in which children are socialized is an important factor to consider in understanding their ethnic and ego identity. Strong families contribute to a person's ethnic as well as ego identity. Service providers or counselors have to be aware of adolescents' family functioning characteristics in order to ensure that these families can play a positive role in their adolescents' identity formation.

Fourth, parental performance of ethnic behaviors and activities was found to make a powerful impact on Korean-American adolescents' ethnic identity. Families vary greatly in their ability to serve as cultural transmitters. When parents are positive role models, adolescents may not only internalize behaviors related to specific parenting practices, but also identify with other characteristics and attitudes of the parents' ethnic culture. Those who work with Korean-American adolescents need to develop methods which assure and support parents in their role as models and cultural transmitters of the their families' own culture while their adolescents are also adjusting to their host country.

In conclusion, the present research provided us with information about Korean-American adolescents' ethnic and ego identity. With increased interest in the cultural context of development, it is hoped that more culturally sensitive research can yield more insightful information regarding development across various ethnic groups.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Correlation Matrices

The Method using the FAM Raw Scores: Correlation Matrix among FAM Overall Score, Seven Subscores, & PPQ

	Overall	TA	RP	COM	AE	AI	CON	VN	PPQ
Overall	1.000								
TA	.759***	1.000							
RP	.726***	.431***	1.000						
COM	.851***	.596***	.594***	1.000					
AE	.762***	.572***	.404***	.565***	1.000				
AI	.860***	.528***	.517***	.680***	.572***	1.000			
CON	.766***	.468***	.491***	.616***	.486***	.710***	1.000		
VN	.797***	.564***	.527***	.649***	.594***	.621***	.497***	1.000	
PPQ	-.047	-.074	-.049	-.104	-.057	-.000	.018	-.106	1.000

***p<.001

The Method using the FAM Inverted Scores: Correlation Matrix among FAM Overall Score, Seven Subscores, & PPQ

	Overall	TA	RP	COM	AE	AI	CON	VN	PPQ
Overall	1.000								
TA	.755***	1.000							
RP	.718***	.393***	1.000						
COM	.852***	.598***	.579***	1.000					
AE	.749***	.562***	.349***	.575***	1.000				
AI	.816***	.491***	.477***	.614***	.523***	1.000			
CON	.758***	.447***	.523***	.588***	.440***	.701***	1.000		
VN	.806***	.521***	.545***	.677***	.628***	.573***	.536***	1.000	
PPQ	.091	.084	.095	.177	.118	.018	-.004	.146	1.000

***p<.001

Appendix 2. Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Mexican-American, Hispanic, Black, Asian-American, American Indian, Anglo-American, and White. Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two group, but people differ on how important their ethnicity is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it. Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____
After reading each statement, please circle a number that fits closest to your view..

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	4	3	2	1
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	4	3	2	1
4. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.	4	3	2	1
5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	4	3	2	1
6. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	4	3	2	1
7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.	4	3	2	1
8. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.	4	3	2	1
9. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.	4	3	2	1
10. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
11. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
12. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.	4	3	2	1
13. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
14. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.	4	3	2	1
15. I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.	4	3	2	1
16. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.	4	3	2	1
17. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.	4	3	2	1
18. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
19. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.	4	3	2	1
20. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	4	3	2	1

Appendix 3. Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status

After reading each statement please circle only one response that reflects your own thoughts and feelings. If a statement has more than one part, please indicate your reaction to the statement as a whole. Please answer all questions.

