

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: Parental Contributions to Aspects of Ethnic Development Among Four- and Seven-Year-Old Chinese-American Children

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This study had two major purposes. The first focused upon understanding the development of aspects of ethnic development among 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American boys and girls from immigrant and non-immigrant families. The second focused upon understanding the contribution of selected parental (fathers' and mothers') characteristics on aspects of children's ethnic development. Results revealed 7-year-olds had significantly higher ethnic awareness and cognition scores than 4-year-olds. However, 7-year-olds also had significantly lower negative ethnic attitudes scores, and tended to have lower ethnic preference scores than 4-year-olds. In addition, ethnic awareness and cognition were the criterion variables harboring most of the significant predictor variables. Age was the strongest predictor variable. Parental (fathers' and mothers' combined) encouragement was a significant negative predictor of children's negative attitudes, while parental child rearing attitudes tended to be a positive predictor of children's ethnic awareness. Among 4-year-olds, ethnic awareness and cognition were the criterion variables harboring most of the significant predictor variables. Among 7-year-olds, however, ethnic preference and positive ethnic attitudes were

those harboring most of the significant predictor variables. Selected fathers' characteristics appeared to be more predictive of aspects of children's ethnic development than mothers', particularly among 4-year-olds. However, selected fathers' and mothers' characteristics were found to contribute both positively and negatively to aspects of 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American children's ethnic development.

Parental Contributions to Aspects of Ethnic Development Among
Four- and Seven-Year-Old Chinese-American Children

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
REVIEW OF LITERATURE	
Normative Aspects of Ethnic Development	4
Early Studies on Children's Ethnic Development	7
Ethnic Awareness	7
Ethnic Preference	9
Ethnic Attitudes	14
Cognitive Aspects of Ethnicity	17
Ethnic Identity	18
Ethnic Stability	19
Ethnic Constancy	20
Summary	22
Impact of Parents on Children's Ethnic Development	23
Summary	28
METHOD	
Sample	30
Immigrant vs. Non-immigrant Families	30
Measures of Children's Ethnic Development	37
Ethnic Awareness	37
Ethnic Preference	39
Ethnic Attitudes	40
Ethnic Cognition	42
Measures of Parental Characteristics	46
Parental Performance	46
Parental Encouragement	47
Parental Child Rearing Attitudes	47
Demographic Questionnaire	48
Procedures	49
RESULTS	52
Developmental Aspects of Ethnic Development	53
Impact of Age, Sex and Family Type	53
Differences and Relationships Between Aspects	55
Parental Contributions to Ethnic Development	59
Impact of Age, Sex and Family Type	59
Relationships Between Parental Characteristics	64
Relationships Between Parental Characteristics and Children's Ethnic Development	67
Regression Models of Parental Contributions	67
DISCUSSION	78
Developmental Nature of Ethnic Development	78
Impact of Age, Sex and Family Type	78
Differences and Relationships Between Aspects	83
Parental Characteristics	88
Impact of Age, Sex and Family Type	88
Relationships Between Parental Characteristics	91

Relationships Between Parental Characteristics and Children's Ethnic Development	93
Parental Contributions to Children's Ethnic Development	94
Summary	98
Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research	100
Sample	100
Parental Measures	101
Children's Measures	103
Others Studies	106
Implications for Early Childhood Educators	107
BIBLIOGRAPHY	112
APPENDICES	116
A. Parental Performance Questionnaire	117
B. Parental Encouragement Questionnaire	119
C. Parental Attitudes Survey	121
D. Demographic Questionnaire	125

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Ethnic Development Among Three- to Twelve-Year-Olds	6
Figure 2: Standardized Mean Ethnic Development Scores of 4- and 7-Year-Old Chinese-American Children	57
Figure 3: Means Associated with Fathers' Performance Scores by Children's Age, Sex and Family Type	65

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Sample Description by Children's Age, Sex and Family Type (Immigrant vs. Non-Immigrant)	31
Table 2:	Comparison of Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Families on the Basis of Selected Demographic Characteristics	33
Table 3:	Means and Standard Deviations Associated with the Ethnic Development Scores of Chinese-American Children by Age	54
Table 4:	Standardized Means and Standard Deviations for Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores	56
Table 5:	T-values and Probability Levels Associated with the Differences Between the Ethnic Development Scores of Chinese-American 4- and 7-Year-Olds	58
Table 6:	Pearson Correlation Coefficients Expressing the Relationships Between the Ethnic Development Scores of Chinese-American 4- and 7-Year-Olds	60
Table 7:	Means and Standard Deviations Associated with the Parental Characteristic Scores of Fathers' and Mothers' by Family Type	62
Table 8:	Means and Standard Deviations Associated with Fathers' Performance Scores by Children's Age, Sex and Family Type	63
Table 9:	Pearson Correlation Coefficients Expressing the Relationships Between the Parental Characteristics of Fathers and Mothers	66
Table 10:	Pearson Correlation Coefficients Expressing the Relationships Between Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics and Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores	68
Table 11:	Results of Multiple Regressions Using Children's Age, Family Type, Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics in Predicting Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Awareness and Cognition Scores Separately	70
Table 12:	Results of the Multiple Regression Using Children's Age, Family Type and Total Parental Characteristics in Predicting Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Awareness, Cognition and Negative Attitude Scores Separately	72

Table 13: Results of the Multiple Regression Using Children's Age, Family Type, Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics in Predicting Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores Simultaneously	73
Table 14: Results of the Multiple Regression Using Family Type, Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics in Predicting 4-Year-Old Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores Simultaneously	75
Table 15: Results of the Multiple Regression Using Family Type, Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics in Predicting 7-Year-Old Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores Simultaneously	77

PARENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASPECTS OF ETHNIC DEVELOPMENT AMONG
FOUR- AND SEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHINESE-AMERICAN CHILDREN

INTRODUCTION

In today's world, where a global perspective has emerged as vital in the resolution of concerns associated with everyday living, the issue of ethnicity and its impact on the developing child has re-emerged as a major area of study. This has occurred in the United States as in other countries where interactions among individuals from various ethnic groups have increased, in part due to a highly mobile world. Sociologists, psychologists, educators, business personnel, and politicians have all observed and experienced this phenomenon, and have begun to deal with issues that arise from such diverse ethnic group interactions.

Most American children, whether from majority or minority ethnic groups, will have contact with individuals from other ethnic groups. Such diverse ethnic group interactions are inevitable in a global society, and children will need to learn to live with such ethnic diversity (Phinney & Rotheram, 1986). At the present time, therefore, research on understanding children's ethnic development appears to be an important endeavor. Ethnic development refers to children's developing concepts of ethnic awareness, preference and attitudes, as well as the cognition-related aspects of ethnic development consisting of ethnic identity, stability, and constancy (Brand, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974; Katz, 1976; Phinney & Rotheram, 1986). Past research in this area has focused primarily on a comparison between the ethnic development of Black and White children (Clark & Clark, 1939; Horowitz, 1939; Goodman, 1964; Spencer, 1982). Only a few studies have been done

with children from other ethnic groups (Aboud, 1984; Durrett & Davy, 1970; Fox & Jordan, 1973; Springer, 1950). The growing ethnic diversity of the population in the United States, therefore, suggests that studies on the ethnic development of children from ethnic backgrounds other than the Black or White groups would be an important endeavor at this time.

Currently, in the United States, the Chinese-American population is rapidly increasing, particularly on the West Coast. Open policy for immigrants from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan accelerates the growth of the Chinese-American population. The 1980 Census also indicated that Chinese-Americans outnumbered other Asian groups such as Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Asian-Indian (Doerner, 1985). As a result, studies focused on understanding the ethnic development of Chinese-American children would seem worthwhile.

In a study of the origins of ethnic development among young children, findings suggest that parents are likely to play a major role in facilitating their children's ethnic development (Katz, 1976). Research regarding the impact of parents on children's ethnic development is limited. However, studies that have been done suggest that certain parental characteristics appear to be important in children's ethnic development. These characteristics include parental performance of ethnic activities and behaviors, parental encouragement of children's involvement in these ethnic activities and behaviors, and parental child rearing attitudes. Studies focused on how these parental characteristics might affect Chinese-American children's ethnic development, therefore, would also appear worthwhile.

The purposes of this study were twofold in nature. First, this

study focused on describing the general nature of ethnic development among Chinese-American children, four and seven years of age, from both immigrant and non-immigrant families. Second, this study focused on delineating the impact of selected parental (fathers' and mothers') characteristics on children's ethnic development.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This review of literature is divided into two major sections. In the first section, research on the normative aspects of ethnic development among young children is discussed. Part I of this section focuses upon summarizing findings obtained from earlier studies on the development of ethnic awareness, preference, and attitudes. Part II describes current research on the cognition-related aspects of ethnic development, including ethnic identity, stability, and constancy.

The second section of this review of literature deals with the impact of parents on children's ethnic development. Attention is especially paid to the contributions of selected parental characteristics on children's ethnic development. These parental characteristics include performance of certain ethnic activities and behaviors, encouragement of children's involvement in these ethnic activities and behaviors, and child rearing attitudes.

Normative Aspects of Ethnic Development

In many ways, aspects of ethnic development parallel the developmental trends associated with other aspects of development. For example, like sex, ethnicity is determined at the time of conception. As such, therefore, it is not likely to be changed. Likewise, at birth, one is born into a sociocultural context that has rules and expectations associated with one's ethnicity and sex. These rules and expectations often form the basis upon which one's behavior and development are judged. Ethnicity and sex, therefore, are social concepts. They consist of cognitions about groups that affect children's perceptions and attitudes which often form part of their morality (Aboud, 1984). Ethnic development, therefore, plays a major

role in children's overall development.

Studies focused on delineating the normative aspects of ethnic development among young children can be divided into two major groups. In general, these groups can be separated into earlier developmental studies and studies on the more recent cognitive aspects of ethnic development.

