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Protective Factors Against Intergenerational Conflict in Chinese Immigrant Families: A Pilot Study

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PROTECTIVE FACTORS AGAINST INTERGENERATIONAL CONFLICT IN

CHINESE IMMIGRANT FAMILIES: A PILOT STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This pilot study examined some potential protective factors which may mitigate the effects of the acculturation gap on intergenerational conflict in 23 Chinese immigrant families. Adolescents and one of their immigrant parents completed questionnaires assessing their acculturation. Adolescents also completed family conflict and parent attachment measures. Parents provided information on the use of social support and the communication on the cultural differences between American culture and Chinese culture in the family by completing related measures. It was expected that acculturation gap would predict parent-child conflicts in immigrant families, and the relationships between acculturation gap and parent-child conflict would be moderated by parent attachment, family's use of social support networks, and open communication on the cultural differences in the family. The results showed that acculturation gap is associated with high level of parent-child conflict. Unexpectedly, findings indicated that only open communication on the cultural differences in the family moderated the relationship between acculturation gap and intergenerational conflict. Limitation of the study and clinical implication are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The immigration of Asians to the United States has approximately 150 years of history (Min, 2006). The Chinese were the first Asian group immigrating in significant numbers to the U.S. The liberalized immigration law passed in 1965 in the U.S. led to the influx of Asian immigrants, especially the dramatic increase in the number of Chinese immigrants to the U.S. In 2000, the Chinese were the largest of more than 20 Asian groups residing in the U.S. (Wong, 2006).

Immigration is a difficult transition involving economic, political, social, familial, and cultural changes (Chang & Ng, 2002). An important task for immigrants and their descendants is to adapt to the new cultural environment and learn to function comfortably in the context of norms that may differ greatly from those of their native country (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990). Often foreign-born parents and their U.S.-raised children have different rates of acculturation. Children of immigrants tend to acculturate more rapidly to the mainstream culture than do their parents. Acculturation gaps arise between parents and children when children and adults acculturate to a new culture and retain affiliation with the culture of origin at different rates (Birman, 2006a).

Some theorists have hypothesized heightened levels of parent– child conflict would emerge due to discrepancies in values, interests, and language competence between immigrant parents and their children (Kagitcibasi, 1989; Lazarus, 1997;

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Rosenthal, 1984; Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980; Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1993). However, surprisingly only a few empirical studies have examined the direct link between parent-adolescent relationships and differential rates of acculturation among immigrant families, and these limited studies offer mixed results. Some studies have supported this hypothesis. For example, Farver, Narang, and Bhadha's (2002) study on a sample of Indian adolescents and their parents found less family conflict when there was no acculturation gap between parents and their children. Dinh and Nguyen (2006) found the perceived parent-child acculturation gap to be associated negatively with the quality of mother-child relationship in Asian American families. Birman (2006b), in a study of adolescent refugees and their parents from the former Soviet Union, reported that a higher parent-child acculturation gap was associated with greater family discord. Furthermore, Tardif and Geva's (2006) study in a sample of Chinese Canadian immigrant mother-adolescent dyads showed that families in a high acculturation-disparity group reported significantly more conflicts than did families in a low acculturation-disparity group.

Recently, Schofield, Parke, Kim, and Coltrane (2008) examine the acculturation gap and parent-child relationships in a sample of Mexican American families, and found partial support for the hypothesis that acculturation gaps would be related to increased parent– child conflict. Acculturation gaps with fathers were found to be related to father–child conflict. Mother–child acculturation gaps were not associated with mother– child conflict. Some other studies failed to support the hypothesis. For example, both Pasch et al.'s study (2006) and Lau et al.'s study (2005) in samples of Mexican American families

found the acculturation gap was not associated with parent- adolescent conflict. Lim et al. (2009) examined the mother-child acculturation gaps in relationship to youth distress and the possible mediating role of parent-child conflict and parenting style in immigrant Chinese families. They found there were no significant relationships between acculturation gap and the intergenerational conflict. Some researchers explained these mixed findings might be due to small samples in some studies and to differences in measurement of acculturation gap and parent-child conflict (Birman, 2006b; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, McCabe, 2008; Tardif & Geva, 2006).

Intergenerational family conflict may, in turn, leads to greater distress for children and parents. Research has found that higher family conflict is associated with a number of social and mental health problems, including emotional distress, gang involvement, suicide, and domestic violence (Furuto & Murase, 1992; Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lau, Jernewall, Zane, & Meyers, 2002; Rumbaut, 1994; Uba, 1994).

Research investigating the relationship between the quality of parent-adolescent relationships and acculturation difference in immigrant families has been documented across several cultural groups. There is ample evidence that parent-child conflict is associated with the family and youth functioning across various ethnic groups. However, very few theoretical or empirical studies have addressed factors that might mitigate against families experiencing significant intergenerational conflict in the presence of a significant acculturation gap. A literature review uncovered only three intervention programs targeting parent-child conflict in immigrant families. One is Szapocznik and his

colleague's treatment intervention for enhancing intercultural adjustment in Cuban American families (Szapocznik, et al., 1984). Their Bicultural Effectiveness Training (BET) "detour" family conflicts by placing the focus of the cultural differences on the cultural conflict, and create new alliances between family members through exercises. These exercises were designed to make both parents and youth more aware of the positive aspects of each set of cultural values and more comfortable with both cultures.

Szapocznik and his colleagues' Family Effectiveness Training (FET, Szapocznik, et al., 1989) is a prevention program designed for Hispanic families of preadolescents who are at risk for future drug abuse. In addition to including the BET component, Szapocznik and his colleagues also helped the families make the transition from being a family with a child to being a family with an adolescent smoothly by teaching parents effective parenting skills and improving the communication between parents and their children.

The third intervention is Ying's Strengthening of Intergenerational/Intercultural Ties in Immigrant Chinese American Families (SITICAF) project (Ying, 1999). Like Szapocznik and his colleagues' FET program, Ying's SITICAF aims at promoting the cross-cultural competence in the parents and their children, as well as effective parenting skills. What distinguishes Ying's SITICAF from Szapocznik and his colleagues' intervention programs is that Ying paid attention to the impact of parent's psychological well-being on the family conflict, therefore in her prevention program, she also taught parents to recognize and cope with their stresses.

Identifying protective factors would have significant theoretical and practical significance given the link that has been established between intergenerational conflict and various mental health and academic outcomes. The purpose of this pilot study, therefore, is to test some potential moderators of the acculturation gap-intergenerational conflict relation. Because of the diversity of the immigrant families, this study will focus on the Chinese immigrant families. First, I hypothesized that parent-child conflict would be higher in families who exhibit an acculturation gap. Second, I hypothesized that parental attachment, open communication on the cultural differences in the family, and the family's use of social support network will moderate the relationship between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflicts in Chinese immigrant families. That is, it is hypothesized that the relation between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflict will be weakened in the presence of these moderators—they will serve as protective factors mitigating the effects of the acculturation gap on intergenerational conflict.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter provides a review and critique of research regarding the acculturation gap, intergenerational conflict and potential moderators of the acculturation gap-intergenerational conflict relation in Chinese immigrant families. First, an overview of theories of acculturation is presented. The second section discusses the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflict in Chinese immigrant families. The third section reviews studies regarding parent attachment with ethnic minority group and its potential buffering role. The fourth section entails a review of studies pertaining to social support in immigrant families. The fifth section reviews articles relevant to the potential moderating role of parent-child communication in cultural differences between acculturation gap and family conflict in immigrant families. Finally, a summary of the literature review is presented.

Conceptualizations of Acculturation

Acculturation is a major struggle in immigrant families in the United States. Acculturation was first defined by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals sharing different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). Acculturation was viewed as unilinear in the past. The unilinear model are based on the assumption that the more individuals get exposed to the

host culture, the more they adapted to the host culture over time. Thus, it suggested that as individuals adjust to the host culture, inevitably they will lose their culture of origin ultimately (Gordon, 1964). This process usually continues across generations till the descendants of immigrants are culturally undifferentiated from the majority group (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). According to this model, acculturation has only one outcome—assimilation (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001).