- A= strongly agree
 B= moderately agree
 C= agree
 D= disagree
 E= moderately disagree
 F= strongly disagree

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at what is available until something better comes along. | A B C D E F |
| 2. When it comes to religion I just haven't found anything that appeals and I don't really feel the need to look. | A B C D E F |
| 3. My ideas about men's and women's roles are identical to my parents'. What has worked for them will obviously work for me. | A B C D E F |
| 4. There's no single "life style" which appeals to me more than another. | A B C D E F |
| 5. There are a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still exploring the many possibilities to find the right kind of friends for me. | A B C D E F |
| 6. I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked, but I rarely try anything on my own. | A B C D E F |
| 7. I haven't really thought about a "dating style." I'm not too concerned whether I date or not. | A B C D E F |
| 8. Politics is something that I can never be too sure about because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in. | A B C D E F |
| 9. I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person and what jobs will be right for me. | A B C D E F |
| 10. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or the other. | A B C D E F |
| 11. There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me. | A B C D E F |
| 12. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own "life style" view, but haven't really found it yet. | A B C D E F |
| 13. There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my close friends on the basis of certain values and similarities that I've personally decided on. | A B C D E F |
| 14. While I don't have one recreational activity I'm really committed to, I'm experiencing numerous leisure outlets to identify one I can truly enjoy. | A B C D E F |
| 15. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of dating relationship I want now. | A B C D E F |
| 16. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much. | A B C D E F |
| 17. I might have thought about a lot of different jobs, but there's never really been any question since my parents said what they wanted. | A B C D E F |
| 18. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it my self and know what I can believe. | A B C D E F |

Appendix 3. Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Continued)

A= strongly agree
 B= moderately agree
 C= agree
 D= disagree
 E= moderately disagree
 F= strongly disagree

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. I've never really seriously considered men's and women's roles in marriage. It just doesn't seem to concern me. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 20. After considerable thought I've developed my own individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal "life style" and don't believe anyone will be likely to change my perspective. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 21. My parents know what's best for me in terms of how to choose my friends. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 22. I've chosen one or more recreational activities to engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm satisfied with those choices. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 23. I don't think about dating much. I just kind of take it as it comes. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 24. I guess I'm pretty much like my folks when it comes to politics. I follow that they do in terms of voting and such. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 25. I'm not really interested in finding the right job, any job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 26. I'm not sure what religion means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 27. My ideas about men's and women's roles have come right from my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to look further. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 28. My own views on a desirable life style were taught to me by my parents and I don't see any need to question what they taught me. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 29. I don't have any real close friends, and I don't think I'm looking for one right now. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 30. Sometimes I join in leisure activities, but I really don't see a need to look for a particular activity to do regularly. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 31. I'm trying out different types of dating relationships. I just haven't decided what is best for me. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 32. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 33. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 34. Religion is confusing to me right now, I keep changing my views on what is right and wrong for me. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 35. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 36. In finding an acceptable viewpoint to life itself, I find myself engaging in a lot of discussions with others and some self exploration. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 37. I only pick friends my parents would approve of. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 38. I've always linked doing the same recreational activities my parents do and haven't ever seriously considered anything else. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 39. I only go out with the type of people my parents expect me to date. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 40. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe. | A | B | C | D | E | F |

Appendix 3. Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Continued)

A= strongly agree

B= moderately agree

C= agree

D= disagree

E= moderately disagree

F= strongly disagree

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41. My parents decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following through their plans. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 42. I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 43. I've been thinking about the roles that husbands and wives play a lot these days, and I'm trying to make a final decision. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 44. My parents' views on life are good enough for me, I don't need anything else. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 45. I've had many different recreational activities I've found one or more I really enjoy doing by myself or with friends. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 46. After trying a lot of different recreational activities I've found one or more I really enjoy doing by myself or with friends. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 47. My preferences about dating are still in the process of developing. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 48. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 49. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 50. I attend the same church as my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 51. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways, and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for me. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 52. I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to life. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 53. I don't have any close friends. I just like to hang around with the crowd. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 54. I've been experiencing a variety of recreational activities in hopes of finding one or more I can really enjoy for some time to come. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 55. I've dated different types of people and know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are and who I will date. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 56. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 57. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many that have possibilities. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 58. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right for my parents it must be right for me. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 59. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 60. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view on what my own life style will be. | A | B | C | D | E | F |

Appendix 3. Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Continued)

A= strongly agree

B= moderately agree

C= agree

D= disagree

E= moderately disagree

F= strongly disagree

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 61. I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means to me. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 62. All of my recreational preferences I got from my parents and I haven't really tried anything else. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 63. I date only people my parents would approve of. | A | B | C | D | E | F |
| 64. My folks have had their own political and moral beliefs about issues like abortion and mercy killing and I've always gone along accepting what they have. | A | B | C | D | E | F |

Appendix 4. Family Assessment Measure III

Read each statement carefully and decide how well the statement applies to your family. Make your response by circling one of the provided answers. Please answer all questions.