It should be noted, however, that these two different groups of studies overlap one another, with each aspect of ethnic development in each group occurring either prior to, simultaneously or following each of the other aspects, indicating a highly complex developmental process (see Figure 1). For example, the development of ethnic awareness (early developmental studies) reaches a peak prior to ethnic identity (recent cognitive studies), while ethnic stability (recent cognitive studies) appears to simultaneously occur with the development of ethnic preference and attitudes (early developmental studies). On the other hand, ethnic constancy (recent cognitive studies), while it overlaps with the development of ethnic attitudes (early developmental studies), does not reach a peak until following ethnic attitudes. For the purposes of this review of literature, however, these groups of studies will be taken in chronological order, first centering on early developmental studies (e.g., ethnic awareness, preference and attitudes), followed by the cognition-related aspects of ethnic development (e.g., ethnic identity, stability and constancy). Generally, the earlier developmental studies were generated on the basis of psychoanalytic (Freud, 1933) and social learning (Bandura, 1965) perspectives, while the cognition related studies were based on a cognitive-developmental (Kohlberg, 1977; Piaget, 1968) perspective.

	Ages											
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
I. Early Developmental Studies												
Ethnic Awareness												(3 - 6)
Ethnic Preference												(3 - 8)
Ethnic Attitudes												(3 - 10)
II. Recent Cognitive Studies												
Ethnic Identity												(3 - 8)
Ethnic Stability												(3 - 10)
Ethnic Constancy												(6 - 12)

Figure 1. Ethnic Development Among Three- to Twelve-Year-Olds.

Early Studies on Children's Ethnic Development

Earlier studies on the developmental aspects of ethnic development focus upon such aspects as ethnic awareness, preference, and attitudes. Ethnic awareness refers to children's knowledge of their own ethnicity as well as those of others on the basis of such characteristics as skin and hair color or other facial features (Clark & Clark, 1939; Horowitz, 1939; Goodman, 1964; Durrett & Davy, 1978; Newman, Liss, & Sherman, 1983; Springer, 1950; Vaughan, 1963). Ethnic preference refers to children's tendency to favor certain ethnic groups in various choice situations, including choices between photographs known or unknown to the subjects, those they like to play with, have as a friend or like best (Fox & Jordan, 1973; Kircher & Furby, 1971; Madge, 1976; Rice, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974; Rowley, 1968; Springer, 1950; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Verna, 1982). Ethnic attitudes, however, refers to children's evaluation of their own and other ethnic groups using a variety of positive or negative remarks such as nice or naughty, good or bad, and pretty or ugly (Brand, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974; Goodman, 1964; Katz, 1976; Spencer, 1984; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Williams & Edward, 1969; Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975; Williams & Robertson, 1967). Generally, findings associated with the relationship between these three aspects of ethnic development suggest that they occur in three overlapping stages (Proshansky, 1966). Ethnic awareness is followed by preference, which is followed by attitudes. Research on each of these aspects of ethnic development is described in more detailed below, including information on age, ethnic group and sex differences.

Ethnic awareness. As previously indicated, ethnic awareness

refers to children's knowledge of their own and other ethnic groups on the basis of a variety of characteristics such as skin and hair color or other facial features (Clark & Clark, 1939; Durrett & Davy, 1978; Goodman, 1964; Horowitz, 1939). The most frequently used method in assessing ethnic awareness has been the employment of sets of dolls possessing one or more characteristics of various ethnic groups (Brand, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974; Katz, 1976). For example, in a test situation, children are shown two or more sets of dolls, identical except for skin and hair color. They are then asked to identify the doll which looks like them. The response a child makes to these sets of dolls gives the researcher an indication of a child's own ethnic awareness. In addition to dolls, other strategies such as photographs and line drawings have been used in the place of dolls. However, one major drawback of pictorial stimuli is that children tend to pick up the pictures according to the figure's facial expressions rather than the figure's ethnicity (Brand, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974; Radke, Sutherland, & Rosenberg, 1950). Dolls, however, are limited since they are identical except for skin color and hair style. In addition, children do not readily distinguish between the dolls on the basis of ethnicity, but treat dolls as dolls to play with.

On the basis of findings using measures of ethnic awareness described above, the following generalizations can be made. First, by three years of age children are quite aware of their own ethnicity and the ethnicity of others (Clark & Clark, 1939; Goodman, 1964; Horowitz, 1939; Newman, Liss, & Sherman, 1983; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). This awareness increases markedly by four, reaching a peak by 5 or 6 years of age. In addition, minority children (e.g., Black, Chinese) appear

to be more aware of their own ethnicity than their White counterparts (Fox & Jordan, 1973; Goodman, 1964; Horowitz, 1939). Perhaps, as these researchers argue, minority children are reinforced for being different ethnically in their social interactions with the majority populations. Friends, teachers and even parents appear to emphasize their ethnicity as unique and special from the majority. On the other hand, children in a homogeneous society (e.g., China) tend to pay less attention to ethnic differences than children in a multiethnic (e.g., U.S.A.) society (Morland & Hwang, 1981). As a result children in such a homogeneous society are more likely to develop ethnic awareness at slightly later ages. Finally, research indicates no sex differences in the development of ethnic awareness among young children (Goodman, 1964; Horowitz, 1939; Springer, 1950).

Ethnic Preference. Ethnic preference refers to children's tendency to favor a certain ethnic group over others in various choice situations (Durrett & Davy, 1978; Fox & Jordan, 1973; Kircher & Furby, 1972; Madge, 1976; Newman, Liss, & Sherman, 1983; Rohrer, 1977; Springer, 1950; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Sugawara, 1967; Verna, 1982). To assess ethnic preference, dolls, photographs and line drawings representing individuals from different ethnic groups have been widely used. The photographs and line drawings have been either known or unknown to the subjects. Photographs known to the subjects are used in sociometric measures. In addition, the choice questions asked of subjects have varied, including those which ask the subjects "who they would like to have as a playmate, sit next to in school, like best, invite to a birthday party, have as a friend or grow up to be like". On the basis of the choices subjects make, a researcher

determines the degree of preference a child has for a certain ethnic group.

On the basis of using the above preference measures, the following generalizations can be made. It seems clear that children as young as three do display ethnic preference, which continue to increase until seven or eight years of age. The nature of these preferences among subjects, however, differ depending upon the age of the child, time when the investigations were conducted, types of measurements used, types of questions asked, different ethnic groups studied, and the sex of the child.

There appears to be a curvilinear relationship between age and own-ethnic preference among three to eight-year olds (Clark, Hoever, & Dembo, 1980; Newman, Liss, & Sherman, 1983; Rice, Ruiz, Padilla, 1974). Children younger than five and older than seven tend to prefer children of their own ethnic group as friends more often than children between these ages. Perhaps, younger children are still in the process of discovering who they are, therefore, similarities among them enhances their preferences for friends of their own ethnic group. On the other hand, older children are already aware of their own ethnicity and begin to value and prefer friends who are from their own ethnic backgrounds.

When the variable of "time when studies were conducted" is taken into account, discrepancies in results are present. Earlier studies reveal that White children prefer dolls representing their own ethnic group as playmates, while Black children prefer dolls representing the White ethnic group as playmates (Clark & Clark, 1939; Durrett & Davy, 1978; Fine & Bowers 1984; Goodman, 1964; Kircher & Furby, 1972; Springer, 1950; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). This "out-group"

preference among Black children has been interpreted to reflect society's negative evaluation of Blacks during the time when these studies were conducted. More recent studies, however, have indicated a significant reverse pattern of ethnic preference occurring among Black children (Fox & Jordon, 1973; Madge, 1976; Newman, Liss, & Sherman, 1983). A larger proportion of Black children today prefer the Black doll as a playmate than a generation ago. Perhaps the Civil Rights Movement has made some impact, and programs focused on rediscovering the dignity and worth of the Black culture today have led Black children to gradually appreciate the value of their own culture and identity in society.

In reference to the types of measurements used, findings from studies have also provided inconsistent results. When sociometric tests are used, both Black and White children choose more friends of their own ethnic group (Madge, 1976). However, when photograph tests are used, both Black and White children prefer photographs of a White figure rather than a Black figure as a friend. Sociometrics employ photographs of children known to the subjects to obtain their friendship preferences. Such knowledge, therefore, may more realistically represent the subjects' real life preferences than preferences obtained from photograph tests. When choosing from a set of photographs of persons unknown, preferences for friends may be based on many other dimensions, including the characteristics of the photographs used as well as societal values and expectations.

The types of questions asked of subjects in various test situations have also produced contradictory results. For example, in one study (Newman, Liss, & Sherman, 1983), when Black children were

asked "who they would prefer as a playmate", they indicated that they would prefer a playmate of their own ethnic group. On the other hand, when the question was changed to "whom they would like to grow up to be", Black children preferred the White rather than the Black figure. The fact that Black children in this study preferred a playmate from their own ethnic group seems reasonable, since children tend to prefer friends who are similar to them both physically and culturally. However, although many Black adult models have emerged over the years for Black children to emulate, the majority of adults in societal positions of status and achievement today are still White. It is not unusual, therefore, that Black children would like to grow up to be like the models of status and achievement they encounter in life.

With respect to ethnic group differences, in addition to the Black and White differences mentioned above, Chicano children have been shown to prefer friends of their own ethnic group when both dolls and pictures are used in test situations (Newman, Liss, & Sherman, 1983; Rice, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974). However, it should be noted that during the preschool years, Chicano children find it difficult to distinguish between a White and a Chicano doll, causing them to often select the White doll as a playmate. The development of their own ethnic preference, therefore, occurs at a slower pace during these years. Nonetheless, by seven years of age, Chicano children show a clear preference for the Chicano doll as a playmate (Durrett & Davy, 1978; Rice, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974).

Among Asian-American (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, Korean) children in Hawaii, Springer (1950) found that they also prefer playmates of their own ethnic group on picture tests. This own ethnic preference for

playmates is magnified when the names of the nationalities of the figures in the pictures are identified. Springer (1950) also found that Asian-American children emphasize hair style, and size and shape of eyes in their preferences, while non-Asians emphasize more the color of hair and eyes. In addition, Rice, Ruiz & Padilla (1974) indicated that with increasing age, the ethnic preferences of minority group children are based on ethnic-cultural characteristics (e.g., style of interaction, manners), while White children rely more on physical attributes (e.g., size, hair color) in their preferences. Furthermore, when comparing the ethnic preferences of Chinese children from Hong Kong and Taiwan with Black and White children from the United States, Chinese preschool children were found to prefer children of their own ethnic group. This preference was significantly more than the preference American Black and White children had for children of their own ethnic groups (Morland & Hwang, 1981). Possibly the homogeneous nature of the Chinese societies studied, and the limited opportunities children in such cultures have in interacting with children from other cultures, may help to explain these findings.