Recently some researchers have criticized the unilinear model as incomplete, even misleading. For example, Dion and Dion (1996) pointed that this model fails to consider integrated or bicultural identities. Mavreas, Bebbington and Der (1989) stated that unilinear instruments would not be able to distinguish an individual who identifies with both reference groups from one who does not identify with either group.

Currently it has been agreed by most of the researchers that acculturation is bilinear and multidimensional. Bilinear model assert that an individual's cultural identity can be toward both culture of origin and the mainstream culture simultaneously. That is, an individual is able to acquire some characteristics from the host culture, while maintain some features from the original culture (Suinn, Khoo, & Ahuna, 1995). The most widely cited bilinear model to acculturation was developed by Berry (1980, 1990). According to Berry, two basic questions confronting immigrant and their descendants are: (1) decide if, or what degree one should keep the original culture; (2) decide if, or what degree one should have relationship with the host society? Different answers to these two questions will lead to four possible acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. Integration occurs when an individual maintain important aspect of their

native culture while keep daily interaction with people from host group. Assimilation occurs when an individual discards his/her original culture, but adopts completely the host culture. Separation is characterized by maintaining the native culture while avoiding contact with the host group. Marginalization occurs when an individual neither retains his/her culture nor adopts the host culture.

In addition to the linearity, acculturation is also conceptualized as multidimensional. That is, acculturation is viewed as occurring on different dimensions. However, although most researchers have agreed the multidimensional nature of acculturation, there is no consensus on the nature and number of dimensions (Miller, 2007). For example, Gordon (1964) suggested that acculturation involved changes in three dimensions: language, behavior, and identity. Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranalde (1978) proposed that acculturation consisted of two components: behaviors and values. Padilla (1980) suggested acculturation also involved cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty, in addition to behaviors and values. Berry (1980) identified six dimensions of acculturation, including language, cognitive styles, personality, identity, attitudes, and acculturative stress. Cuellar, Arnold and Maldonado (1995) described acculturation as changes at three levels of functioning: behavioral, affective and cognitive. According to them, the behavioral level includes behaviors such as language, customs, food, music. Affective level refers to the emotions that have cultural connections (e.g., the way a person feels about important aspects of identity). The cognitive level includes beliefs about illness, gender roles and fundamental values.

Acculturation Gap and Intergenerational Conflicts in Chinese Immigrant Families

One of the most important challenges that immigrant families confront is the acculturation gap between parents and children (Kwak, 2003). Children in immigrant Chinese adopt the values and lifestyle of the host culture quickly. Thus, they may be influenced by the individualistic values of the American culture. In contrast, their parents reached maturity in Chinese culture. They may have more difficulty learning the new language, and may never obtain sufficient comfort with the new language and culture to socially integrate into the host culture (Birman, 2006a). They typically have less contact with the larger society than do their children, and tend to maintain traditional collectivist values. As a result, parents acculturate to the new culture at a slower rate than do their children. Overtime, an acculturation gap is thought to develop between parents and their children.

The acculturation gap may intensify the common parent-child conflicts that occur in families with adolescent and heightened the intergenerational conflict. (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Adolescence is considered a time of developmental transition, when children move from dependency to autonomy and from bonds shared primarily with parents to bonds shared with closes friends and intimate partners. The complex changes at adolescent period bring some challenges for parent-child relationship. Adolescent children become less satisfied with their parents' authority over their personal lives and activities (Smetana, 1988). They tend to value peer relations over the relations with their parents. They are more likely to rely on their peers for appropriate behavior codes and values.

The transition to adolescence may be especially challenging in Chinese immigrant families with the presence of the acculturation gap because of the fundamentally incompatible ideas about children's rights and obligations in the family between Western culture and Chinese culture (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). The nature of the Chinese American family intergenerational relationship is significantly influenced by the Confucius which emphasizes filial piety. In Chinese culture, interpersonal interactions tend to be hierarchical. Family members learn to respect their elders and be interdependent on each other (Chan & Leong, 1994). Chinese parents often place greater emphasis on parental control and academic achievement, have later age expectations for behavioral autonomy, compared with Caucasian American parents (Lee & Zhan, 1998). In Chinese culture, a child is expected to consider the wishes of the parents and to place their preference above his/her own. Children who act opposite to parents' wishes are considered to be selfish and inconsiderate (Yau & Smetana, 1996). In contrast, a central feature of adolescent development in Western culture is the process of individuation and increasing autonomy (Kwak, 2003). Children, especially during adolescence, are encouraged to individuate from their parents and to pursue their own interests (Ericson, 1968; Triandis et al., 1988). Transforming the values from the collective culture to individualistic culture not only poses great challenges to Chinese immigrant families but also causes conflicts between parents and children.

Sung (1985, 1987) lists areas of conflict between parents and adolescents in Chinese immigrant families. They are definition of aggressive behavior, appropriate age of dating, emphasis on scholastic achievement, questioning parents' love due to their less

overt affection, incompatible living styles of thrift and consumption, discouragement of early independence, respect for authority, different definitions of heroes and heroines, and acceptance of individualism. The failure within families to resolve those acculturation differences, especially cultural value differences, complicates the normal generation gap, resulting in greater misunderstandings, miscommunications, and eventual conflicts among family members (Lee, Choe, Kim & Ngo, 2000).

Parent Attachment

Attachment theory stresses the importance of emotional bonds between parents and child on child mental health and sense of self. It hypothesizes that the interactions between the child and the parents or primary caregiver, particularly their sensitivity and responsiveness to children, over the first two years of life provide the building blocks for their relationship and the child's overall emotional development. The secure attachment provides a secure base from which individuals can explore and adaptively respond to their environment (Johnson, 2003). In contrast, insecure attachment increases the risk of social and emotional difficulties of the individuals (Greenberg, 1996). According to attachment theory, the formation of attachments is in infancy, but children continue to need the attachment figures across childhood and adolescence (Bowlby, 1989). Although the maintenance of physical proximity become less important and the frequency and intensity of attachment behaviors declines in adolescents, the availability of the attachment figure and confidence in their parents' commitment to them remains crucial (Kerns, Aspelmeier, Gentzler & Grabill, 2001; Weiss, 1982). According to Bowlby (1987, as cited in Ainsworth, 1990), the availability of the attachment figure refers to

whether the child views the attachment figure as open to communication, physically accessible, and responsive if called for help.

The link between parent attachment and mental health is well supported by the existing literature. Attachment studies with ethnic minority sample and Asian sample also have found that there is connection between parent-child relationship and the child's psychological function. For example, Ying, Lee and Tsai (2007a & 2007b) conducted two studies to examine the associations between attachment and depressive symptoms in Chinese American college students. They found that the depressive symptoms level was negatively predicted by the quality of parent attachment and the relative influence of the attachment was associated with their acculturation level. Constantine (2006) examined the perceived family conflict, parental attachment and depression in African American female adolescents. She found that although perceived family conflict had a direct and an indirect effect on depression, the parental attachment can moderate the effect of perceived family conflict on depression. Yang and his colleagues (2008) examined the impact of adolescents' attachment to their parents and parental rearing on adolescents' subjective well-being in a sample of high school students in Mainland China. They found adolescents who have secure attachment to their parents have higher score in the measurement of subjective well-being than their peers who insecurely attached to their parents. Ngai and Cheung (2009) surveyed 752 Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong, and found that parental bonding, especially parental care is positively linked to adolescents' self-esteem, resilience, self-efficacy and social competence.