	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. We spend too much time arguing about what our problems are.	SA	A	D SD
2. Family duties are fairly shared.	SA	A	D SD
3. When I ask someone to explain what they mean, I get a straight answer.	SA	A	D SD
4. When someone in our family upset, we don't know if they are angry, sad, scared or what.	SA	A	D SD
5. We are as well adjusted as any family could possibly be.	SA	A	D SD
6. You don't get a chance to be an individual in our family.	SA	A	D SD
7. When I ask why we have certain rules, I don't get good answer.	SA	A	D SD
8. We have the same views on what is right and wrong.	SA	A	D SD
9. I don't see how any family could get along better than ours.	SA	A	D SD
10. Some days we are more easily annoyed than on others.	SA	A	D SD
11. When problems come up, we try different ways of solving them.	SA	A	D SD
12. My family expects me to do more than my share.	SA	A	D SD
13. We argue about who said what in our family.	SA	A	D SD
14. We tell each other about things that bother us.	SA	A	D SD
15. My family could be happier than it is.	SA	A	D SD
16. We feel loved in our family.	SA	A	D SD
17. When you do something wrong in our family, you don't know what to expect.	SA	A	D SD
18. It's hard to tell what the roles are in our family.	SA	A	D SD
19. I don't think any family could possibly be happier than mine.	SA	A	D SD
20. Sometimes we are unfair to each other.	SA	A	D SD
21. We never let things pile up until they are more than we can handle.	SA	A	D SD
22. We agree about who should do what in our family.	SA	A	D SD
23. I never know what's going on in our family.	SA	A	D SD
24. I can let my family know what is bothering me.	SA	A	D SD
25. We never get angry in our family.	SA	A	D SD
26. My family tries to run my life.	SA	A	D SD
27. If we do something wrong, we don't get a chance to explain.	SA	A	D SD
28. We argue about how much freedom we should have to make our own decisions.	SA	A	D SD
29. My family and I understand each other completely.	SA	A	D SD
30. We sometimes hurt each others feelings.	SA	A	D SD
31. When things aren't going well it takes too long to work them out.	SA	A	D SD
32. We can't rely on family members to do their part.	SA	A	D SD
33. We take the time to listen to each other.	SA	A	D SD
34. When someone is upset, we don't find out until much later.	SA	A	D SD
35. Sometimes we avoid each other.	SA	A	D SD
36. We feel close to each other.	SA	A	D SD
37. Punishments are fair in our family.	SA	A	D SD
38. The rules in our family don't make sense.	SA	A	D SD

Appendix 4. Family Assessment Measure III (Continued)

	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
39. Some things about my family don't entirely please me.	SA	A	SD
40. We never get upset with each other.	SA	A	SD
41. We deal with our problems even when they're serious.	SA	A	SD
42. One family member always tries to be the center of attention.	SA	A	SD
43. My family lets me have my say, even if they disagree.	SA	A	SD
44. When our family gets upset, we take too long to get over it.	SA	A	SD
45. We always admit our mistakes without trying to hide anything.	SA	A	SD
46. We don't really trust each other.	SA	A	SD
47. We hardly ever do what is expected of us without being told.	SA	A	SD
48. We are free to say what we think in our family.	SA	A	SD
49. My family is not a perfect success.	SA	A	SD
50. We have never let down another family member in any way.	SA	A	SD

Appendix 5. Parental Performance Questionnaire

Listed below are questions about the kinds of ethnic activities and behaviors that your parent may perform. Please read each question carefully, and circle the response which best represents the degree to which your parents perform the activity or behavior.