Finally, regarding sex differences in ethnic preference among children, research generally supported the idea that no sex differences are present (Durrett & Davy, 1978; Genesee, Tucker, & Lambert, 1978; Rohrer, 1977). However, in one study (Sugawara, 1967), using White preschool children as subjects, boys were found to prefer friends of their own sex, regardless of their friends' ethnicity, while girls preferred friends of their own ethnic group, regardless of their friends' sex. Photographs of Black and White children were paired in all possible combinations and presented to subjects in choice

situations. These findings, therefore, suggested that boys' friendship preferences are more influenced by sex than ethnicity, while among girls the reverse is true. Perhaps, the differential socialization pressures placed upon boys and girls to conform to culturally appropriate behaviors can be used to explain these findings.

Ethnic Attitudes. Ethnic attitudes refers to how children evaluate their own and other ethnic groups by using a variety of positive or negative remarks to describe the groups (Durrett & Davy, 1978; Goodman, 1964; Sugawara, 1967; Williams & Edward, 1969; Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975). Unlike ethnic preference which measures the relative desire of a child for friends, ethnic attitudes centers upon why children desire such friends, thus requiring a higher level of cognitive thought. Most studies of ethnic attitudes among young children have used dolls and photographs as stimuli to obtain children's ethnic attitudes. In a test situation, children are either asked to associate a doll or a photograph to a positive or negative adjective, or to select a doll or a photograph to represent one that they liked best as a playmate or friend, and then to describe the reasons for their choices. These descriptions are then categorized into positive or negative remarks, from which the researcher determines the extent of children's positive and negative attitudes toward a certain ethnic group. Examples of positive remarks include such descriptions as clean, good, pretty, nice and helpful, while examples of negative remarks include such descriptions as bad, dirty, naughty, ugly and mean. Generally, results suggest that these attitudes are present among children three or four years of age (Durrett & Davy, 1978; Goodman, 1964; Sugawara, 1967; Williams & Edward, 1969; Williams, Best,

& Boswell, 1975). These attitudes, however, are primarily beginning attitudes which continue to develop until ten years of age when crystallized attitudes begin to form (Katz, 1976).

For all the ages studied, findings indicate that both White and Black children reveal more positive attitudes toward dolls and photographs representing the White ethnic group and more negative attitudes toward dolls and photographs representing the Black ethnic group (Clark & Clark, 1939; Goodman, 1964; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Sugawara, 1967; Williams, Best, & Beswell, 1975). For example, Stevenson & Stewart (1958) indicated that young children were less likely to describe Black children as giving aid to someone, but were more likely to describe them as the "aggressor" or "bad man." Likewise, Williams & Edwards (1969) interpreted these ethnic evaluations as suggesting that the word "white" meant bright and pure, while the word "black" meant evil and dirty. Theoretically, these findings have been interpreted from a sociocultural perspective, suggesting the presence of ethnic biases in our society which are embedded not only within the values and behaviors of society, but also in its language system. It should be pointed out, however, that more recent studies on Black children suggest that they have more positive own ethnic preferences than Black children twenty years ago (Jordan & Fox, 1973; Spencer, 1984; Branch & Newcombe, 1986). The Civil Rights Movement and programs focused on enhancing the positive image of Black people may be responsible for this change (Branch & Newcombe, 1986). However, while Black children today have developed a preference for members of their own ethnic group, they still evaluate Black persons less positively than White persons (Williams, Best, & Boswell, 1975).

Therefore, the improved self-evaluation of Blacks within present day society, which has emerged as a result of civil rights and Black movement programs, have still not been enough to completely eliminate the negative evaluations some Black children have of themselves.

Caution must be taken, however, regarding the strength of the findings just summarized, since some studies have found that these results are related to examiner effects. Brand, Ruiz, & Padilla (1976) found examiner effects indicating that researchers of the same ethnic group as the subjects can facilitate more positive own-ethnic attitudes among them than researchers of another ethnic group. Other studies, however, found no such Black-White examiner effects (Hraba & Grant, 1970).

Among Chinese-American children, younger children, ages five to seven years, demonstrate more negative attitudes toward their own ethnicity than older children seven to ten years of age (Davy & Mullen, 1980). In comparison, among White children positive attitudes toward their ethnic group reaches a peak at seven years of age then gradually declines (Williams, Best and Boswell, 1975). Black children, however, express positive attitudes toward the White ethnic group, although to a lesser degree than White children, with no appreciable age trends being observed. Furthermore, Chinese-American children living in Chinatown had more negative attitudes toward their own ethnic group than those not living in Chinatown (Fox & Jordan, 1973; Ou & McAdoo, 1981). The lower socioeconomic position Chinatown residents occupy and the societal status associated with such a position appear to influence Chinatown children's negative perception of their ethnic group. On the other hand, non-Chinatown children come from middle-class families who

have entered into the mainstream of society, experiencing the higher status of such a family position in society. Such middle-class Chinese-Americans have often caught the public's attention because of their hard-working characteristic and outstanding accomplishments in a variety of professions (Doerner, 1985). This may have led them to develop a more positive evaluation of their own ethnic group. Finally, with respect to research on sex differences, results revealed no significant differences between boys' and girls' ethnic attitudes during the early childhood years.

Cognitive Aspects of Ethnicity

Recent studies in the area of ethnic development among young children have focused on the cognition-related aspects of ethnicity. These cognition-related aspects of ethnicity include ethnic identity, stability and constancy (Aboud, 1984; Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Fine & Bowers, 1984; Genesee, Tucker, Lambert, 1978; Semaj, 1980; Spencer, 1984; Vaughan, 1963). Ethnic identity refers to children's knowledge that they are of one ethnic group or another (Aboud, 1984; Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1983; Kienetz, 1986; Spencer, 1984; Vaughan, 1963). Ethnic stability refers to children's recognition that their ethnicity remains the same over time (Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Spencer, 1984). Ethnic constancy refers to children's realization that despite changes which occur with respect to aspects of the self over time, one's ethnicity remains the same across a variety of situations (Aboud, 1984, Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Semaj, 1980; Vaughan, 1963). Generally, findings associated with the relationships between these cognition-related aspects of ethnicity indicate that they occur in

three overlapping stages (Aboud, 1984; Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Semaj, 1980; Spencer, 1984). Ethnic identity generally occurs before ethnic stability, followed by ethnic constancy. Research on each of these cognition-related aspects of ethnicity is described in more detail following, including information on age, ethnic group and sex differences.

Ethnic Identity. As previously indicated, ethnic identity refers to children's knowledge that they are of one ethnic group or another (Aboud, 1984; Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1983; Genesee, Tucker, & Lambert, 1978; Vaughan, 1963). The most frequently used method in assessing ethnic identity has been the employment of dolls and photographs representing various ethnic groups. In a test situation, children are asked to rate each ethnic doll in terms of how similar or dissimilar they think the doll/photograph is to themselves. The rating a child makes provides the researcher with an indication of a child's ethnic identity (Genesee, Tucker, Lambert, 1978).

Based upon the findings obtained using the assessment technique described above, several generalizations about children's ethnic identity can be made. Children as young as three years of age begin to show an understanding of the similarities and differences between their own and another child's ethnicity. However, their understanding does not represent a clear identity with their own ethnic group. A more distinct and differentiated ethnic identity does not occur until approximately eight years of age. In order for ethnic identity to fully develop, children must be able to correctly classify individuals into various ethnic groups (ethnic awareness). This ethnic classification ability reaches a peak about 4 or 5 years of age (Fine &

Bowers, 1984; Genesee, Tucker, & Lambert, 1978; Semaj, 1980).

With respect to studies on ethnic group comparisons, White children appear to have a clearer identity with their own ethnic group than children from other ethnic groups (e.g., Black, Asian), especially in a White-dominant society such as the United States (Fine & Bowers, 1984; Rohrer, 1977). Perhaps, White children have more opportunities to interact with others from their own group than children from other ethnic groups. These experiences may help to facilitate the development of White children's ethnic identity.

Sex appears to make some impact on children's ethnic identity. In a study by Fine & Bowers (1984), Black boys were significantly more likely than Black girls to identify themselves with the White doll. These and other researchers (Fine & Bowers, 1984; Ou & McAdoo, 1980) have argued that since the White culture represents the high status group in our society, and that boys more than girls are encouraged to reach higher levels of achievement and success, such a finding is not unusual. On the other hand, findings on Asian children show that the majority of them identify themselves with pictures of figures associated with their own ethnic group (Davey and Mullin, 1980; Springer, 1950; Ou & McAdoo, 1980). The ethnic identity of Asian children with their own ethnic group, therefore, is much greater. Possibly, Asian children have not experienced the ethnic bias in society that Black children have, which has influenced some Black children to identify with the White ethnic group.

Ethnic Stability. As previously indicated, ethnic stability refers to children's recognition that their ethnicity remains the same over time (Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Spencer, 1984). Research on

this aspect of ethnic development has been limited. The technique used in assessing children's sense of ethnicity as continuing over time has employed photographs unknown to the children. These photographs have represented persons from various ethnic groups at various age levels. In a test situation, children are asked to identify themselves with photographs of persons representing different ethnic groups at different ages and to provide a rationale for making their identifications. The answers children give are rated by anonymous raters on a Likert-type scale to determine their degree of ethnic stability.

Cognitive-developmentalists have argued that ethnic stability cannot occur until children have developed ethnic identity (Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980). Prior to that time, children must also learn how to correctly classify individuals into various ethnic groups (ethnic awareness). As previously discussed, ethnic awareness (classification) reaches a peak at 5 or 6 years of age (Clark & Clark, 1939; Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1980; Goodman, 1964; Horowitz, 1939; Katz, 1976; Newman, Liss & Sherman, 1983; Semaj, 1980; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). Ethnic identity, however, reaches a peak at eight years of age (Aboud, 1984, Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1983; Genesee, Tucker, Lambert, 1978; Vaughan, 1963). Ethnic stability gradually develops at 8 years of age, but does not reach a peak until about two years later. To date, no research has been found comparing the ethnic stability of children from various ethnic and sex groups during the early childhood years.

Ethnic Constancy. Ethnic constancy refers to children's understanding of ethnicity as unchanging despite a variety of changing

circumstances and characteristics (Aboud, 1982; Semaj, 1980). The most frequently used technique in assessing ethnic constancy has been to show children a series of pictures of children from various ethnic groups in which their clothing or other characteristics, not directly related to ethnicity, have been transformed or changed. In a test situation, children are asked to identify the ethnicity of the child in the picture. Children's responses in such a test situation provide the researcher with an indication of children's ethnic constancy.