Furthermore, recent research has found that strong parent-child attachment can play a protective role in preventing some problem behaviors in adolescents. Brook and Brook (1990) proposed the Family Interaction Theory (FIT). They assert that strong parent attachment is a powerful protective factor for preventing adolescents' substance abuse. According to Brook and her colleagues, the special emotional relation that the infant has with his or her caregivers plays an important role during adolescence, although it may be hidden by the adolescent's growth and defensiveness. Adolescents undergo a reactivation of early feelings of parent-child attachment, which triggered by the physical and psychological changes or stresses of this period. Elements of attachment can form the basis for a protective parent-adolescent relationship and can minimize the frequency of drug use. Brook and her colleagues (1997, 1998) highlighted that although some cultural and ecological risk factors (e.g. acculturation gap) may increase adolescents' development of substance abuse, parent-child attachment can offset the effect of these risk factors among ethnic minority adolescents. Wu and Chao (2011) examined the association between acculturation gap and adolescents' behavioral problem, and whether parental attachment moderates their relationship in a sample of Chinese American adolescents. The result suggested that some components of parental attachment, such as perceived parental devotion and sacrifice diminish the association between acculturation gap and adolescents' behavioral problems in second-generation Chinese American adolescents. Hahm, Lahiff and Guterman (2003) found although acculturation is a risk factor for Asian American adolescents' alcohol use, a close parent-child bond was a

protective factor that contribute to lower alcohol use. These results strengthen Brook and her colleagues' findings.

Less is known about the protective role of attachment in parent-adolescent conflicts, and its potential moderating effect on the relation between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflict among immigrant families. Literature review showed that only one empirical study has addressed the moderating effect of family ties between acculturation gap and parent-child relationship. Schofield, Parke, Kim and Coltrane (2008) examined the links between acculturation gap and family conflict and child socioemotional outcomes with a sample of Mexican American children. They found parent- child relationship quality moderated the relations between parent-child acculturation gap and parent-child conflict. Based on the prior work, this pilot study hypothesizes that parent attachment may moderate the relationship between acculturation gap and intergenerational conflicts.

Social Support

Over the past two decades, there has been growing interest in the role of social support in facilitating transnational migration (Faist & Ozveren, 2004). Social support networks typically are defined as "a collection of individuals who know and interact with a particular target individual" (Milardo, 1988, p.20). Turney and Kao (2009) asserted that social support may be particularly important for minority immigrant group. According to them, it is not only because acculturation process is a stressful life experience to immigrants, but also because minority immigrant group are more likely to feel marginalized and alienated. Empirical studies have indicated that social support is

positively linked to the mental health and psychological well-being of immigrants (Hovey, 1999; Shin, Han, & Kim, 2007; Vega, Kolody, Valle, & Weir, 1991); alleviate the stress resulting from the discrimination immigrants experience (Jasinkdaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola & Retter, 2006; Noh & Kaspar, 2003); and help immigrants cope with challenges in the acculturation process (Choi & Thomas, 2009; Levitt, Lane, Levitt, 2005; Wierzbicki, 2004; Wong & Mock, 1997;).

Furthermore, evidence has accumulated that social support can enhance certain aspect of parent child interaction, and moderate the relationship between stress and parent-child problem. For example, Short and Johnston (1997) examined the buffering role of social support in the relationship between certain family variables (e.g., family stress, maternal distress) and children's adjustment after immigration in a sample of Chinese immigrant families in Canada. They found that maternal distress was a significant predictor of boys' behavioral adjustment, and mother's perceived social support served as a buffer in the relationship between family stress and boys' behavior problems. This might be because social support can make parents to be more emotionally invested in their children and sensitive to the needs of their children (Bradley et al., 1997; Burchinal, Foller, & Bryant, 1996; Cocharn & Brassard, 1979; Crnic et al. 1983; Wolfe & Wekerle, 1993). Moncher (1995) explained that the presence of social support could help parents release some of the burden of parenting by increasing the opportunities for parents to express their feelings, validating their sense of self, helping them gain parenting advice, and satisfying their adult nurturing and decency needs. In addition, the social support is also able to help parents in the immigrant families adjust to the

educational system of the United states (Zhou, 1997), and to provide them needed

information, resources and affiliation for integration into the community and larger

culture, thus reducing the uncertainty associated with the immigration (Albrecht &

Adelman, 1984; Mitchell & Trickett, 1980). Lee, Su, and Yoshida (2005) examined how

Asian Americans cope with intergenerational family conflict in an Asian American

college sample. They found that social support seeking was a relatively effective coping

strategy in Asian American young adult children when intergenerational conflict was

perceived to be high. Individuals who reported lower use of social support seeking had

lower positive affect and higher somatic distress when family conflict was high. In

contrast, individuals who reported greater use of social support seeking had no difference

in positive affect and somatic distress across levels of family conflict. Based on the

previous findings regarding social support in immigrants, this pilot study hypothesized

that parents' use of social support network can weaken the relationships between

acculturation gaps and intergenerational conflict in Chinese immigrant families.

Parent-Child Communication in Cultural Differences

A number of researchers have commented on the importance of parent-child

communication during the process of gradual renegotiation of parent-child relationships

in adolescence (Sillars, Koerner, & Fitzpatrick, 2005). Several studies with adolescents in

immigrant families indicated that parent-child communication plays a protective role in

the adolescents'' substance abuse. For example, Elder et al.'s (2000) study with a sample

of Hispanic migrant adolescents examined the predictors of tobacco and alcohol use and

susceptibility. They found perceived frequency of communication with parents is

negatively linked to the adolescents' tobacco and alcohol use. Adolescents who reported

less frequent communication with parents were more likely to report smoke tobacco and

drink alcohol. Litrownik et al. (2000) conducted an evaluation research on a tobacco and

alcohol use prevention program for Hispanic migrant adolescents and concluded that

involvement of parents to facilitate communication with their children effectively prevent

adolescents' tobacco and alcohol use. They suggested that promoting parent child

communication in the immigrant families may not only promote healthy behaviors, but

also prevent additional family stress and its negative consequences.

Literature reviews indicated that few empirical studies have addressed the

protective effect of parent-child communication in cultural differences between the host

culture and families' native culture on the intergenerational conflict in immigrant

families. Szapocznik and Kurtines's (1993) theory of bicultural training for reconciling

cultural conflicts among immigrant families suggested that adolescents' understanding of

the cultural norms of their immigrant parents can reduce their conflicts with parents. The

only three prevention programs targeting intergenerational conflict in immigrant families

(Szapocznik et al., 1984; Szapocznik et al., 1989; Ying, 1999) in the literature are

consistent with the theory. These prevention programs have been found to be effective in

ameliorating acculturation stress, improving intergenerational relationship and enhancing

adjustment in immigrant families. They all stressed the important roles of communication

and knowledge in cultural differences in buffering family conflicts in immigrant families.

They "detoured" family conflict by placing the focus of both the intergenerational

differences and the cultural differences between the host culture and family's original

culture on the cultural conflict, thus reframing the family's perception of the conflict, and de-emphasizing the intergenerational differences. In this way, each family member may feel they each have a value point of view that is culturally determined and they each increased transcultural perspective, thereby strengthening family bounds. These prevention programs emphasize psychoeducation on cultural differences between American culture and the family's native culture, as well as potential conflicts between immigrant parents and their children. They used a series of exercises to promote communication between parents and their children on these differences. This pilot study hypothesized that communications in cultural differences in the family might also moderate the relation between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflict in Chinese immigrant families.

The current review of literature on the acculturation gap, intergenerational conflict and potential protective factors against intergenerational conflict revealed that although some researchers have asserted that the acculturation gap might exacerbate already heightened levels of parent adolescent conflict during this developmental period in Chinese immigrant families, the empirical literature showed no support for this hypothesis. There is also very limited research investigating factors that might prevent intergenerational conflict in the presence of an acculturation gap in immigrant families. This study represented the first attempt to examine the direct relations between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflict as well as the protective factors of family conflict in Chinese immigrant families.