	Not Appli- cable	Never	Sometimes	Often	Mostly	Always
1. Did your parents eat Korean foods at home?	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Did your parents sing or play Korean music at home?	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Did your parents take you to Korean shows or cultural events (e.g., movies, concerts, etc.) if they were available in your neighborhood?	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Did your parents celebrate Korean festivals in the past three years?	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Did your parents visit or make Korean friends in the United States?	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. How often did your parents visit places like "Koreantown" when they had a chance to visit a big city?	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Did your parents speak Korean at home?	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. How often did your parents use Korean in conversations with Koreans and Korean-Americans when possible?	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Did your parents teach Korean culture to their American friends?	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Did your parents send you to Korean schools or other related camps, organizations or clubs when it was possible?	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Did your parents see themselves as more Korean than American?	0	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix 6. Demographic Questionnaire

The questions below are designed to help us obtain general information about you for the purpose of adequately interpreting the results of this project. Please answer them as accurately as you can. Your answer is completely anonymous.

A. About you

- 1) How old are you? _____
- 2) What is your sex? ___ Male
 ___ Female
- 3) What year in school are you? ___ Freshman
 ___ Sophomore
 ___ Junior
 ___ Senior
- 4) What is your religious affiliation? ___ Protestant
 ___ Catholic
 ___ Buddhism
 ___ Islam
 ___ None
 ___ Other (please specify _____)
- 4) In which country do you hold your citizenship? ___ U.S.A
 ___ Korea
 ___ Other (please specify _____)
- 5) In which country were you born? ___ U.S.A.
 ___ Korea
 ___ Other (please specify _____)
- 6) How long have you lived in the U.S.A.? ___ All my life
 ___ Years (please specify _____)
- 7) Prior to coming to college, with whom did you live? ___ Mother and father
 ___ Mother only
 ___ Father only
 ___ Grandparent(s) only
 ___ Parent(s) and Grandparent(s)
 ___ Stepfather and mother
 ___ Stepmother and father
 ___ Other (please specify _____)
- 8) What is your current marital status? ___ Never married
 ___ Married
 ___ Separated
 ___ Divorced
 ___ Widowed
- 9) What is your primary language? ___ English
 ___ Korean ___ Other (please specify _____)

Appendix 6. Demographic Questionnaire (Continued)

B. About your family

- 1) In which country was your father born? U.S.A.
 Korea
 Other (please specify)
- 2) In which country was your mother born? U.S.A.
 Korea
 Other (please specify)
- 3) What is the cultural or ethnic background of your parents?
 Father: Mother:
- 4) How many generations have your ancestors lived in U.S.A.?
 One Two Three Four Five
- 5) What is the highest level of education completed by your parent? (check for both mother and father)
- | | | | |
|--------|--|--------|--|
| Mother | <input type="checkbox"/> Elementary school | Father | <input type="checkbox"/> Elementary school |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Middle school | | <input type="checkbox"/> Middle school |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> High school | | <input type="checkbox"/> High school |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> College | | <input type="checkbox"/> College |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate school | | <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate school |
- 4) Which category most nearly describes the yearly income of your parents?
 Less than \$10,000 per year
 Between \$10,000 and \$20,000 per year
 Between \$20,001 and \$30,000 per year
 Between \$30,001 and \$40,000 per year
 Between \$40,001 and \$50,000 per year
 Between \$50,001 and \$60,000 per year
 Between \$60,001 and \$70,000 per year
 Between \$70,001 and \$80,000 per year
 Between \$80,001 and \$90,000 per year
 Between \$90,001 and \$100,000 per year
 Above \$100,000 per year
- 5) Is your mother employed?
 No Yes (specify job)
- 6) Is your father employed?
 No Yes (specify job)
- 7) What is your parents' marital status? (check for both mother and father)
- | | |
|--|--|
| Mother | Father |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Married | <input type="checkbox"/> Married |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Separated | <input type="checkbox"/> Separated |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced | <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Never married | <input type="checkbox"/> Never married |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |