INTERGENERATIONAL CONFLICT, ETHNIC IDENTITY

AND THEIR INFLUENCES ON PROBLEM BEHAVIORS

AMONG KOREAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

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School of Social Work in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2004

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

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October 15, 2004

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This dissertation study examined the relationships between intergenerational conflict and ethnic identity, and the negative outcomes of depression and behavioral problems among Korean American adolescents. The study addressed two distinct aspects of the intergenerational conflict - the indigenous aspect and the acculturation aspect. The indigenous aspect referred to the typical intergenerational conflict experienced by American adolescents due to their phase of development. The acculturation aspect examined unique manifestations of conflict related to the acculturation process of immigrant families. This dissertation study attempted to provide a better understanding of how these two specific aspects of intergenerational conflict contribute to depression and behavioral problems among Korean American adolescents. No scale that measured the acculuturation aspect of intergenerational conflict exsited. Thus, a new scale was developed to investigate this unique aspect. The study also investigated the effects of ethnic identity on these problems as a predictor and moderator.

The study aimed to assess: (a) the relationship between intergenerational conflict (as affected by the adolescent developmental process and the acculturation process combined, and by each of these processes separately) and depression and behavioral problems; (b) the relationship between intergenerational conflict and ethnic identity; (c) the relationship between ethnic identity and depression and behavioral problems; and (d) the relationship between

intergenerational conflict and depression and behavioral problems as moderated by ethnic identity.

The study design was cross-sectional, and employed a convenience sampling method. The study participants were Korean American adolescents of junior and senior high school age, 14 to18 years old. The study included a pilot study, administered at two Korean churches in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to clarify any ambiguities or misunderstanding from the questionnaire and to psychometrically evaluate a new scale developed to measure acculturative conflict. The primary study was conducted at eleven Korean churches and one *hakwon* (private out-of-school studies institute) in Fairfax County, Virginia.

The results indicated that two distinct aspects of intergenerational conflict and ethnic identity are important in understanding depression and behavioral problems among Korean American adolescents. This study contributed to our understanding of Korean youth as follow. First, it presented a new scale which measures a unique cultural aspect of intergenerational conflict among Korean American families. Second, the study demonstrated that acculturative conflict had a greater impact on depression and behavioral problems, compared to developmental conflict. Finally, the study provided evidence that ethnic identity moderated the effect of intergenerational conflict on depression. In addition, the results of this study suggest the need for further research in the area of ethnic identity and its unique relationship to psychosocial factors.

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I.   INTRODUCTION

The most extreme manifestation of Korean generational rebellion can sometimes be seen at the 109th Precinct station house in Flushing. The parents stand there, waiting patiently for attention, the father red-faced, the mother crying into her hand. They've come to report a missing child, or to collect a son, or even a daughter, arrested for running with a gang. This is another way in which the dynamic of the melting pot has changed (Jeffrey Goldberg, New York, 1995).

It is not unusual to see a TV program showing crimes or violence being committed by Asian American gangs or Asian American youth. The idea of law breaking by Asian American adolescents is not foreign anymore. However, not many studies have investigated this population and its high-risk behaviors. For many years, Asian American adolescents have been portrayed as a problem-free population, characterized primarily by high academic achievement. They have been described as a "model minority." Studies have suggested that Asian American adolescents engage in fewer risky or anti-social behaviors, such as smoking, drinking, and drug use, than other American ethnic adolescents. However, recent research and numerous ethnic newspapers report alarmingly increasing rates of smoking, drinking, drug use, gang involvement, and gang-related violence among Asian American adolescents (Dutt, 2001; Goldberg, 1995; Harachi, Caltalano, & Choi, 2001; Kang, 1996; Korea Times, 1997; Lim, 1992; Min, 1997; Picache, 1992).

National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse (NAPAFASA) (2000) reported on alcohol, tobacco, and other drug use among Asian Americana and Pacific Islander students in California. According to NAPAFASA's report, 14% of Chinese, 35% of Filipino, and 28% of Korean students had gotten drunk on alcohol; 9% of Chinese, 36% of Filipino, and 18% of Korean students had tried marijuana. In addition, the smoking rate among

Asian American youth in their senior year of high school is reported as the second highest in the nation (white youth being the highest), far greater than among other ethnic groups, and the rate continues to increase (Dutt, 2001). Lim (1992) quoted Wong, a staff member at the San Francisco Chinatown Youth Center, on the prevalence of behavioral problems among Asian American youth. Wong claimed that, in the period of 1990 to 1991, 30% of high school dropouts were Asian American youth; 20% of alcohol users were Asian American youth; the use of hard drugs such as crack cocaine was a continuing problem; and 20% of Asian American youth smoked regularly.

Several reporters from various newspapers (Kang, 1996; Korea Times, 1997; Lim, 1992; Los Angeles Times, 1995; Picache, 1992) also reported on the increasing number of Asian gangs and the increasing crime rate among Asian youth in America. Lim (1992) claimed that approximately 146 such gangs existed in Alameda County in California alone. Gang-related crimes by Asian American youth also increased (Tan, 2000). As the population of Asian American youth grows, the prevalence of these problems will most likely continue to grow as well.

According to Jessor and Jessor (1977), there are three major elements in deviant behaviors among youth: substance use (smoking, drinking, and other drugs), delinquency (truancy to criminal activities), and sexual activities. However, it is difficult to find research that investigates delinquent behaviors among Asian American youth. Most studies are limited to substance use, smoking, drinking, and drug use. Substance use is certainly a problem, but it is not the only one. Moreover, currently, Asian gang involvement and gang-related violence have received a lot of attention from the media (Joe, 1994). Despite media publicity on this problem, few studies investigate why such behaviors occur and what factors might be related to gang

involvement. The scope of studies in this area needs to be expanded to cover other behavioral problems among this population. The study examined not only substance use but other delinquent behaviors as well, such as truancy, stealing, carrying a weapon, runaway, and gang involvement.

Research regarding rates of depression among Asian American populations has grown as the population has grown. Studies have demonstrated that Asian American adolescents have higher rates of depression than Caucasian adolescents (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lee, Lei, & Sue, 2001). Asian Americans are also less likely to seek help for their mental health problems and also more likely to terminate mental health services prematurely (Kuo, 1984). Some research has shown that a difference exits within Asian American populations with respect to their depressive symptoms (Kim & Chun, 1993; Kuo, 1984). There is also strong evidence that depression is at least as prevalent, if not higher, among Korean Americans as it is among Asian Americans (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987; Kuo, 1984).

However, many studies on this population have focused on immigrant adult populations and on the prevalence of depression rather than its correlates to other factors. Much research needs to be done to understand risk factors and protective factors of depression. Thus, the current study was designed to investigate both externalized (deviant behaviors) and internalized (depression) problems, and how other variables act as risk and protective factors.

Many studies have speculated on what could cause internalized and externalized problems among adolescents. Some studies have claimed that such problems among adolescents are associated with intergenerational conflict (Chae, 1990; Go, 1998; Hall, 1987; Hilliday-Scher, 2000; Lyon, Henggeler & Hall, 1992; Shek, 1997; Steinberg, 1987; Tomlinson, 1991; Williams, 1998). Studies have stated that high intergenerational conflict is associated with high levels of

drug use, delinquency, runaway, and depression (Aldwin and Greenberger, 1987; Hall, 1987; Sung, Bae, Song, Kim, & Cho, 2002). Moreover, studies have claimed that intergenerational conflict has adverse affects. For example, Kar and his colleagues (1998) claimed that intergenerational conflict adversely affects the quality of life of Indo-Americans. Bhattacharya (1998) reported that intergenerational conflict was also linked to adolescent substance use. Lorenzo and his colleagues (1995) also claimed that intergenerational conflict was a major source of stress within immigrant families and the most important predictor of parasuicidal behavior. Studies have come to the conclusion that intergenerational conflict is one of the important predictors of delinquent behaviors among Asian American adolescents. (Ary, Duncan, Biglan, Metzler, Noell, & Smolkowski, 1999; Lorenzo, Pakiz, Reinherz, & Frost, 1995; Steinberg, 1987).

Much research has asserted that conflict between parents and adolescents generally increases during adolescence and that such conflict may have harmful effects on adolescents (Arnett, 1999; Laursen, Coy, & Collins; 1998; Montemayor, 1983; Smetana, 1989; Steinberg, 2001; Steinberg & Sheffield, 2001; Traub & Dodder, 1988). Studies have also found that intergenerational conflict is more severe and problematic with immigrant families, Asian families in particular. These studies argue that differences between parents and their children are far greater for Asian immigrant families than for non-immigrant families in the United States (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Lee & Liu, 2001; Rosenthal, Demeriou, & Efklides, 1989). More often than not, the parents in Asian immigrant families abide by traditional Asian values, such as collectivism, conformity, self-restraint, and silence. Their children, on the other hand, tend to adopt such American values as individualism, autonomy, assertiveness, and self-expression, leading to conflicts within these families. Many such

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conflicts are culturally related. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the strong cultural obligation imposed on Asian American adolescents to meet the high expectations of their immigrant parents will result in serious conflict between these children and their parents, which in turn will affect these children adversely. In addition, the parents' lack of familiarity with American culture and school systems makes it difficult for children to turn to their parents for guidance. Moreover, many of these children lack fluency in their native language while the parents lack fluency in English, a disparity which intensifies the problems between the children and their immigrant parents (Chung & Ruth, 2001).

Yau and Semtana (1993), in their study of cultural conflict between Chinese American adolescents and their parents, illustrated that "intergenerational conflict in Chinese-American adolescents has its roots in normal developmental process but may be accentuated by cultural differences" (p. 435). This study introduced an interesting perspective, as it investigated intergenerational conflict in relation to two different processes-the normal developmental process and the acculturation process. It is critical to acknowledge that Asian American youth have to deal with these two separate but equally significant processes. They have to face the challenge of going through the normal developmental process all children face and also the process of adaptation to the host society. In order to understand intergenerational conflict among Korean American adolescents, it is essential to investigate both of these processes, that is, each separately and then both in combination.

Ethnic identity as applied to Asian American adolescents is a relatively new concept in the field of social science. Phinney and Alipuria (1987) defined ethnic identity as "an individual's sense of self as a member of an ethnic group and the attitudes and behaviors associated with that sense" (p. 36). Studies have indicated that minority adolescents, especially

immigrant youth or offspring of immigrant parents, who have some connections to their ethnic communities or roots may be both less vulnerable to the problems, both internalized and externalized, and more likely to adapt well to the host society. (Harn, 2000; Lee, 1998; Phinney, 1989; Tse, 1999; Ying & Lee, 1999). Some studies have investigated the direct relation of ethnic identity to problem behaviors (Brook, et al., 1998; Shen, 1986), and a few have hypothesized that a high level of ethnic identity would moderate intrapersonal pressure to use drugs (Cheung, 1993; Schier, et al., 1997). It has been generally understood that a strong sense of ethnic identity may prevent minority adolescents from engaging in problem behaviors. There has not been, however, enough research on this issue to support the claim of a relationship between ethnic identity and problem behaviors. Therefore, it is important to further investigate ethnic identity as both a predictor of, and a buffer against, problem behaviors related to intergenerational conflict among this population.

Some serious problems exist in the field of research regarding ethnic minority adolescents, especially Asian American adolescents. First of all, such research is scarce, due to the relative invisibility of this population and the myth of Asian Americans as a "model minority." The paucity of research makes it difficult to understand the problems of this population.

Second, those rare studies that do focus on Asian Americans usually fail to recognize subgroup differences within the Asian American population. In fact, the term Asian represents over 60 separate racial/ethnic groups and subcultures (Harachi, et al, 2001). Studies tend to treat Asian Americans as a homogeneous entity and generalize their results to all Asian subgroups. More recent studies urge researchers to recognize subgroup differences among Asian Americans (Bhattacharya, 1998; Chi, et al., 1989; Sasao, 1992; Trimble, 1995; Yan, 1998). In addition to

racial and cultural differences, levels of education, immigration histories, and reasons for immigrating (including voluntary vs. involuntary immigration) vary widely among Asian immigrants. The Vietnamese, for example, came to America as refugees, whereas the Koreans immigrated to seek educational opportunities and a better quality of life. Moreover, the Vietnamese are recent immigrants, while the Chinese have a long history in America. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the predictors of problem behaviors among Vietnamese-American adolescents will be different from the predictors for Chinese-American adolescents. In order to understand the differences and distinctions of the various Asian American subgroups, research must acknowledge subgroup identification and take ethnic distinctiveness into account.

Because of those problems, it is impractical to generalize research findings and needed interventions across Asian populations. The current study was ethnic-specific; it investigated only one ethnic group, Korean American adolescents, and it did not incautiously oversimplify or overgeneralize its findings to other Asian groups. Moreover, its decision to study a homogenous group may have increased power (due to smaller variability, relative to a more heterogeneous group), thus increasing the probability of obtaining significant results.

In addition, the current study provided a rare opportunity to investigate Korean American adolescents and their problem behaviors. Research on Korean youth is almost non-existent. This study has, therefore, contributed to our understanding of ethnic-specific factors and helped us understand both the externalized and internalized problems experienced by this cohort of Korean American adolescents.

According to the Center for Immigration Studies (2003), one in every 10 residents in America is an immigrant (approximately 10.4 percent of the U.S. population). Moreover, Zhou (1997b) pointed out that since the 1980s, children of immigrant parents and immigrant children

have become "the fastest growing and the most ethnically diverse segment of America's child population. The 1990 US Census has revealed that about 15% of all children in the United States are immigrant children or children of immigrant parentage … and 90% of Asian American children are members of the first or second generation" (p. 63-64). Since Jane Adams and the settlement movement in the late 1800's, working with immigrants and helping them to better adjust to this county have been one of social work's primary missions.   However, social workers' responses to the needs of recent immigrants have been limited: for example, social workers have reported a lack of understanding of different cultures, migration experiences, and unique adjustment issues that recent immigrants and their families face (Drachman & Shen-Ryan, 1990).

Moreover, most of the studies that I found regarding children of immigrant parents or immigrant children were from the fields of psychology or education. It was rare to find any social work research dealing with the unique issues that adolescents, be they first, second, or third generation, face while in the process of adjusting to living in the United States. The current study can enhance our understandings of Korean American adolescents and their immigrant families so that appropriate services and interventions can be developed and implemented for this population.

The current study was designed as a cross-sectional study, which employed a convenience sampling method. This study included a pilot test that was conducted at two Korean churches in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and a primary study that was administered at eleven Korean churches and one *hakwon* (private out-of-school studies institute) in Fairfax County, Virginia. The study participants were Korean American adolescents of junior and senior

high school age, that is, between the ages of 14-18, who either came to the U.S. before age 18 or were American-born with one or both parents of Korean heritage.

The purposes of the pilot study were twofold: (a) to identify and correct any ambiguities or misunderstandings in the research instruments; and (b) to psychometrically evaluate a new scale developed by the investigator to measure intergenerational conflict due to acculturation. The pilot study participants were asked to discuss the questionnaire after they completed the survey to ascertain whether the question items were clear and understandable.

The primary study examined the influence of intergenerational conflict on externalized and internalized problems among Korean American adolescents. Not only did the study investigate the impact of intergenerational conflict as a whole, but it also examined two distinct aspects of intergenerational conflict - the indigenous aspect and the acculturation aspect. The indigenous aspect referred to the typical intergenerational conflict experienced by any American adolescent due to his or her phase of development, and the acculturation aspect referred to unique manifestations of conflict related to acculturation, as experienced by these immigrant families. The study attempted to provide a better understanding of (a) how intergenerational conflict impacted adolescent behaviors, and (b) which of the two aspects of intergenerational conflict contributed more significantly to problem behaviors found among Korean American adolescents.

The study also investigated the effects of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was tested both as a predictor of internalized and externalized problems and as a moderator of the relationship between intergenerational conflict due to the acculturation process and negative outcomes. The study hypothesized that adolescents with a strong ethnic identity would present fewer negative outcomes, and also that a strong ethnic identity would serve as a buffer against internalized and

externalized problems of intergenerational conflict resulting from acculturation in this population.

The primary study aimed to assess: (a) the identification of internalized and externalized problem patterns and rates in a sample of Korean American adolescents; (b) the relationship between intergenerational conflict as affected by the acculturation process and ethnic identity; (c) the relationships between intergenerational conflicts and negative outcomes with age, gender, and length of residency in U.S. controlled; (d) the relationships between ethnic identity and negative outcomes with age, gender, and length of residency in U.S. controlled; and (5) the potential moderating effect of ethnic identity on the relationship between intergenerational conflict due to acculturation process and negative outcomes. This study provided a rare opportunity to understand family dynamics in Korean immigrant families and its relations to both internalized and externalized problems among Korean American adolescents.

II.   LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a review of the literature related to the current study. The study investigated the scope of behavioral problems and depression among Korean American adolescents; two aspects of intergenerational conflict, developmental and acculturation; and ethnic identity and its role as both a predictor and a moderator. Existing studies on the Asian American population have several limitations. First, most of the studies have investigated the Asian adult population, and have mainly examined immigrants (first generation) and their adjustment to the host society. Second, among the small number of studies on the Asian American adolescent, most have focused on either substance use or depression. Further studies are needed to examine other behavioral problems, such as truancy and gang involvement, in order to fully understand the target population. The current study was designed to fill these gaps left by the existing studies. The current study examined Korean American adolescents and multiple behavioral problems, including substance use, gang involvement, and violence as well as internalized problem (depression), and all in relation to intergenerational conflict and ethnic identity.

A.   Korean Americans in the United States

1.   History of Korean Americans in the United States

Koreans are one of the most recent immigrant groups in the United States. The majority of Koreans (approximately 70-80%) living in the U.S today are foreign born (Sue, 1994). Korean immigrants are still in the process of dealing with cultural differences, language problems, and other problems due to immigration. Korean immigrants began coming to the

United States as individuals, but are now coming as family groups. This new phenomenon is likely to influence present-day Korean American family structure and family relationships.

In addition to being one of the most recent groups to join America's multicultural society, Korean Americans are also one of the fastest-growing groups. Although the first Korean immigrants arrived more than a hundred years ago, approximately 90% of Korean immigrants entered the U.S. after passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 (Kwon-Ahn, 2001). Only 24,000 Koreans entered this country during the 60 years before the 1965 Act, whereas, 30,803 Korean immigrants entered in 1976 alone (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1995, cited in Kwon-Ahn, 2001). In the 1970s and 1980s, Korean immigrants were the third largest immigrant group, following Mexicans and Filipinos (Hurh, 1998). By the time of the 1990 census, Korean Americans made up 11% of the Asian and Pacific Islander population in the U.S.

The history of Korean immigration can be divided into three distinct phases: (a) early immigration (1903-1924); (b) the Korean War related immigration (1946-1964); and (c) "family immigration" after the passage of the 1965 Act. In the first period, Korean immigrants were brought to Hawaii to fill the labor needs of plantations vacated by Chinese workers due to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The main reason for this first immigration from Korea was to supply cheap labor for Hawaii's sugar plantations. In the first year of that immigration, 102 Koreans were admitted to Hawaii. By 1905, more than 7,000 Korean immigrants had been admitted to Hawaii, including 6,701 men, 677 women, and 465 children (Hurh & Kim, 1984). Significantly, the majority of these Korean immigrants were young bachelors, aged 20 - 30 (Hurh, 1998). Even though approximately 1,100 picture brides were admitted into the U.S. between 1910 and 1924, many Korean males of the period spent the rest of their lives unmarried

(Bang, 1998). Bang (1998) also illustrated that the life of these early immigrants was very difficult due to the combination of extremely hard work, segregation, low wages, and language and cultural difficulties. They also had to endure this harsh life without social and institutional support. After the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, the Oriental Exclusion Law, Korean immigration to the United States officially ceased (Hurh, 1998).

The second wave of immigration (1946-1964) involved three major groups. The first group consisted of about 6,400 Korean women who had married American servicemen stationed in Korea (Hurh, 1998). The literature (Bang, 1998; Kim, 1986) indicated that these Korean wives suffered from cultural shock, economic difficulty, language difficulty, a high divorce rate, general alienation, and, in many cases, physical abuse. Hurh and Kim (1984) cited that neither American society nor the Korean immigrant community accepted these Korean wives of American servicemen; as a result, they became doubly marginalized. The second group consisted of 5,300 war orphans, who were either orphaned or abandoned because they were born of Korean women and American servicemen (Hurh, 1998). Beyond the fact that the majority of these children were adopted by American families throughout the United States, nothing much is known about the Korean War orphans and their adjustment in this county. Seventy-seven percent of Korean immigrants between 1951 and 1964 consisted of these first two groups (Korean wives and war orphans) (Hurh & Kim, 1984). The third group came after the end of the Korean War and was composed of more than 10,000 Korean students. A small number of these students eventually returned to Korea, while the others became permanent residents of the U.S. (Kim, 1986). Most Korean immigrants in this period were young women and children orphaned during the war.

The third major wave (1965 to present) of Korean immigration began with the passage of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. In the 1970s, more than 200,000 Koreans came to the U.S. and by the 1980s the number had increased to more than 30,000 per year. This phenomenon occurred due to the "preference system" of the 1965 Act. The preference system designated about 80 percent of the spaces for family reunification, which encouraged a large number of Koreans to immigrate to America (Hurh, 1998). This latest group of Korean immigrants was made up very differently than the previous immigrant groups. The majority of the recent Korean immigrants were families consisting of a young couple with one child; the average age of the couples was 27.3 and the average household size is 3.0 (Bang, 1998).

Most recent Korean immigrants, unlike the early immigrants, entered the United States accompanied by their immediate family members. Kwon-Ahn (2001) argued that entering in family groups might have negative aspects. She claimed that these families faced interfamilial problems after their arrival. Role reversals, such as parents turning to their young children for help with translation of official letters, differences in values, and poor communication due to language barriers, i.e., parents speaking Korean while the children spoke English, caused significant conflict between Korean parents and their children (Rhee, 1996). The next section illustrates the experiences of Korean American families and what their adolescent children have to face in the United States.

2.   Korean American Family and Adolescents

It has been documented that Korean American adolescents may experience serious conflicts with their parents (Min, 1995). Further information on intergenerational conflict is presented later in this chapter. Value conflicts due to cultural differences have increased the likelihood of parent - child conflicts in Korean American families (Min, 1995). Many of these

problems are related to the fact that the Korean parents held to their traditional Korean traditional values, which were based mainly on Confucianism, to raise their children in America. Therefore, it is significant to understand Korean culture and values, and how they compare to American culture and values. It is impossible to understand Korean traditional culture without understanding the influence of Confucianism and how it has influenced Korean family relationships.

Confucian values, which emphasize filial piety, family/kin ties, the patriarchal family order (hierarchical social relations in general), and great emphasis on education, still have a great effect on Koreans' behaviors and attitudes. Scholars (Min, 1998; Park & Cho, 1995) have claimed that Confucianism places more emphasis on the family than any other religion or ideology and thus it is viewed as a familial religion.

Two significant principles in Confucianism help us understand the relationship between the Korean immigrant parents and their Americanized children, the family as an entity, and filial piety. As mentioned earlier, Confucianism considers the family as the fundamental unit of the society and emphasizes the importance of the family as one unit versus individuality, a more American value. In other words, the family precedes an individual family member. Therefore, any attempt at achieving independence from the family may be perceived as rebellious and lead to serious intergenerational conflict.

In addition, filial piety, derived from a hierarchical relation of family, between parents and children in particular, stresses the obligations and devotion to parents that is expected of children. Filial piety implies strict obedience by children and respect to their parents. Korean American adolescents may feel conflict when these two different cultures - collectivism and

interdependence from the Korean culture and individualism and independence from the American culture - collide and are both imposed upon them.