On the basis of findings using the above measures of ethnic constancy, the following generalizations can be made. Children as young as six years of age begin to display ethnic constancy, which increases tremendously at about 8 or 9 years, reaching a peak at 11 or 12 years (Aboud, 1984, Clark, Hovcevar, & Dembo, 1983; Semaj, 1980). In order for ethnic constancy to fully develop, children must have previously reached a relatively secure level of ethnic stability (Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Clark, Hovcevar & Dembo, 1983; Semaj, 1981). In addition, ethnic constancy cannot fully develop until the child has reached the concrete operational thought period (Aboud, 1982; Semaj, 1980; Spencer, 1984). The child at the preoperational thought period is still unable to internalize the concept of constancy, since conservation abilities and logical thought processes have not developed to a reasonable degree. These abilities allow the child to infer the constancy of an internal state despite the fact that the external circumstances may be contrary. Furthermore, ethnic constancy requires the development of ethnic causation (Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Clack, Hovcevar, & Dembo, 1980; Semaj, 1980). Ethnic causation refers to children's understanding of causal attributions of ethnicity through

use of internal (e.g., trait, evaluation) and social (e.g., ethnicity, sex) attributes in addition to external (e.g., appearance, behaviors) attributes to describe one's self and one's ethnic group. Therefore, children who score high on ethnic causation also score high on ethnic constancy (Clark, Hocevar, & Dembo, 1983). In addition, children who exhibit ethnic constancy also used more social and internal attributes to differentiate between dolls of different ethnic groups (Aboud & Skerry, 1983). Furthermore, older children express more social and internal attributes instead of external attributes in distinguishing between dolls representing various ethnic groups. To date, studies have indicated no significant ethnic group and sex differences in the ethnic constancy of children during the early childhood years (Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Semaj, 1980).

Summary

A review of literature regarding ethnic development among young children revealed the occurrence of a variety of interrelated and overlapping stages. Earlier studies centered on the development of ethnic awareness, preference and attitudes, while more recent studies focused on the cognition-related aspects of ethnic development, including ethnic identity, stability, and constancy. A variety of variables were identified as influencing the developmental process depending upon the aspect of ethnic development studied. These variables included age, sex, socioeconomic status, ethnic group and measurement techniques used. Most of the studies reviewed focused on a comparison of the ethnic development of Black and White children. More recent studies have included other ethnic groups in their investigations. Studies focused on Chinese-American children, however,

continue to be lacking.

The present study, therefore, attempted to understand the ethnic development of Chinese-American boys and girls, four and seven years of age. Measurements used included those focused on assessing the aspects of ethnic development including ethnic awareness, preference and attitudes as well as the level of ethnic cognition (e.g., identity, stability, and constancy) among young children. In addition, the impact of selected parental characteristics including parental performance of ethnic activities and behaviors, parental encouragement of their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors, and parental child rearing attitudes were investigated. A review of literature regarding the impact of these parental socialization variables on children's ethnic development is presented following.

Impact of Parents on Children's Ethnic Development

Parents are likely to play a major role in facilitating their children's ethnic development. According to social learning theory (Bandura, 1965), parents act as significant models in the lives of children. The performance of behaviors by parents are often imitated by children in observation learning. Parents who encourage or reinforce children for behaving in a particular way are more likely to display such behaviors in their lives. Furthermore, a variety of parental attitudes which accompany these behaviors also affect children's learning as well.

Despite the fact that studies on the nature of ethnic development has proliferated over the years, research focused on the impact of parents on this developmental process has been limited. Of those studies that have been done, however, most center on examining the role

of parents as socializing agents for their children (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Harris, Gough, & Martin, 1950; Griffore & Schweitzer, 1983; Lambert, 1984; Ou & McAdoo, 1980).

A large body of literature does exist indicating how models perform of a variety of behaviors, and therefore, directly affect children's imitation of these behaviors (Bandura, 1965; Liebert, Sobol, & Copemann, 1972). The behaviors are often performed in experimental or naturalistic settings and involve models known or unknown to the children (Bandura, 1965; Liebert, Sobol, & Copemann, 1972). Models known to the children are often significant others such as parents. However, research directly related to parental performance of ethnic behaviors and children's ethnic development is very sparse. Findings from previous research indicate that parents who display behaviors that communicate either positive or negative attitudes toward their own or other ethnic groups have children who display behaviors and express attitudes which resemble those of their parents (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Griffore & Schweitzer, 1983; Ou & McAdoo, 1980). For example, in Chinese-American families where ethnic traditions are kept and parents possess positive attitudes toward their own ethnic group, children were found to speak more Chinese than English in the home (Ou & McAdoo, 1980). This finding is more apparent among immigrant than non-immigrant Chinese-American families (Huang, 1964). Immigrant Chinese parents tend to have friends from within their own ethnic group and tend to be affiliated with their own ethnic organizations because of the "cultural shock" and language barrier they experience. On the other hand, parents from non-immigrant families are primarily socialized by the dominant culture and spent less time exploring their

own ethnic traditions. It is not unusual, therefore, that children from immigrant families are more involved in ethnic activities than children from non-immigrant families.

Likewise, Black parents who participated in the Civil Rights Movement, and who had more positive attitudes toward their ethnic group, had children with similar attitudes (Branch & Newcombe, 1986). It should be noted, however, that the congruence between the ethnic behaviors and attitudes between parents and children is more apparent between children and their same-sex parent rather than their opposite-sex parent (Griffore & Schweitzer, 1983). Furthermore, older children (7 to 12 years) have been found to display ethnic behaviors and attitudes more like their fathers than younger children (4 to 5 years). Perhaps younger children are still at the beginning stages in developing ethnic behaviors and attitudes. Older children are much more cognitively mature and, therefore, are better able to understand the meaning of ethnic behaviors and attitudes (Griffore & Schweitzer, 1983; Ou & McAdoo, 1980).

Another important area of study regarding how models affect children is the significance of encouragement and/or reinforcement from models in facilitating children's learning of behaviors (Ou & McAdoo, 1980). Studies in this area are plentiful and are also conducted in both experimental and naturalistic settings with models known or unknown to the children (Bandura, 1965; Liebert, Sobol, & Copemann, 1972). Models known to children again include parents, but the behaviors studied focus on developmental areas other than ethnic development. Only a few studies were found focused on how parental encouragement of children's involvement in ethnic activities and

behaviors are associated with children's ethnic development (Ou & McAdoo, 1980). Findings from these studies indicate that parents who encourage or reinforce their children for involvement in ethnic behaviors and activities and for expression of positive or negative ethnic attitudes are more likely to display and express these ethnic behaviors and attitudes, respectively (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Ou & McAdoo, 1980). For example, Chinese-American families where parents encourage their children to become more involved in ethnic activities and behaviors have children who are more likely to become involved in them (Ou & McAdoo, 1980). This finding is more apparent among immigrant than non-immigrant Chinese-American families (Huang, 1964). Likewise, Black parents who encourage their children through direct teaching to have more positive attitudes toward their own ethnic group have children who are more aware of issues associated with ethnicity (e.g., difference between ethnic groups, positive and negative ethnic attitudes) (Branch & Newcombe, 1986).

The importance of encouragement and reinforcement in the acquisition of behaviors can also be seen in more experimental studies. For example, in a number of these investigations, children exposed to ethnic models who dispensed rewards were more likely to be imitated than models who did not have such rewards to dispense (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Liebert, Sobol, & Copemann, 1972; Ou & McAdoo, 1980). Evidently, models who dispense the rewards are seen as more powerful, since they possess the resources valued by the child (e.g., rewards).

It should be pointed out, however, that encouragement of children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors can also have a negative impact on children's attitudes toward their own ethnic

group. For example, in one study (Ou & McAdoo, 1980), it is found that among older Chinese-American boys (11 to 12 years), the more Chinese spoken at home, the lower the boys' self concept and the less positive their attitudes toward the Chinese culture. These researchers suggested that the conflict in expectations experienced by these boys may have lowered their self-concepts and their positive evaluation of their own culture, since these ethnic activities do not represent the norm of the dominant culture outside the family. Such a conflict in expectations occurs as a result of parents' encouragement of fluency in Chinese within the home, while fluency in English is expected by the outside world. These findings are interesting in light of findings in another study indicating that Black children were found to recall and accept the behaviors displayed by White models much more than Black models (Liebert, Sobol, & Copemann, 1972). These researchers reasoned that White models in the dominant culture were perceived as more powerful than Black models, therefore, influenced the behaviors of Black children more. As previously indicated, powerful models are individuals who have control over the resources that can be dispensed as rewards or reinforcements (Brandura, 1986; Liebert, Sobol, & Copemann, 1972). As a result, these models are more likely to be imitated than those who do not have such power.

Still another area of study in modeling research that is important in children's learning involves how the attitudes expressed by models affect children's learning of behavior (Brand & Newcombe, 1986; Gough, Harris, Martin, & Edwards, 1950; Griffiore & Schweitzer, 1983; Harris, Gough, & Martin, 1950). These attitudes often include parental attitudes toward child rearing, consisting of such characteristics as

punishing, ignoring, dominating, democratic, accepting, and understanding. Again, although these child rearing attitudes have been found to be related to various aspects of children's development (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1948; Gough, Harris, Martin, & Edwards, 1950; Rakde, 1946; Shoben, 1950), not much research has been done focused on how these child rearing attitudes affect children's ethnic development. Of those that have been done, findings indicate that parents of children with negative attitudes toward different ethnic groups were characterized in their attitudes toward child rearing as more punishing, ignoring, and harsh (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1948; Harris, Gough, Martin, & Edwards, 1950). In addition, mothers, but not fathers, of children with negative attitudes toward different ethnic groups were more dominating in their child rearing attitudes than mothers of children with more positive attitudes. However, mothers of children with more positive attitudes toward different ethnic groups had more democratic, understanding, accepting, and developmentally appropriate child rearing attitudes than mothers with less positive attitudes toward different ethnic groups.

Summary

In summary, research on the impact of parents on children's ethnic development is quite sparse. A majority of studies done in this area have centered on behaviors and attitudes related to other aspects of development besides ethnicity. On the basis of social learning theory and the limitations of research done on parental effects on children's ethnic development, this study focused on examining the impact of selected parental characteristics on aspects of children's ethnic development. These selected parental characteristics included such

characteristics as parental performance of ethnic activities and behaviors, parental encouragement of children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors and parental attitudes toward child rearing. Aspects of children's ethnic development included ethnic awareness, preference, attitudes, as well as the level of ethnic cognition (e.g., identity, stability or constancy) among children. Both mothers' and fathers' contributions to aspects of children's ethnic development were studied, since preliminary research suggested differences between mothers and fathers in their effects upon children's ethnic development. Likewise, the variables of children's sex and family type (immigrant vs nonimmigrant) were also investigated. While parents' sex appeared to contribute to children's ethnic development, children's sex may also affect this relationship. Furthermore, immigrant and non-immigrant families appeared to differ in their performance of ethnic behaviors and activities and their encouragement of children's involvement in them. Finally, this study focused on Chinese-American children, four and seven years of age, and their parents, from predominantly middle-, upper-middle and upper class families.

METHOD

Sample

Sixty-four Chinese-American children from intact families acted as subjects for this study. These 64 children came from fifty-eight families, of which 45 pairs of parents (fathers and mothers) participated in this study. Among the 45 father-mother pairs, four of them had two children who were included in the sample. Table 1 summarizes the total sample of children by their age, sex and family type (immigrant vs. non-immigrant). The numbers in parentheses represent the father-mother pairs included in each sample category.

All subjects for this study were recruited through associations with programs for Chinese Americans from medium and large cities on the West Coast of the United States, including Portland, Salem, San Francisco, and Fresno. All of the children in the sample were born in the United States, English speaking, and the natural born children of parents. The seven-year-olds ranged in ages from 82 to 95 months, with a mean of 88 months. The 4-year-olds ranged in ages from 48 to 59 months, with a mean of 53 months.

Immigrant vs Non-immigrant Families

The demographic characteristics of families used in this sample are described following. The sample was divided into two groups according to the birthplace of parents. If both parents were born overseas and immigrated to this country, their family type was identified as an immigrant family. Otherwise, their family type was identified as a non-immigrant family.

A comparison of these two types of families on selected forty-five families were identified as immigrant families, while the demographic

Table 1

Sample Description by Children's Age, Sex and Family Type
(Immigrant vs. Non-Immigrant)

Age	Boy		Girl		total
	immigrant	non-immigrant	immigrant	non-immigrant	
4-years-old	5(3)	8(7)	8(7)	7(5)	28(22)
7-years-old	12(6)	6(6)	13(10)	5(5)	36(27)
total	17(9)	14(13)	21(17)	12(10)	64(49)

(The number in parentheses represent the father-mother pairs included in each sample category)

characteristics is presented in Table 2. Twenty-six out of remaining 19 were identified as non-immigrant families. Forty out of 50 (90%) immigrant fathers and mothers originated from either Hong Kong, Taiwan, China or Singapore. Fifteen out of nineteen pairs of non-immigrant parents (79%) were both born in the United States. In the remaining four pairs of non-immigrant parents, either the mother or the father was born overseas and moved to the United States during their early childhood years. Sixty-six percent of the non-immigrant parents who were born in the United States were from Portland, San Francisco or Los Angeles.

In immigrant families, the fathers' ages ranged from 33.1 to 56.11 years, with a mean of 40.5 years. For mothers, the ages ranged from 28.11 to 44.6 years, with a mean of 38.2 years. In non-immigrant families, the fathers' ages ranged from 33.1 to 50.6 years, with a mean of 37.11 years. For mothers the ages ranged from 30.6 to 40.11 years, with a mean of 38.0 years. The ages of fathers or mothers between immigrant and non-immigrant families, therefore, were not significantly different from each other.

The length of immigrant fathers' residency in the United States varied from seven to twenty-five years, with a mean of 16.3 years. For immigrant mothers, the length of residency in the U.S. varied from five to 26 years, with a mean of 13.5 years. The length of non-immigrant fathers' residency in the United States varied from 29 to 42 years, with a mean of 36.3 years. For non-immigrant mothers, the length of residency in the United States ranged from 10 to 42 years, with a mean of 33.3 years. The length of residency in the United States of fathers or mothers between immigrant and non-immigrant families, therefore,

Table 2

Comparison of Immigrant and Non-immigrant Families on the Basis
of Selected Demographic Characteristics

Characteristics	Immigrant(n=26)	Non-immigrant(n=19)		p
FATHER:				
Age (in years)				
Mean	40.5	37.11	t=1.55	.13
SD	6.2	3.1		
Years of residency in the U.S.				
Mean	16.3	36.3	t=14.19	.001
SD	6.0	3.4		
Percent having American citizenship	65%	100%	X ² =8.22	.004
Percent participating in Chinese organization	65%	63%	X ² =.75	.68
Percent having college degrees	58%	79%	X ² =2.23	.13
Percent Chinese spoken at home				
Mean	70%	4%	t=10.62	.001
SD	29%	12%		
Percent English spoken at home				
Mean	26%	97%	t=12.14	.001
SD	26%	12%		
MOTHER:				
age(in years)				
Mean	38.2	38.0	t=.18	.86
SD	3.9	2.5		
Years of residency in the U.S.				
Mean	13.5	33.3	t=9.63	.001
SD	6.2	7.2		
Percent having American citizenship	69%	89%	t=2.60	.11
Percent participating in Chinese organization	77%	73%	X ² =.06	.80

Table 2, continued,

Percent having college degrees	62%	79%	$X^2=1.55$.21
Percent Chinese spoken at home				
Mean	75%	14%	t= 7.67	.001
SD	25%	29%		
Percent English spoken at home				
Mean	25%	86%	t= 7.67	.001
SD	25%	29%		
Family size				
Mean	4.6	4.3	t=.82	.41
SD	1.2	1.2		
Family income				
\$70,001 - Above	11.5%	26.3%	$X^2=2.118$	ns
\$40,001 - \$70,000	53.8%	52.6%		
\$40,000 - Below	34.7%	21.1%		
Social class				
I. Upper	38.5%	53.0%	$X^2=4.24$	ns
II. Upper-middle	38.5%	42.0%		
III. Middle	4.0%	5.0%		
IV. Lower-middle	19.0%	0.0%		
Percent children attending Chinese school	39%	32%	$X^2=.23$.63

were significantly different from each other ($p < .001$). For immigrant parents (fathers and mothers) their length of residency in the United States were significantly shorter than for non-immigrant parents.

All immigrant and non-immigrant parents were presently permanent residents of the United States. Among immigrant parents, 65% of the fathers ($N=17$) and 69% of the mothers ($N=18$) had American citizenship. Among non-immigrant parents, however, 100% of the fathers and 89% ($N=17$) of the mothers had American citizenship. While the percentage of immigrant and non-immigrant mothers having American citizenship was not significantly different from each other, the percentage of immigrant and non-immigrant fathers having American citizenship was significantly different from each other ($p < .01$). Significantly less immigrant fathers had American citizenship than non-immigrant fathers.

In reference to their participation in Chinese organizations (e.g., church, community, and professional associations) in the U.S., in immigrant families, 65% of the fathers ($N=16$) and 77% of the mothers ($N=20$) indicated that they participated in at least one Chinese organization at the time of this study. In non-immigrant families, 63% of the fathers ($N=12$) and 73% ($n=14$) of the mothers participated in at least one Chinese organization. There were no significant differences, therefore, between immigrant and non-immigrant fathers and mothers in their participation in Chinese organization in the U.S. at the time of this study.

Fifty-eight percent of immigrant fathers and 62% of immigrant mothers had college degrees, while 79% of non-immigrant fathers and 79% of non-immigrant mothers had college degrees. However, there were no significant differences between immigrant and non-immigrant fathers or

mothers in the percentage having college degrees. According to Hollingshead's (1975) classification of jobs, a majority of immigrant (69%) and non-immigrant (89%) fathers held semi-professional (e.g., engineer, small business owner) or professional (e.g., physician, college professor) jobs. On the other hand, most immigrant mothers were either homemakers (19%) or in semi-skilled to skilled jobs (50%), while non-immigrant mothers in this study were either homemakers (37%) or in semi-professional occupations (42%).

With respect to the primary language spoken with the child, immigrant fathers and mothers indicated that 70% and 75% of their conversations with their children were in Chinese, respectively, while non-immigrant fathers and mothers indicated that their percentages were 4% and 14%, respectively. Conversely, immigrant fathers and mothers indicated that 26% and 25% of their conversations with their children were in English, respectively, while non-immigrant fathers and mothers indicated their percentages to be 97% and 86%, respectively. The differences between immigrant and non-immigrant parents in their use of Chinese or English in conversations with their children, therefore, were significantly different from each other ($p < .001$). Immigrant families used Chinese as their primary language with their children, while non-immigrant families used English as their primary language.

Both immigrant and non-immigrant families were intact families. For immigrant families, their size ranged from three to seven people, with a mean of 4.6 people. For non-immigrant families, their size ranged from three to eight people, with a mean of 4.3 people. Therefore, there was no significant family size difference between immigrant and non-immigrant families. Among immigrant and non-

immigrant families, 53.8% and 52.6% had family incomes of \$40,001 - 70,000, respectively, while the remaining 46.2% and 47.4% had family incomes above or below these amounts, respectively. There was, therefore, no significant difference between the family incomes of immigrant and non-immigrant families. Among immigrant and non-immigrant families, 81% and 100% came from the upper-, upper-middle and middle classes combined, respectively as determined by Hollingshead's (1975) Four Factor Index of Social Status. Therefore, there was no significant difference between the social classes of immigrant and non-immigrant families. Finally, 39% (N=10) of the immigrant families and 32% (n=6) of non-immigrant families had, at one time or another, sent their children to a Chinese school other than a U.S. public or pre-school. There was, therefore, no significant difference between immigrant and non-immigrant families in sending their children to Chinese school.

Measures of Children's Ethnic Development

Four different measures were used to assess aspects of children's ethnic development. These aspects of ethnic development included ethnic awareness, preference, positive attitudes, negative attitudes and cognition (e.g., ethnic identity, stability, and constancy).

Ethnic Awareness. Four sets of materials were used to assess children's awareness of various ethnic groups. Two of these sets included three separate 3" X 5" colored photographs of children representing the White, Chinese, and Black ethnic groups. One of these sets contained photographs of all boys, while the other contained photographs of all girls. The photographs in these sets were matched

for age, dress, facial expression, and photograph background. The remaining two sets of materials included three 3" X 5" line drawings of children representing the White, Chinese and Black ethnic groups. One of these sets contained line drawings of all boys, while the other contained line drawings of all girls. These line drawings were all drawn by a professional artist and were similar except for varying facial characteristics (e.g., eye shape, mouth, hair style, etc) distinguishing between various ethnic groups as well as sex.

Information on the face validity of the photographs and line drawings used in this measure was collected in a pilot study using eleven Chinese-American preschoolers as subjects. In this study, the eleven Chinese-American children, ages 4 to 6 years, were presented with the photographs and line drawings one at a time and were asked to identify the ethnicity of each person depicted in the photographs and line drawings. Results indicated that these children correctly identified the ethnicity of the person in the photographs and line drawings on an average of 78% of the time.

Photographs and line-drawings of children representing various ethnic groups have been the most frequently used technique to assess aspects of children's ethnic development (Aboud, 1984; Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Clark & Clark, 1939; Rohrer, 1977). Research findings over the years have shown this type of technique to successfully discriminate between different age and ethnic groups in predicted directions. In addition, it has successfully recorded the impact of various ethnic experiences on children's ethnic development.

In a test situation, four questions adapted from Durrett and Davy's (1978) Ethnic Awareness Test were asked of children with each of

the four sets of materials described above. These questions included (1) "Which one is the White child?", (2) "Which one is the Chinese child?", and (3) "Which one is the Black child?." The order in which each question associated with each set of materials as well as the order in which each set were presented to the children were counterbalanced. Since there were four sets of materials, and each question was asked four times, children's ethnic awareness scores can range from zero to 12 points. A "correct" response was given one point, and an "incorrect" response zero point. In addition, when a child failed to give a response to a particular question, a score of 0 was given to him/her on that particular question. Higher scores indicated more ethnic awareness among children.

Ethnic Preference. The same four sets of materials used to assess children's ethnic awareness were also used to assess children's ethnic preference. The only difference here was that only photographs of children were shown to each child. In a test situation, four questions adapted from Rohrer's (1977) Test of Ethnic Preference were asked of children with each of the sets of photographs described previously. However, each individual photograph in each set was shown to children one at a time with each question. These questions included (1) "How much do you like this child?", (2) "How much would you like to play with this child?", (3) "How much would you like to invite this child home?", and (4) "How much would you like to be this child?". A Likert-type of scoring on five facial expressions from a broad smile (very much) to a deep frown (not at all) was used to assess their preferences. A score of 5 was given if a child picked the broad smile for a photograph when a question was asked, and a score of 1 was given

if a child picked the deep frown face for that photograph. When a child did not give any response to a particular question, a score of 3 (middle score) was given to him/her. Again, the order in which each question associated with each set of materials as well as the order in which each set of materials were presented to the children was counterbalanced. Since there were two sets of photographs and each question was asked four times, children's ethnic preference scores for each ethnic group can range from zero to 40 points. Higher scores indicated more ethnic preference among children for that specific ethnic group.

Ethnic Attitudes. As with ethnic awareness and preference, the same four sets of materials previously described were used to assess children's ethnic attitudes. As with ethnic awareness, four sets of photographs and line drawings containing all boys and all girls were shown to both boys and girls. Two sets of photographs were associated with questions of positive remarks, while the other two sets of line drawings were associated with questions of negative remarks. This arrangement was set up to minimize children's negative attitudes toward the actual children in the photographs. Furthermore, it eliminated the confusion experienced by children in having to associate positive and negative remarks to the same set of photographs or line drawings.

In a test situation, eight questions adapted from Williams and Roberson's (1967) Racial-Attitude Test were asked of children with these four sets of materials. These questions included those which elicited both positive and negative evaluations from children about various ethnic groups. Each question was asked following a short story told to the children to help them make their evaluations. The four

positive questions included those that ask the children to identify (1) the clean child, (2) the smart child, (3) the nice child, and (4) the pretty child. For example, to elicit a child's positive evaluation for a "nice" girl/boy the following story was read.

"Here are three girls/boys. One of them is a nice girl/boy. Once s(he) saw a kitten fall into a lake and s(he) picked the kitten up to save it from drowning. Which is the nice girl/boy?"

The four negative questions included those that asked the children to identify (1) the dirty child, (2) the stupid child, (3) the bad child, and (4) the ugly child. For example, to elicit a child's negative evaluation for a "bad" child (girl/boy) the following story was read.

"Here are three girls/boys. One of them is a bad girl/boy. Once s(he) lied about stealing the toys from other children. Which is this bad girl/boy?"

In scoring the children's responses to these questions, two scores related to positive and negative remarks could be given to each child. If a positive remark was associated with a Chinese child, a point of +1 was given to the child. However, if a negative remark was associated with a Chinese child a point of -1 was given to the child. When a child did not give any response to a particular question, no point was given to the child. The order in which each question associated with each set of materials as well as the order in which each set of materials were presented to the children were counterbalanced. Since there were two sets of materials, and each positive and negative question was asked four times, the absolute value of children's ethnic attitudes scores for the Chinese ethnic group ranged from 0 to 8 points for both positive and negative remarks, separately. The higher the children's scores for positive remarks, the more positive their attitudes toward the Chinese ethnic group. The higher the children's

scores for negative remarks, the more negative their attitudes toward the Chinese ethnic group.

Ethnic Cognition. In attempting to assess children's level of ethnic cognition, the technique developed by Slaby and Frey (1975) was employed. In a previous study, Slaby and Frey (1975) examined children's gender cognition on the basis of questions asked pertaining to children's gender identity, stability and constancy. Since research has shown the development of children's gender constancy to parallel those of ethnic cognition (Aboud, 1984), the technique developed by Slaby & Frey (1975) was adapted for use to assess children's level of ethnic cognition.

In order to assess children's level of ethnic cognition, four sets of materials for each gender were used. The four sets of materials each contained three separate 3" X 5" colored photographs of children or adults representing the White, Chinese and Black ethnic groups. The boy's form of these materials contained photographs of children or adults who were all boys, while the girl's form contained photographs of children or adults who were all girls.

The first set of photographs depicted children of the same age level as children in this sample. This set of photographs was used to assess children's level of ethnic identity. Questions asked of children with this set of photographs included:

- (1) Primary Question: Which one looks most like you?
- (2) Counter-questions:
 - (a) Does this one (White) look like you?
 - (b) Does this one (Chinese) look like you?
 - (c) Does this one (Black) look like you?

The second set of photographs depicted children as infants. This set of photographs was used to assess children's level of ethnic stability. Questions asked of children with this set of photographs included:

(1) Primary Question: When you were a little girl(boy), which one looked most like you?

(2) Counter-questions:

(a) Did this one (White) look more like you?

(b) Did this one (Chinese) look more like you?

(c) Did this one (Black) look more like you?

The third set of photographs depicted individuals as adults. This set of photographs was also used to assess children's ethnic stability. Questions asked of children in this study with this set of photographs included:

(1) Primary Question: When you grow up, which one will look most like you?

(2) Counter-questions:

(a) Will this one (White) look most like you?

(b) Will this one (Chinese) look most like you?

(c) Will this one (Black) look most like you?

The second and third sets of photographs were then combined in various ways to also assess children's ethnic stability. Questions asked of children with these sets of photographs included:

(1) Primary Question: Which one did this adult (Black) look like when s(he) was a baby?

(2) Counter-questions:

(a) Did s(he) look like this baby (White)?

(b) Did s(he) look like this baby (Chinese)?

(c) Did s(he) look like this baby (Black)?

(3) Primary Question: Which one will this (White) baby look like when s(he) grows up?

(4) Counter-questions:

(a) Will s(he) look like this child (White)?

(b) Will s(he) look like this child (Chinese)?

(c) Will s(he) look like this child (Black)?

Finally, the fourth set of line drawings which contain boys and girls dressed in various ethnic costumes was shown to children. In this set of line drawings the Chinese girl was shown wearing a Spanish costume, while the Chinese boy was shown wearing an Arabic outfit. The White children (boys and girls) were shown wearing an African costume, and the Black children were shown wearing a Chinese coat for the boy and a Kimono (Japanese costume) for the girl. Both sets of line drawings with boys and girls were used to assess children's level of ethnic constancy. Questions asked of children with both sets of line drawings included:

(1) Primary Question: What do you think this child is, Black, Chinese, White, or others?

(2) Counter-questions:

(a) Is s(he) White?

(b) Is s(he) Chinese?

(c) Is s(he) Black?

(3) Primary Question: How about this child (Chinese)?

(4) Counter-questions:

(a) Is s(he) White?

(b) Is s(he) Chinese?

(c) Is s(he) Black?

(5) Primary Question: How about this child (Black)?

(6) Counter-questions:

(a) Is s(he) White?

(b) Is s(he) Chinese?

(c) Is s(he) Black?

A correct response to each of the primary questions was given 2 points, while an incorrect or no response was given no point. On the other hand, a correct response to each counter-question was given one point, while an incorrect response or no response was given no point. The order in which primary questions were asked was the same as described above. However, the order in which counter-questions were asked was counterbalanced. There were 11 primary questions in ethnic cognition including one question related to ethnic identity, four questions related to ethnic stability, and six questions related to ethnic constancy. Since there were eleven primary questions and each primary question had three counter-questions, children's ethnic cognition scores ranged from zero to 55 points. Higher scores indicated more advanced ethnic cognition. Use of this technique involving primary and counter-questions has been successful in studies focused on children's gender cognition (Slaby & Frey, 1975). Children's level of gender cognition has been related to various aspects of children's social development in predicted ways (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). To date, this technique has not been used to assess children's level of ethnic cognition. However, since the development of children's gender cognition and ethnic cognition have been found to parallel each other,

this technique appears useful in studying children's ethnic cognition as well.

Measures of Parental Characteristics

Three different measures were used to assess selected aspects of parental (mothers and fathers) characteristics that might impact on children's ethnic development. These characteristics included parental performance of ethnic activities and behaviors, parental encouragement of children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors, and parental child rearing attitudes. In addition, a demographic questionnaire was administered to all parents to obtain information for sample description purposes.

Parental Performance. An adapted form of the Parental Performance Questionnaire (PPQ), originally developed by Ou & McAdoo (1980), was used to assess the degree to which parents (mothers and fathers) in this sample performed Chinese activities and behaviors within the home (see Appendix A).

The questionnaire consisted of eleven items which parents were asked to rate on a 6 point Likert-type scale from always (5 points) to not applicable (0 point). Questions included such items as:

Do you sing or play Chinese music at home?

Did you celebrate Chinese festivals (e.g., Lunar New Year, Mid-Autumn Festival) during the past three years?

Do you speak Chinese (any dialect) at home?

The sum of parental ratings across each item represented their parental performance scores. Total parental performance scores, therefore, ranged from zero to 55 points.

The PPQ was originally developed by Ou and McAdoo (1980) in

consultation with parents of Chinese ancestry. Previous data obtained with this questionnaire have been related to the self-concepts of Chinese children and their attitudes toward their own ethnic group. Findings supported propositions which were derived on the basis of selected conceptual frameworks associated with ethnic development among young children.

Parental Encouragement. To assess parental encouragement of their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors, the Parental Performance Questionnaire (Ou & McAdoo, 1980) previously described was again modified to elicit from parents the degree to which they encouraged their children's involvement in such activities and behaviors (see Appendix B). Like the Parental Performance Questionnaire, therefore, the Parental Encouragement Questionnaire (PEQ) consisted of 11 items which parents were asked to rate on a 6 point Likert-type scale from always (5 points) to not applicable (0 point). Example questions included such items as:

Do you encourage your child to sing or play Chinese music at home?

Do you encourage your child to participate in Chinese festivals (e.g., Lunar New Year, Mid-Autumn festival)?

Do you encourage your child to speak Chinese (any dialect) at home?

The sum of parental ratings across each item represented their encouragement scores. Total parental encouragement scores, therefore, ranged from zero to 55 points.

Parental Child Rearing Attitudes. A modified Parent-Attitude Survey (PAS: Hereford, 1963) was used to assess parents' attitudes

toward child rearing (see Appendix C). This survey consisted of 40 questions, separated into four areas, with 10 items in each area. The areas include:

I. Confidence - consisting of items concerned with the parents' feelings of certainty and sureness about their role as parents.

II: Acceptance - a subscale consisting of items associated with parental acceptance of their children's behaviors and feelings.

III: Understanding - a subscale consisting of items related to the communication that occurs between parents and children.

IV: Trust - a subscale consisting of items associated with parents' ideas about their child's individuality and rights.

Parents were asked to rate each item associated with these subscales on a 5 point Likert-type scale from strongly agree (5 points) to strongly disagree (1 point). The range of scores for the entire scale was from 40 to 200 points. Higher scores represented more confident, accepting, understanding, and trusting parental child-rearing attitudes. Data from this questionnaire have been related to the actual child-rearing behaviors of parents. Findings indicated high positive relationships between expressed attitudes on this questionnaire and parent's behaviors in predicted directions (Hereford, 1963). Internal consistency reliability coefficients calculated for the total scale and its subscales include Total Scale, $r=.80$, Confidence, $r=.78$, Acceptance, $r=.68$, Understanding, $r=.86$, and Trust, $r=.84$ (Hereford, 1963).

Demographic Questionnaire

In order to obtain information on the subjects for sample description purposes, a demographic questionnaire was completed by all

parents in this study (see Appendix D). The demographic questionnaire was divided into three parts. Part I focused upon obtaining information about parents and their background, including their name, gender, birthdate, birthplace, time of U.S. immigration, how often they had gone back to their native country, native language, U.S. residency status, citizenship, location of longest residence, ethnic organization membership, frequency of participating in organization activities, language spoken with the research child, and other members besides children in the family (e.g., grandparents). Part II focused upon obtaining information about the child participating in this study, including his/her name, gender, birthdate, birthplace, school attended besides U.S. public schools, ethnic mix of the child's friends and other children within the family. Finally, Part III focused upon obtaining information about the occupation, income level, educational achievements of the parents and ethnicity of the parents' friends.

Procedures

A majority of the subjects in this study were recruited through associations with programs for Chinese Americans including schools, professional associations, community and church groups in Portland, Salem, San Francisco, and Fresno. Initial contact was made with 14 directors or group leaders in those organizations to obtain the names and phone numbers of their members who had 4-or 7 year-old children. Among these 14 organizations, nine of them agreed to participate. Telephone calls were made to the parents asking them about their willingness to participate in this study. In order for them to participate, their children had to be born in the United States and the parents had to have permanent U.S. residency status. Sixty-six

families were selected through these telephone contacts. Among these 66 families, 8 families refused to participate.

Upon agreeing to participate, a home interview was scheduled with either or both parents and their child at their convenience. The interviewer in this study was a female graduate student from the Chinese ethnic background. During the home interview, the researcher first explained the purposes of the research project and answered questions they had regarding the research. If both parents were present, they were asked to fill out the PPQ, PEQ, PAS and Demographic Questionnaire, separately, while their child was interviewed in another room. The order in which these questionnaires were administered was counterbalanced. Administration time for completion of the questionnaires was about 15 minutes. If one parent was absent during the home interview, a prepaid-stamped packet of questionnaires was left for them to return within a two-week period. Several phone calls were made and reminder postcards were sent in order to increase parents' response rates. Hence, the return rate for parental questionnaires was 70% within a two-month period.

After the parents introduced the child to the interviewer, the interviewer took the child into a quiet room to administer the ethnic awareness, preference, attitudes and cognition tests with or without the presence of parents. Each session began with the interviewer chatting with the child for a few minutes until the child became comfortable with the interviewer. Following this "getting acquainted period", the interviewer tested subjects with the ethnic development tests. The order of administering the ethnic development tests was counterbalanced. Administration time for the ethnic development tests

varied from 10 minutes to 35 minutes (M=16 minutes) depending on the child's age and his/her ability to adapt to the test situation. If a child failed to answer more than one-third of the interview questions, he/she was excluded in this study. Upon completing the tests, each child was given a "fruit roll-up" as a token of appreciation for their participation. In addition, a "thank-you" card was mailed to parents after they completed the questionnaires for the research project. Based upon an agreement between the researcher and parents, a summary of the results from this study will be sent to each family when the research project is completed.

RESULTS

The major purposes of this study were twofold in nature. The first focused upon examining aspects of ethnic development among a group of 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American boys and girls from immigrant and non-immigrant families. Aspects of ethnic development included ethnic awareness, preference, positive attitudes, negative attitudes and cognition. The second focused upon examining the impact of selected parental (fathers' and mothers') characteristics on aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development. These parental characteristics included parental performance of ethnic activities and behaviors, parental encouragement of children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors, and parental child rearing attitudes.

In order to accomplish these purposes, several types of statistical analyses were made in this study. To assess the impact of age (4- vs. 7-year-old), sex (boys vs. girls) and family type (immigrant vs. non-immigrant) on aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development scores, a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial analysis of variance was undertaken. In addition, to understand the differences and relationships between various aspects of ethnic development, Chinese-American children's ethnic development scores were first standardized, then t-tests and correlation coefficients were computed.

To examine the contributions of selected parental characteristics on Chinese-American children's ethnic development, a number of statistical procedures were also applied to the data. First, a 2 (age) x 2 (sex) x 2 (family type) factorial analysis of variance was applied to the parental characteristics scores. Second, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed to illuminate the relationships between the

parental characteristics of fathers and mothers separately and together. Third, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed to describe the relationships between aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development and parental characteristics. Finally, a series of multiple regression models were tested to determine the contributions of parental characteristics to aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development.

Developmental Aspects of Ethnic Development

Impact of Age, Sex and Family Type. Application of a 2 (age: 4- vs. 7-year-olds) x 2 (sex: boys vs. girls) x 2 (family type: immigrant vs. non-immigrant) analysis of variance on aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development scores revealed a significant main effect for age, $F(5, 50)=521.72, p<.0001$. Table 3 summarizes the means and standard deviations associated with the ethnic development scores of subjects by age. Inspection of the univariate tests associated with this significant main effect indicated that this effect was associated with Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness, $F(1, 54)= 40.90, p<.0001$, negative ethnic attitudes, $F(1, 54)=5.76, p<.05$, and cognition, $F(1,54)=38.00, p<.0001$, scores. The univariate test associated with Chinese-American children's ethnic preference scores approached significance, $F(1,54)=2.00, p<.10$. Chinese-American 7-year-olds had significantly higher ethnic awareness and cognition scores than their 4-year-old counterparts. However, 7-year-olds had significantly lower negative ethnic attitude scores, and tended to have significantly lower ethnic preference scores than 4-year-olds. It appears, therefore, that ethnic awareness and cognition increases significantly among Chinese-American children during the ages 4 to 7,

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations Associated with the Ethnic Development Scores of Chinese-American Children by Age

Ethnic Development Scores	4 year-old (N=26)		7 year-old (N=36)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Awareness	8.12	2.70	11.67	1.19
Preference	14.58	4.68	12.55	3.78
Positive attitude	2.58	1.44	2.55	1.54
Negative attitude	2.61	1.10	1.75	1.23
Cognition	30.88	8.26	43.78	6.79

while negative ethnic attitudes and ethnic preferences decreases or tends to decrease, respectively, during these ages. There was no significant difference between the positive ethnic attitudes scores of 4-and 7-year-olds. Neither the main effects for sex and family type nor their interactions were significant.

Differences and Relationships Between Aspects. In order to examine the differences and relationships between various aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development, their ethnic development scores were first standardized, then t-tests and Pearson correlation coefficients were computed. Table 4 and Figure 2 present the standardized mean ethnic development scores of subjects at 4 and 7 years of age.