In addition, some preventive studies have found that parent attachment, social support network and communication in cultural differences between parents and their child can play a protective role in preventing some problem behaviors in adolescents, and improving intergenerational relationship in immigrant families. However, the literature available has not addressed, or at least not yet extensively studied, their moderating effect on the relation between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflict. Findings from this study will offer important suggestions for developing culturally appropriated programs for Chinese immigrant families and provide new insights into the family conflict in immigrant families.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Participants

Participants were Chinese American adolescents and their parents. The

adolescents were U.S.-born, or were those who immigrated to the United Stated before

starting grade school. Their ages ranged from 12 to 18 years old. Parents were born in

Mainland China, Hong Kong or Taiwan, and immigrated to America as an adult. A total

of twenty three Chinese immigrant families—each including a mother or father, and

adolescent child—participated in the pilot study. Participants were largely from

Northern California. The mean length of residence in the United States for

father/mother and their youth was 18 years and 10 years, respectively. The majority of

the youth participants were born in the U.S. (61%). The mean age of the parent and

youth was 42 years (SD = 4. 775) and 14 years (SD = 2.043), respectively. Most of the

parent participants had more than a high school education (91.3%). The average annual

family income was between $90,000 and $119, 999. The parent participants consisted

of 8 males (35%) and 15 females (65%). The youth participants consisted of 11 males

(48%) and 12 females (52%).

Procedure

Participants were recruited via two ways. First, a snowball sampling method

was used. In snowball sampling, the researcher identified someone who met the criteria

for inclusion in this study from friends or acquaintances, and then asked them to forward a solicitation email to those who also met the criteria they may know. Second recruitment was via churches and one Chinese American organization, using key leaders as liaison persons. The liaison persons were introduced to the study and were requested to forward a solicitation email to the church members or members of the organization.

Parents and their child were both required to finish the online surveys. Participant families were asked to provide some demographic information, such as age, gender, school year (for adolescents), parents' educational background, occupation, income, and immigration history. Both parents and their child were asked to complete the revised Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II; Cuellar, Arnold, and Maldonado, 1995). In addition, parents completed Acquiring Social Support (McCubbin, Larsen & Olson, 1982) and Parent-Child Communication on Cultural Differences (developed for this study) Scales. The adolescents completed the Asian American Family Conflicts scale (FCS; Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000) and the Inventory of Parent Attachment scale (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). All instruments are reproduced in Appendices.

Data gathering was completed in two stages. The first stage involved completion of the parents' questionnaires online. A family ID number was created randomly by the computer after parents submitted the survey. The second stage involved completing of the adolescents questionnaires online. Those in the youth groups who were willing to participate were asked to write down the family ID number on their

surveys. In this way, the researcher was able to match the parent and the child for data analysis purpose later. Parents and adolescents followed different links to their questionnaires (Parents Questionnaires vs. Adolescent Questionnaire), and had no access to each other's responses. Once participants submitted their completed surveys, they were not able to make changes or see their responses on the questionnaires. Only the researcher had permission to access the database. Thus, parents and adolescents were not able to see each other's responses to the questionnaires; even though participants might accidently click on "wrong" versions of questionnaires (e.g. parent clicks on adolescent version link). Participants were informed that all responses were confidential and that questionnaires were coded only for matching parent and adolescent questionnaires. All participation was voluntary. Participants could be compensated in the form of a raffle. After finishing the surveys, the participant families had the choice of entering in a raffle drawing to win one of five $10, two $30, or one $50 prizes. If they chose to enter, they were instructed to a different web page, which was not associated with the survey link.

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire

Families completed a demographic questionnaire about parents' educational background, occupation, income, and immigration history. Participants also were asked to provide demographic information, such as age, gender, school year (for adolescents).

Asian American Family Conflicts Scale

The Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (FCS; Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000) is a self-report measure of intergenerational family conflicts. The 10 items are written from the perspective of the child and consist of two conjoint statements reflecting different parent-child values and lifestyle expectations (e.g., "Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions."). Each item is rated on a 5-point scale according to likelihood of occurring (1 = almost never to 5 = almost always) and seriousness of the problem (1 = not at all to 5 = extremely). Higher scores indicate a greater likelihood and seriousness of conflict. Lee et al. (2000) reported coefficient alphas ranging from 0.81 to .89 and from .84 to .91 for Likelihood score and Seriousness scores, respectively. Both Likelihood subscale and Seriousness subscale have demonstrated convergent validity with child and parental acculturation, acculturative stress, and other family and parent-child measures. A family conflict intensity score was calculated by averaging the mean scores for the Likelihood and Seriousness subscales (see Su, Lee, & Vang, 2005). The internal consistency coefficient alpha was .94 and .93 for Likelihood and Seriousness subscales, respectively in this pilot study. Coefficient alpha for the conflict intensity score was .95 in this pilot study.

Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans

The Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA-II) was originally developed for Mexican Americans by Cuellar, Arnold, and Maldonado (1995). The ARSMA-II has been widely used by ethnic minority researchers because of its flexibility as both a unidimensional and multidemsional measure of acculturation.

The ARSMA-II is a 30-item scale consisting of two subscales: cultural orientation to the Mexican (MOS, 17 items) and Anglo cultures (AOS, 13 items). The items are rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely often). The ARSMA-II can generate both linear categories and orthogonal categories of acculturation. For the purpose of this study, an acculturation score was used to generate a linear acculturation style by subtracting the MOS (in this study COS) mean from the AOS mean. A number of researchers (Farver, Narong, Bhadha, 2002; Lee, Choe, Kim and Ngo, 2000; Lee, Yoon, Liu-Tom, 2006; Miller, 2007) have used a modified version of ARSMA-II to measure acculturation in Asian American samples. The modified version was used in this study by changing the terms Mexican to Chinese/Chinese American, Spanish language to Chinese language, and Anglo to Caucasian/European. Previous studies provided alpha coefficients for Asian Orientation subscale scores of .87 (Lee et al., 2000) or .86 (Miller, 2007), and the Caucasian Orientation subscale of .74 (Lee et al., 2000), or .83 (Miller, 2007). Furthermore, Lee, Yoon and Liu-Tom (2006) provided structural evidence for ARMSA-II scores by confirming a two-factor structure for the scale reflecting Chinese and Caucasian orientations. For this pilot study, the Cronbach's alpha for the Chinese Orientation Subscale was .90; the Caucasian Orientation Subscale was .73 in adolescents. The Cronbach's α for the Chinese Orientation Subscale was. 67, the Caucasian Orientation Subscale was .84 in parents.

<div align="center">Acculturation Gap</div>

This pilot study used the approach that constructs "matched" and "mismatched" groups used by Farver, Narong, and Bhadha (2003) to measure

acculturation gaps. Participants' ARSMA-II acculturation score was used to categorize

participants into a level of acculturation (1 through 5, with 1 being the least

acculturated). The levels of acculturation were identified using Cuellar et al.'s (1995)

cut-off scores (see Table 1). Scores that are less than -1.33 fall in Level 1 (very Chinese

oriented), scores between -1.33 and - .07 fall in Level 2 (bicultural and slightly Chinese

oriented), scores between -.07 and 1.19 fall in Level 3 (bicultural and slightly Caucasian

oriented), scores between 1.19 and 2.45 fall in Level 4 (assimilated and strongly

Caucasian oriented), and scores greater than 2.45 fall in Level 5 (very assimilated).

Then families were sorted into two groups based on whether the parents and adolescents

are matched or mismatched in acculturation style. For example, if the parent was

categorized into Level 1 based on his/her acculturation score, and the adolescent's

acculturation score also fell into the score range of Level 1 (<. -1.33), the family would

be sorted into Matched group. However, if the parent's acculturation level was level 1,

the adolescent was level 2; then the family would be sorted into Mismatched group.

However, this procedure resulted in many more families being sorted into the

mismatched than the matched group which would reduce the power of statistical tests

comparing these two groups. Because of this and because of the small sample size of

the study, I liberalized the criteria somewhat (see Table 2 for deriving the Matched and

Mismatched groups). The level 1 is more like the separation strategy according to

Berry's (1980) acculturation model. Individuals using separation strategy retain their

original culture while resisting the host culture. Level 2 and level 3 are more like the

integration strategy in Berry' model. Individuals using integration strategies value and

integrate their native culture as well as the host culture, and it is possible they endorse the two cultures at a different rate. Level 4 and 5 are more like the assimilation strategy. Individuals with this strategy lose original cultural identity, and adopt and value the host culture. Therefore, I decided to sort the families with a combination of acculturation levels of 2 and 3, as well as a combination of 4 and 5 into the Matched group. Thus, any families in which the combination of acculturation levels between parent and the adolescent was level 2 and level 3, as well as level 4 and level 5 were considered as the Matched group.

Table 1. Cutting Score for Determining Acculturation Level Using ARSMA-II [1]

Acculturation Levels	Description	ARSMA-II Acculturation Score
Level I	Very Chinese oriented	< -1.33
Level II	Bicultural and slightly Chinese Oriented	>= -1.33 and <= -.07
Level III	Bicultural and slightly Caucasian oriented	> -.07 and < 1.19
Level IV	Assimilated and strongly Caucasian oriented	>= 1.19 and < 2.45
Level V	Very assimilated	> 2.45

Table 2. The Categorization of Matched group and Mismatched group according to parents' and adolescents' acculturation levels in families

Parent Acculturation Level	Youth Acculturation Level				
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
Level 1	Matched	Mismatched	Mismatched	Mismatched	Mismatched
Level 2	Mismatched	Matched	Matched	Mismatched	Mismatched
Level 3	Mismatched	Matched	Matched	Mismatched	Mismatched
Level 4	Mismatched	Mismatched	Mismatched	Matched	Matched
Level 5	Mismatched	Mismatched	Mismatched	Matched	Matched

---

[1] (Cuellar, Arnold & Maldonado, 1995, p.285)

Parent Attachment Subscale

The Parent Attachment subscale (PAS) from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA, Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was used to measure the cognitive and affective dimensions of parent relationships and perceived quality of attachment to parents. The 28 items in Parent Attachment subscale relate to three domains of attachment quality: trust (mutual understanding and respect), communication (the quality and degree of spoken communication), and alienation (anger and interpersonal isolation). Participants were instructed to respond each item on a 5-point scale (1 = almost never or never true to 5 = almost always or always true). Responses across items were summed to arrive at a total score that could range from 25-125. Total score then averaged to that the range was 1-5 with a high score indicates positive quality of attachment (i.e., high trust, good communication, low feelings of alienation). Reliability and construct validity of the IPPA are well established (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Armsden and Greenberg (1987) have reported high test-retest reliability over 3 weeks with $r = 0.93$ for parent attachment scores. An alpha coefficient for the parent attachment subscale was .93 in the same study. With respect to validity, Armsden and Greenberg (1987) found IPPA correlated positively with measures of family and social-self-concept, loneliness, family functioning, and family coping. The Cronbach's alpha for the Parent Attachment subscale in this pilot study was .51, which is quite low.

Acquiring Social Support Subscale

The Family Coping Strategies (F-COPES, McCubbin, Larsen & Olson, 1982)-Acquiring Social Support Subscale (ASSS) is a 9-item, 5-point, scale (1 = strongly

disagree to 5 = strongly agree) that assesses a family's ability to actively engage in

acquiring support from relatives, friends, neighbors and extended family. A score was

obtained by averaging the total score of the 9 items, ranging from 1-5. McCubbin, et al.

(1982) reported alpha coefficients for ASS subscale of .83 and test-retest reliability (4-

week interval) of .78. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale in this study was .70.

<center>Parent-Child Communication on Cultural Differences Scale</center>

The measure of parent-child communication on cultural differences was

developed for this study. Participants were asked: "During the past year, how often have

you talked with your children on____?" the following 4 statements: (1) Chinese culture

values; (2) how to get along in mainstream American culture; (3) the differences

between Chinese culture and American culture; (4) how to live in two cultures.

Responses were made on 5-point scales ranging from 0 (= never) to 5 (= equal or more

than 6 times in a year). A score was obtained by averaging the total score of 4 items,

ranging from 1-5. A high score indicates more frequent communication in cultural

differences in the family. The internal consistency coefficient was .53, which is quite

low.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Similar to Farver et al.'s (2002) research design, a two-level variable,

acculturation gap was calculated on the basis of whether the adolescent and parent

matched or mismatched on acculturation level. The two-way interaction terms for

acculturation gap (AG) and the parent attachment (PAS), family's use of social network

support (ASSS), and open communication on cultural differences measures (CCD) —

AG X PAS, AG X ASSS, and AG X CCD AG—were calculated. Raw scale scores

were centered to reduce the collinearity between the main effect and interaction terms

(Cronbach, 1987) before the calculation of the product term.

Table 3 presents the correlations matrix along with the means and standard

deviations obtained for each measure. Most variables were moderately correlated with

intergenerational conflicts. However, only the following correlations reached traditional

levels of statistical significance: (a) Acculturation gap (AG) and intergenerational

conflicts (FCS); (b) Family's use of social support (ASSS) and intergenerational

conflicts (FCS); and (c) the interaction term for acculturation gap and family's use of

social support (AG X ASSS) and intergenerational conflicts. The sample size used in

this study may preclude several moderate correlations from reaching traditional levels

of statistical significance — correlations had to be very large (above

.60) to reach statistical significance. For example, the correlation(-.39) between the conflict and the interaction term for acculturation gap and parent attachment (AG X PAS) by most standards would be considered moderate despite not being statistically significant. In addition, the internal consistencies of some of the measures were quite low, for example, the Cronbach's alpha for the Parent Attachment subscale in this pilot study was .51, and the Cronbach's alpha for the measure of parent-child communication on cultural differences developed for this study was .53. The unreliable measures served to attenuate correlations using these measures. Thus, the correlations obtained are somewhat lower than might have been attained using more reliable measures of these variables.

Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations, Range and Intercorrelations among Variables (N=23)

Scale	FCS	AG	PAS	ASSS	CCD	AG X PAS	AG X ASSS	AG X CCD
FCS	_	.437**	-.304	-.660**	-.270	-.39	-.569**	-.021
AG	.437**	_	-.124	-.269	-.408	-.125	-.245	-.349
PAS	-.304	-.124	_	.219	-.096	.595**	.251	-.047
ASSS	-.660**	-.269	.219	_	.163	-.172	.791**	-.054
CCD	-.270	-.408	-.096	.163	_	.313	-.060	.883**
AG X PAS	-.390	-.125	.595**	.172	.313	_	.208	.347
AG X ASSS	-.569**	-.245	.251	.791**	-.060	.208	_	-.089
AG X CCD	-.021	-.349	-.047	-.054	.883**	.347	-.089	_
M	2.46	_	3.17	3.45	3.80	-.01	-.05	-.09
SD	.89	_	.24	.54	.65	.14	.42	.56
Range	3.30	_	.96	1.78	2.25	.86	1.44	2.25

*Note. FCS= Family Conflict Scale; AG=Acculturation gap; PAS= Parent Attachment Scale; ASSS= Acquiring Social Support Subscale; CCD=Communication on Cultural Differences. AG X PAS= the interaction term for Acculturation Gap and Parent Attachment Scale; AG X ASSS= the interaction term for Acculturation Gap and Acquiring Social Support subscale; AG X CCD= the interaction term for Acculturation Gap and Communication on Cultural Differences. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).*

Acculturation Gap and Family Conflict

To test the hypothesis that conflict would be higher in families who exhibit an acculturation gap I used a t-test to compare family conflict by acculturation gap. As shown in Table 4, my hypothesis that parent-child conflict would be higher in families who exhibit an acculturation gap was supported, a *t* test revealed a statistically reliable difference between the families who have no acculturation gap and those who have acculturation gap.

Table 4. Comparison of Family Conflict by Parent-Adolescent Acculturation Gap (N=23)

Parent-adolescent acculturation gap	Family Conflict M (SD)
Matched (n=14)	2.15 (.895)
Mismatched (n=9)	2.93 (.70)
t (21)	-2.23
p	.037

Test of Moderation Effect

Hierarchical regression analyses were performed on family conflict, with acculturation gap being entered in Step 1. Parental attachment, family's use of social network support, and open communication on cultural differences were entered in Step 2. The two-way interaction terms for acculturation gap and the parent attachment, family's use of social network support, and open communication on cultural differences measures were entered in Step 3 (see Table 5).

Table 5 contains the results of the multiple regression analyses. Frazier, Tix and Barron (2004) suggested that the unstandardized regression coefficient (B) rather than standardized regression coefficient (β) should be interpreted in the hierarchical multiple regression analysis that examines a moderator effect, as in equations that

include interaction terms, the β coefficients for the interaction terms are not properly

standardized and thus are not interpretable. As showed on the table 4, communication in

cultural difference in the family significantly interacted with acculturation gap in

predicting family conflicts (B = 1.62, p = .02). The unstandardized beta weights for the

interaction of acculturation gap and parental attachment (-1.73) and the interaction of

acculturation and social support usage (-.92) on family conflict were substantial

although not statistically significant. The non-significant result is very likely due to the

type II error, as this analysis is very underpowered. A power analysis indicated that a

sample of 100 families should be obtained in order to yield a power of .80, when α is set

at .05 (two-tailed). However, only 23 families participated in this study.

Table 5. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses to Test Moderator Effects.

Variable	B	SE	β	P
Step 1				
Acculturation Gap	.78	.35	.44	.04
Step 2				
Acculturation Gap	.40	.33	.23	.23
Parent Attachment	-.62	.63	-.17	.33
Social Support Usage	-.90	.28	-.55	.005
Communication on Cultural differences	-.14	.24	-.11	.57
Step 3				
Acculturation Gap	.42	.29	.23	.18
Parent Attachment	-.23	.74	-.06	.76
Social Support Usage	.05	.53	.03	.93
Communication on Cultural differences	-1.41	.60	-1.03	.03
Acculturation Gap X Parent Attachment	-1.73	1.31	-.27	.21
Acculturation Gap X Social Support Usage	-.92	.62	-.43	.16
Acculturation Gap X Communication on Cultural Differences	1.62	.62	1.02	.02

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The United States is currently experiencing an influx of immigrants similar to the historic boom at the beginning of 20th century. Immigrant families' acculturation and adjustment has received increasing attention in the literature. Research has suggested that discrepancies between parents and children in acculturation can be a significant source of conflict disagreement between parents and their children in immigrant families. For immigrants whose values vary significantly from the mainstream European American society, the risk for intergenerational conflicts is even more pronounced (Ying, 1999). However, very few studies have addressed the prevention or reduction of the intergenerational conflict in the immigrant families with the presence of a significant acculturation gap. This pilot study was intended to examine the potential protective factors which may reduce the relation between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflicts among Chinese immigrant families. It was hypothesized that parental attachment, open communication on the cultural differences in the family, and the family's use of social support network would moderate the relationship between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflicts in Chinese immigrant families. This chapter summarizes and discusses the findings of this study based on the above goals. The limitations of the study and future directions for research are discussed. Finally, some clinical implications are suggested.

Major Findings

The results of this study suggested that acculturation gap is associated with parent-child conflict, at least when analyzed via a t-test comparing culturally matched and mismatched parent-child dyads (i.e., there was a statistically significant difference in parent-child conflict scores of matched and mismatched parent-child dyads). The finding supports prior studies which have shown that the acculturation gap is related to parent-child conflict ((Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom, 2003; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Gim Chung, 2001; Kim & Choi, 1994)

The hypothesis that parental attachment, open communication on the cultural differences in the family, and the family's use of social support network would moderate the relationship between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflicts in Chinese immigrant families was partially supported by the data. Result of this study indicated that only open communication on the cultural differences in the family would weaken the association between acculturation gap and parent-child conflict. That is, more open communication on the cultural differences in the family was associated with less parent-child conflict in the presence of acculturation gap. This finding is consonant with the prevention programs which have been conducted by several psychologists for enhancing interculturational adjustment in immigrant families (Szapocznik, Santisteban, Kurtines, Perez-Vidal, Hervis, 1984; Szapocznik, Santisteban, Rio, Perez-Vidal, Kurtines, 1989; Ying, 1999). Communication on culture differences might increase family members' awareness of the cultural differences, and potential influences on family conflict; foster understanding on each other's perspective. Thus, family members

might be able to negotiate some family conflicts. The moderating effect of the parent attachment and family's usage of social network support was not significant, although the unstandardized beta weights for the interaction of acculturation gap and parental attachment (-1.73) and the interaction of acculturation and social support usage (-.92) on family conflict were substantial. The non-significant results are, therefore, very likely due to type II error associated with the small sample size in the study and attenuation effects of low reliability.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study has several limitations that should be mentioned. First, the sample size was very small. On one hand, it is harder to find significant relationships from the data, as statistical tests normally require a larger sample size to justify that the effect did not just happened by chance alone. Regression analysis can fail to produce sensible results or may produce unreliable results with small sample sizes. For example, despite the protective role of parental attachment and social support play in a variety of stresses in immigrant families was evident, the results of the study suggested that parental attachment and family's use of social support did not reach traditional levels of statistical significance. This might again be due to the study's sample size. Future research should be conducted with larger samples.

Second, the matched/mismatched groups approach to operationalize the acculturation gap did not allow an exploration of all the potential types of parent-child acculturation gaps. For example, families where parents have low acculturation to the American culture, and children have high acculturation, families where both parents and

children are highly acculturated to the American culture; families where both parents and children have low acculturation to the American culture; and families where parents have high acculturation to the American culture, and children have low acculturation. The literature on acculturation has suggested that the acculturation ga-family conflict is more complex than represented by a simple difference of discrepancy between parents and children; instead, it is particular combinations of parent and child acculturation levels that may lead to family conflict (Birman, 2006b). Future studies can consider using alternative approaches to measuring the acculturation gap, especially those that allow possibilities to explore a number of different possible combinations of parents' and children's acculturation levels.

Third, the internal consistencies of some of the measures used in the pilot study were quite low. For example, the Cronbach's alpha for the Parent Attachment Subscale in this pilot study was only .51, while the Cronbach's alpha for the measure of parent-child communication on cultural differences developed for this study was only .53. The unreliable measures attenuate the correlations among variables using these measures.

Fourth, all the data collected were based on self-report measures rather than objective assessments, which may have been less affected by respondent bias. Participants in this study may have underreported or over-reported some of the symptoms described in the measures. Finally, the results obtained with the sample of highly educated, middle-class Chinese American may not be generalized to other type of Chines immigrant families mentioned in the Chapter II.

Despite the limitation mentioned above, the results are noteworthy because we know very little about the potential protective factors against parent-child conflicts in immigrant families. In addition, Chinese immigrant families are reluctant to participate in studies that ask them to report on issues that are considered private. It is also difficult to collect data for both adolescents and their parent. This contribution of the pilot study was to lay the groundwork for future studies on the prevention of intergenerational conflict in immigrant families by identifying some of potential protective factors.

Counseling Implications

Although the results of the study partially confirm the hypothesis that parental attachment, open communication on the cultural differences in the family, and the family's use of social support network would moderate the relationship between the acculturation gap and intergenerational conflicts in Chinese immigrant families, it is obvious that it is largely due to the small sample size of the study. The absolute size of the bivariate correlations and unstandardized betas do suggest some important issues for clinical intervention with Chinese immigrant families. First, the findings of the study suggested the importance of parent and child relationship in preventing intergenerational conflict in immigrant families (unstandardized beta = -1.73). Thus, interventions with Chinese immigrant families might aim to strengthen the relationships and communication patterns. Clinicians could think about how they can improve the parent-child relationship by educating parents on the effective parenting skills and making parents more sensitive to children's needs. For example, Ying's (1999) community-based prevention program— the Strengthening of

Intergenerational/Intercultural Ties in Immigrant Chinese American Families (SITICAF) include helping parents develop effective parenting skills. Parenting methods, such as active listening, conveying parents' messages, setting structure and limits, rewarding the child, and Special Time were taught to the parents. In addition, the parents were asked to assess their value and try these methods, which are grounded in European American culture, in appropriate situation.

Second, integrating psychoeducation on cultural differences, especially in family styles and child rearing between American culture and Chinese culture into the therapy, promoting their application to the parent-child relationship of the clients will also help ameliorate the intergenerational conflict in Chinese immigrant families. In addition to psychoeducation, clinicians could encourage and facilitate family members to communicate their experiences adapting to the American culture, and the associated challenges and difficulties that arise. Finally, the bivariate relationship between family conflict and social support ($r = -.66$) was quite substantial as was the unstandardized beta when social support was explored as a moderator of the acculturation gap-family conflict relationship ($-.92$). Thus, clinicians could also work proactively to expand family social support systems. Clinicians who work with Chinese immigrant families should be familiar with clients' nuclear and extended kin, and work with the family to foster community support.

It is a challenge to conduct studies with Chinese immigrant families. One particular challenge is to secure their participation in the research. As other immigrant families, most Chinese immigrant families are dealing with financial instability, job

security, discrimination, and unfamiliar social institutions, such as those dealing with schools, health care and so on. Family members also have to adjust their roles and relationships with each other. As a result, they often have little time or energy to attend activities that are not essential for survival. In addition, it is uncommon for individuals to reveal personal or family information to persons who are not family members or close friends in Chinese culture. Thus, the recruitment and data collection can be difficulty and lengthy with Chinese immigrant families. For example, the data collection for this study took almost two years, but only 23 families completed the questionnaires in the end. Although the key persons of the church and the Chinese American organization were very supportive, and encouraged their members to participate this study, very few families responded. One lesson I learned from the recruitment process was that although trust is important in recruiting any research participants in general, it is more essential for recruitment in Chinese immigrant community. And this type of trust is based on being known to each family directly and being an "insider" of the community. Being a Chinese immigrant alone did not make me an insider, if I did not involve in activities in a specific community. Therefore, it is important to build relationships with the Chinese immigrant community prior to data collection. In order to build the relationship, future researchers with Chinese immigrant families can consider getting involved in the Chinese churches, Chinese schools and various community events. It will be also helpful if the researcher can contribute to the community by offering workshops, such as parenting skills, marital relationship and so on.

APPENDIX A

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Protective Factors against Intergenerational Conflicts in Immigrant Chinese Families
Researcher: Xiaoyan Fan
Faculty Sponsor: Steven Brown, Ph.D.

Dear parents:

You are being asked to take part in, and give permission for your child to take part in a research study being conducted by Xiaoyan Fan for a dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Steven Brown in the Department of Counseling Psychology at Loyola University Chicago.

You and your child are being asked to participate because you were born in Hong Kong, Mainland China or Taiwan, and your child's age is between 12 and 18 years old.

Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before deciding whether to allow your child to participate in the study.

Purpose:
The purpose of this study is to explore some of the factors that might lessen the conflict that Chinese parents and adolescents experience if both are not equally acculturated into the ways and values of U.S. society.

Procedures:
If you agree to be in the study, and allow your child to be in the study, you and your child will be asked to complete four questionnaires. The four questionnaires take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete totally. While these questionnaires are lengthy, they require only short answers and can be completed rather quickly. As there are no right or wrong answers, simply give each question a moment's thought and then answer it. You are free to withdraw from participating in the study at any time and you will not incur any kind of consequences.

Risks/Benefits:
There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life. However, the researcher will provide referral for counseling to those who may feel uncomfortable or find questions unsettling. There are no direct benefits to you and your child from participation, but the results may be beneficial for the future of Chinese immigrant families.

Compensation*:*
There is no direct compensation for participation in this study. However, after finishing your surveys the first 150 participant families will have the choice of entering in a raffle drawing to win one of 5 $10, 2 $30, and 1 $50 prizes.

Confidentiality*:*
Information that you provide will be kept confidential unless disclosure is required by law. Absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed as we may have to disclose certain information as required by law according to provisions under the Child and Family Services Act. This includes any suspicion that a child under the age of 16 years is or has been abused, the occurrence of ongoing elder abuse, or if you are in imminent danger of hurting yourself or another person. Your name and address will not be required on the questionnaires. Each set of questionnaires will be assigned a subject ID number and your name will not be attached to the questionnaires. Data will be recorded an analyzed only by ID number. Although the researcher will be the only person with access to the data, Dr. Richard Lee[2] may have access to the Family Conflict Scale data for possible secondary data analysis. No names will be attached to the questionnaire, thus no identifying information will be released at any time. All information gathered in this study will be used for the researcher's dissertation research only. The general results of the study will be available to participants on request. If you choose to enter the raffle drawing, all names and contact information will be recorded in a file separate from your answers to the survey items.

Voluntary Participation:
Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, and do not want your child to be in this study, you and your child do not have to participate. Even if you decide to participate, or allow your child to participate, you and your child are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Contacts and Questions:
If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to contact Xiaoyan Fan at xfan@luc.edu or the faculty sponsor Dr. Steven Brown at (312) - 915-6311.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or your child's rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

Statement of Consent:
Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above, have had an opportunity to ask questions, agree to participate, and allow your child to participate in this research study**.** You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

_____   _____
Parent's Signature   **Date**

_____

[2] *Dr. Lee is an associate professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota. He is one of the developers of the Family Conflicts Scale used in the study.*

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature   **Date**

APPENDIX B

ADOLESCENT ASSENT FORM

Project Title: Protective Factors against Intergenerational Conflicts in Immigrant Chinese Families
Researcher: Xiaoyan Fan
Faculty Sponsor: Steven Brown, Ph.D.

Introduction:
You are being asked to participate in a study of parent-child relationships by Xiaoyan Fan as part of her dissertation research at Loyola University Chicago. The purpose of the study is to examine factors that teenagers and parents might experience if they do not completely share the same cultural values. Immigrant families have an extra challenge in getting used to a new culture and environment. This study will attempt to increase understanding of immigrant parent-adolescent relationships.

Procedures:
If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to fill out some questionnaires about your family relationships. Your participation will be for about 30 minutes totally. Your participation in this study is <u>COMPLETELY VOLUNTARY</u>. You may withdraw from the study at any time.

Risks/Benefits:
There are minimal or no risks involved in participation. There are no direct benefits to you to be expected from participation, but the results may be beneficial for the future of Chinese immigrant families.

Compensation:
There is no direct compensation for participation in this study. However, after finishing your surveys the first 150 participant families will have the choice of entering in a raffle drawing to win one of 5 $10, 2 $30, and 1 $50 prizes.

Confidentiality:
Your participation and the results of your participation in this study will be kept confidential. Each set of questionnaires will be assigned a subject ID number and your name will not be attached to the questionnaires. Your answers to all items in the questionnaires will be pooled into a larger data set for analysis and interpretation by the researcher. Any identifying information will be known only to the researcher and will be kept confidential. If you choose to enter the raffle drawing, all names and contact information will be recorded in a file separate from your answers to the survey items.

Voluntary Participation:
Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. Even if you decide to participate, you are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Contacts and Questions:
If you have any question concerning the study, please feel free to contact Xiaoyan Fan at xfan@luc.edu or the faculty sponsor Dr. Steven Brown at (312) - 915-6311. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689. If you would like to see the results of the study when it is finished, you can notify the research at the above email address and a copy of the results will be sent to you.

Statement of Consent:
Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above, have had an opportunity to ask questions, and agree to participate in this research study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____   _____
Researchers' Signature   Date

APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Mother's/Father's Form

The following questions are designed to obtain information about your background. Please provide your response by writing out the requested information or by placing an X in the appropriate space.

1. Age _____

2. Sex: Female_____   Male_____

3. Place of Birth: ___U.S. ___Hong Kong   ___Mainland China   ___Taiwan

   ___Other- Where___

4. What is your present marital status: ___ Married   ___Single   ___Divorced

   ___Widowed   ___Remarried   ___Other (Please

   specify___)

5. How long have you lived in America? _____

6. What is your education?

   - _____ High School
   - _____ Bachelor
   - _____ Master
   - _____ Doctorate
   - _____ Other

7. What is your occupation

   - _____ Professionals
   - _____ Business
   - _____ Technical
   - _____ Student
   - _____ Housewife
   - _____ Other (Please specify_____)

8. Which best describes your annual family income?

   - _____ $0 to Less than 14,999

- _____ $15,000 to 29,999
- _____ $ 30,000 to 59,999
- _____ $ 60,000 to 89,999
- _____ $90,000 to 119,999
- _____ $ 120,000 to 149,999
- _____ $ 150,000 and above

9. How many children do you have? _____

What are the ages of your children? _____

10. What is the ethnicity of your spouse? ___Chinese _____Caucasian ___Others

Adolescent's Form

The following questions are designed to obtain information about your background. Please provide your response by writing out the requested information or by placing an X in the appropriate space.

1. Age _____

2. Sex: Female_____   Male_____

3. Place of Birth: ___U.S. ___Hong Kong   ___Mainland China   ___Taiwan

    ___Other- Where___

4. How long have you lived in America, if you were not born in the U.S.?

    _____

5. What grade are you in? _____

APPENDIX D

MODIFIED ACCULTURATION RATING SCALE FOR MEXICAN AMERICANS-II

Please circle a number between 1-5 next to each item that best applies.

		Not at all	Very little or not very often	Moder-ately	Much or very often	Extremely often or almost always
1	I speak Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
2	I speak English	1	2	3	4	5
3	I enjoy speaking Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
4	I associate with Caucasians	1	2	3	4	5
5	I associate with Chinese or Chinese Americans	1	2	3	4	5
6	I enjoy listening to Chinese language music	1	2	3	4	5
7	I enjoy listening to English language music	1	2	3	4	5
8	I enjoy Chinese language TV	1	2	3	4	5
9	I enjoy English language TV	1	2	3	4	5
10	I enjoy English language movies	1	2	3	4	5
11	I enjoy Chinese language movies	1	2	3	4	5
12	I enjoy reading (e.g. books) in Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
13	I enjoy reading (e.g. books) in English	1	2	3	4	5
14	I write (e.g. letters) in Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
15	I write (e.g. letters) in English	1	2	3	4	5

16	My thinking is done in the English language	1	2	3	4	5
17	My thinking is done in an Asian language	1	2	3	4	5
18	My contact with Chinese has been	1	2	3	4	5
19	My contact with the USA has been	1	2	3	4	5
20	My father identifies or identified himself as "Chinese"	1	2	3	4	5
21	My mother identifies or identified herself as "Chinese"	1	2	3	4	5
22	My friends, while was growing up, were of Chinese origin	1	2	3	4	5
23	My friends, while I was growing up, were of Caucasian origin	1	2	3	4	5
24	My family cooks Chinese foods	1	2	3	4	5
25	My friends now are of Caucasian origin	1	2	3	4	5
26	My friends now are of Chinese origin	1	2	3	4	5
27	I like to identify myself as an Caucasian American	1	2	3	4	5
28	I like to identify myself as a Chinese American	1	2	3	4	5
29	I like to identify myself as a Chinese	1	2	3	4	5

30	I like to identify myself as an American	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX E

ASIAN AMERICAN FAMILY CONFLICTS SCALE

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

How likely is this type of situation to occur in your relationship in your family?

1	2	3	4	5
Almost never	Once in a while	Sometimes	Often or frequently	Almost always

How serious a problem is this situation in your relationship in your family?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	slightly	Moderately	Very much	Extremely

	Family Situations	How likely is this type of situation to occur in your family?					How serious a problem is this situation in your family?				
		<u>never</u>			<u>always</u>		<u>not at all</u>			<u>extremely</u>		
1	Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
2	Your parents tell you that a social life is not important at this age, but you think that it is.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
3	You have done well in school, but your parents' academic expectations always exceed your performance.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
4	Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family, but you feel this is unfair.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5	Your parents always compare you to others, but you want them to accept you for being yourself.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
6	Your parents argue that they show you love by housing, feeding, and educating you, but you wish they would show more physical and verbal sings of affection.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
7	Your parents don't want you to bring shame upon the family, but you feel that your parents are too concerned with saving face.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

8	Your parents expect you to behave like a proper Asian male or female, but you feel your parents are being too traditional.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
9	You want to state your opinion, but your parents consider it to be disrespectful to talk back.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
10	Your parents demand that you always show respect for elders, but you believe in showing respect only if they deserve it.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX F

PARENT ATTACHMENT SUBSCALE

Please indicate how much you agree with the following statement, using the scale below

5	4	3	2	1
Almost always or always true	Often true	Sometimes true	Seldom true	Almost never or never true

1	My parents respect my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
2	I feel my parents are successful as parents.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I wish I had different parents.	1	2	3	4	5
4	My parents accept me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
5	I have to rely on myself when I have a problem to solve.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I like to get my parents' point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
7	I feel it's no use letting my feelings show.	1	2	3	4	5
8	My parents sense when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Talking over my problems with my parents makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
10	My parents expect too much from me.	1	2	3	4	5
11	I get upset easily at home.	1	2	3	4	5
12	I get upset a lot more than my parents know about.	1	2	3	4	5
13	When we discuss things, my parents consider my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
14	My parents trust my judgment.	1	2	3	4	5
15	My parents have their own problems, so I don't bother them with mine.	1	2	3	4	5
16	My parents help me to understand myself better.	1	2	3	4	5
17	I tell my parents about my problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
18	I feel angry with my parents.	1	2	3	4	5

19	I don't get much attention at home.	1	2	3	4	5
20	My parents encourage me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
21	My parents understand me.	1	2	3	4	5
22	I don't know whom I can depend on these days.	1	2	3	4	5
23	When I am angry about something, my parents try to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
24	I trust my parents.	1	2	3	4	5
25	My parents don't understand what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5
26	I can count on my parents when I need to get something off my chest.	1	2	3	4	5
27	I feel that no one understand me.	1	2	3	4	5
28	If my parents know something is bothering me, they ask me about it.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX G

ACQUIRING SOCIAL SUPPORT SUBSCALE

The following statements are some problem-solving approaches and behaviors used by families in response to problems or difficulties. Please read each statement and indicate how much you agree with them, using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

When we face problems or difficulties in our family, we respond by:

1	Sharing our difficulties with relatives.	1	2	3	4	5
2	Seeking encouragement and support from friends.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Seeking information and advice from persons in other families who have faced the same or similar problems.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Seeking advice from relatives (grandparents, etc.).	1	2	3	4	5
5	Asking neighbors for favors and assistance.	1	2	3	4	5
6	Sharing concerns with close friends.	1	2	3	4	5
7	Doing things with relatives (get-together, dinners, etc.).	1	2	3	4	5
8	Asking relatives how they feel about problems we face.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Sharing problems with neighbors.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX H

PARENT-CHILD COMMUNICATION ON CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Please indicate how often you have talked with your children on the following topics DURING THE PAST YEAR by circling a number, using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely (less than or equal once)	Sometimes(2-3 times)	Often (4-6 times)	Very Often (more than 6 times)

During the past year, how often have you talked with your children on:

1	Chinese culture values	1	2	3	4	5
2	How to get along in mainstream American culture	1	2	3	4	5
3	The differences between Chinese culture and American culture	1	2	3	4	5
4	How to live in two cultures	1	2	3	4	5

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