3.   Experiences of Korean-American Adolescents

Korean American adolescents experience many adverse circumstances which may contribute to conflict in their immigrant families. First and foremost, the traditional Korean emphasis on education often creates great distress among Korean American adolescents. Korean American adolescents have to deal with two types of pressure related to education. First, they face enormous pressure from their parents. Korean parents value education highly and pressure their children to succeed in school. Many Korean immigrant parents assert that they gave up their well-paid jobs and privileged status in Korea to come to America for their children's education. The idea of their parents having sacrificed everything to provide a better educational opportunity for their children can become a great burden for those children. Korean American youth must deal not only with parents pressuring them to study hard, but also with feelings of obligation to compensate for their parents' sacrifice. Moreover, they may face the social stigma of the "model minority myth" or "math wiz", that, although positive, is stigma nonetheless. In addition to the pressure from parents, teachers often expect these students to be academically advanced and not to have any problems with their studies.

Second, two distinctly different forces influence the experience of Korean-children: Eastern culture from their Korean heritage and Western culture from their American environment. These differing cultural forces widen the gap between Korean parents and children. It is well documented in numerous studies (Dinh, 1994; Fuligni, 1998; Huh-Kim, 1998; Lee & Lee, 1990; Nguyen & Williams, 1989) that acculturated Korean American adolescents clash with their traditional parents over values and behaviors. The Korean culture, based on Confucian

values, emphasizes collectivism, family solidarity, interdependence, and hierarchical structures with well-defined social roles and expectations, and indirect communication. American culture, in contrast, values individualism, independence, assertiveness, and direct communication. Such differences may contribute to frequent and serious conflict in Korean immigrant families.

Third, Korean American youth experience conflict due to language and communication difficulties with their parents (Vhung, 1991; Hauh, 1999; Lee & Cynn, 1991; Nho, 2000; Sung, Bae, Song, Kim, & Cho, 2002). This problem has two aspects. First, the language barrier between Korean-speaking parents and English-speaking children makes open communication difficult. In effect, parents and children do not share a common language. Second, parents want to raise their children as they were raised, practicing strict parental control which may be perceived as hostile and excessive by Korean American adolescents. It is not unusual for parents to expect their children to listen only, and not to express their opinions. Mere self - expression may be perceived as talking back because of the parents' expectation of a hierarchical order between themselves and their children. A language and child-rearing practices that are different from those of non - immigrant American families often serve to widen the gap between Korean parents and their Korean American adolescents.

Finally, Korean-American adolescents have to deal with the issue of identity formation, including ethnic identity. Ethnic identity may start to develop with the realization and experience of discrimination by other Americans with whom they associate (Tse, 1999). The National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse (NAPAFSA) (2000) reported findings on the rate of discrimination these adolescents experienced. Thirty percent of Korean American adolescents reported unfair treatment because of their racial/ethnic background, the second highest rate of discrimination reported among all the Asian American populations (Chinese,

Filipino, Korean, Vietnamese, Asian Indian, Pacific Islander, and Japanese). Only the Vietnamese experienced a higher rate of discrimination than Korean American youth. Discriminatory experiences may trigger Korean American youth to emphasize their ethnic identity. However, some studies (Lee & Cynn, 1991) have revealed that it is not always easy for them to feel a connection with their Korean ethnic identity because they may not share their parents' Korean values and experiences. On the one hand, they find themselves needing to develop who they are ethnically; on the other, they find themselves having difficulties connecting to their cultural heritage because of lack of exposure to Korean culture or other reasons. As difficult as defining who they are developmentally and ethnically may be for Korean American adolescents, it is one of the most significant tasks they must accomplish.

The myth of the "model minority," cultural differences from parents, communication barriers, and academic pressure from parents are the most commonly reported difficulties of Korean American adolescents (Hauh, 1999). The next section describes studies that investigate behavioral problems and depression among Asian American adolescents, and Korean American adolescents in particular.

B. Behavioral Problems and Depression

Although much research has been conducted on the problems that Asian Americans experience, there are two significant gaps in these studies. Two aspects have been addressed in the study of adolescents' problems - affective and behavioral problems. The affective aspect of adolescents' problems refers to psychological problems such as depression. In fact, much research has focused on the mental health issues of Asian-American populations. However, the behavioral problems have not been much investigated. Studying just one aspect of a problem

does not provide a full picture of their effects on the target population. It is thus imperative to investigate both affective and behavioral aspects of problems.

Second, most research has investigated first-generation immigrants. As mentioned in the history section of this study, many immigrants, Koreans as well as other Asian immigrants, immigrated recently. Because of this, most studies to date have focused on first-generation immigrants and their adjustments. However, other studies have confirmed that the first and second generations do not share similar experiences in adjusting to the host society's values, or even language. Unlike their parents, Korean youth adopt American culture, values, and attitudes quickly. A generalization of findings from studies of first-generation immigrants to second-generation adolescents cannot be justified. Therefore, it is important to include both aspects of adolescents' problems and also to study the children of Korean immigrants.

1.   Behavioral Problems of Asian American Adolescents

In general, studies have confirmed that Asian American adolescents' use of alcohol, cigarettes, and drugs is lower than that of other ethnic groups (Chen, Unger, CRUZ, & Johnson, 1999; Lorenzo, Pakiz, Reinherz, & Frost, 1995; Sasao, 1992; Welte, & Barnes, 1987). Sasao (1992) reported low prevalence of alcohol and other drug use among the Asian population, but also claimed that the use of marijuana and cocaine, including crack cocaine, was on the rise among Asian immigrant youth. Chen and colleagues (1999) studied Asian American adolescents' smoking patterns in California. They found that the overall rate of smoking among Asian American youth was lower than that of non-Asian youth. The study reported some interesting findings. First, Asian American youth with high acculturation to their U.S. environment had significantly higher smoking rates and earlier onset of smoking. Moreover, the study found significant differences among Asian subgroups, including Chinese, Filipinos,

Japanese, Koreans, and Other Asians. One such difference was that the age of smoking onset varied from group to group. Other Asians reported the youngest age for smoking onset, 12.1 years, and Koreans had the second youngest age at 12.6 years. The prevalence of a lifetime smoking habit also varied among these subgroups. Moreover, the study found gender differences: smoking prevalence was higher among males of the Chinese and Korean populations, whereas it was higher for females among the Japanese and Other Asians. This study demonstrated the different rates of smoking between gender, age, acculturation, and ethnic groups.

According to Chen and True (1994), the rate of gang-related homicides within the Asian American population (4.8%), was lower than that of Latinos (16%), but higher than that of Caucasians and African Americans (1% and 2%, respectively). Although it was not clear how much of these percentages represented homicides committed by adolescents, the authors emphasized that the number of gangs and the number of crimes committed by these gang members was on the rise. Tsunokai and Kposowa (2002) studied existing literature on Asian gangs to understand the phenomenon. They concluded that the problem could not be fully understood due to the lack of research.

Although studies have reported lower use of illegal substances among Asian American adolescents, some research suggested that substance use among Asian populations has been underreported (Kwon-Ahn, 2001), and that substance use is on the rise within this population (Bhattacharya, 1998; Mercado, 2000; O'Hare & Tran, 1998; Sasao, 1992). Welte and Barnes (1987) found higher consumption of alcohol among Asian American adolescents who drank, compared to Caucasians, African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans. Numerous news articles report a rise in Asian American youth illegal drug use, crime, and gang involvement

(Dutt, 2001; Lim, 1992; Lim, 2001; Ritts, 1997). Harachi and colleagues (2001) also reported significant Asian subgroup differences in the use of alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drugs.

Studies have indicated that sexual activity is infrequent among Asian American adolescents (Schuster, Bell, Nakajima, & Kanouse, 1998). Studies have also found that the Asian Pacific Islander population had less knowledge about HIV than Caucasians, Blacks or Hispanics (Schuster, Bell, Nakajima, & Kanouse, 1998) and the greatest proportional increase in AIDS (Mandel & Kitano as cited in Hou & Basen-Engquist, 1997).

Although sexual activity has been identified as problematic among Asian Pacific Islander, the current study did not examine the sexual activities of Korean American adolescents. Discussing or even admitting sexual intercourse is very discouraged culturally. Asking questions related to sexual activity may offend some participants as well as their parents, more so than other dimensions of problem behaviors such as school deviance or substance use. Therefore, the current study did not include questions related to sexual activity.

Several studies (Chen, et al., 1999; Nagasawa, Qian, & Wong, 2000) have investigated the relationship between acculturation and substance use, demonstrating that the more adolescents are acculturated, the more likely they are to use substances. Some (Nagasawa, et al., 2000) suggest that length of residency, as a proxy of acculturation, may have an influence on adolescents' drug use: the longer they have stayed in the United States, the more they are acculturated. In addition, a number of studies (Chi, et al., 1989; Hong & Faedda, 1996; Welte et al., 1987) have indicated that gender may have an influence on adolescents' behavioral problems as Asian American females are less likely than their male counterparts to engage in substance abuse and other delinquent behaviors. Welte and Barnes (1987) found significant differences between female Asian American adolescents' alcohol consumption and male Asian American

adolescents' alcohol consumption. Studies (Brooks, etc, 1998; Ssasao, 1992; Welte & Barnes, 1987) have suggested that age, gender, and acculturation significantly impact behavioral problems. It is also suspected that these variables, age, gender, and acculturation, would be associated with behavioral problems among Korean American adolescents. Therefore, the current study controlled age, gender and length of residency in the U.S. as a proxy for acculturation.

As mentioned earlier, there is certainly more than one element in adolescents' behavioral problems, i.e., substance use (smoking, drinking, and drugs), delinquency, and sexual activity. In addition to these elements, gang involvement among Asian American youth has been shown to be problematic and has received great attention from the media (Joe, 1994). Therefore, in studying the situation of Asian American youth, several kinds of adolescent behavioral problems need to be considered: substance use (e.g., smoking, drinking, drug use), delinquency (e.g., truancy, violence, weapon possession), and gang involvement. Unfortunately, however, most studies have considered only the element of substance use in this population. The lack of broad scholarly research on Asian American adolescents has impeded our understanding of factors that contribute to their delinquent behaviors. The current study attempted to increase our understanding and knowledge on this understudied population.

2.   Behavioral Problems of Korean American Adolescents

According to the U.S. Bureau of Census (2000), approximately 1.1 million Korean Americans reside in the United States, and about one-third of this population is children and adolescents. Although the size of this population is growing at a fast pace, research on Korean American adolescents is still very scarce.

National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse (NAPAFASA) (2000) reported on the general prevalence of substance use among Korean American adolescents who were 9th to 12th graders: 28% of Korean American students had gotten drunk on alcohol; 18% had tried marijuana; 14% reported that they might use or continue to use drugs in the future; and 13% smoked cigarettes daily. Hong and Faedda (1996) conducted research on the predictors of alcohol and cigarette use among Korean adolescents in Australia. The researchers reported life satisfaction in terms of the adolescent's relationship to parents was a significant predictor of both alcohol and cigarette use among Korean girls. Nakashima and Wong (2000) studied characteristics and correlates of alcohol misuse among Korean American adolescents. The study reported four major findings: (a) there was no difference between the genders in alcohol misuse; (b) drinking was a social function; (c) there was a significant relationship between peer encouragement and drinking; and (d) almost 20% of Korean American adolescents who drank suffered at least one negative consequence of drinking. The consequences most frequently reported were passing out, breaking something, and fighting.

According to the *Korea Times* (9/23/1997), although the overall crime rate in Southern California had decreased from the previous year, the number of Korean American adolescents arrested for both felony and minor offenses had increased 22% during the same time period. Sung and his colleagues (2002) studied Korean American adolescents in Los Angeles and their behavioral problems and found significantly higher levels of delinquent behaviors among Korean American males than among Korean American females. Displays of temper, fighting, and disobedience were the most frequently reported behavioral problems. The study also found that the level of conflict with parents had a positive correlation with both delinquent behaviors and substance use.

It is very difficult to find any research investigating Korean gangs. Yu (1987) (as cited in Min 1995) described that Korean youth gangs emerged in the late 1970s in Los Angeles and in the early 1980s in New York. He further illustrated that Korean gangs were involved with serious criminal activities such as murder, armed robbery, the extortion business, and kidnapping. He further indicated that the Korean community was gravely concerned about gang problems.

In addition to those studies that focused solely on Korean American adolescents, some studies investigated other Asian American groups as well as Koreans. Chi, Lubben, and Kitano (1987) compared the drinking behaviors of three groups of Asian Americans: Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. The critical finding of their study was that the prevalence of heavy drinking among Japanese and Korean American men was the same as it was among men in the general U.S. population. This is similar to the findings of a study by Welte and Barnes (1987). Greenberger et al. (2000) compared U.S., Korean, and Chinese youth in terms of their levels of misconduct. The study found that Korean youths reported less behavioral deviance than U.S. youths but more misconduct than Chinese youths. Most studies have dealt with the prevalence of drinking or smoking among Korean American youth and often Asian American youth while few investigated delinquency, crime, and gang involvement.

3.   Depression among Asian Americans

There are numerous studies on general Asian populations and also some research on Korean American adult populations in relation to psychological distress. However, the paucity of research on depression among Korean American adolescents makes it hard to understand its prevalence, severity, and relationship to other factors. Unfortunately, our understanding on this

issue is mostly derived from studies conducted on adult Korean immigrant populations and broad Asian American populations.

It is well documented that Asian Americans, in general, are less likely to seek help for their mental health problems and are also more likely to terminate psychosocial services prematurely (Kuo, 1984). They primarily rely on themselves or family members, rather than on professionals, for their mental health issues. This preference is mainly for cultural reasons such as a fear of the stigma or shame associated with psychological symptoms in Asian cultures. It has also been found that somatic complaints linked to depression are more common among Asian Americans than White counterparts (Lee, Lei, & Sue, 2001).

Studies have indicated that Asian American adolescents may suffer from higher rates of depression than indigenous adolescents (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lee, Lei, & Sue, 2001). In addition, research has concluded that a difference exists within Asian American populations with respect to their depressive symptoms (Kim & Chun, 1993; Kuo, 1984). It was noted that the lack of culturally equivalent scales should be taken into consideration when measuring depression among Asian American populations. Some depressive symptoms in Western culture might be considered normal in Asian cultures and vice versa. Therefore, cultural differences must be considered when studying depression of Asian American populations (Gee, 2004).

Kim and Chun (1993) emphasized the possible differences in mental health issues among Asian Americans as follows, "it can be safely concluded that there are important differences not only between Asian Americans and Caucasians, but also among Asian American adolescents" (p.617). Therefore, it is important to understand within - group differences and implement interventions accordingly.

4.   Depression among Korean Americans

It has been demonstrated that depression is at least as prevalent, if not more prevalent, among Korean Americans as it is among Asian Americans (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987; Kuo, 1984). Kuo (1984) investigated depression among four groups of Asian Americans (Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Koreans) using the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression (CES-D) scale. The study found that Koreans experienced the highest rate of depression of all these Asian groups. Kuo suggested several factors that might be related to the highest rate of depression among Korean Americans: higher educational status but lower level jobs, limited English, and relatively shorter length of residency in the U.S. In addition, Aldwin and Greenberger (1987) found that Korean American college students were more depressed than their Caucasian counterparts.

Some research (Kim, 1995) has emphasized the importance of understanding distinct manifestations of depressive symptoms among Korean Americans. Some depressive symptoms recognized by Caucasian populations are not necessarily comparable to the Korean American population. Korean Americans express emotional problems differently than other Americans. For example, Koreans use "black" to convey the same connotation as "blue" in American culture, i.e., I feel black meaning "I feel sad". Moreover, *Hwa-Byung,* a Korean folk illness, is a typical manifestation of emotional problems but expressed mainly through physical symptoms such as oppressed, constricted, or rising sensations in the chest; headaches; and palpitations. Lin and his colleagues (1992) investigated the relationship between depression and *Hwa-Byung* and found significant overlap between these two illnesses.

There are a handful of studies on Korean Americans' depression using a community sample. Hurh and Kim (1990) investigated the mental health, and its correlated factors, of 622

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Korean immigrants in Chicago. They reported means of 12.9 for women and 12.3 for men on the CES-D, scores that are three to four points higher than other Americans. The study concluded that family life satisfaction was positively related to mental health and that ethnic attachment had a positive relationship with mental health for Korean immigrants. According to Lin and his colleagues (1992), approximately 12% of the Korean American participants suffered from major depression using the Diagnostic Interview Schedule, and 14.7% of participants scored higher than 15 on the CES-D. In contrast to this study, Noh and his colleagues (1992) reported the prevalence of depression among Korean Americans in Canada to be similar to the general population. Consequently, it is reasonable to conclude that Korean Americans are as vulnerable or more vulnerable to depression than other populations in America.

As mentioned earlier, some studies have investigated the correlates of Korean Americans' mental health. Aldwin and Greenberger (1987) demonstrated that intergenerational conflict due to cultural difference was a strong predictor of depression among Korean college students. The study demonstrated that parents' traditional values were a more powerful predictor of depression among Korean students than such factors as coping skill, social support, and academic stress, whereas parental traditionalism was not a significant predictor of depression among Caucasian students.

In addition to the demonstration of a positive relationship between intergenerational conflict and depression, some studies have investigated the relationship between ethnic identity and depression among Asian American populations. However, the findings are inconsistent. Liebkind (1993) found evidence that higher ethnic identity is related to fewer psychological problems, whereas Wong (2001) claimed that Asian American adolescents with a high orientation toward their ethnic culture presented higher depressive symptoms. Moreover,

Nesdale, Rooney, and Smith (1997) reported that self-esteem mediated the effect of ethnic identity on depression among Vietnamese immigrants. The relationship between ethnic identity and depression needs to be further investigated. The current study examined both a direct and moderating effect of ethnic identity on depression.

C. Intergenerational Conflict

1. History of Intergenerational Conflict

The term "generation gap" was commonly used to describe the condition of intergenerational conflict in early literature. The concept of generation gap was much scrutinized during the latter part of the 1960s and early 1970s. Much was written on whether or not a generation gap existed. Early theorists perceived intergenerational conflict as an unfortunate but inevitable byproduct of adolescence (Lauren, Coy, & Collins, 1998). The idea of storm and stress was originated by Goethe and adopted by Hall (1904) in relation to adolescent development. Anna Freud further claimed that storm and stress was universal and inevitable (Arnett, 1999). Arnett (1999) claimed that prior to the 1970s, theorists advised parents to expect rebelliousness, defiance, and conflict in dealing with their adolescent children.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, some analysts argued that the generation gap, in association with conflict with parents, was an illusion created by media sensationalism and distorted generalizations based on studies of deviant samples (Bandura, 1964; Traub & Dodder, 1988). Different perspectives and results were touted by various studies. Bengtson (1970) summarized three positions on the generation gap issue: the "Great Gap," "Gap is an Illusion," and "Selective Continuity and Difference."

The *Great Gap* position suggests that youth and adults have vast differences in their "value system, orientations toward social institutions, interpersonal relations and communication, and locus of control and authority" (Bengston, 1970, p. 16). This position views youth culture as being distinct from and in opposition to adult culture. The *Gap is an Illusion* position assumes that there are more continuities than discontinuities in the behaviors and values of youth and adults. This notion argues that intergenerational conflicts are related to "the means employed in actualizing similarly accepted values, rather than the acceptance of different values." (Traub & Dobber, 1992, p. 977). In other words, intergenerational conflict is not the outcome of different values; it is rather the means to help generations realize how much they share similar values. Finally, the *Selective Continuity and Difference* position suggests that there is a continuity of values across generations, along with inevitable behavioral differences (Bengston, 1970). Lauren and colleagues (1998) stated two reasons for persistent disagreement on the issue of intergenerational conflict. First, they claimed that studies have not defined ages consistently. Age and conflict are related to each other in that conflict increases in early adolescence and decreases after mid-adolescence. Second, they claimed that conflict has been inconsistency in defining conflict. Studies have focused on different aspects of conflict, rates of conflict, and affective intensity of conflict.

2.   Intergenerational Conflict Due to Adolescent Development

Prior to the 1970s, child development experts advised parents to expect intense conflict with their adolescent children. Moreover, the absence of such conflict, in relation to adolescent development, was considered abnormal (Arnett, 1999). However, contemporary studies have shown mixed results concerning the seriousness and ramifications of intergenerational conflict in the lives of adolescents.

Some studies have asserted that intergenerational conflict has a severe negative influence on adolescents, while other studies have argued that the effects of intergenerational conflict during adolescence should not be exaggerated, and that some conflict may even be desirable (Steinberg, 2001). Those researchers who deny the negative effects of intergenerational conflict claim that conflict between parents and their adolescent children is not as pervasive and serious as we have been led to believe. Although the likelihood of arguments between parents and children is higher in adolescence, these arguments usually concern such minor issues as curfews, cleaning, or clothing, and do not present a serious threat to the parent-child relationship. In addition, these studies claim (Hill, 1987; Steinberg, 1990) that most parents and adolescents generally agree on significant issues, share similar values, generally respect, trust, and show affection for each other throughout adolescence.

Opposing studies stress that conflict between parents and adolescents generally increases during adolescence and that such conflict may have harmful effects on adolescents (Arnett, 1999; Laursen, Coy, & Collins; 1998; Montemayor, 1983; Smetana, 1989; Steinberg, 2001; Steinberg & Sheffield, 2001; Traub & Dodder, 1988). Much of the research indicates that most children become quite distant from their parents during adolescence and that this differs from their closer relations in preadolescence, and they remain distant until late adolescence (Arnett, 2001; Galambos & Almeida, 1992; Hall, 1987; Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991). In fact, the intensity of conflict with parents tends to increase during the stage of mid-adolescence to late adolescence (Laursen, Coy, &Collins, 1998). However, the frequency of such conflict may decrease in late adolescence due to separation from parents as children move out or go away to college (Montemayor, 1983). Arnett (2001) points out that conflicts between parents and adolescents may represent more than just a change in the parent-child relationship. Parents may indirectly

express their serious concerns for their child's safety and well-being by arguing over seemingly trivial issues around curfews or clothing. For example, parents may insist on a strict curfew as an indirect way of protecting their children from drug use or potential automobile accidents.

Although studies have demonstrated increasingly intense conflict between parents and children, most conflicts seem to occur over daily, mundane issues such as doing chores, appearance, and getting along with others (Smetana, 1989; Smetana, Yau, Restrepo, & Brasges, 1991; Steinberg, 1987, 1988). Therefore, the current study utilized this aspect of conflict to assess intergenerational conflict due to developmental processes per se.

3.   Intergenerational Conflict Due to Acculturation

Recent studies have concluded that the likelihood of intergenerational conflict occurring in Asian families is far greater than in non-immigrant American families. As indicated by other studies (Lau, Jernewall, Zane, & Myers, 2002), two - thirds of Asian Americans are immigrants. It is reasonable to assume that the majority of Asian-American adolescents are being raised by immigrant parents with Asian values and traditions, a circumstance that often serves to heighten conflicts between parents and children.

Other studies have indicated that intergenerational conflict may be exacerbated after migration (Dinh, Sarason & Sarason, 1994; Nguyen & Williams, 1989). Rosenthal (1984), in a study of Greek and Italian families who immigrated to Australia, reported significantly more parent-adolescent conflicts among these immigrants than among the non-immigrant Anglo-Australian families. This study reported that the greatest level of conflict occurred among those adolescents who were most assimilated into the host culture a finding which suggests that the acculturation gap may play a role in determining conflict levels. A study by Dinh, et al. (1994) supports the theory that different rates of acculturation on the part of parents and adolescents

have a magnifying effect on intergenerational conflicts. The situation is further complicated by the fact that all family members do not have the same opportunities to learn and adapt to the host culture. This problem will be further described in the section on acculturation theory.

Most Koreans in the United States are recent immigrants. More than ninety percent of all Korean immigrants entered the U.S. after the 1965 Act (Kwon-Ahn, 2001). The process of acculturation has had a major influence on both the children and parents of these families. Parents have tended to stay within the confines of close-knit Korean communities and to have little interaction with the host culture, whereas their children have tended to learn the new language and culture quickly, and thus have been assimilated into the host culture at a faster pace. The possibility is great that parents and adolescents in these Korean families have experienced and will continue to experience conflict due to acculturation differences.

Min (1989) conducted a survey among Korean children and their mothers on their three most common complaints about each other. Two of the most common complaints of the children were of their parents "restricting freedom too much" and being "too strict." The mothers complained about their children "not respecting parents" and "talking back." These complaints can be understood in the context of the Korean immigrant parents' adherence to the principles of Confucianism, including the importance of family hierarchy, respect for one's elders, and filial piety. Min (1989) summarized the intergenerational conflict among Korean families as follows.

> Most Korean immigrant parents try to teach their children Korean customs, including the Korean way of speaking politely to parents and other adults. They usually discourage their children from talking back even when they are wrong.… Naturally, Americanized Korean children want to escape parental control and authority, leading to a high level of intergenerational conflicts (p. 199).

Intergenerational conflicts may be intensified when family roles are reversed, as when adolescents become family spokespersons because of their parents' lack of proficiency in the

host language and lack of understanding of the host culture. Parental authority can easily erode when parents have to depend on their children in order to carry out the activities of daily living, such as paying bills or talking to authorities (Rosenthal, Ranieri, & Klimdis, 1996). In addition, conflicts between parents and children can be exacerbated when the parents are unable to provide their children with the guidance and help that children need in order to adjust to the mainstream society. It is difficult for parents to guide their children while they themselves are struggling with the task of adjusting to the host society (Rick & Forward, 1992).

Although it is generally believed that intergneratonal conflict is more problematic between immigrant parents and their children because they may face additional challenges due to the process of acculturation, a scale that measures this unique aspect of conflict has not existed until now. Lee and his colleagues (2000) developed the Asian-American Family Conflict Scale but they did not differentiate the unique aspects of conflict in immgirant families due to acculturation from the indigeneous aspect of conflict due to adolescent devlopment that prevales in all families. In order to increase our understanding on this unique issue, I developed a new scale to measure intergenerational conflict due to acculturation.

Hauh (1999) conducted a study to elicit prevalent conflictual themes among Korean Amercan adolescents. He identified two most frequently mentioned issues, "pressure me to study" and "compares me to others," regardless of four gender-related dyads (e.g., mother-daughter, father-son, etc.). Other issues were "show bias based on my gender," only for daughters and "complains about my social life" in all dyads except the father-son dyad. These conflictual issues also appeared in other studies (Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000; Min, 1998). Moreover, studies (Min, 1995; Sung, Bae, Song, Kim, & Cho, 2002) have identified language

barriers and cultural difference between Korean American adolescents and their parents as sources of conflict as well.

In addition to this extensive review of empirical research, I had two separate meetings, one with two Korean social work doctoral students and the other with three Korean mothers with teenager children. I created the Intergenerational Conflict due to Acculturation Scale for the current study and developed its items based on those extensive meetings and the findings of relevant studies cited earlier.

D.   Ethnic Identity

One of the main tasks of adolescents is for the individual to develop and achieve his or her own identity. The very same task applies to Korean adolescents as well. However, the issue is more complicated for Korean adolescents than for Caucasian youth because Korean youth have to achieve not only self-identity but also ethnic identity. It is believed that ethnic identity emerges from the realization, by an immigrant, that it is not possible to ever be completely accepted by the host society. Because the immigrants differ from the dominant group, they have to face such additional barriers as stigmatization, stereotyping, or discrimination based on their ethnicity (Tse, 1999).

Korean Americans have to look for answers to two different but related questions, "who they are" and "to which ethnic group do they belong." The former question is related to self-identity and the latter to ethnic identity. Because Korean American adolescents are an ethnic minority, they face an additional challenge- to achieve their ethnic identity.

1.   Understanding of Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity has received more attention recently due to the rapid increase of immigration. Coutts (2000) asserted that current models of ethnic identity development are the product of the research done on African Americans and their racial identity development. Although Erikson's work predominately involved White ethnic groups, in his book, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1968), he devoted a chapter, "Race and the Wider Identity", to describe African Americans' identity formation. Although the number of studies on Hispanics or Asian American may have increased, as Phinney (1990) concluded, many studies focused on Caucasians and African Americans, but few on Hispanics, American Indians or Asian Americans.

Phinney (1990) illustrated that the basic understanding of "ethnic identity" was derived from three conceptual frameworks: Erikson's identity development (Erikson, 1968), social identity theory (Taifel & Turner, 1986), and the acculturation model (Berry, 1980). Erikson (1968) considered that identity formation was one of the most important tasks in adolescence. He was concerned that the negative views of the dominant society might create negative outcomes, such as negative self-identity or self-hatred. Erikson's ego identity development (1968) was later developed into four identity statuses by Marcia (1980). Marcia's paradigm (1980) to describe four identity statuses focused on developmental aspects of identity, from exploration to commitment. The four identity statues are illustrated as follows. Diffuse is a state in which neither exploration nor commitment is made. Foreclosure is a state in which a commitment is made without exploration. Moratorium is the process of exploration without commitment and the state of active struggle. Finally, identity achieved is the state in which a commitment is made after a period of exploration.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) stressed attitudes, feelings, and a sense of belonging to the group. The theory posits that "group identity is an important part of the self-concept; people generally attribute value to the group to which they belong, and derive self-esteem from their sense of belonging to that group" (Roberts, et al., 1999, p. 303). The theory postulates that a sense of belonging to the group contributes to a positive self-concept for an individual (Phinney, 1990).

Ethnic identity becomes a meaningless concept in an ethnically homogeneous society, which brings us to the concept of acculturation. The acculturation model includes ethnic identity as an aspect of acculturation to deal with the concern of how an individual relates to his/her own ethnic group (Phinney, 1990). Further information on the acculturation model, in relation to ethnic identity, is described later in this chapter.

Phinney (2003) contributed greatly to the study of ethnic identity by integrating Erikson's identity development and social identity theory. She emphasized the importance of belongingness and attitudes towards one's ethnic group, which were derived from social identity theory. She further claimed, "on the basis of social identity theory, ethnic identity is assumed to include the strength of one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and valence, or the degree to which attitudes toward one's group membership are positive" (p.68). Moreover, in her 1989 study, she identified three identity stages, which are generally congruent with Marcia's four identity statuses. Phinney suggested that her "pre-exploration" stage of ethnic identity is congruent with Marcia's diffusion and foreclosure stages, that her "exploration of ethnic identity" stage parallels Marcia's moratorium; and that her "commitment to an ethnic identity" stage parallels Marcia's ethnic identity achievement. Phinney stated that commitment (identity achievement) to an ethnic group refers to acceptance and internalization of one's ethnicity.

According to Kim (1981), the commitment stage is characterized as follows, "self-concept during this stage is positive. Subjects feel good about who they are and feel proud to be Asian American. They also feel comfortable with both parts of themselves (Asian and American)" (as cited in Phinney, 1989, p.150). Moreover, research has found positive, statistically significant correlations between ethnic identity and self-esteem (Phinney, 1992), coping ability, mastery, and optimism, and negative correlations between ethnic identity and loneliness and depression (Roberts et al., 1999)

Studies have defined and measured ethnic identity using different components of ethnic identity. In some articles, Tajfel's definition (1981) was applied; "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255). Moreover, Rotheram and Phinney (1987) defined ethnic identity as a sense of belonging to an ethnic group and thinking, perception, feelings, and behaviors due to ethnic group membership. Phinney (2003) described ethnic identity as "a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity of sense of self as a member of an ethnic group" (p. 63). Moreover, she claims that ethnic identity changes "over times or across generations in a new culture, in different contexts, and with age or development" (p.63).

Most of the studies that investigated ethnic identity measured the construct differently. Some studies used the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992), and some used self-reported ethnic identity (e.g., Korean, Asian, Asian-American, or American), and some extracted items from acculturation scales.

Although there may be some overlapping aspects between ethnic identity and acculturation, there are some unique aspects of ethnic identity, separate from acculturation.

Ethnic identity refers to self-ethnic identification and sense of belonging to an ethnic group. By contrast, acculturation refers to a minority individual's adaptation to the host culture, values, beliefs, and behavioral changes which result from contact with the host culture.

Phinney (2003) illustrated three specific aspects of ethnic identity that differed from acculturation: (a) ethnic self-identification (group names such as Asian, Asian American, or American), (b) sense of belonging and feelings toward an ethnic group, and (c) ethnic identity development level. She asserted that ethnic self-identification or self - labeling persists throughout generations. Regardless of their degree of acculturation, members of minority groups always give themselves an ethnic label. Phinney & Devich-Navarro (1993) reported that no second-generation Mexican American adolescents identified themselves as just American without an ethnic label (e.g., Asian - American, Mexican - American, etc.)

Second, ethnic identity in terms of strength (Phinney, 2003) and loyalty (Keefe & Pailla (1987) does not differ between generations. Phinney (2003) stressed that behaviors and language, both indicators of acculturation, may be different between first- and second generations but ethnic loyalty or strength do not differ between the generations. Therefore, she further claimed that generation may be a strong predictor for acculturation but not of ethnic identity.

Finally, it is assumed that ethnic identity development and acculturative change occur at the same time, at least for adolescents. Therefore, when dealing with children and adolescents in particular, developmental changes in ethnic identity should be taken into account to understand acculturative changes (Phinney, 2003). The following linkage between the development of ethnic identity and the acculturation process for adolescents was proposed by Leong & Chou, (1994). They suggested that the pre-encounter stage in ethnic identity is parallel to assimilation

in acculturation; that moratorium in ethnic identity is parallel to separation in acculturation; and that achieved identity in ethnic identity is parallel to integration in acculturation.

2.   Ethnic Identity as a Predictor and as a Moderator

The research that has centered on using ethnic identity in relation to problem behaviors has resulted in mixed findings. Some studies have speculated that a lack of positive ethnic identity may contribute to problem behaviors (Kvernmo, & Heyerdahl, 2003; Marcell, 1994) and that a strong sense of ethnic identity may protect adolescents from engaging in delinquent behaviors (Arbona, Jackson, McCoy, & Blakely, 1999; Brook, Whiteman, Balka, Win, & Gursen, 1998; Rotheram-Borus, 1989; Scheier, Botvin, Diaz, & Ifill-Williams, 1997). Arbona and colleagues (1999) hypothesized that ethnic identity would predict an attitude toward fighting among African American and Latin American early adolescents. The study reported that a high score in ethnic identity emerged as a predictor of nonfighting attitude among African American adolescents but the suggested causal relationship was not supported for Latin American adolescents. Rotheram-Borus (1989) also investigated the relationship between identity status and behavior problems among high school students, including Caucasians, African American, Puerto Rican and Filipino adolescents. She demonstrated that a high score on the moratorium scale, identity exploration stage, predicted behavior problems. Although she claimed that the moratorium scale score was significantly related to behavior problems, acounting for four times as much variance as the achieved identity scale, she reported further that a high score on the achieved scale also predicted behavior problems, a finding which contradicted the findings of other studies (Goldberg & Botvin, 1993; Scheier, Botvin, Diaz, & Ifill-Williams, 1997). Inmon (1999) conducted a qualitative study to investigate African American and Hispanic American gang members and their ethnic identity. She concluded that increased ethnic identity may be

related to less gang activity. However, other studies (James & Ruiz-Molleston, 2001; Kvoernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003) found that ethnic identity did not predict alcohol/drug problems or behavior problems.

A few studies have applied ethnic identity as a moderator of the effects of psychosocial risk factors on the behavioral problems of minorities (Brook, Whiteman, Balka, Win, & Gursen, 1998; Scheier, Botvin, Diaz, & Ifill-Williams, 1997). These studies speculated that commitment to one ethnic group, or achieved ethnic identity, might reduce the risk of behavioral problems. Brook et al. (1998) studied the relationships between psychosocial risk factors and drug use and the independent and moderating effects of ethnic identity among Puerto Rican adolescents. In terms of moderating effects of ethnic identity, Brook and her colleagues postulated that the influence of drug-related risk factors could be ameliorated by a strong sense of ethnic identity and that the impact of drug-related protective factors could be enhanced by a strong sense of ethnic identity. The study found no direct effect of ethnic identity on drug use but found a moderating effect of ethnic identity on the relations between four sets of risk factors-adolescent personality, family drug tolerance, peer deviant attitude, and drug availability-and drug use. The study also established two moderating effects of ethnic identity: (a) as the mechanism to reduce risk factors, and (b) as the mechanism to promote the effects of protective factors.

Scheier and colleagues (1997) incorporated a stress-buffering model to conceptualize the buffering effect of ethnic identity. The study tested the role of ethnic identity as a moderator for the effects of psychosocial risk factors for alcohol and marijuana abuse, both concurrently and longitudinally, for African American and Hispanic youth. The study found most of the significant moderating effects from the cross-sectional data. The study further demonstrated the buffering effects of ethnic identity for the effects of cognitive-affective risk, social skill risk,

social influence risk, and competence risk on drug use from the cross-sectional data but only the social skill risk from the longitudinal data. The study clearly demonstrated the buffering effect of ethnic identity on the relationship between psychosocial risk and drug use.

A few studies investigated the relationships between racial discrimination and mental health and a moderating effect of ethnic identity (Noh, Beiser, kaspar, Hou & Rummens, 1999; Lee, 2003). Lee (2003) examined moderating and mediating effects of ethnic identity among Asian college students but found no moderating or mediating effect of ethnic identity in Asian college students for the relationship between discrimination and psychological well-being. Noh et al. (1999), on the other hand, demonstrated that a combination of ethnic identity and forbearance coping moderated depression resulting from perceived discrimination against Southeast Asian refugees in Canada.

Although the described studies attempted to establish the moderating effect of ethnic identity, the results of the studies are not consistent or compelling. Lee's study could not demonstrate the role of ethnic identity as a moderator and Noh's study only demonstrated the moderating effects of ethnic identity when combined with forbearance coping. It is also noteworthy to indicate that the studies which have established the moderating effect of ethnic identity are non-ethnic specific studies. Lee's study (2003) was conducted on Asian college students with no indication of ethnic specification. There is no clear evidence yet how ethnic identity influences different ethnic groups, even among Asian populations. Because the findings of recent studies are inconsistent and inconclusive, drawing general conclusions seems unwise. Therefore, it is imperative to investigate the effect of ethnic identity in one ethnic-specific group first and then apply our understandings on this issue to a broader population.

It is important to understand how ethnic identity affects adolescents because it is during adolescence when youth explore and develop ethnic identity. The current study investigated the independent and moderating effects of ethnic identity on the relationship between intergenerational conflict and both internal (depression) and external (behavioral) problems. The study hypothesized that ethnic identity acts as a moderator of intergenerational conflicts and thus reduces the likelihood of problem behaviors. Moreover, the current study investigated ethnic identity as a protective factor against these negative outcomes.

3.   Ethnic Identity in Relation to Intergenerational Conflict

The findings on the relationship between ethnic identity and intergenerational conflict are fragmentary and inconclusive. Rosenthal (1984) postulated that intergenerational conflict, disagreement, and tension between parents and children might be greater when there was a lack of shared cultural common ground between parents and children. Parents identify themselves with their culture of origin and exercise their cultural norms and values, whereas children have greater identification with the host culture and exercise the host cultural norms and values. The study found that the degree of identification with either the culture of origin or the host culture did not influence intergenerational conflict among Greek Australian and Italian Australian adolescents.

In addition, Rumbaut (1994) studied over 5,000 children of immigrants with various racial backgrounds including ethnic groups from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia, and their patterns of self-reported ethnic identification, self-esteem, depressive symptoms and parent-child conflict. He found no association between intergenerational conflict and self-reported identity types (e.g., American, Hyphenated-American, Hispanic, Chicano). Moreover, Lee and

his colleagues (2000) found no significant correlations between the Asian American Family conflicts scale and the ethnic identity among Asian college students.

There are several concerns with the research on ethnic identity. First, a lack of study on ethnic identity and its relations to intergenerational conflict and problem behaviors makes it difficult to understand how ethnic identity relates to these variables. Second, even within this limited number of studies, the findings are inconsistent and fragmentary. Third, ethnic identity was measured differently in most of the studies cited in this paper. Therefore, the findings of one study cannot be compared to the findings of any other. How ethnic identity is related to intergenerational conflict is not clear due to the concerns mentioned above. Moreover, intergenerational conflict and ethnic identity may occur and increase at the same time during the period of adolescence. Therefore, it is unreasonable to claim one construct may precede or cause the other. However, one may speculate that a strong sense of ethnic identity may be correlated with less intergenerational conflict as it appears to protect against psychosocial risk factors. Therefore, the current study hypothesized a negative association between intergenerational conflict and ethnic identity.

E.   Conceptual Framework for the Study

There is no single theory that provided a foundation for the model in the current study. The family interactional theory (Brook, Brook, Whiteman, Gordon, & Cohen, 1990) and the acculturation model (Berry, 1980), among other theoretical orientations, were used to frame the hypothesized influences of intergenerational conflict and ethnic identity on negative outcomes among adolescents. The family interactional theory was applied to understand the role of intergenerational conflict in predicting adolescent negative outcomes. The theory posits that

intergenerational conflict is a causal factor of negative outcomes among adolescents. The acculturation model was applied to understand unique aspects of intergenerational conflict among immigrant families and the effects of ethnic identity. The acculturation model and factors are addressed in the later part of this chapter.

Family interactional theory suggested that an affectionate and conflict-free parent-child bond would reduce the likelihood of committing deviant acts among adolescents. Brook and his colleagues (Brook, Brook, Whiteman, Gordon, & Cohen, 1990) introduced an integrated theory, drawn from several viewpoints, such as social learning, attachment, and psychoanalytic theories, related to problem behaviors among adolescents. They claimed that the cornerstone of family interactional theory "is the attachment relationship or the affectionate bond that exists between parent and child, a bond that tends to be enduring" (Brook et al., 1990, p. 162).

In other work, Brook et al. (2001) emphasized four components as important to a close mutual attachment between the parent and child: (a) identification, which refers to the children identifying themselves with their parents to the extent they share the beliefs and values of their parents; (b) a conflict-free relationship; (c) warmth, which refers to the affectionate and lasting parent-child bond; and (d) involvement, which refers to the degree of commitment to the parental role and how much attention the parents give to the child (Brook, 1993). According to the theory, parent-adolescent relations are influenced by parent personality characteristics such as parental interjection of societal values, affectionate or supportive parenting style, and maternal psychological adjustment (Petraitis, Flay, & Miller, 1995). Furthermore, the following factors are in turn affected by the parent - child bond; adolescent personality, peer selection, and ultimately, problem behaviors. It is believed that a strong mutual relationship between parents

and children will reduce the likelihood of committing delinquent acts among adolescents (Brook et al., 1998).

A couple of studies integrated acculturation factors into the family interactional theory to further investigate problem behaviors of minority adolescents (Brook, 1993; Brook, et al., 1997). Their theory postulated that acculturation factors influenced parent-child attachment. However, the results of the studies were inconsistent. Brook et al., (1997) concluded that two domains of acculturation, U.S. birth and less church attendance by the family, were related to delinquent behaviors in young adulthood. This supported the hypothesized pathway of acculturation to parent-child bond, which in turn led to problem behaviors. However, in another study by Brook (1993), the hypothesized pathways were not supported and no relationship was found between acculturation and problem behaviors. It will be interesting for future research to investigate how much the acculturation factor contributes to intergenerational conflict, which ultimately will lead to the investigation of the relationship between intergenerational conflict and problem behaviors. Wong (2000) also utilized the family interactional theory as a theoretical framework to test Chinese adolescent smoking. In order to test the parent-child relationship, two family factors were used: (a) family involvement in school activities, and (b) family concern about school performance. The study found that only family involvement in school activities was directly and negatively related to Chinese adolescent smoking.

The role of intergenerational conflict in predicting adolescent problems has been supported by many theories such as family interactional theory and Hirschi's social control theory. Similar to the family interactional theory, Hirschi's social control theory predicted that adolescents with strong bonds to their parents would be less likely to present negative outcomes.

In addition, as mentioned earlier, Koreans emphasize family relations, obligations, and filial piety, and also identify family solidarity as a traditional value. Harmonious family relationships are important influences in the suppression of adolescents' problems and they appear to be more salient for Korean Americans than other groups. Thus, a non-conflict parent - child relation may take on an even greater importance to understand the suggested problems for Korean American adolescents. The current study hypothesized that a conflict-free relationship between parents and children would reduce the risk of affective and behavioral problems among Korean American adolescents.

The acculturation model helps us to understand the intensified intergenerational conflict among immigrant families. Berry (1980) stated that acculturation, by its very nature, requires change in one or the other, or both, of the two groups as a result of contact. When one group dominates over the other, contact and change can become conflicting, difficult, and reactive. The author suggested a three-phase course to acculturation, which consists of contact, conflict, and adaptation. He stated that "the first phase is necessary, the second is probable, and some form of the third is inevitable" (p.11). Berry (1980) then introduced four modes of acculturation, including assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation. *Assimilation* implies moving into the host society and giving up cultural identity. *Integration*, the most desirable mode in this multicultural society (Coutts, 2000; Berry & Kim, 1988), implies moving to join the host society while maintaining cultural identity, which generates the least amount of stress of all modes (Berry & Kim, 1988). *Rejection* has two forms: rejection which is self-imposed withdrawal from the host society, and segregation that is group distinctiveness and separation imposed by the host society. The last mode is *deculturation*, which refers to groups having cultural and psychological contact with neither their traditional culture nor the culture of the dominant

society. When deculturation is imposed by the dominant society, it constitutes a type of cultural genocide.

Cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty were introduced to the acculturation model by Padilla (1980). He postulated five acculturative changes that compose the process of acculturation: (a) language usage and familiarity; (b) knowledge of cultural heritage; (c) ethnic pride and identity; (d) inter-ethnic interaction; and (e) inter-ethnic distance. As Berry & Kim (1988) suggested, sustaining cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty is indicative of the mode of integration. Sustaining one's cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty has been associated with the most desirable outcomes among the alternative acculturation processes and has been indicated as a protector of psychosocial risk factors (Judith, et al., 1998).

Phinney (2003) illustrates that "ethnic identity can be thought of as one aspect of the acculturation process that can be distinguished from other aspects by virtue of its focus on subjective feelings about one's ethnicity" (p.65). Leong and Chou (1994) proposed a model linking the ethnic identity development stages to the acculturation process. They postulated the pre-exploration stage of ethnic identity as equivalent to assimilation. The moratorium stage parallels separation, where one may separate from the host culture and become totally immersed in his/her own ethnic culture. Finally, they proposed that the ethnic identity achievement stage parallels integration, which values one's ethnic group as well as the host society. Moreover, Phinney (2003) cited Tonks's study (1998) and claimed a positive correlation between achievement of ethnic identity achievement and integration, and a negative correlation between ethnic identity and assimilation. It is also conceivable that assimilating to the host culture may not be feasible for some minorities such as African Americans or Asian Americans due to visually identifiable appearance. Therefore, those who have developed secure ethnic identities

and who have a strong sense of belonging to their own ethnic groups become more acceptable to other groups (Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997) and have high self-esteem, coping skills, and optimism (Roberts et al., 1999).

The theory also postulates different rates of acculturation. Acculturation can occur differently between the old and the young, mainly due to formal education and amount of contact with the host culture (Rick & Forward, 1992; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). This different rate of acculturation between generations is closely related to intergenerational conflict in the immigrant population (Rick & Forward, 1992; Rosenthal, 1984; Rosenthal, Ranieri, & Klimidis, 1996). It occurs because Korean-American children tend to be exposed to American culture more often as they spend most of their time at school speaking English and interacting with American peers, whereas Korean parents either stay at home or work at small family shops, rarely interacting with Americans. The number of encounters with American culture and Americans is greatly different between parents and children, which tends to widen the acculturation rate between them. Research has concluded that the different levels of acculturation between children and their parents lead to intergenerational conflicts (Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000; Szapoczik & Kurtines, 1993). Furthermore, the intergenerational conflicts are more serious among immigrants than natives (Dinh, Sarason, & Sarason, 1994; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rosenthal, 1984).

By going through the acculturation process, people face challenges regarding use of language, perceptual and cognitive style, identity, attitudes, and most importantly, the experience of acculturative stress. Berry (1980) claims that such stress is common and may lead to disruptive behaviors such as drug use, homicide, and suicide.

The acculturation model offers a clinically viable model for examination of the unique challenges and aspects of immigration. It attempts to accurately portray the process of immigrant acculturation to the host society. In addition, the model helps us to understand the unique aspects of intergenerational conflict, which may contribute to more serious and frequent intergenerational conflict in immigrant families. Moreover, a strong sense of ethnic identity, which is influenced by the acculturation process, may be perceived as a personal and social strength to protect adolescents from engaging in delinquent behaviors. Acculturation is not independently measured in the current study. However, it is introduced to enhance our understanding of intergenerational conflict due to acculturation and ethnic identification. In summary, family interactional theory was used in the current study to postulate a causal relationship between intergenerational conflicts and problem behaviors, and the acculturation model was used to understand different sources of intergenerational conflict among immigrant families as well as how ethnic identity may relate to other variables in the study.

F.   The Proposed Study

The current study examined the following. First, it examined the descriptive and psychometric properties of each scale with an especially careful look at the intergenerational conflict due to acculturation scale as it was a new instrument developed for this study. Second, the study examined the relationships among two kinds of intergenerational conflict (developmental and acculturative), ethnic identity, and behavioral and affective problems. Both a linear relationship between intergenerational conflicts, ethnic identity and behavioral and affective problems, and a moderating effect of ethnic identity were tested. In addition, the current study added to the empirical knowledge regarding patterns and characteristics of Korean

American adolescents' problems as research on this population is almost nonexistent. The following hypotheses were evaluated and the proposed relationships were also illustrated in Figure 1.

<u>Hypotheses</u>

1. Following the study of Farver, Narang, and Bhadha (2002), the current study hypothesizes that intergenerational conflict due to acculturation would relate significantly to lower ethnic identity.

2.   Consistent with the family interaction theory (Brook, et al., 1990), there would be a statistically significant relationship between intergenerational conflicts and higher depression and behavioral problem scores after controlling for age, gender, and length of residency in U.S.

    2-1. Consistent with the acculturation model and the study conducted by Yau and Semtana (1993), it is hypothesized that there would be a significant and unique contribution of intergenerational conflict due to acculturation in the explanation of depression and behavioral problems. That is, acculturative conflict should explain a significant amount of the variation in outcome variables beyond that attributable to developmental aspects of conflict.

3. Following the previous studies of Brook et.al., (1998), and Scheier et al., (1997), ethnic identity should be related to lower depression and behavioral problems when controlling for age, gender, and length of residency.

4. Ethnic identity should buffer the negative effect of acculturative conflict on depression and behavioral deviance. Thus, the expected relationships of acculturative conflict to

depression and deviance should be less when Korean ethnic identity is higher, consistent

with previous research by Brook, et al., (1998) and Scheier, et al., (1997).

Figure1. The Model of the Proposed Study

Control Variables

Age

Gender

Length
of
Residency

Developmental
Intergenerational
Conflict

Acculturative
Intergenerational
Conflict

Ethnic Identity

Depression

Behavioral Problems
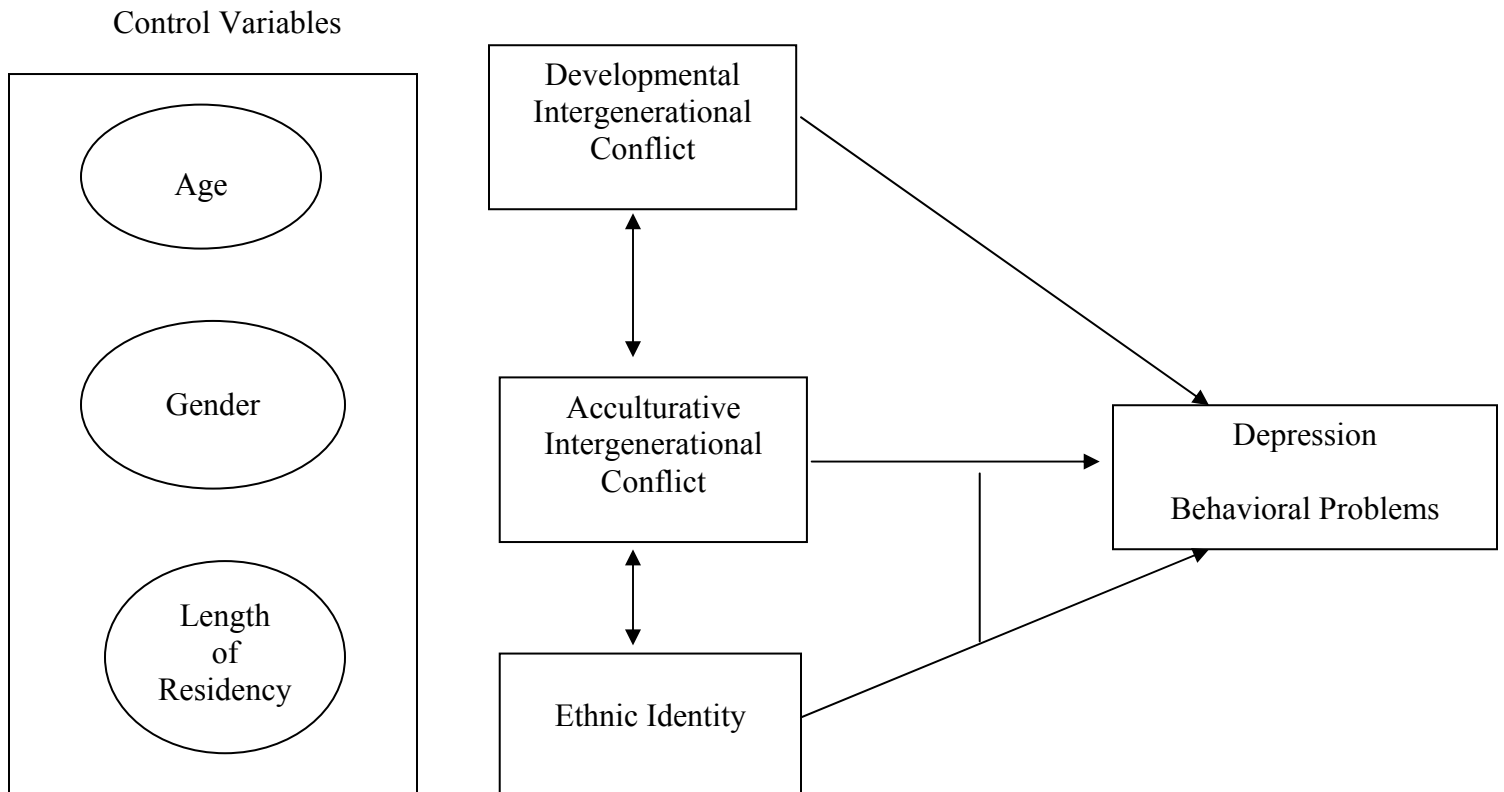
III. METHOD

The current study involved both a pilot study and a primary study. The pilot study, conducted in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, had two purposes. One purpose was to test the questionnaire to detect and eliminate any ambiguities or misunderstandings. The other purpose was to psychometrically evaluate a new scale developed to measure intergenerational conflict due to acculturation. The primary study, conducted in Fairfax County, Virginia, investigated the following: 1) problem behavior patterns and rates in a sample of Korean American adolescents; 2) relationships between intergenerational conflicts and depression and behavioral problems; 3) a relationship between intergenerational conflict due to acculturation and ethnic identity; 4) a direct effect of ethnic identity to depression and behavioral problems; and 5) a moderating effect of ethnic identity on the relationship between the acculturation process and depression and behavioral problems.

A. Description of Study Design

The study is a cross-sectional study, using a convenience sampling method. It included a pilot test which was conducted in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and a primary study which was conducted in Fairfax County, Virginia. Korean American adolescents were recruited from Korean churches and a *hakwon* (private out-of-school studies institute). Korean churches were chosen as the primary recruitment site because previous studies (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Min, 1992) have reported that more than 75 percent of Korean immigrants are affiliated with Korean churches, and that most Korean children are affiliated with the church their parents attend.

The Korean community in Pittsburgh is relatively small compared to the Korean community in Fairfax County, Virginia. The *Korea Central Daily* newspaper (May 25, 2001)

reported, based on the U.S. Census for 2000, that 28,028 Koreans reside in Fairfax County compared with only 2,000 in Pittsburgh. The Korean population in Fairfax County represents 62% of the total Korean population (45,279) of Virginia. It also represents 38% of the total Korean population of the Washington D.C. metropolitan area, which has the third largest Korean population in the United States, after Los Angeles and New York City. Fairfax County, Virginia, also has one of the highest concentration of Korean immigrants in any one area of the United States. Therefore, Fairfax County was a particularly suitable as a site for the primary study.

B.   Procedures for the Study

The procedures for the pilot study were exactly the same as those utilized for the primary study. However, because one of the purposes of the pilot study was to test the scales for clarity, some scales were modified in response to feedback from the pilot study participants. The procedures for the primary study were as follows. I contacted 15 pastors of Korean churches and two directors at *hakwons* in Fairfax County to explain the nature, purpose, and importance of the study. Of those contacted, only four Korean churches and one *hakwon* declined to participate. Thus, the primary study was conducted at 11 Korean Churches and one *hakwon*.

The pastors of the participating churches were asked to make a brief announcement of the current study at the conclusion of Sunday services and to encourage cooperation from their congregations. Moreover, the pastors allowed me to attend youth meetings, such as Korean language programs or bible studies to explain the nature and purpose of the study. The director of the *hakwon* identified certain math and English classes, based on the ages of the students, and he announced the study to those students.

After the pastors and the director described the study, in general terms to their congregation and students, they stated that those who were interested in the study should come to a meeting with me for further information. The meetings were held immediately following church youth meetings and *hakwon* classes. At the meetings, I distributed cover letters which explained the nature, purpose, and importance of the study and emphasized the value of the children's participation, and consent forms which included information on voluntary participation and confidentiality. I also reviewed the consent form in detail and answered questions from the potential participants. I asked the potential participants to take the materials home, discuss the study with their parents, make a decision regarding participation within two weeks, and to get signed by parents. I also assured them that their participation would be completely voluntary and confidential as all data would be gathered anonymously.

At the end of the two week period, I returned to the church youth meetings and *hakwon* classes to meet with those interested in joining the study. I distributed the questionnaire to those who had brought signed informed consent forms. There was no identifying information of any kind on any of the questionnaires and I instructed the participants to be sure to not write their names or anything identifying on the questionnaires. The participants completed the questionnaires there at the group meeting or class and returned them directly to me.

C.   Participants for the Pilot study

The pilot study was administered in two Korean churches in the Pittsburgh area. These two churches were selected because they have the largest Korean congregations of the four Korean churches in the Pittsburgh area. A total of 21 adolescents participated in the pilot study (mean age= 15). Six female (29%) and fifteen male (71%) Korean American adolescents

participated in the study. Nine (43%) were born in Korea and twelve (57%) were born in America. The average length of residency in the U. S. was 8.7 years with a range from 1 to 16 years.

After the pilot study, some minor changes were made mainly to the Behavioral Problem Scale, based on the feedback from the participants. As expected, the participants did not indicate any serious behavioral problems. Therefore, the items that asked about serious drug usage were either merged into other items or eliminated from the scale. Also, in response to participants' complaints on the length of the questionnaire, the response ranges were shorten from five choices ("Never" to "5 or More") to three choices ("Never" to "More than Once").

D.   Participants for the Primary Study

The primary study was conducted during May and June of 2004. Fifteen Korean churches and two *hakwons* in Fairfax County, VA, were contacted regarding participation in the study but four Korean churches and one *hakwon* declined to participate. Approximately 300 consent forms and cover letters were distributed in the remaining 11 Korean Churches and one *hakwon*. However, one of the churches produced only one study participant. Therefore, to protect that individual's anonymity, that participant was excluded from the study. A total of 142 questionnaires were collected from the final 10 Korean churches and one *hakwon*. Of these, four cases were excluded from the study due to numerous missing responses. Thus, 138 cases were analyzed.

There were 57 (41%) female and 81 (59%) male participants with an average age of 16 years. Twenty-nine (21%) were 14 years old; thirty (22%) were 15 years old; thirty (22%) were 16 years old; twenty-eight (20%) were 17 years old; and twenty-one (15%) were 18 or older.

Seventy five (54%) were born in Korea, sixty-two (45%) were born in the United States, and one was born in Japan. The average length of residency in the U.S. was 119 months or 9 years 11 months, with a range from 4 to 218 months, approximately 18 years.

<center>E.	Measurements</center>

The study used seven self-report questionnaires for data collection: The Intergenerational Conflict due to Development scale (ICD); the Intergenerational Conflict due to Acculturation scale (ICA); the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM); the Behavioral Problem Scale (BPS); the Behavioral Intention scale (BI); the Iowa Form of the Center for Epidemiological Studies for Depression (CES-D); and the demographic measure. The full questionnaire is shown in Appendix D.

1.	Intergenerational Conflict due to Development Scale (ICD)

A modified version of the Issues Checklist was used in the current study. The original Issues Checklist consisted of 44 items and was designed to assess the frequency of conflictual issues between adolescents and their parents and the intensity of the disputes over these issues (Prinz, Forster, Kent, O'Leary, 1979). The Issues Checklist addressed such issues as telephone calls, coming home on time, how to spend free time, spending money, table manners, chores, and appearance. The modified scale included 37 of the original 44 items to measure intergenerational conflict as related to the developmental process. Six items that measured particular behavioral problems (e.g., drinking beer or other liquor, or lying) and one item that addressed sexual activity were omitted.

The original Issues Checklist scale measured, by means of yes or no responses, the frequency with which such issues arose and the intensity of discussion related to each item with

ratings from 1 (*calm*) to 5 (*angry*) (e.g., Doing homework, Getting up in the morning). I further modified the scale to measure how often each of the issues had resulted in conflict between Korean American adolescents and their parents. The modified scale use a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost every day*).

Studies have tested the construct validity of the Issues Checklist scale by administering it to distressed and non-distressed families (Prinz, et al., 1979). Distressed families had significantly higher scores than non-distressed families. In addition, Fuligni (1998) administered the Issues Checklist to four different ethnic groups of adolescents: Mexican, Chinese, Filipino, and Caucasian. He reported acceptable internal consistent coefficient (.67 to .84), for adolescents to each parent (mother and father separately).

2.   Intergenerational Conflict due to Acculturation Scale (ICA)

A measure of intergenerational conflict that does not also take into account cultural differences within an immigrant family will reveal only a fragmented picture of the conflict. However, to my knowledge, there is no existing scale that would allow for measurement of the effect of acculturation for use in this study. Therefore, I developed a new scale to measure the effect of the acculturation factor, a unique aspect of intergenerational conflict among Korean immigrant families.

The new scale, the Intergenerational Conflict due to Acculturation scale (ICA), included the issues most often mentioned in studies as causing conflict (Hauh, 1999), such as high educational expectation and pressure, language and communication barriers, and culture differences. I also had two meetings, one with two Korean social work doctoral students and three Korean mothers with teenage children to discern the unique issues that have caused conflict for them or that they thought most important. Through these extensive meetings, and the

findings of empirical studies, items for the new scale were generated. The ICA includes 30 items; 24 of which were developed from domains suggested by previous research to explore culturally unique issues of conflict.

In addition, six items were adapted from the Asian-American Family Conflicts Scale (FCS) (Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000). The FCS consists of 10 questions that reflect acculturation conflicts between parents and children. The scale used a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*). Lee and his colleagues (2000) reported strong reliability of the scale for all three tests on FCS (.89, .81, and .89 respectively).

I reworded the items drawn from the FCS to have a better fit to the current study. For example, "Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family, but you feel this is unfair" from the FCS was modified to "Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family." These slight changes also made the FCS items more consistent with other newly developed items. Other new items, developed by the researcher, include, "Your parents' academic expectations exceed your performance," and "Your parents tell you to take Korean language classes." The new ICA scale asked how often each item resulted in conflict between Korean American adolescents and their parents with five-point Likert scale ratings from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost every day*).

3.   Ethnic Identity (MEIM)

The original Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) was developed to assess three aspects of ethnic identity: (1) positive ethnic attitudes (five items); (2) ethnic identity achievement (seven items); and (3) ethnic behaviors (two items). Each item in the MEIM was rated on a four-point scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). Fourteen items tested ethnic identity, e.g., "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic

group, such as its history, traditions, and customs" and "I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me", and six items determined attitudes toward other groups, e.g., "I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together" or "I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups". The six items pertaining to attitudes toward other groups (other group orientation) are scored separately from the ethnic identity items.

Phinney (1992) tested the MEIM on 417 high school students and 136 college students. The high school study included 134 Asian American, 131 African Americans, 89 Hispanics, 41 with mixed background, 12 whites, and 10 other. The college student study included 58 Hispanics, 35 Asian Americans, 23 whites, 11 Blacks, 8 with mixed backgrounds, and 1 American Indian. In Phinney's test, overall reliability of the 14-item ethnic identity scale was .81 and .90, respectively, for college and high school samples, respectively, showing good internal consistency. For the positive ethnic attitude subscale, reliabilities were .75 for the high school sample and .86 for the college sample. For the ethnic identity achievement subscale, reliabilities were .69 and .80, for the two groups respectively. Reliability could not be calculated for the ethnic behavior because of the small number of items (2 items) included.

Worrell (2000) also examined the psychometric properties of the MEIM in a sample of 275 academically talented and ethnically diverse adolescents (53% Asian Americans, 21% whites, 7.6% African Americans, 7.6% Hispanics, 4.7% mixed backgrounds, and 6.2% other). This study also generated two relatively robust factors, ethnic identity and other group orientation. Reliabilities for subscale scores based on the factor structures were quite strong; .89, and .76 respectively.

In a 1999 study, Roberts and his colleagues modified the MEIM 14-item scale to create and test a 12-item version. The study concluded that the reliability of the 12-item scale was equal to that of the previous 14-item scale and also that the two items had been deleted because they were difficult to interpret. Six items of other group orientation from the original MEIM scale were not included. As a result, the researchers recommended using the 12-item rather than the 14-item scale.

In addition, the Roberts et al (1999) study found that the measure consistently extracted two factors, "affirmation/belonging" and "exploration." The affirmation/belonging subscale included seven items, five from the original positive ethnic attitudes subscale and two from the original ethnic identity achievement subscale, e.g., "I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me". The exploration subscale included five items; three from the original ethnic identity achievement subscale and two from the original ethnic behavior subscale, e.g., "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs." These two factors explained 51.2% of the total variance (Factor 1, 41.6% and Factor 2, 9.6%). In addition, the study examined the construct validity of the scale, investigating correlations between the scale and psychological well-being. They demonstrated that the scale is positively associated with coping, mastery, self-esteem, optimism, and happiness and negatively associated with loneliness and depression.

Phinney (1992) asserted that the MEIM is a reliable and valid measure for the ethnically diverse or those of unknown ethnicity. The measure also allows for comparison of correlates of ethnic identity across psychological and other different variables. Furthermore, the scale permits exploration of group differences as well as group similarities in the development of ethnic identity (Phinney, 2000). Higher scores on the scale indicate higher ethnic identity, which is

equivalent to ethnic identity achievement. Therefore, the current study used the 12-item version of the MEIM to measure ethnic identity among Korean American adolescents.

As mentioned earlier in the section on ethnic identity, studies have reported inconsistent results when investigating effects of ethnic identity; that is whether it is a direct or moderating effect. One of the studies that demonstrated a moderating effect of ethnic identity utilized ethnic identification, e.g., Asian, Hyphenated-American, or American, as an indicator of ethnic identity. Therefore, in addition to the MEIM, the current study included two additional items to directly assess one's ethnic identification and satisfaction with one's ethnic group. The ethnic identification item was modified from a global item of the MEIM, e.g., "I view myself basically as a Korean," or "I view myself as a blend of both", which is an indication of bicultural self-identity, and the other item was developed for the current study to assess satisfaction with one's ethnic group.

4.   The Behavioral Problem Scale (BPS)

A 36-item scale was administered to measure behavioral problems of Korean American adolescents. Twenty-four items were adapted from the Self-Reported Early Delinquency (SRED) measure (Moffitt, 1989); six items were derived from the study of problem behavior among Korean American adolescents in Los Angeles (Sung, et al., 2002); and six other items were newly created for the study.

The SRED scale was developed to measure adolescent problem behaviors in New Zealand. Moffitt (1989) explained the need for developing a new scale because of the low-crime cultural setting, e.g., 44 homicide cases per year nationwide, in New Zealand. The 58-item scale was developed in order to measure problem behaviors ranging from illegal behaviors to mild and brief delinquency among adolescents and was designed to be relevant across the adolescent

years. The original scale included 29 items that represented "norm violation," e.g., "swearing loudly in public place," "cheating on school tests or exams." Another 29 items measured illegal acts, e.g., "using any kind of weapon in a fight (such as a gun, knife, chain, broken bottle, or rock)", "smoking cannabis (such as pot, marijuana, or hashish)".

The test-retest reliability was .85 and the internal consistency reliability was .90. Convergent validity was tested by obtaining independent scores about the subjects' antisocial behaviors from their parents and teachers. Parents were asked to complete the Revised Behavior Problem Checklist (RBPC), and teachers, the Rutter Child Scale B (RCSB), which assesses antisocial behaviors. The Pearson product moment correlations were .45 between the scale and the parent RBPC, and .28 between the scale and the teacher RCSB (both were statistically significant, p<.001).

However, because the SRED was developed in New Zealand and based on New Zealand culture, some items did not fit the American culture, such as "taking milk money." Those culture-driven items were either omitted from the scale or modified to be more culturally appropriate. The SRED is not yet a well-established scale, but it was chosen because it was specifically designed to measure low and mild delinquency as well as more serious behavioral problems.

Six items adapted from the study of Korean American adolescents in Los Angeles (Sung, et al., 2002) are related to substance use, e.g., use of tranquilizers or other prescription drugs: valium, librium, thorazine, miltown, equanil, meprobamate, etc. The study of Korean American adolescents in Los Angeles asked the frequency of substance use by the participants and also asked how many people (friends) the participants knew who use each substance. The current study chose to use a 5-point Likert scale response format for the participants to indicate their

frequency of substance use instead of the original open-ended form used in the Los Angeles study. Further, the items regarding the participants' friends were not used in the current study. Six additional items were included to measure gang involvement and to expand the scope of measuring low delinquency, e.g., "lied to a parent" or "lied to a teacher".

5.   Behavioral Intention

A 20-item scale was developed for the current study to measure the intention to perform anti-social or delinquent acts. This measure was included to address the methodological concerns that reports of non-normative behavior might be very low, whereas reports of intention might reflect a greater range. Twenty items from the BPS, that represented both minor and major misbehaviors, were rated for how likely was the participant to do each behavior in next six months. The response options ranged from 0 (*definitely won't do*) to 2 (*likely*).

6.   Internalized Problems (Iowa Form CES-D)

A short version, Iowa Form, of the Center for Epidemiological Studies on Depression (CES-D) was used to measure depression among the study participants. This shorter version of the CES-D was developed by Kohout and his colleagues (1993) to make the scale briefer and simpler and to, thereby, reduce response burden for participants. The CES-D has been utilized for various minority populations, including black, Hispanics, and Asian Americans. It is considered to be relatively free of cultural bias (Hurh & Kim, 1990).

The 11-item Iowa form of the CES-D is presumed to investigate the same dimensions as the original 20-item scale, depressed affect, positive affect, somatic complaints and interpersonal problems. The respondent rate how often he/she experienced each depressive symptom during the past week on a score ranging from "hardly ever or never" (0) to "much or most of the time" (2). Kohout and his colleagues (1993) reported an alpha reliability of 0.76 for the Iowa version,

which is comparable to the original scale (alpha= 0.80). In addition, a study by Carpenter, Andrykowski, Wilson, Hall, Rayens, Sachs, and Cunningham (1998) tested the Iowa form and a 10-item Boston form, and compared them to the original CES-D on six different groups of women (N=832). The Boston form utilized a yes-no response matrix. The researchers concluded that the Iowa form was more compatible to the original scale than the Boston form in terms of better internal consistency and a stronger correlation with the original scale. They found the Iowa form alpha reliabilities to range from .71 to .87 among the 6 populations. They also tested the factor structure of the Iowa form and concluded that a single-factor solution was the most appropriate. Given the young age of the current sample and the difficulty of the questionnaire, the Iowa form was chosen as the measure of depression for the current study.

7.   Demographic Information

The final section of the questionnaire included questions regarding gender, length of residency, age, income, parents' level of education, birthplace (Korea or U.S.), and the primary language used when talking to parents. These variables will provide specific characteristics of the sample. Length of residency, age, and gender were controlled for hypothesis testing.

IV.   RESULTS

In this chapter, the following were investigated. First, the descriptive analyses and the psychometric properties of each scale were assessed with particular attention to the newly constructed Intergenerational Conflict due to Acculturation Scale (ICA). Second, correlations between the primary testing variables were reported, testing the study hypothesis 1. Third, linear regression was performed to test relationships between the primary testing variables, testing the study hypotheses 2 and 3. Fourth, hierarchical moderated regression analysis was conducted to test the predicted moderating role of ethnic identity while controlling for age, gender, and length of residency, testing the study hypothesis 4.   Finally, the results of secondary analysis were reported.

A.   Descriptive and Psychometric Analyses

In this section, the mean, standard deviation, skewness, reliability, and factor structure of the scales are reported.

1.   Intergenerational Conflict due to Development Scale (ICD)

Korean American adolescents indicated that they rarely had conflict with their parents due to the items asked about on the ICD scale. The scale used a 5-point scale ranging from "almost never" (1) to "almost every day" (5). The ICD average score was 2.3 (between "rarely caused conflict" and "caused conflict several times" in the past 6 months) and the standard deviation was .84. Using a (+/- 1.00) criterion for skewness and kurtosis to evaluate the normality of distributions, the scale was found to be within the acceptable ranges (skewness = 0.76 and kurtosis = 0.12) of normal distribution.

The five items that Korean American adolescents identified as producing the most conflict were, "putting away clothes" (mean = 3), "cleaning up bedroom" (mean = 2.92), "getting low grades in school" (mean = 2.89), "doing homework" (mean = 2.69), and "coming home on time" (mean = 2.66). The five items that the participants identified as producing the least conflict were "allowance" (mean = 1.71), "which clothes to wear" (mean = 1.78), "picking books or movies" (mean = 1.87), "table manners" (mean = 1.91), and "cleanliness (washing, showers, brushing teeth)" (mean = 1.92).

Reliability and factor analyses were conducted in order to investigate the psychometric properties and the underlying structure of the scale. The scale showed a good reliability, .95 with 30 items. Consistent with a unidimensional structure, a principal component analysis showed that all 30 items loaded above .40 on the first factor of the pre-rotation matrix with loading values ranging from .44 to .76 and an average factor loading of .63. Forty percent of the variance was accounted for using a single factor solution. Therefore, it was determined to use a single-factor solution for the scale.

2.   Intergenerational Conflict due to Acculturation Scale (ICA)

Korean American adolescent participants indicated that the ICA items, which measure conflictual topics due to aspects of acculturation, rarely caused parent-child conflict (mean = 2.3 (between "rarely caused conflict" and "caused conflict several times" in the past 6 months), standard deviation = .87). The scale uses a 5-point scale ranging from "almost never" (1) to "almost every day" (5). The mean and standard deviation of each item are shown in Table 1. The items with the top five means were "Your parents link education success to life success", "Your parents compare you with other kids", "Your parents want you to obey everything that they say", "Your parents' academic expectations exceed your performance", and "Your parents

seem to care about nothing but your grades", in that order. The first two items had mean scores that were higher than 3 (between "caused conflict several times" and "frequently caused conflict") (see Table 1).

In addition, thirty-two percent of adolescents answered that *the link between education and life success* issue caused conflict almost everyday. Seventeen percent of adolescents said this issue frequently caused conflict. In total, almost half of the participants indicated that *the link between education and life success* issue caused conflict with their parents at least frequently or everyday in the past 6 months. Twenty-five percent indicated *the comparing to other kids* issue caused conflict almost everyday. Another fifteen percent indicated this issue frequently caused conflict. In sum, approximately fifty percent of participants indicated that *the comparing to other kids* caused conflict at least frequently or everyday in the past 6 months.

The 5 items rated lowest for conflict were "Your parents tell you to take Korean language classes", "The communication between you and your parents become difficult because of language differences", "Your parents tell you to participate in Korean traditional activities", "Your parents embarrass you because of their problems with English", and "Your parents complain when you talk to a friend of the opposite sex." Only five percent of adolescents answered that the item (Korean language classes) caused conflict almost everyday. Only three percent indicated the item (communication difficulty because of language differences) caused conflict almost everyday. It is noteworthy that three of these five items were related to issues with language, which will be further addressed in discussion.

Reliability and factor analysis were conducted in order to investigate the psychometric properties and to investigate the underlying structure of the scale. The scale showed a good reliability, 0.95 with 30 items. The initial analysis showed that all 30 items loaded above .40 on

the first factor, with loading values that ranged from .46 to .80 with an average factor loading of .64. The scree plot suggested a two-factor solution. The two-factor solution, however, did not yield meaningful factors with distinguishable connotations. Therefore, a single-factor structure was considered more appropriate and parsimonious than a two-factor solution.

Table1. Item Description of Intergenerational Conflict due to Acculturation

Items	Mean	SD
1. Your parents want you to obey everything that they say	2.90	1.29
2. Your parents enter your room without knocking on the door	2.25	1.51
3. Your parents complain when you talk to a friend of the opposite sex	1.92	1.29
4. Your parents expect you to date only Koreans	2.01	1.42
5. Your parents tell you to speak Korean at home	1.99	1.44
6. Your parents seem to care about nothing but your grades	2.77	1.46
7. Your parents decide things (e.g., career, job, major) for you without asking your opinion	2.42	1.39
8. Your parents act like you are their property	2.24	1.33
9. Your parents' academic expectations exceed your performance	2.87	1.39
10. The communication between you and your parents becomes difficult because of language differences (e.g., you speak English whereas your parents speak Korean)	1.81	1.11
11. Your parents tell you to take Korean language classes	1.60	1.1
12. Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family	2.11	1.2
13. Your parents argue that they show you love by housing, feeding, and educating you	2.38	1.36
14. Your parents don't want you to bring shame upon the family	2.45	1.42
15. Your parents expect you to behave like a proper Korean	2.35	1.38
16. Your parents treat you differently because of your gender	2.00	1.27
17. Your parents demand that you show respect for elders	2.67	1.65
18. Your parents link education success to life success	3.18	1.6
19. Your parents tell you to hurry up (빨리 빨리)	2.57	1.42
20. Your parents do not show enough affection for you	2.09	1.24
21. Your parents judge you based on their Korean standards	2.72	1.47
22. Your parents put too much emphasis on Korean traditions	2.14	1.29
23. Your parents do not approve of open displays of affection (e.g., kissing or hugging) between you and your girl/boy friend	2.21	1.42
24. Your parents tell you to participate in Korean traditional activities	1.91	1.18
25. Your parents are uncomfortable talking to you about sexual behaviors (e.g., kissing or hugging)	2.11	1.39
26. Your parents do not let you have any free time to hang out with your friends	2.25	1.38
27. Your parents hardly ever compliment you	2.11	1.29
28. Your parents compare you with other kids	3.10	1.44
29. Your parents seem to live their lives through you	2.42	1.39
30. Your parents embarrass you because of their problems with English	1.92	1.24

3.   Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was used to test the ethnic identity of Korean American adolescents.   The MEIM has been utilized in many studies and has consistently shown good reliability and yields two factors (Roberts, Phinney, Masses, Roberts, & Romero, 1999). The mean score of the MEIM in the current study was 2.95 (1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree), and standard deviation is 0.63.

Two items with highest mean from the 12-item MEIM are "I am happy that I am a member of the group that I belong to" and "I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background". Mean and standard deviation of each item is shown in Table 2.   Eighty four percent of participants answered that they at least agreed or strongly agreed with the item, *happy to be member*.   Approximately eighty four percent also indicated they at least agreed or strongly agreed to the item, *feel good about culture*.

The internal consistency reliability coefficient of the 12-item scale was 0.91.   The scree plot suggested two factors. The two-factor solution with varimax rotation explained 64% of the total variance with Factor 1 and Factor 2 explaining 40% and 24% of the total variance, respectively. Factor 1 consisted of seven items and Factor 2 of five. Item loadings for this two-factor solution are shown in Table 2.

The results of the two-factor solution analysis in the current study were similar to those previously reported (Roberts, Phinney, Masses, Roberts, & Romero, 1999).   Roberts and his colleagues (1999) examined the structures of the MEIM with ethnically diverse, early adolescents and concluded that the scale consisted of two factors, affirmation/belonging (Factor1) and exploration (Factor2).   The only item that failed to load as expected was "participate in cultural practice", which loaded .66 on the affirmation/belonging factor rather

than on the exploration factor (Robert, et al., 1999). In general, items in relation to affirmation and belonging showed higher means than exploration items.

The reliability of the 12-item scale was .92. As discussed above, the scale was found to be made up of two factors, affirmation/belonging and exploration. The reliability of the affirmation/belonging factor, excluding the non-replicated item, was .92. The alpha of the exploration factor was .77.

Table 2. Mean, Standard Deviation, and Factor Loadings of the MEIM Items

Items	Mean	SD	Factor1	Factor2
Feel group about culture	3.15	.86	.88	.11
Pride in ethnic group	3.06	.89	.85	.17
Happy to be member	3.24	.88	.82	.23
Understand group membership	3.02	.82	.78	.32
Sense of belonging to group	3.09	.85	.76	.42
Strong attachment to group	3.06	.84	.71	.42
Participate in cultural practice	3.00	.87	.66	.42
Spend time to learn	2.54	.88	.07	.81
Think about group membership	2.78	.92	.20	.72
Active in ethnic organizations	2.74	.92	.29	.65
Clear sense of ethnic background	3.06	.83	.49	.56
Talk to others about group	2.62	.92	.40	.50

The MEIM also contains an open-ended question that asks how participants perceived themselves in terms of ethnic orientation. Since the study was designed to study only Korean American adolescents, the open-ended question was modified to a 5-choice format. This item asked participants to indicate how they perceived themselves, given the choices of Korean (= 5), Korean-American closer to Korean (= 4), blended (= 3), Korean-American closer to American (= 2), or American (= 1). This question was scored separately from the main MEIM. Among the

139 participants who answered this item, two (1%) indicated that they viewed themselves as Americans and seven (5%) indicated that they viewed themselves as Korean-Americans, yet American first. Thirty three (24%) indicated that they perceived themselves as Korean American but Korean first. Forty four (32%) said they viewed themselves as blended Korean American. And finally, fifty three (38%) said they viewed themselves as Korean. The Pearson's correlation between this item and the MEIM scale was 0.27 (p =.001).

The scale also included the item, "How comfortable are you with your ethnic identity as a Korean-American?", to reflect ethnic identity. The participants were asked to rate the question from "extremely uncomfortable" (1) to "extremely comfortable" (6). The mean score of the item was 4.3 (between "somewhat comfortable" and "very comfortable"). Five percent answered that they were extremely uncomfortable, ten percent indicated very uncomfortable, seven percent indicated somewhat uncomfortable, twenty four percent answered somewhat comfortable, thirty four percent indicated very comfortable, and twenty percent said that they were extremely comfortable with their ethnic identity as Korean Americans. The correlations of these five measures of ethnic identity are shown in Table 3. Due to skewed distributions for some of the measure, nonparametric correlations (Spearman's rho) were reported.

Only the total MEIM scale was used as the measure of ethnic identity for several reasons. First, a single measure allows a more parsimonious report of analyses. Second, the MEIM subscales were highly correlated with each other (r = .56). Third, no different patterns of results were found using the 2 subscales of the MEIM. Finally, there were low correlations of the single item identity measures with each other and with the MEIM.

Table 3. Nonparametric Correlations of Five Measures of Ethnic Identity

	MEIM	Affirmation/ Belonging	Exploration	Perceived Ethnic Identity
MEIM				
Affirmation/Belonging	.92*			
Exploration	.80*	.56*		
Perceived Ethnic Identity	.23*	.23*	.16	
Comfort with Korean Identity	.24*	.28*	.11	.01

   * p<.01

4.   Iowa Form CES-D

A short form of CES-D with 11 items was used to test depression among Korean American adolescents. Response ranged from "hardly ever or never" (0) to "much or most of the time" (2) with the higher scores indicating more depressive symptoms. However, the *effort* item, which had the lowest factor loading, was omitted from the scale, resulting in an increase in the reliability of the scale from .77 to .79. The mean CES-D score (with 10 items) was 6.7 (standard deviation = 4.1). "I felt everything I did was an effort" and "I felt sad" were the items with highest means. Approximately 64% of the respondents answered that they felt everything they did was an effort at least some of the time or most of the time during the past week. In addition, approximately 67% of the participants answered that they felt sad at least some of the time or most of the time during the past week.

Carpenter and her colleagues (1998) evaluated psychometric properties of Iowa form of CES-D and compared its scores to the original CES-D. One of the groups (women without cancer) in the study showed a mean and standard deviation close to the current study. The mean and standard deviation of their study were 6.6 and 4.0, whereas those of this study were 6.7 and

4.1. Using their intercept and slope coefficient to estimate original CES-D scores, the estimated original CES-D was 11.6, which is similar to the score of general populations (Ensel, 1986).

5.   Behavioral Problem Scale (BPS)

The mean score of the scale was 0.36 (between "never" and "once") with standard deviation of 0.38. Because the behavioral problem scale was so highly positively skewed, the scale was transformed using a reciprocal method. After transformation, the skewness of the scale was improved to -.57. The scoring of behavioral problem scale was thereafter inverted to retain the meaning of high scores as reflecting greater behavioral problems.

The most frequently occurring problems were "lie to a parent" (mean = 1.31), "cheat on school work" (mean = 1.05), "lie to a teacher" (mean = .97), "skip school" (mean = .72), and "swear loudly in a public place" (mean = .63), all measures of social norms. The problem least reported by adolescents was steal a car, motorcycle, or bicycle, in which approximately 3% of the participants reported to engage in this problem behavior since school started. Nineteen (13.5%) of the participants answered that they had never engaged in any of the items from the behavioral problem scale.

Although, in general, the Korean American adolescents sample indicated low rates of engaging in delinquent behaviors, there are some serious indications that not all Korean American adolescents are immune to externalizing problems. The data of this study indicated that the following behaviors occurred at least once: had consumed alcohol (39%), smoked (23%), carried a weapon (17.6%), run away from home (14%), done something with a gang (11%), smoked cannabis (marijuana, hashish, grass, pot, weed) (13%), used an illegal drug other than cannabis (e.g., LSD, ecstasy, acid, mushroom, cocaine, heroin, PCP, or crystal) (9%), and used any kind of weapon in a fight (such as a gun, knife, chain, broken bottle, or rock) (5.6%).

The reliability of the scale was .95 with 36 items. Factor analysis was conducted to investigate the structure of the scale. The results showed that 35 items loaded above .40 on a single factor with an average factor loading of .61. Therefore, it was determined to use a single-factor solution for the scale.

6.   Behavioral Intention

The problem behavior intention scale was skewed positively (skewness=1.44), indicating that few respondents had high scores. The results showed that 40 participants (28%) responded 0, *definitely won't do*, to all 20 items and that only one person answered 2, *likely*, to all items.

The most frequently occurring items were "lie to a parent" (mean = .88), "cheat on school work" (mean = .82), "lie to a teacher" (mean = .69), "skip school" (mean = .53), and "drink" (mean = .49), in that order. These items are identical to the most frequent behavioral problems indicated earlier with the exception of drinking. The average score of the scale (.35) further indicated that the participants generally denied a intention to do the behaviors.

The problem behavior intention scale was included in the study in order to obtain greater score variability than was anticipated with the behavioral problem scale, given the reported low rates of delinquent behaviors among Korean American adolescents. The results showed, however, that this goal was not obtained. Therefore, the intention scale was not included in relationship and hypothesis tests.

B.   Bivariate Analyses

As expected, intergenerational conflict due to aspects of acculturation was significantly correlated with conflict due to aspects of development (r= .77, p<.001) (see Table 4).   The participants who indicated high acculturative conflict with their parents also indicated high developmental conflict with their parents.   Intergenerational conflict due to acculturation was also highly correlated with behavioral problems (r= .38, p<.001) and depressive symptoms (r= .35, p<.001).   The relationships showed that the participants with high acculturative conflict presented more behavioral problems and higher depressive symptoms.

Intergenerational conflict due to aspects of development was positively related to both behavioral problems and depression.   These result suggested that those with a higher conflict due to aspects of development had both higher behavioral problems (r= .33, p<.001) and depressive symptoms (r= .20, p=.03).   In addition, the result demonstrated that young and male participants showed higher developmental conflict with their parents than their counterparts.

Ethnic identity was correlated only with depression, r= -.24, p=.004, indicating that those with strong Korean ethnic identity also had lower depressive symptoms.   With respect to the outcome variables, behavioral problems and depression, and their respective correlations to demographic variables, male participants and participants with longer residency in the U.S. indicated higher behavioral problems.   No relationship was found between the demographic variables and the depression scale.

The study hypothesized (hypothesis 1) that there would be a significant inverse relationship between intergenerational conflict due to acculturation and ethnic identity.   It was anticipated that ethnic identity might have a positive implication for intergenerational conflict

due to acculturation among adolescents. However, this hypothesis was not confirmed by the data.

Table 4. Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient on Primary Variables

	ICD	ICA	MEIM	BPS	CES-D	Age	Gender
ICA	.77**						
MEIM	-.11	-.09					
BPS	.33**	.38**	-.08				
CES-D	.20*	.35**	-.24**	.33**			
Age	-.16	-.01	.10	.14	.14		
Gender²	.23**	.13	-.07	.28**	.07	.03	
Length of Residency [1]	-.01	.10	-.01	.19*	.18	-.03	-.13

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$
[1] Length of residency (N=136), N=138 for all other variables
[2] Gender: 1=Female, 2=Male

C.   Predicting Depression and Behavioral Problems

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to test whether, or to what extent, the independent variables of intergenerational conflict due to aspects of development, intergenerational conflict due to aspects of acculturation, and ethnic identity, would predict the outcome variables of depression and behavioral problems, when age, gender, and length of residency were controlled (hypothesis 2). The study also hypothesized that there would be significantly unique contribution of intergenerational conflict due to acculturation in the explanation of depression and behavioral problems, above and beyond the effect of intergenerational conflict due to development (hypothesis 2-1). In addition, the study hypothesized that ethnic identity would have a statistically significant negative relationship with the problems among Korean American adolescents (hypothesis 3).

Bollen and Jackman (1990) cautioned about problems with influential cases when conducting regression analysis. They stated that influential cases could cause a profound change in one or more of the estimated parameters when they are deleted from the analysis (p. 258). In order to address this problem, the diagnostic procedures of deleted residual, Cook's D, and standardized difference in fit were employed to detect and eliminate influential cases. First, the cases with the 10 highest values on the three diagnostic measures mentioned above were identified. Second, among those 10 cases, those that were high on all three of the influence measures were eliminated from the analysis. Prior to the regression, the assumptions of multivariate analysis were investigated, using multicollinearity, residual plot and histogram, and the influential case. Although the regression diagnostics were acceptable for the analyses, the influential cases that met the above criterion were removed and the model was reanalyzed. Any significant changes in regression analyses after deleting influential cases have been reported. Otherwise, the primary and initial analyses have been reported.

The regression analyses to test the study hypotheses, 2 through 3, involved two steps. First, the three demographic variables were entered as one block in the regression. Second, the conflict variables (acculturative conflict, developmental conflict) and ethnic identity were entered.

1. Prediction of Depression

As shown in Table 5, the three demographic variables explained only 6% of the variance in depression, $F(3, 133)= 2.96$, $p= .03$. Length of residency was a significant predictor of depression ($\beta= .20$, $p= .02$), indicating that those who resided in the U.S. longer were more likely to show depressive symptoms. At step 2, when acculturative conflict, developmental conflict,

and ethnic identity were entered, the model explained an additional 16% of the variance, $F_{(3, 130)}= 8.84$, $p<.001$.

Table 5. Hierarchical Multiple Regression of Depression before Influential Case Deletion (N=137)

Model	Variables	B	Beta	R	R^2	R^2 INC	P INC
1				.25	.06	.06	.03
	Age	.42	.14				
	Gender (F=1; M=2)	.71	.09				
	Length of residency	.01	.20*				
2				.47	.22	.16	<.001
	Acculturative conflict	1.87	.58**				
	Developmental conflict	-.62	-.13				
	Ethnic identity	-1.47	-.23**				
	* p<.05 ** p<.01						

After the deletion of eight influential cases (see Table 6), the direct effect of length of residency on depression diminished and it was not statistically significant, $\beta= .16$, $p= .08$. However, at step 2, when acculturative conflict, developmental conflict, and ethnic identity were entered, an additional 27% of the variance was explained by the three variables, $F_{(3, 122)}=16.06$, $p <.001$. The direct effect of ethnic identity on depression was stronger after influential cases were removed, from $\beta= -.23$, $p= .004$ to $\beta= -.29$, $p<.001$.

Table 6. Hierarchical Multiple Regression of Depression after Influential Case Deletion (N=129)

Model	Variables	B	Beta	R	R^2	R^2 INC	P INC
1				.22	.05	.05	.11
	Age	.37	.14				
	Gender (F=1; M=2)	.64	.09				
	Length of residency	.01	.16				
3				.56	.32	.27	<.001
	Acculturative conflict	2.40	.58**				
	Developmental conflict	-.96	-.23				
	Ethnic identity	-1.64	-.29**				
	* p<.05 ** p<.01						

It was anticipated that acculturative conflict and developmental conflict would share a substantial part of the explained variance since they were highly intercorrelated. However, when

acculturative stress and developmental stress were entered at the same step, only acculturative conflict remained a strong predictor of depression (β= .58, p<.001), which confirmed hypothesis 2-1. The intergenerational conflict due to acculturation had unique contribution to explain depression, beyond the effect of developmental conflict. Also, the study hypothesized that both aspects of intergenerational conflicts would relate to depression (Hypothesis 2). The intergenerational conflict due to development, however, was not a significant predictor of depression (β= -.23, p=.089) when competing with the acculturation aspect of intergenerational conflict. Only the intergenerational conflict due to acculturation was a strong predictor of depression. Finally, consistent with hypothesis 3, a strong Korean ethnic identity was associated with lower depressive symptoms (β= -.23, p= .004 with all cases, β= -.29, p= <.001 with 8 cases deleted). This finding confirms that a strong Korean ethnic identity may protect against depression for Korean American adolescents. An alternative analysis, entering developmental conflict at step 2 and acculturative conflict at step 3, (control variables at step 1) was performed. Acculturative conflict alone explained additional 5% of the variance in depression and it was significant (β= .38, p=.004).

2.   Prediction of Behavioral Problems

In contrast to the minimal contribution of background variables in the explanation of depression, the three demographic variables explained 15% of the variance in behavioral problems, $F(3, 132)$= 7.75, p<.001. At step 2, when acculturative conflict, developmental conflict, and ethnic identity were entered, the model explained an additional 12% of the variance, $F(3, 129)$= 6.90, p<.001.

Males (β= .15, p<.001), as well as those who resided in the U.S. longer (β= .24, p= .004), were more likely to report behavioral problems. Age marginally predicted higher behavioral problems (β= .15, p= .08).

Acculturative conflict was a significant predictor of behavioral problems, which confirmed hypothesis 2-1, unique contribution of acculturative conflict in the explanation of behavioral problems. However, neither ethnic identity nor developmental conflict was a significant predictor of behavioral problems. Due to a large number of participants who answered zeros on all behavioral problems and the possible departure from normality, alternative analyses using logistic regression and categorizing behavioral problems (into 5 groups) were also conducted. The same pattern of results occurred with these alternative analyses. There was no significant difference after influential case deletion. In addition, when entering developmental conflict at step 2 and acculturative conflict at step 3, the acculturative conflict alone explained additional 2% of the variance in behavioral problems and it was marginally significant (β= .23, p= .06).

Table 7. Hierarchical Multiple Regression of Behavioral Problems Before Influential Case Deletion (N=136)

Model	Variables	B	Beta	R	R²	R² INC	P INC
1				.39	.15	.15	<.001
	Age	.02	.14				
	Gender (F=1; M=2)	.10	.30**				
	Length of residency	.001	.24**				
2				.52	.27	.12	<.001
	Acculturative conflict	.05	.25*				
	Developmental conflict	.02	.11				
	Ethnic identity	-.01	-.05				

* p<.05   ** p<.01

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D.   Moderating Effects of Ethnic Identity on the Relationship

between Acculturative Conflict and Depression and Behavioral Problems

Hypothesis 4 proposed a buffering effect of ethnic identity, such that the negative effect of acculturative conflict on depression and behavioral problems would be less damaging when ethnic identity was high. Before conducting a moderated regression analysis, normal distributions and influential cases were inspected and, following the criteria discussed earlier, any cases that met the criteria for influential cases, were deleted from the dataset. Any significant change as a result of deleting influential cases is reported. In the hierarchical moderated regression analysis, the control variables of age, gender, and length of residency were entered first; then the main effects of acculturative conflict and ethnic identity were entered at step 2; and finally, the interaction product term (conflict X ethnic identity) was entered as the third step. If the interaction effect was statistically significant, a subgroup analysis was conducted in which the ethnic identity scores were categorized into low, middle, and high levels of ethnic identity.

1.   Moderating Effect of Ethnic Identity on the Acculturative Conflict-Depression Relationship

As described earlier, the influential statistics of deleted residual, Cook's D, and standardized Difference in Fit were employed in order to detect and eliminate influential cases. After detecting and removing seven influential cases, the hierarchical moderated regression was conducted again. This model test showed some discrepancy with and without influential cases deletion. Thus, results from both analyses are reported below. Since the direct effects of the three demographic variables, acculturative conflict and ethnic identity were described previously, only the interaction effect of ethnic identity with intergenerational conflict will be addressed here.

The results of the moderated regression analysis before and after influential case deletion are shown in Table 8. The interaction of acculturative conflict with the ethnic identity was not statistically significant (β=-.43, p=.18) before influential case deletion. However, as shown in the bottom half of Table 8, the interaction effect of ethnic identity, after seven influential cases were deleted, was found to be statistically significant (β= -.72, p= .02). An additional 3% of the variance in depression was explained by the interaction product term, whereas before influential case deletion, only additional 1% of the variance was explained by the interaction product term.

The slope coefficient for the interaction of -.91 indicates that the slope of depression on acculturative conflict becomes 0.91 less positive for a one-unit increase in ethnic identity, consistent with a possible role of ethnic identity buffering against depressive symptoms. Since the interaction effect of ethnic identity with acculturative conflict was significant, a subgroup analysis was conducted in which ethnic identity scores were categorized into three levels, low (n= 42), middle (n= 46), and high (n=45).

Table 8. Hierarchical Moderated Regression of Ethnic Identity on Depression Before and After Influential Case Deletion

Model Variables	B	Beta	R	R²	R² INC	P INC
Before Influential Case Deletion (N=137)						
			.48	.23	.01	.177
Acculturative conflict X Ethnic identity	-.60	-.43				
After Influential Case Deletion (N=130)						
			.58	.34	.03	.02
Acculturative conflict X Ethnic identity	-.91	-.72*				

    * p<.05   ** p<.01

The slope of depression on acculturative conflict was over five times as steep when ethnic identity was low compared to the middle ethnic identity group and almost three times as steep compared to the high ethnic identity group (b= 3.21 for the low ethnic identity group, b= 0.58 for middle group, and b= 1.24 for the high ethnic identity group). The significant

Acculturative conflict X Ethnic identity interaction effect documents that the slope coefficients were significantly different. Figure 2 presents the regression lines of depression on acculturative conflict for the low middle, and high ethnic identity groups, clearly showing, consistent with the buffering hypothesis, that acculturative conflict had less damaging implications for depressive symptom occurrence when ethnic identity was middle to high.

Figure 2. Interaction for Acculturative Conflict X Ethnic Identity
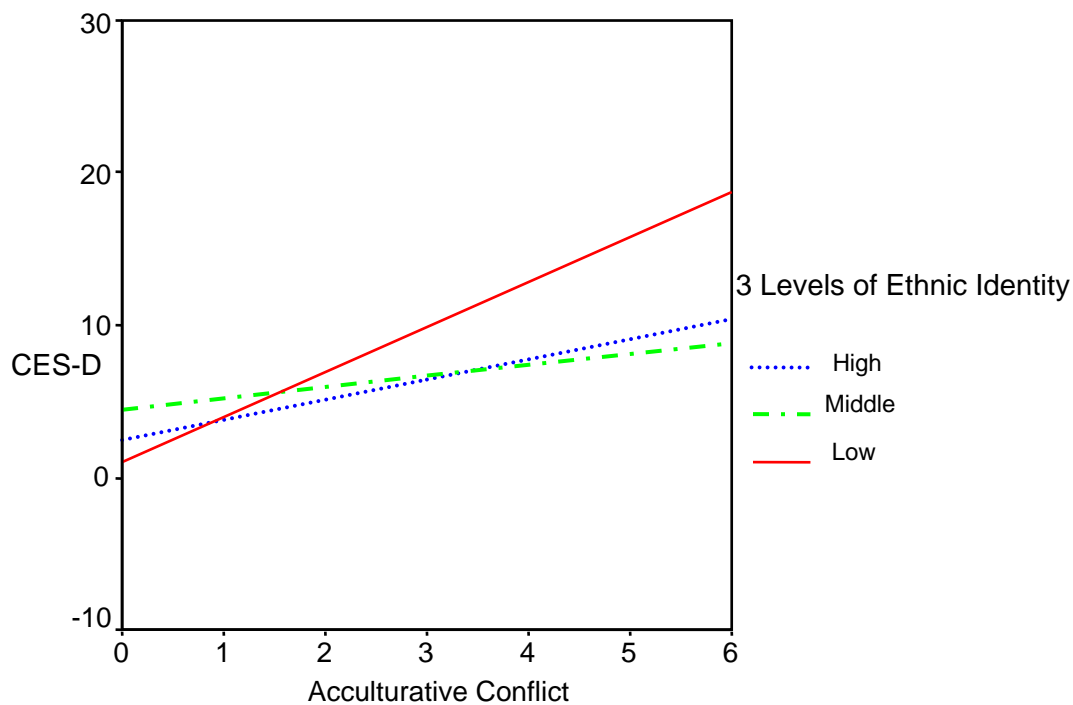
2.   Moderating Effect of Ethnic Identity on the Relationship of Acculturative Conflict and Behavioral Problems

Unlike the findings from the moderated regression analyses of ethnic identity on the relationship of acculturative conflict to depression, ethnic identity did not moderate the effect of acculturative conflict on behavioral problems before or after influential case deletion (before deletion; β= -.47, p= .13, after deletion; β= -.35, p=.24). Although the interaction effect was not

statistically significant, it is noteworthy in Table 9 that the trend of the moderating effect of

ethnic identity was in the hypothesized direction (β= -.47).

Table 9. Hierarchical Moderated Regression of Ethnic Identity on Behavioral Problems Before
and After Influential Case Deletion

Model Variables	B	Beta	R	R^2	R^2 INC	P INC
Before Influential Case Deletion (N=136)						
			.52	.28	.01	.13
Acculturative conflict X Ethnic identity	-.03	-.47				
After Influential Case Deletion (N=131)						
			.59	.35	.007	.24
Acculturative conflict X Ethnic identity	-.02	-.35				

   * p<.05 ** p<.01

E. Secondary Analyses

While the study mainly focuses on intergenerational conflict due to aspects of

acculturation, it is also important to evaluate the moderating effect of ethnic identity with

developmental conflict as the prediction and presumed cause of depression and behavioral

problems. In the study hypotheses, the buffering effects of ethnic identity on the relationship

between developmental conflict, and depression and behavioral problems were not expected.

Theses secondary analyses were conducted to assess if the interaction was invariant with respect

to conflict types.

The interaction of developmental conflict with the ethnic identity was not statistically

significant (β=-.40, p=.22) before influential case deletion. However, as shown in the bottom

half of Table 10, the interaction effect of ethnic identity after six influential cases were deleted

was found to be statistically significant (β= -1.02, p= .04). An additional 3% of the variance in

depression were explained by the interaction product term, $F_{(1, 125)}$= 4.46, p= .04. As shown

in Table 10, the slope coefficient for the interaction of -1.28 indicates that the slope of depression on developmental conflict becomes 1.28 less positive for a one-unit increase in ethnic identity, consistent with a possible buffering role of ethnic identity in relation to depressive symptoms.

A subgroup analysis was conducted to categorize ethnic identity into three groups, low, middle, and high with each group containing 41-46 cases. The regression line of the low ethnic identity group is over three times as steep compared to the high group and even steeper compared to the middle ethnic identity group (b= 2.2, β= .38, p= .02 for low group, b= .17, β= .04, p= .80 for middle group, and b= .72, β= .22, p= .16 for high group).

Table 10. Hierarchical Moderated Regression of Ethnic Identity with Developmental Conflict on Depression Before and After Influential Case Deletion

Model Variables	B	Beta	R	R^2	R^2 INC	P INC
Before Influential Case Deletion (N=138)						
			.40	.16	.01	.22
Acculturative conflict X Ethnic identity	-.57	-.40				
After Influential Case Deletion (N=132)						
			.40	.16	.03	.04
Acculturative conflict X Ethnic identity	-1.28	-1.02*				

        * p<.05   ** p<.01

The moderating effect of ethnic identity with developmental conflict was tested on behavioral problems. No moderating effect of ethnic identity with developmental conflict was found using behavioral problems as the dependent variable (before influential case deletion; β= -.20, p= .51, after influential case deletion; β= -.18, p= .55).

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V.   DISCUSSION

The current study proposed to assess the following. First, the study attempted to investigate the unique cultural aspect of intergenerational conflict among Korean American adolescents, using a newly developed scale. Second, the study aimed to identify behavioral problem patterns and rates in a sample of Korean American adolescents. Third, the study attempted to investigate a relationship between intergenerational conflict, as affected by the acculturation process, and ethnic identity. Fourth, the study attempted to explore relationships between two aspects of intergenerational conflict, depression, and behavioral problems while controlling for age, gender, and length of residency in the U.S. The study also attempted to find the independent and unique contribution of acculturative conflict, beyond the effect of developmental conflict, in explaining depression and behavioral problems. Fifth, the study attempted to explore a relationship between ethnic identity, depression, and behavioral problems with age, gender, and length of residency in the U.S. controlled. Finally, the study aimed to investigate a moderating effect of ethnic identity on the relationship between intergenerational conflict due to acculturation and depression and behavioral problems. Some of the hypotheses were strongly supported while others led to unexpected, yet interesting findings. In addition, limitations of the study and implications are discussed later in this chapter.

1.   Acculturative Conflict and Its Measurement

A new scale, designed to investigate the unique aspect of intergenerational conflict due to cultural differences within immigrant families, was developed for the study. Although previous research had investigated and claimed that intergenerational conflict may be more problematic with immigrant families compared to indigenous families because of cultural differences between immigrant parents and their children, there has not been a scale that allowed a

researcher to measure the effect of the acculturation factor. Although the new intergenerational conflict due to acculturation scale needs to be tested further, the scale did provide additional information about challenges that Korean American adolescents may face.

Previous studies have indicated that academic pressures, value differences, language differences, and communication difficulties were the issues that frequently caused intergenerational conflict (Huah, 1999, Lee, et al., 2000; Min, 1998; Nho, 2000; Sung, et al., 2002; Vhung, 1991). In the current study, the issues identified as causing conflict most frequently were the items that measured academic pressure and stress related to academic expectations. This result indicated that Korean American adolescents were highly likely to have conflict with their parents in relation to school performance, a finding that is consistent with previous research. That is, academic expectations and pressures are great stressors for the Korean American population (Hauh, 1999; Min, 1995). However, unlike the claims from previous studies (Hauh, 1999; Lee & Cynn, 1991; Nho, 2000; Sung, et al., 2002; Vhung, 1991), the current study found language differences between immigrant parents and their children to be the least conflictual topic. One can speculate that it is not the language differences that may cause the conflict but rather the lack of effective communication between parents and children which may cause the conflict. Further research is needed to explore the unique aspects of intergenerational conflict among children of immigrant parents.

2.   Depression and Behavioral Problems among Korean American Adolescents

Current study findings were similar to those from previous studies regarding patterns and rates of behavioral problem among Korean American adolescents. The current study found that 24% of Korean American adolescents had gotten drunk at least once compared to 28% reported by the National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse (NAPAFASA,

2000). In addition, NAPAFASA reported 18% of their sample had tried marijuana compared to 13.4% of the Korean American adolescents from the current study. Sung et al (2003), in their study of behavioral problems among Korean American adolescents in Los Angeles reported that 24% of their sample had engaged in fighting compared to 31% of the participants from the current study. Also, the Los Angeles study indicated that 11.8% of the sample reported runaway behavior compared to 14% of adolescents from the current study. Thus, the current study found slightly less substance use but slightly more incidents of fighting and runaway behaviors than was previously reported. Male adolescents and adolescents with longer residency in the U.S. reported higher incidents of behavioral problems in the current study. This result is consistent with those of previous studies (Chen, et al., 1999; Nagasawa, Qian, & Wong, 2000); the more youth are assimilated, the more likely they are to engage in behavioral problems. Length of residency in the U. S. was used as a proxy for acculturation in the current study.

Unfortunately, the Iowa Form CES-D, the depression measure for the current study, has been mainly administered to gerontology populations; therefore, there is no norm group by which to compare the incidence of depression among the current study subjects. Studies on Asian American populations have reported that females experienced higher rates of depression than males among adult populations, whereas among the adolescent populations, it was the males rather than females who had higher rates of depressive symptoms (Kuo, 1984). The current study results were consistent with those of prior studies. That is, the adolescent male participants had slightly higher rates of depressive symptoms than the females.

The findings about behavioral problems demonstrated that male Korean American adolescents are more at risk than their female counterparts. Culturally, boys are expected to be outgoing, assertive, and encouraged to be involved in other social activities. In this context, it is

not surprising to find that male youth show higher behavioral problems. A different aspect of Korean culture may also explain this issue. In Korean culture, boys are expected to carry out their family names, which imply great pressures and expectations from parents to succeed. Although girls are also expected to excel academically, they definitely get less pressure from their parents than boys. The higher expectations and greater pressure may lead male adolescents to act out or to engage in "bad" behaviors. In sum, male Korean American adolescents appear to be at greater risk than female Korean American youth.

3. Acculturative Conflict, Developmental Conflict, and Depression and Behavioral Problems

Current study data revealed that both aspects of intergenerational conflict, acculturative and developmental, were significantly correlated with both depression and behavioral problems. That is, those Korean American adolescents who experience higher intergenerational conflicts with their parents also had higher depression scores and more engagement in behavioral problems. Second, the current study found the unique, independent contribution of acculturative conflict to explain depression and behavioral problems. Acculturative conflict was a stronger predictor of depression and behavioral problems than developmental conflict.

The findings of this study are consistent with those of previous studies. Previous research has concluded that parent-child relationships are even more problematic in immigrant families because they may face additional challenges due to the process of acculturation (Dinh, Sarason & Sarason, 1994; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rosenthal, 1984). Moreover, studies have shown that children of immigrant families experienced higher conflict than indigenous American adolescents (Dinh, Sarason & Sarason, 1994; Nguyen & Williams, 1989).

The effects of immigration may result in cultural conflict in immigrant families, thereby increasing the likelihood of Korean American adolescents experiencing problem behaviors. The

current study clearly demonstrated that Korean American adolescents were troubled by both conflictual issues with their parents due to cultural differences as well as indigenous conflictual issues due to adolescence. Moreover, only the acculturative conflict strongly predicted the likelihood of Korean American youth to experience depression and behavioral problems, compared to developmental conflict. These findings could explain the higher rates of conflict experienced by children of immigrant parents.

4.   Ethnic Identity, and Depression and Behavioral Problems

Previous studies have suggested that a lack of positive ethnic identity may contribute to problem behaviors (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003; Marcell, 1994). However, the findings of previous studies were inconsistent. In the current study, ethnic identity was a significant predictor of depression among Korean American adolescents, even when it competed with two aspects of intergenerational conflict. A direct effect of ethnic identity on behavioral problems was not supported in the current study but the direction of the relationship was as had been hypothesized. In sum, a low level of Korean ethnic identity did result in higher depression among Korean American adolescents. Although negotiating ethnic identity is an additional task for immigrant youth, developing a strong ethnic identity could lead to alleviation of problem behaviors among this population.

5.   Acculturative Conflict and Ethnic Identity

Many studies have investigated the relationship between ethnic identity and intergenerational conflict (Farver, et al., 2002; Rosenthal, 1984; Rumbaut 1994). However, the relationship between ethnic identity and intergenerational conflict has rarely been confirmed. Farver and her colleagues (2002) found that family conflict was correlated with ethnic exploration but not with ethnic affirmation/belonging. Rosenthal (1984) found that the degree of

identification with either the ethnic culture or the host culture did not influence intergenerational conflict among Greek and Italian Australian youth. Rumbaut (1994) also reported no association between parent-child conflict and self-reported identity types. Likewise, the current study also found no relation between ethnic identity and intergenerational conflict. The following context may help in understanding these mixed findings.

Existing scholarship has not been clear about whether ethnic identity is better viewed as a unidimensional or as a multidimensional process, adapted from the acculturation model, related to associated variables. Rosenthal (1984) and Rumbaut (1994) applied the multidimensional approach to investigate ethnic identity, (e.g., Hispanic, American or Hispanic-American), whereas Farver and her colleagues (2002), and the current study, applied the unidimensional process of ethnic identity (from unaware of ethnic identity to ethnic identity achieved). Such differences in constructing ethnic identity produce great complexities understanding this concept and interpret the findings. More research is needed to clarify this issue.

6.   The Role of Ethnic Identity as a Moderator

An important finding of the current study was the significance of ethnic identity as a moderator of the intergenerational conflicts→depression relationship. Although the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) is the most widely used scale to measure ethnic identity, no previous study has found an ethnic identity buffering effect using this measure. This is the first study that has found a buffering effect of ethnic identity with acculturative conflict on depression using the MEIM. However, the buffering effect was not robust enough to be detected before the influential cases had been deleted; no buffering effect of ethnic identity on the relationship between intergenerational conflicts and behavioral problems was found.

A few previous studies did find a moderating effect but the studies did not measure ethnic identity in the same way. Scheier and his colleagues (1997) selected five items from the MEIM but did not indicate the criterion by which they chose those items. Lee (2003) used the MEIM but did not find the moderating effect. Brook and her colleagues (1998) also found the moderating effect of ethnic identity but only used the items that presumed to measure seven domains of cultural identity: 1) the importance of ethnic media, holidays and customs; 2) language preference (English or ethnic language); 3) the efforts to learn about ethnic heritage; 4) feelings of attachment toward one's ethnic group; 5) one's friends and their ethnic affiliation; 6) family value and; 7) one's degree of identification with friends from one's ethnic group. Detailed descriptions of each study were presented earlier in this study.

Understanding ethnic identity is a complicated issue. The paucity of research that has tested a moderating effect of ethnic identity, and the lack of agreement in the conceptualization and measurement of the construct, ethnic identity, make it difficult to draw a firm conclusion. Future research is needed to both replicate the findings of the current study and to advance the conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity.

According to Phinney (1989), minority children go through three stages while developing a sense of who they are in terms of ethnic identity: unexamined ethnic identity, ethnic identity search, and achieved ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990, p. 503). The second stage of ethnic identity search is characterized by an awareness of one's ethnicity and participation in one's own cultural activities. In this study, the adolescents who scored in the middle range of ethnic identity were found to be as well-adjusted psychologically, in terms of depression when experiencing conflict as those with high ethnic identity scores. This result suggests that a beginning sense of belonging to one's own ethnic group is as beneficial as actually achieving a higher level of ethnic

identity. In other words, the role of ethnic identity as a buffer against the adverse effects of conflicts on depression is as effective for the middle level of the ethnic identity group as the high level ethnic identity group. The results of the study also reveal that adolescents with low ethnic identity are most vulnerable to depression. This raises the possibility that a fully "achieved identity" may not be necessary for adaptive functions. Rather, what adolescents may need is a little boost in identity for them to begin to explore and become aware of their ethnicity.

One can speculate that adolescence is the time that ethnic identification is explored and possibly achieved, which might result in differences in findings when studying college students and their ethnic identification (e.g., Lee's study, 2003). The dynamic and influence of ethnic identity may be greater during adolescence than at any other period in life. Adolescents are sensitive to psychosocial factors, including those involved in identity formation. The stress-buffering model was applied in this study to understand how ethnic identity moderated the effect of acculturative and developmental conflict on depression. Whether conflict originates from developmental or acculturative issues, conflict is a source of stress. Ethnic identity can also be conceptualized as a type of social support or as a psychological resource that may facilitate the perception that support is available from others. Consequently, higher ethnic identity should buffer the effect of both acculturative and developmental conflicts on depression. In future research using the MEIM, the role of ethnic identity as an internal support, social support as an external support, and experienced stress might be measured separately to better understand the complex processes of these issues.

A.   Limitations of Study

It is important to acknowledge several limitations of the study. First, assuming a causal direction in a cross-sectional study is always problematic. It is possible that preexisting problem behaviors caused Korean American adolescents to have greater intergenerational conflict with their parents, rather than the intergenerational conflict causing problem behaviors. However, the proposed study direction was generally supported by prior research and theories described earlier in this study. In addition, significant effects were also found for the outcome of depression, an internalized affective problem that would not be expected to cause conflict. However, it should be noted that a longitudinal study would be useful in exploring causal relationships of intergenerational conflict to problem behaviors.

Second, generalizability of the study to the Korean American adolescent population in the United States is limited. The study was conducted using a convenience sample method. The majority of the participants were recruited through Korean churches and a *hakwon* in Virginia which might not represent those Korean American adolescents not affiliated with such institutions, organizations, or who reside on the west coast. It should be also noted that those who closely identified themselves as Korean were possibly oversampled because the study was conducted through Korean ethnic churches and a *hakwon*. Therefore, generalizability of the findings beyond the current sample should be conducted with caution. However, given the scatteredness of the Korean American population, this recruitment method was the most achievable and cost-efficient. In addition, even though the characteristics of samples, or variances among testing variables might be different in future studies, there is no reason to believe that the relationships between testing variables would be significantly different from the

current study. Granting the tentativeness imposed by such a limitation, further research in other parts of the U.S. is recommended.

Some limitations arise from instrument issues. Although the psychometric properties of the intergenerational conflict due to acculturation scale were favorable, further investigations are necessary to validate the scale. The scale can be further tested with different populations, i.e. comparisons between indigenous adolescents and Asian American adolescents, to test whether it validates the assumption that it is reflecting unique cultural sources of conflict. Although the acculturative and developmental scales were each constructed to measure a different aspect of intergenerational conflict, the correlation between these two scales was very high. In this study, acculturative conflict was effectively distinguished from developmental conflict by statistically controlling for the latter. More psychometric effort and studies are required to distinguish a unique aspect of acculturation conflict from a developmental aspect. In addition, the Iowa form CES-D and the Behavioral Problem Scale had not been previously tested with this target population. Some of the findings in the current study might be limited to sample-specific or measurement-specific. The found relationships would be strengthened if the effects were replicated by using other measures of depression and for other "internalized" mental health problems.

In addition, the item that asked how comfortable the participants felt as Korean Americans was problematic. On a preceding item, thirty-eight percent of the participants indicated that they perceived themselves as only 'Korean', but the very next item, the comfort item, specifically requested the participants to indicate their comfort rating as Korean Americans, thereby undermining the participants' perceived ethnic identity. Greater clarity might have been achieved if the respondents had been asked to rate their comfort level corresponding to the label

they had selected when first asked to describe their identity. This item phrasing problem might explain the low correlation between the *comfort* item and the ethnic identity scale and its subscales.

B.   Implications

Results from this study indicate that intergenerational conflict, due to cultural differences within Korean immigrant families, could result in depression and behavioral problems among Korean American adolescents. The data also suggest that a strong sense of ethnic identity might alleviate the negative effect of experienced conflict on depression. It is important to help immigrant families develop positive parent-child relationships through programs and interventions and also to encourage adolescents to develop a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Although the current study was conducted only on Korean American adolescents, previous research has emphasized similarities among East Asian populations (Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans). Since little research has investigated a buffering effect of ethnic identity for these youth populations, it may be useful to consider the findings and implications of this study with children of other East Asian immigrant families.

1.   Implications for Social Work Practice

One salient finding from the current study was that Korean American adolescents experience great conflict with their parents over issues related to cultural differences. Such findings can be incorporated into multicultural social work practice. Rhee (1996) recommended guidelines for social workers when working with Korean immigrant families. She suggested that social workers must play multiple roles including counselor, mediator, and teacher. Social workers need to be culturally sensitive to work with immigrant families. Moreover, social

workers should facilitate Korean American adolescents' awareness of their ethnic identity, teach parents to understand the challenges that their children face in this society, and thus bridge the gap between immigrant parents and their children. Social workers must understand the significance and unique contribution of intergenerational conflict due to cultural differences among Korean immigrant families so that they can help families more effectively. Understanding the relationship among intergenerational conflict, ethnic identity and problem behaviors is crucial for social workers to assess and provide proper interventions for Korean American immigrant families.

Helping immigrant parents with child rearing practices in the U.S., or teaching them American culture, may bridge the gap between parents and their children. For example, a program (Strengthening of Intergenerational/Intercultural Ties in Immigrant Chinese American Families, Ying, 1999) to prevent intergenerational conflict due to cultural differences in Chinese immigrant families was implemented and shown to improve intra-family relationships. The program offered eight two hour-per-week parenting classes using the parents' preferred language. The first week, the class offered a simulation of a cross-cultural encounter which assisted parents to deal with cultural dissonance and conflict. The second class provided information on cultural differences and how they might apply to the intergenerational relationship. The third class offered knowledge and understanding of the state of adolescence, which helped parents to see the parent-child relationship from a child's point of view. The fourth to sixth classes were devoted to promoting parenting effectiveness, and teaching parenting techniques. The seventh class focused on helping parents cope with the stresses of parenting in relation to cultural differences. The final week reviewed and emphasized the importance of dealing with intergenerational relationships *affectively*, *cognitively*, and *behaviorally* (p.92).

Such a culture-specific program has potential to not only alleviate but possibly to prevent the challenges of intergenerational conflict. Social workers need to become aware of such programs so that they can provide a necessary guide to this population.

The significant findings in relation to ethnic identity clearly suggest that a strong and achieved ethnic identity can be beneficial for minority populations. The findings suggest that helping minority adolescents develop positive ethnic identities may improve their mental health, suggesting that ethnic identity development might also be used as a preventive strategy. An intervention program, such as the one described above, could benefit minority adolescents as well as their parents. Such classes for youth could educate adolescents about their cultural heritage and encourage them to achieve ethnic identity. An intervention like this could also reduce the likelihood of problem behaviors among minority populations. It would be even more effective if such a program were offered through the schools. Culturally, Koreans have great respect for education, especially schools and teachers. Therefore, it is imperative to involve schools and school social workers in developing and providing programs to increase adolescents' awareness of their culture, language, and ultimately ethnic identity. In sum, social workers and clinicians must understand these issues to work effectively with this population and also encourage minority youths to achieve their ethnic identity.

2.   Implications for Policy

United States bilingual education and zero tolerance policies are revisited here in relation to ethnic identity and problem behaviors. The findings of this study strongly support the significance of ethnic identity. That is, a strong awareness of and sense of belonging to one's ethnic group may alleviate problem behaviors among minority adolescents. One obvious way of improving awareness and a sense of belonging for adolescents is to teach them their ethnic

languages. To be able to speak and read in one's own ethnic language would definitely help children of immigrant parents to develop and even appreciate their ethnic identity and may also reduce the parent-child intergenerational conflict. However, at this time in the U.S., many states do not allow public schools to provide bilingual education to children of immigrant parents. As the title of an article in *The New York Times* indicated, "In American Education, Bilingual Means 'Learn English'"(Dec. 24, 2000, p.4.3). Under this policy, assimilation into the host society is the only option for children of immigrant parents. The policy promotes erasure and the silencing of ethnicity (Nunez-Janes, 2002).   Efforts should be made to reinstate bilingual programs at public schools. Such a policy makes immigrants keenly aware that multiculturalism has not been fully embraced in America, and that we still have a long way to go to accomplish such a goal.

The zero tolerance policy became one of the central policies used to counter drugs and violence in the school. By 1993, the zero tolerance policy had been adopted nationwide and affected almost every student in American schools even those as young as four years of age (Skiba, 2000). The biggest problem with a zero tolerance policy is its lack of flexibility. Zero tolerance prohibits officials from taking a student's age, past history, or other extenuating circumstances into account.and forces the policy to be applied with equal severity for both minor and major incidents. It sends a message that certain behaviors are simply not acceptable in school and that officials are not responsive to individual situations.

Koreans are mostly recent immigrants (Ahn, 2001). Lack of familiarity with the host culture and its policies might adversely affect Korean immigrant children. For example, drinking in school may be seen as a way to celebrate the soon-to-come freedom as many Korean high school students do one hundred days before the college entrance exam. Or a child may bring a small knife to school to sharpen a pencil as every elementary school student does in

Korea. Whereas these behaviors, that would be innocent and acceptable in the native culture, become subject to a zero tolerance policy and severely punished in the United States. More refined policy implementation, based on a case-by-case principle in a multi-ethnic context, is needed. Such improved policies require more research to investigate the issue of cultural differences, especially with the Asian culture, and how the policies affect Asian American youth.

Appendix A:
Introduction Letters

1. **Introduction Letter to Korean American Youth**

2. **Introduction Letter to Parents of Youth**

University of Pittsburgh

Dear Korean American Youth

I am a doctoral candidate in Social Work at the University of Pittsburgh. As part of my degree, I am interested in finding out how Korean American adolescents deal with difficult issues and adjust to life in this country.   I hope that your participation will help us understand our fellow Korean youth and ultimately help us understand our fellow Korean youth and ultimately help them to lead healthier lives in this country.

The study investigates the relationships between conflict occurring between youth and their parents, ethnic identity and youth problem behaviors (e.g., drug use, violence, intention, and depression, etc.). The questionnaire contains questions on how the relationship is between youth and their parents, how you perceive yourself as Korean, American, or Korean American, and also asks questions about problem behaviors such as delinquency and your feelings.

I am inviting Korean American youth, ages of 14-18, to participate. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to answer questions on a survey questionnaire. All answers are anonymous and confidential (private). Your participation in the study is voluntary, and you can withdraw your participation at any time during the study. Names will not appear on any questionnaire, except for the consent form which will be collected and kept separately from the questionnaire.

For legal and ethical reasons in a research study, any participants under the age of 18 require a signed consent form by your parents or guardian, indicating that they agree to your participation in the study. <u>On the informed consent form, there are two separate lines that you and your parent (or guardian) must sign</u>. This form allows me to give the questionnaire to you.   If you (and your parents) decide to participate in the study, you need to put your initial on each page of the consent form and sign it. You will be asked to do same for the other consent form, which is for you to keep. You will be informed when and where to return the consent document (signed by you and your parent) if you are interested in participating. When you return the document the questionnaire will be provided to you to complete.

The questionnaire will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete. If you have any questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact me at (412) 586-9480 or email me at jelst55@pitt.edu. I'd greatly appreciate your time and cooperation.
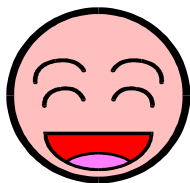
Thank you

Jee-Sook Lee, MSW, Ph.D. candidate
University of Pittsburgh
School of Social Work
(412) 586-9480
jelst55@pitt.edu

University of Pittsburgh

Dear Parents of Korean American Youth

I am a doctoral candidate in Social Work at the University of Pittsburgh. As part of my doctoral degree, I am conducting a study to investigate how Korean American adolescents deal with difficult issues and adjust to life in this country. Your son or daughter has expressed interest in participating in the study. I hope that the outcomes of the study will lead us to better understand our children and ultimately help them to lead healthier lives in this country.

The study investigates the relationships between conflict occurring between youth and their parents, ethnic identity and youth problem behaviors (e.g., drug use, violence, intention, and depression, etc.). The questionnaire contains questions on how the relationship is between youth and their parents, how youth perceive her/himself, (e.g., Korean, American, or Korean American), and also asks questions about problem behaviors such as delinquent acts and their feelings.

The study involves Korean youth, ages of 14-18 and answering questions on a survey questionnaire. All responses are anonymous and confidential (private). The participation in the study is voluntary and your child can withdraw his/her participation at any time during the study. Name will not appear on any questionnaire, except for the consent form which will be collected and kept separately from the questionnaire.

For legal and ethical reasons in a research study, any participants under the age of 18 require a signed consent form by her/his parents or guardian, indicating that they agree to participate in the study. <u>On the informed consent form, there are two separate lines that a parent (or guardian) and child must sign</u>. This form allows me to give the questionnaire to your child. Please allow your son or daughter to decide whether to participate in the study. If you are willing to have your son or daughter to participate in the study, you need to sign the consent form. You need to sign two consent forms. One of which is for you and your child to keep. Your child will be informed when and where to return the consent document (signed by you and your child) if your child is interested in participating. When your child returns the document, the questionnaire will be provided to your child to complete.

The questionnaire will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete. If you have any questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact me at (412) 586-9480 or email me at jelst55@pitt.edu. I'd greatly appreciate your time and cooperation.

Thank you

Jee-Sook Lee, MSW, Ph.D. candidate
University of Pittsburgh
School of Social Work
(412) 586-9480
jelst55@pitt.edu

Appendix B:
Korean Translated Introduction Letters

1. Introduction Letter to Korean American Youth

2. Introduction Letter to Parents of Youth

친애하는 재미교포(Korean American) 청소년들에게

저는 피츠버그 대학, 사회사업학 박사학위 수료생입니다. 제 박사학위 논문으로, 재미교포 청소년들이 어떠한 방식으로 자신들이 당면하고 있는 어려운 문제에 대처하는지, 그리고 어떻게 미국사회에 적응하고 있는지에 관해 조사하려고 합니다. 저는 이 연구를 통하여 재미교포 청소년들에 대한 이해를 넓히며, 궁극적으로는 그들이 미국사회에서 건강한 삶을 영위해가도록 돕고자 합니다. 이 목적을 가능케 하기 위해서는, 여러분의 진심어린 협력이 필요합니다.

이 연구는 청소년 여러분과 여러분의 부모님 사이에서 발생하는 갈등, 민족 정체성, 그리고 청소년의 문제 행동 간의 관계를 조사하는 것입니다. 따라서 질문지에는 '부모 자녀간의 관계, 청소년들이 자신을 인지하는 방식'에 대한 질문 뿐만 아니라 약물 남용, 비행행위와 같은 문제 행동에 관련된 질문이 포함되어 있습니다.

저는 14~18 연령의 재미교포 청소년들이 연구에 참여해주길 바라고 있습니다. 연구에 참여하고 싶으시면, 조사 설문지에 응답을 해주시기 바랍니다. 모든 응답은 익명으로 처리될 것이며, 비밀이 보장될 것입니다. 또한 연구의 참여는 자발적인 것이기 때문에, 연구 기간 중에 참여를 중단할 수도 있습니다. 설문지와는 별개로 수집되는 동의서 양식을 제외하고는, 설문지 상에 익명을 보장합니다.

조사연구의 영향으로 발생할 수 있는 윤리문제를 예방하기 위하여, 18살 이하의 참여자들은, 동의서에 부모나 가디언을 서명을 받아야 합니다. 동의서에는, 부모(또는 가디언) 와 그들의 자녀들이 서명해야 하는 두 개의 별개의 공란(line)이 있습니다. 이 양식이 있어야 여러분들에게 설문지를 배포할 수 있게 됩니다. 만약 연구에 참여하고자 한다면 동의서 양식 각 페이지에 여러분의 initial을 기록하고, 마지막 장에는 서명을 해주어야 합니다. 여러분이 보관하게 되는 동의서 양식에도 같은 방식으로 기록을 해주셔야 합니다.

설문지는 대략 20-30 분이면 완성할 수 있을것입니다. 제 전화번호는 412-586-9480, 그리고 메일 주소는 jelst55@pitt.edu입니다. 이 연구에 관련된 질문이 있으시다면, 제게 연락주십시오. 이 연구를 위하여 시간을 할애해주시고, 협조해주셔서 감사드립니다.

친애하는 재미교포(<u>Korean American)</u> 청소년 부모님께

　저는 피츠버그 대학, 사회사업학 박사학위 수료생입니다. 이번에 제 박사학위 논문으로, 재미 청소년들이 어떠한 방식으로 자신들이 당면하고 있는 어려운 문제에 대처하고 있는지, 그리고 어떻게 미국사회에 적응하고 있는지를 조사하려고 합니다. 이에 따라, 저는 여러분의 자녀분들이 이 연구에 동참해주기를 바라고 있습니다. 제 연구의 결과가 한국계 미국인 자녀들에 대한 이해를 넓히고, 궁극적으로는 그들이 미국 사회에서 건강한 삶을 살아가도록 돕기를 희망합니다.

　이 연구는 청소년과 그들의 부모 사이에서 발생하는 갈등, 민족 정체성, 그리고 청소년의 문제 행동 간의 관계를 조사하는 것입니다. 따라서 질문지에는 '부모 자녀간의 관계, 청소년들이 자신을 인지하는 방식'에 대한 질문 뿐만 아니라 약물 남용, 비행행위와 같은 문제 행동에 관련된 질문이 포함되어 있습니다.

　이 연구에서는 한국인 청소년으로, 설문지의 질문에 응답한 14~18세 연령의 사람을 포함하고 있습니다. 여러분 자녀들의 모든 응답은 익명으로 처리될 것이며, 비밀이 보장될 것입니다. 또한 연구의 참여는 자발적인 것이므로, 여러분의 자녀들이 연구 기간 중에 참여를 중단할 수도 있습니다. 설문지와는 별개로 수집되는 동의서를 제외하고는, 설문지 상의 익명을 보장합니다.

　 조사연구의 영향으로 발생할 수 있는 윤리문제를 예방하기 위하여, 18살 이하의 참여자들은, 동의서에 부모나 가디언을 서명을 받아야 합니다. <u>동의서에는, 부모(또는 가디언) 와 여러분의 자녀들이 서명해야 하는 두 개의 별개의 공란(line)이 있습니다.</u> 이 동의서는 제가 여러분의 자녀들에게 질문지를 배포할 수 있게 허락해줍니다. 여러분의 자녀들이 이 연구에 참여여부에 관해 결정할 수 있도록 해주십시오. 만약 여러분의 자녀가 이 연구에 참여를 허락하시면, 동의서 양식에 서명을 해주셔야합니다. 반드시 두개의 동의서 양식에 서명을 해주십시오. 그 양식 중의 하나는 여러분과 여러분의 자녀가 다른 하나는 조사자가 보관하게 될 것입니다.

　설문지는 대략 20-30 분이면 완성할 수 있을 것 입니다. 제 전화번호는 412-586-9480, 그리고 메일 주소는 *jelst55@pitt.edu*입니다. 이 연구에 관련된 질문이 있으시다면, 제게 연락 주십시오. 이 연구를 위하여 시간을 할애해주시고, 협조해주셔서 감사드립니다.

Appendix C:
Informed Consent Forms

1. **Informed Consent Form (English)**

2. **Korean Translated Informed Consent Form**

School of Social Work

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY
Youth (Age 14-17) Consent

TITLE: Intergenerational Conflict, Ethnic Identity And Their Influences On Problem Behaviors Among Korean American Adolescents

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:
Jee-Sook Lee, MSW, Ph.D. Candidate
School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh
3811 O'Hara St. Pittsburgh, PA 15213 (412) 586-9480

CO-INVESTIGATOR:
Gary F. Koeske Ph.D. (Dissertation Chairperson)
Professor, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh
2217 H, Cathedral of Learning Pittsburgh, PA 15213 (412) 624-6321

Source of Support: Internal Support

Why is this research being done? We are interested in finding out how Korean American adolescents deal with difficult issues and adjust to life in this country. We are conducting a study to see how conflict between you and your parents and your sense of identity relate to problem behaviors that you may have. We would like to know whether the relationship between you and your parents and your identity as Korean have affected your behavior.

Who is being asked to participate in this research study? We will ask approximately 140 teenagers to participate.   You are being asked to participate because you are Korean American and you are 14, 15, 16, 17, or 18 years old. Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time.

What procedures will be performed for research purposes? If you decide to take part in this research study, you will be asked to answer questions about your behaviors, sense of identity, and feelings about your relationship with your parents. Participation in this study will involve filling out a questionnaire. The questionnaire will be distributed either at the church or the *hakwon* that you are affiliated with. It will take about 20-30 minutes. The survey questionnaire has 7 sections; two sections are about your relationship with your parents; one section is about your identity as Korean; three sections are about problem behaviors (e.g., drug use, violence, intention, and depression, etc) you may have; and one section is about general information about you and your parents. You can ask any questions regarding the questionnaire any time during or after the completion of the survey questionnaire.

Participant's Initial_____

What are the possible risks, side effects, and discomforts of this research study? The potential risks related to participating in this study include the possible embarrassment some people feel when asked about personal matters. The questionnaire contains some sensitive items such as substance use, delinquent acts, and your relationship with your parents. You do not have to answer any questions that you would rather not answer, and you may stop answering questions at any time. There is also a slight risk that the information you provide will not be kept confidential (private). We will do every thing we can to ensure that the information you provide is kept confidential (private).

What are the possible benefits from participating in this research study? There are no direct benefits for you to participating in this study. However, you may feel positive about yourself by knowing that you are helping others by participating in this study. Moreover, we hope that the study will increase understanding of Korean American adolescents' behavior problems so that we can better serve Korean American adolescents.

If I agree to take part in this research study, will I be told of any new information that may be found during the course of the study? You, or your representative, will be promptly notified if any new information, either good or bad, develops during the course of this study, which may cause you to change your mind about staying in the study.

Will my insurance provider, or my family be charged for the costs of any procedures performed as part of this research study? You will not be charged for the costs of any of the procedures performed for the purpose of this research study.

Will I be paid if I take part in this research study? No, there will be no monetary compensation.

Who will know about my participation in this research? Any information about you obtained from this research will be kept as confidential (private) as possible. All records related to your involvement in this research study will be stored in a locked file cabinet. Your name will not be asked on the survey questionnaire. The only place that your name appears is on this consent form, which will be kept separate from the completed questionnaire.

Who will have access to identifiable information related to my participation in this research? In addition to the investigators listed on the first page of this consent form, the following individuals will or may have access to identifiable information related to your participation in this research study:

Authorized representatives of the University of Pittsburgh Research Conduct and Compliance Office may review your identifiable research information for the purpose of monitoring the appropriate conduct of this research study.

In unusual cases, the investigator may be required to release identifiable information related to your participation in this research study in response to an order from a court of law. If the investigator learns that you or someone with whom you are involved is in serious danger of potential harm, they will need to inform, as required by Pennsylvania law, the appropriate agencies.

Participant's Initial_____

For how long will the investigators be permitted to use and disclose identifiable information related to my participation in this research study? The investigators may continues to use and disclose, for the purposes described above, identifiable information related to your participation in this research study for 5 years.

Is my participation in this research study voluntary? Your participation in this research study is completely voluntary. Whether or not you provide your consent for participation in this research study will have no affect on your current or future relationship with the church that you are affiliated with or the *hakwon* that you are enrolled.

May I withdraw, at a future date, my consent for participation in this research study? You may withdraw, at any time, your consent for participation in this research study, to include the use and disclosure of your identifiable information for the purposes described above. (Note, however, that if you withdraw your consent for the use and disclosure of your identifiable information for the purposes described above, you will also be withdrawn, in general, from further participation in this research study.) Any identifiable research recorded for, or resulting from, your participation in this research study prior to the date that you formally withdrew your consent may continue to be used and disclosed by the investigators for the purposes described above.

To formally withdraw your consent for participation in this research study you should provide a written and dated notice of this decision to the principal investigator of this research study at the address listed on the first page of this form.

Your decision to withdraw your consent for participation in this research study will have no affect on your current or future relationship with the church (or *hakwon*) you are affiliated with.

Participant's Initial_____

****

VOLUNTARY CONSENT (14-17 years of age)

All of the above has been explained to me and all of my current questions have been answered. I understand that I am encouraged to ask questions about any aspect of this research study during the course of this study, and that such future questions will be answered by the researchers listed on the first page of this form. Any questions I have about my rights as a research participant will be answered by the Human Subject Protection Advocate of the IRB Office, University of Pittsburgh (1-866-212-2668).

By signing this form, I agree to participate in this research study. A copy of this consent form will be given to me.

_____
Participant's Name (Print)

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

PARENTAL CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

I understand that, as a minor (age less than 18 years) the above-named child is not permitted to participate in this research study without my consent. Therefore, by signing this form, I give my consent for his/her participation in this research study.

_____   _____
Parent's or Guardian's Name (Print)   Relationship to Participant

_____   _____
Parent's or Guardian's Signature   Date

Participant's Initial_____

VETIFICATION OF EXPLANATION

I certify that I have carefully explained the purpose and nature of this research study to the above-named child in age appropriate language. He/she has had an opportunity to discuss it with me in detail. I have answered all his/her questions and he/she has provided affirmative agreement (i.e., assent) to participate in this study.

_____
Principal Investigator's Name (Print)

_____   _____
Signature of Principal Investigator   Date

Participant's Initial_____

사회 조사 참여 동의서
청소년 (14-17세) 동의서

논문 제목: 세대간의 갈등과 한인 정체성이 재미청소년의 문제행동에
  미치는 영향

책임연구자:
이 지숙 박사과정 수료자
피츠버그 대학교, 사회사업학과
3811 O'Hara St. Pittsburgh, PA 15213 (412) 586-9480

공동연구자:
Gary F. Koeske, Ph.D. (Dissertation Chairperson)
피츠버그 대학교, 사회사업학과
2217 H. Cathedral of Learning Pittsburgh, PA 15213 (412) 624-6321

왜 이 조사가 이루어지는가? 본 연구자는 미국에 거주하는 한인 청소년들이 겪는 문제들과 그들의 문화 적응력에 관심이 있습니다. 본 연구는 부모와 자녀간의 갈등과 한인으로서의 정체성이 청소년 여러분의 행동에 어떻게 영향을 미치는지를 조사하고자 합니다.

누가 이 조사에 참여하는가? 대략 140명의 한인 청소년들이 이 조사에 참여하게 됩니다. 14세에서 18세의 청소년 여러분은 이 조사에 참여하실 수 있습니다. 본 조사는 여러분이 소속된 교회나 학원에서 이루어 질 것입니다. 또한 본 조사는 자발적으로 이루어지고 언제든지 원하는 때에 그만두실 수 있습니다.

본 조사는 어떠한 단계를 거치는가? 여러분이 만약 본 조사에 참여하기로 결정하셨다면, 여러분은 일련의 질문(세대간의 갈등, 한인 정체성, 문제행동)이 담긴 설문지에 답하시면 됩니다. 설문지를 답하시는데 소요되는 시간은 대략 20-30분이며 설문지는 7부분으로 구성되어있습니다; 여러분과 여러분의 부모님과의 관계에 대한 질문들 2 부분; 한인 정체성에 관한 질문 1 부분; 문제 행동과 관련된 질문 3 부분(예, 약물, 비행, 또는 불량 써클 관련); 여러분과 여러분의 부모에 대한 일반적인 질문 1 부분

본 조사가 야기할 수 있는 부작용이나 불쾌감 또는 문제점들은 무엇인가? 본 조사에는 개인적인 사항을 묻는 문항들이 있으며, 어떤 분들은 그런 질문들로 인해 당혹해 하실 수 있습니다. 만약 여러분이 답하시기 곤란하거나 싫으신 문항이 있다면 그 문항에 답하지 않으셔도 되며 또한 언제든지 원하시는 때에 설문지 작성을 그만두셔도 됩니다. 또 다른 문제점은 여러분이 제공하신 정보의 비밀이 완전히 보장되지 않을 수도 있습니다. 하지만 본 조사자들은 여러분이 제공하신 정보의 비밀을 보장하기 위해 최선을 다할 것입니다.

본 조사에 참여함으로써 얻게되는 이득은 무엇인가? 여러분이 본 조사의 참여로 인해 받으시는 직접적인 혜택은 없습니다. 하지만 본 조사에 참여하심으로써 여러분은 다른 사람들을 도우실 수 있습니다. 또한 저희는 이 조사로 인해 미주 한인 청소년에 대한 이해 증진과 그에 따른 복지 향상을 기대합니다

나의 보험회사나 나의 부모가 이 조사에 내가 참여함으로 비용을 지불해야 하는가? 여러분의 부모님은 어떠한 비용도 지불하실 필요가 없습니다.

본 조사에 참여함으로 금전적 보상을 받는가? 아니오. 금전적 보상은 없습니다.

누가 내가 이 조사에 참여하는지 알게 되는가? 여러분이 제공한신 정보는 가능한 한 비밀이 보장됩니다. 모든 정보는 잠겨진 캐비넷에 보관될 예정이며 여러분의 이름은 설문지 어디에도 나타나지 않습니다. 여러분이 이름을 표기해야하는 곳은 이 동의서 뿐이며, 이 동의서는 설문지와 따로 보관될 예정입니다.

누가 나의 개인적인 정보에 접근할 수 있는가? 이 동의서 첫 장에 명시된 2명의 조사자외에 다음과 같은 기관들이 여러분이 제공하신 정보에 접근할 수 있습니다. 먼저 피츠버그 대학 내의 모든 사회 조사를 관장하는 기관이 본 조사가 제대로 이루어지는지를 감독하기 위해서 여러분이 제공하신 정보에 접근할 수 있습니다. 또한 아주 드문 예로 법원이 여러분이 제공하신 정보를 공개하도록 요구할 수 있습니다. 또한 만약 조사자가 여러분이 나 또는 여러분과 관련된 누군가가 심각한 위험상태에 놓여있다고 판단 될 때 본 조사자는 펜실베니아 법에 의하여 이 사실을 관련 기관에 보고할 의무가 있습니다.

얼마나 오랫동안 내가 제공한 정보를 조사자가 사용할 수 있는가? 본 조사자는 위에 제시된 본 조사의 목적을 위하여 약 5년간 여러분이 제공하신 정보를 사용할 수 있습니다.

본 조사의 참여는 자발적인 것인가? 여러분의 참여는 전적으로 자발적인 것입니다. 여러분이 이 조사에 참여하느냐의 여부가 여러분과 여러분이 속해있는 교회나 학원과의 미래 관계에 어떠한 영향도 미치지 않습니다.

내가 미래에 언제든지 이 조사에 참여를 거부할 수 있는가? 여러분은 언제든지 참여를 거절하거나 여러분이 제공하신 개인 정보가 본 조사의 목적을 위해 사용되는 것을 거절할 수 있습니다 (주의, 만약 여러분이 제공하신 개인정보가 본 조사의 목적을 위해 사용되는 것을 거절하신다면, 여러분은 더 이상 본 조사에 참여하실 수가 없습니다.) 여러분이 본 조사의 참여를 거절하신 날짜 전에 습득된 정보는 본 조사의 목적을 위해 사용될 수 있습니다.

공식적으로 여러분이 제공하신 동의서를 취하하시기 위해서 여러분은 동의서 취하를 위한 문서를 작성하셔서 첫장에 명시된 주조사자에게 제공하시면 됩니다. 여러분이 이 조사에 참여하느냐의 여부가 여러분과 여러분이 속해있는 학원, 교회와의 미래 관계에 어떠한 영향도 미치지 않습니다.

자발적 동의란 (14-17세) (VOLUNTARY CONSENT 14-17 years of age)

위의 모든 사항들이 나에게 설명되었으며 나의 모든 질문도 대답되었습니다. 내가 본 조사과정 중 언제라도 질문할 수 있고 나의 질문이 첫장에 명시된 주 조사자에 의해 대답될 것을 압니다. 사회 조사 참여자로써의 나의 권리에 관한 질문은 피츠버그 대학교 사회 조사참여자 권리 옹호기관 (the Human Subject Protection Advocate of the IRB Office, University of Pittsburgh, 412-578-8570) 에 의해 대답될 것입니다.

본란에 서명 함으로써 나는 본 조사에 참여할 것을 동의합니다. 동의서 중 한 부는 나에게 주어질 것입니다.

자녀의 참여에 대한 부모님의 동의란 (PARENTAL CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE)

위의 명시된 자녀가 나의 동의 없이 본 조사에 참여할 수 없음을 이해합니다 그러므로, 본란에 싸인함으로써 나는 나의 자녀가 본 조사에 참여함을 동의합니다.

설명 확인란 (VERIFICATION OF EXPLANATION)

본 조사자는 본 조사의 목적과 내용을 위의명시된 참가자에게 그 나이에 적당한 용어로 주의깊게 설명했음을 확인합니다. 위의 상기된 참가자에게 자세히 토론할 기회가 주어졌으며 본 조사자는 모든 질문에 응답하였습니다. 위의 참여자가 본 조사에 참여하기 위한 긍정적 동의를 제공하였습니다.

Appendix D:
Survey Questionnaire

University of Pittsburgh

School of Social Work

Dear Young Korean American:

As part of my doctoral (Ph.D.) degree at the University of Pittsburgh, PA and as a Korean myself, I am interested in studying how Korean-American adolescents deal with difficult issues and adjust to life in this country.   It is not an easy task for Korean-American youth to go through difficult life challenges as an adolescent and as a minority in this country. I hope that the outcomes of the study will lead us to better understand our fellow Korean youth and ultimately help them to lead better lives in this country.

Please keep in mind that your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw your participation at any time during the study. Also, your name will not be used in any of the findings. **You should not put your name on the questionnaire. Your responses are anonymous.**

It will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Your honest answers will be greatly appreciated. If you have any questions during the survey, please raise your hand. I will come and answer your question. If you have any questions after the survey, please feel free to call me at (412) 586-9480 or email me at jelst55@pitt.edu. Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Jee-Sook Lee, M.S.W.
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Pittsburgh
School of Social Work

Please Keep in Mind

Parters refer to
① **Your natural parents**
② **An adult or adults that you are living with and supervise you at home (your caretaker/s)**

Section I: General Conflicts in Home with Your Parents

Below is a list of topics that might have caused conflict between you and your parents. Please circle the number that best describes how often each topic **has resulted in conflict (or caused problems)** between you and your parents **during the last 6 months**, using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Almost Never caused conflict	**Rarely** caused conflict	caused conflict **Several Times**	**Frequently** caused conflict	caused conflict **Almost Everyday**

1. Telephone calls	1	2	3	4	5
2. Time for going to bed	1	2	3	4	5
3. Cleaning up bedroom	1	2	3	4	5
4. Doing homework	1	2	3	4	5
5. Putting away clothes	1	2	3	4	5
6. Using the television	1	2	3	4	5
7. Cleanliness (washing, showers, brushing teeth)	1	2	3	4	5
8. Which clothes to wear	1	2	3	4	5
9. How neat clothing looks	1	2	3	4	5
10. Making too much noise at home	1	2	3	4	5
11. Table manners	1	2	3	4	5
12. How money is spent	1	2	3	4	5
13. Picking books or movies	1	2	3	4	5
14. Allowance	1	2	3	4	5
15. Going places without parents (shopping, movies, etc)	1	2	3	4	5
16. Turning off lights in house	1	2	3	4	5
17. Buying records, games, toys, and things	1	2	3	4	5
18. Going on dates	1	2	3	4	5
19. Who should be friends	1	2	3	4	5
20. Selecting new clothes	1	2	3	4	5

	1 Almost Never caused conflict	2 Rarely caused conflict	3 caused conflict Several Times	4 Frequently caused conflict	5 caused conflict Almost Everyday

	1	2	3	4	5
21. Coming home on time	1	2	3	4	5
22. Getting to school on time	1	2	3	4	5
23. Getting low grades in school	1	2	3	4	5
24. Helping out around the house	1	2	3	4	5
25. Talking back to parents	1	2	3	4	5
26. Getting up in the morning	1	2	3	4	5
27. Bothering you when you want to be left alone	1	2	3	4	5
28. Messing up the house	1	2	3	4	5
29. How to spend free time	1	2	3	4	5
30. What you eat	1	2	3	4	5

Section II: Cultural Conflicts Between You and Your Parents

Below are statements that describe situations that may cause conflict between you and your parents. For each item, please indicate how often your parents' behavior **has resulted in conflict** (**or caused problems**) between you and your parents **during the last 6 months**, using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Almost Never caused conflict	**Rarely** caused conflict	caused conflict **Several Times**	**Frequently** caused conflict	caused conflict **Almost Everyday**

1. Your parents want you to obey everything that they say	1	2	3	4	5
2. Your parents enter your room without knocking on the door	1	2	3	4	5
3. Your parents complain when you talk to a friend of the opposite sex	1	2	3	4	5
4. Your parents expect you to date only Koreans	1	2	3	4	5
5. Your parents tell you to speak Korean at home	1	2	3	4	5
6. Your parents seem to care about nothing but your grades	1	2	3	4	5
7. Your parents decide things (e.g., career, job, major) for you without asking your opinion	1	2	3	4	5
8. Your parents act like you are their property	1	2	3	4	5
9. Your parents' academic expectations exceed your performance	1	2	3	4	5
10. The communication between you and your parents becomes difficult because of language differences (e.g., you speak English whereas your parents speak Korean)	1	2	3	4	5
11. Your parents tell you to take Korean language classes	1	2	3	4	5
12. Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family	1	2	3	4	5
13. Your parents argue that they show you love by housing, feeding, and educating you	1	2	3	4	5
14. Your parents don't want you to bring shame upon the family	1	2	3	4	5
15. Your parents expect you to behave like a proper Korean	1	2	3	4	5
16. Your parents treat you differently because of your gender	1	2	3	4	5
17. Your parents demand that you show respect for elders	1	2	3	4	5

1	2	3	4	5
Almost Never caused conflict	**Rarely** caused conflict	caused conflict **Several Times**	**Frequently** caused conflict	caused conflict **Almost Everyday**

18. Your parents link education success to life success	1	2	3	4	5
19. Your parents tell you to hurry up (빨리 빨리)	1	2	3	4	5
20. Your parents do not show enough affection for you	1	2	3	4	5
21. Your parents judge you based on their Korean standards	1	2	3	4	5
22. Your parents put too much emphasis on Korean traditions	1	2	3	4	5
23. Your parents do not approve of open displays of affection (e.g., kissing or hugging) between you and your girl/boy friend	1	2	3	4	5
24. Your parents tell you to participate in Korean traditional activities	1	2	3	4	5
25. Your parents are uncomfortable talking to you about sexual behaviors (e.g., kissing or hugging)	1	2	3	4	5
26. Your parents do not let you have any free time to hang out with your friends	1	2	3	4	5
27. Your parents hardly ever compliment you	1	2	3	4	5
28. Your parents compare you with other kids	1	2	3	4	5
29. Your parents seem to live their lives through you	1	2	3	4	5
30. Your parents embarrass you because of their problems with English	1	2	3	4	5

Section III: Multigroup Ethnic Identity

These questions are about your Korean ethnicity and how you feel about it or react to it.   Please read each question carefully and answer them honestly.

Circle the number that indicates how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

1	2	3	4
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as Korean history, traditions, and customs	1	2	3	4
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic groups	1	2	3	4
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me	1	2	3	4
4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership	1	2	3	4
5. I am happy that I am a member of the group that I belong to	1	2	3	4
6. I have strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group	1	2	3	4
7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me	1	2	3	4
8. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group	1	2	3	4
9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group	1	2	3	4
10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs	1	2	3	4
11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group	1	2	3	4
12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background	1	2	3	4

Please check the one choice that best describes you.

13. There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?

_____1. I consider myself basically a Korean. Even though I live and work in America, I still view myself basically as a Korean.

_____2. I consider myself basically as an American. Even though I have a Korean background and characteristics, I still view myself basically as an American.

_____3. I consider myself as a Korean-American, although deep down I always know I am a Korean.

_____4. I consider myself as a Korean-American, although deep down, I view myself as an American first.

_____5. I consider myself as a Korean-American. I have both Korean and American characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.

14. How comfortable are you with your ethnic identity as a Korean-American?

_____1. Extremely Uncomfortable

_____2. Very Uncomfortable

_____3. Somewhat Uncomfortable

_____4. Somewhat comfortable

_____5. Very Comfortable

_____6. Extremely Comfortable

Section IV: Youth Behaviors

This section deals with your own behavior. Remember that all your answers are confidential and anonymous.

How often did each behavior occur **since the Start of School in September (2003):**

0	1	2
Never	Once	More than Once

How many times have you…

	0	1	2
1. run away from home	0	1	2
2. carried a weapon	0	1	2
3. been involved in physical fights, including gang fights	0	1	2
4. started a fire where you should not burn anything	0	1	2
5. damaged a parked car (slashing tires, breaking antenna, or scratching paint)	0	1	2
6. trespassed anywhere you were not supposed to go (like private property, empty house, or building sites	0	1	2
7. stolen something from an open shop or store (shoplifting)	0	1	2
8. stolen a car, motorcycle, or bicycle	0	1	2
9. taken a car or motorcycle for a ride without the owner's permission	0	1	2
10. used inhalants (glue, nitrous, poppers, paint, nail polish or aerosol sprays) to get high	0	1	2
11. smoked cannabis (marijuana, hashish, grass, pot, weed)	0	1	2
12. used any other illegal drugs (other than the ones described above) (e.g., LSD, ecstasy, acid, mushroom, cocaine, heroin, PCP, or crystal)	0	1	2
13. used tranquilizers or other prescription drugs (valium, librium, thorazine, miltown, equanil, meprobamate, etc.) to get high	0	1	2
14. had alcohol to drink	0	1	2
15. been drunk	0	1	2
16. driven when you had a good bit to drink	0	1	2
17. smoked (cigarettes)	0	1	2
18. chewed tobacco	0	1	2
19. done something else that could have gotten you in trouble with the police	0	1	2
20. gotten detention at school	0	1	2

	0	1	2
	Never	Once	More than Once

How many times have you …

21. been suspended or sent home from school for bad behaviors	0	1	2
22. skipped school	0	1	2
23. used force or threats to get money from people	0	1	2
24. used any kind of weapon in a fight (such as a gun, knife, chain, broken bottle, or rock)	0	1	2
25. cheated on school work (e.g., cheating on tests or exams, copying from another student)	0	1	2
26. lied about your age to get into someplace or buy something (e.g., sneaking into R-rated movies or buying alcohol)	0	1	2
27. made rude telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty or threatening things	0	1	2
28. sworn loudly in a public place	0	1	2
29. stolen something from another student at school	0	1	2
30. snuck into movies, bus or metro without paying for them	0	1	2
31. thrown objects, such as rocks or bottles, at people or moving cars	0	1	2
32. hit another person in a serious effort to hurt them	0	1	2
33. took money from home without permission	0	1	2
34. done something with a gang	0	1	2
35. lied to a teacher	0	1	2
36. lied to a parent	0	1	2

Section V: Your Intention

Please circle the number for each item that comes closest to describing the likelihood of your involvement with each behavior in next 6 months.

How likely is it that you will do each behavior **in Next 6 Months**.

0	1	2
Definitely Won't do	Unlikely	Likely

In the next 6 months you will be likely to…

	0	1	2
1. run away from home	0	1	2
2. carry a weapon	0	1	2
3. be involved in physical fights, including gang fights	0	1	2
4. take money from home without permission	0	1	2
5. steal something from an open shop or store (shoplifting)	0	1	2
6. take a car or motorcycle for a ride without the owner's permission	0	1	2
7 use drugs (e.g., marijuana, LSD, glue, mushroom, ecstasy, upper, speed, Ritalin, valium, downers, cocaine, heroin, etc.) to get high	0	1	2
8. drink (alcohol)	0	1	2
9. smoke (or chew tobacco)	0	1	2
10. do something else that can get you in trouble with the police	0	1	2
11. get detention (or suspended) at school	0	1	2
12. skip school	0	1	2
13. cheat on school work (e.g., cheating on tests or exams, copying from another student)	0	1	2
14. lie about your age to get into someplace or buy something (e.g., sneaking into R-rated movies or buying alcohol)	0	1	2
15. swear loudly in a public place	0	1	2
16. sneak into movies, bus or metro without paying for them	0	1	2
17. hit another person in a serious effort to hurt them	0	1	2
18. do something with a gang	0	1	2
19. lie to a teacher	0	1	2
20. lie to a parent	0	1	2

Section VI: Your Feelings

Using the scale below, indicate the number which best describes how often you felt or behaved this way- **DURING THE PAST WEEK**

0	1	2
Hardly ever or Never	Some of the time	Much or Most of the time

DURING THE PAST WEEK:

	0	1	2
1. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	0	1	2
2. I felt depressed.	0	1	2
3. I felt everything I did was an effort.	0	1	2
4. My sleep was restless.	0	1	2
5. I was happy.	0	1	2
6. I felt lonely.	0	1	2
7. People were unfriendly.	0	1	2
8. I enjoyed life.	0	1	2
9. I felt sad.	0	1	2
10. I felt that people disliked me.	0	1	2
11. I could not get "going."	0	1	2
12. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.	0	1	2

Section VII: About You and Your Parents

Please check the answer that best describes you.

1. What is your gender?
    _____1) Female
    _____2) Male

2. How old are you?
    _____1) 14
    _____2) 15
    _____3) 16
    _____4) 17
    _____5) 18 or older

3. What grade are you in?
    _____1) 8th
    _____2) 9th
    _____3) 10th
    _____4) 11th
    _____5) 12th
    _____6) I am not in school

4. Who are the people that take care of you? Mark only ONE
    _____1) My natural parents
    _____2) A natural parent and a step-parent
    _____3) Single parent
    _____4) Other relatives
    _____5) Foster parents
    _____6) Adopted parents
    _____7) Other   Please specify_____

5. Are both your parents Korean?
    _____Yes
    _____No,   If no, please specify_____

6. In what country were **You born**?
    _____

7. In what country was your **Mother born**?
    _____

8. In what country was your **Father born**?
    _____

9. How many years have you lived in the United States?
    _____Years _____Months

10. Is your Mother currently living in the United States?
    _____1) No
    _____2) Yes,   How long has she lived in the U.S.   _____Years _____Months
                    (Give your best guess if you are not sure.)
    _____3) N/A (Non Applicable)

11. Is your Father currently living in the United States?
    _____1) No
    _____2) Yes,   How long has he lived in the U.S.   _____Years _____Months
                     (Give your best guess if you are not sure.)
    _____3) N/A (Non Applicable)

12. What is the primary language that you speak to your Mother?
    _____1) Korean Only
    _____2) Mostly Korean, Some English
    _____3) Korean and English about equally
    _____4) Mostly English, Some Korean
    _____5) Only English

13. What is the primary language that you speak to your Father?
    _____1) Korean Only
    _____2) Mostly Korean, Some English
    _____3) Korean and English about equally
    _____4) Mostly English, Some Korean
    _____5) Only English

14. What is the marital status of your parents?
    Mark only ONE
    _____1) Married
    _____2) Living together
    _____3) Never been married
    _____4) Widowed
    _____5) Divorced
    _____6) Separated

15. What is your Father's highest level of education?
    _____1) Less than High school
    _____2) Graduated from High school or equivalent
    _____3) Some College, no degree
    _____4) Associate's Degree
    _____5) Completed occupational or vocational program
    _____6) College graduate BS, BA, AB etc.
    _____7) Post Graduate MA, MS, MD, Dds, JD, Ph.D.

16. What is your Mother's highest level of education?

_____1) Less than High school

_____2) Graduated from High school or equivalent

_____3) Some College, no degree

_____4) Associate's Degree

_____5) Completed occupational or vocational program

_____6) College graduate BS, BA, AB etc.

_____7) Post Graduate MA, MS, MD, Dds, JD, Ph.D

17. What is your Father's job?

_____

18. What is your Mother's job?

_____

19. What is your family's annual income?
    (Give your best guess if you are not sure.)

_____1) Less than $10,000

_____2) $10,001- $20,000

_____3) $20,001- $40,000

_____4) $40,001- $60,000

_____5) $60,001- $80,000

_____6) $80,001- $100,000

_____7) $100,001 and above

END

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