Results of the t-tests found in Table 5 revealed, at 4 years of age, Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness and preference scores were not significantly different from each other. However, their ethnic awareness and preference scores were significantly higher than their ethnic cognition ($p < .001$; $p < .001$) and attitude (either positive- $p < .001$; $p < .001$, or negative- $p < .001$, $p < .001$) scores. Children's ethnic cognition scores were also significantly higher than their ethnic attitude (either positive- $p < .001$, or negative- $p < .001$) scores. Chinese-American children's positive and negative ethnic attitudes scores were not significantly different from each other. At 7 years of age, Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness and cognition scores were significantly different from their ethnic preferences scores ($p < .001$, $p < .001$), with their ethnic awareness and cognition scores higher than their ethnic preference scores. In addition, Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness scores were significantly

Table 4

Standardized Means and Standard Deviations for Chinese-American
Children's Ethnic Development Scores

Ethnic Development Scores	<u>4-year-olds</u>		<u>7-year-olds</u>	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Awareness	.68	.23	.97	.10
Preference	.73	.23	.63	.19
Positive attitude	.32	.18	.32	.19
Negative attitude	.33	.14	.22	.15
Cognition	.56	.15	.80	.12

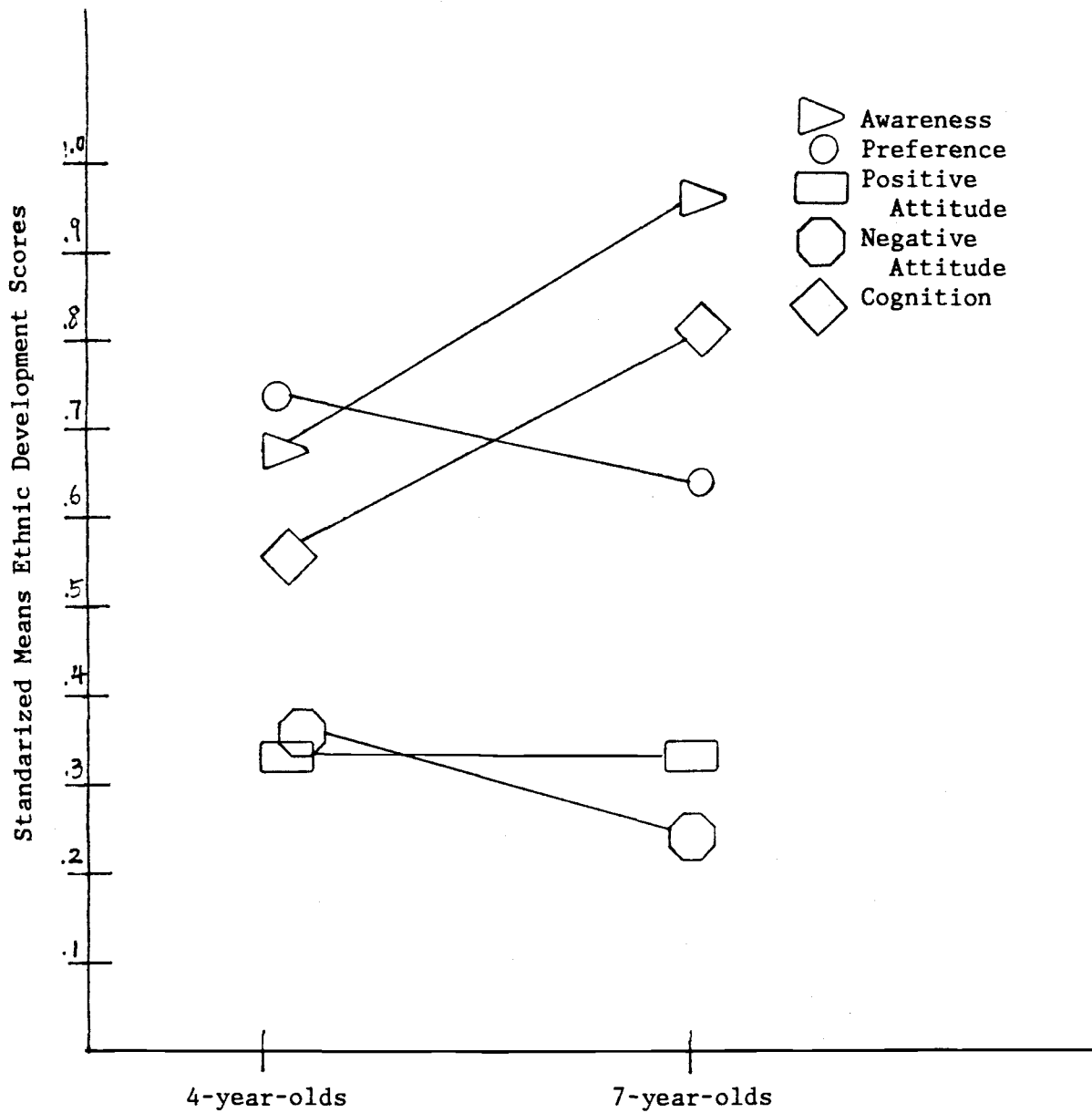


Figure 2: Standardized Mean Ethnic Development Scores of 4- and 7-Year-Old Chinese-American Children

Table 5

T-values and Probability Levels Associated with the Differences Between the Ethnic Development Scores of Chinese-American 4- and 7-Year-Olds

<u>4-year-olds</u>					
Ethnic Development Scores	Awareness	Preference	Positive Attitudes	Negative Attitudes	Cognition
Awareness	-----				
Preference	.79	-----			
Positive Attitudes	5.89***	7.00***	-----		
Negative Attitudes	7.13***	6.46***	-0.10	-----	
Cognition	4.06***	3.22***	4.68***	5.25***	-----
<u>7-year-olds</u>					
Ethnic Development Scores	Awareness	Preference	Positive Attitudes	Negative Attitudes	Cognition
Awareness	-----				
Preference	-13.18***	-----			
Positive Attitudes	20.04***	9.65***	-----		
Negative Attitudes	22.43***	9.44***	2.17*	-----	
Cognition	7.08***	-4.97***	13.79***	16.00***	-----
***	p<.001				
**	p<.01				
*	p<.05				

different from their ethnic cognition scores ($p < .001$), with their ethnic awareness scores higher than their ethnic cognition scores. Still also, Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness, cognition and preference scores were significantly higher than their ethnic attitude (either positive- $p < .001$; $p < .001$, or negative- $p < .001$; $p < .001$) scores. Finally, Chinese-American children's positive ethnic attitude scores were significantly higher than their negative ethnic attitude scores ($p < .05$).

Results obtained from computing the Pearson correlation coefficients found in Table 6 indicated across all subjects, Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness scores were significantly and positively related to their ethnic cognition ($p < .001$) scores. In addition, their ethnic awareness scores tended to be ($p < .10$) and cognition scores were significantly and negatively ($p < .05$) related to their negative ethnic attitude scores, respectively. Furthermore, their ethnic preference scores were significantly and positively related to their positive ethnic attitude ($p < .05$) scores.

Among 4-year-old Chinese-American children, their ethnic awareness scores were significantly and positively related to their ethnic cognition ($p < .001$) scores, but their ethnic preference scores were significantly and negatively related to their negative ethnic attitude ($p < .001$) scores. Among 7-year-old Chinese-American children, however, their ethnic preference scores were significantly and positively related to their ethnic awareness ($p < .001$) and positive ethnic attitude ($p < .001$) scores.

Parental Contributions to Ethnic Development

Impact of Age, Sex and Family type. Application of a 2 (age: 4-

Table 6

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Expressing the Relationships Between the Ethnic Development Scores of Chinese- American 4- and 7-year-olds

Ethnic Development Scores	<u>Awareness</u>			<u>Preference</u>		
	4yrs	7yrs	total	4yrs	7yrs	total
Awareness	----	----	----			
Preference	.09	.56***	-.06	----	----	----
Positive Attitude	-.17	.23	-.01	-.00	.50***	.26*
Negative Attitude	.10	-.23	-.25t	-.45**	-.14	-.17
Cognition	.71***	.12	.71***	.11	.21	-.04

Ethnic Development Scores	<u>Positive Attitudes</u>			<u>Negative Attitudes</u>		
	4yrs	7yrs	total	4yrs	7yrs	total
Awareness						
Preference						
Positive Attitudes		----	----			
Negative Attitudes	.09	.29	.20	----	----	----
Cognition	-.01	.20	.07	.07	-.21	-.28*

*** p<.001
 ** p<.01
 * p<.05
 t p<.10

vs. 7-year-olds) x 2 (sex: boys vs. girls) x 2 (family type: immigrant vs. non-immigrant) analysis of variance on parental characteristic scores revealed a significant main effect for family type, $F(6, 35)=12.50$, $p<.001$. Table 7 summarizes the means and standard deviations associated with the parental characteristic scores of fathers and mothers by family type. Inspection of the univariate tests associated with the main effect of family type indicated that this effect was associated with fathers' performance, $F(1, 40)=69.43$, $p<.001$, encouragement, $F(1,40)=30.00$, $p<.001$, and child rearing attitude, $F(1, 40)=4.92$, $p<.05$, scores as well as mothers' performance, $F(1, 40)=53.49$, $p<.001$, encouragement, $F(1, 40)=27.98$, $p<.001$, and child rearing attitude, $F(1, 40)=14.20$, $p<.001$, scores. Chinese-American immigrant parents (fathers and mothers) had significantly higher parental performance and encouragement scores, but significantly lower child rearing attitude scores than non-immigrant parents. It appears, therefore, that Chinese-American immigrant parents performed and encouraged their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors significantly more often than their non-immigrant counterparts. However, immigrant parents also had less positive (i.e., less confident, accepting, understanding and trusting) child rearing attitudes than their non-immigrant counterparts. There were no significant sex or age main effects. However, the F value revealed a significant age x sex x family type interaction effect, $F(6, 35)=3.40$, $p<.01$. Inspection of the univariate tests associated with this interaction effect indicated that this effect was related to fathers' performance, $F(1, 40)=12.94$, $p<.001$, scores. Table 8 presents the means and standard deviations associated with this interaction effect.

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations Associated with the Parental
Characteristic Scores of Fathers' and Mothers' by Family Type

Parental Charact- istics	<u>Immigrant</u>				<u>Non-immigrant</u>			
	Fathers		Mothers		Fathers		Mothers	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Performance	39.89	7.28	39.71	6.97	24.56	6.67	26.22	4.80
Encouragement	35.18	10.04	37.15	8.38	20.65	7.12	24.65	5.69
Child Rearing Attitudes	126.57	18.28	127.31	17.53	138.78	17.14	142.17	10.8

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations Associated with Fathers' Performance Scores by Children's Age, Sex and Family Type

	<u>Immigrant</u>		<u>Non-immigrant</u>	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
4-year-olds				
Boys	39.25	10.21	27.14	6.91
Girls	43.43	7.98	20.60	4.28
7-year-olds				
Boys	41.86	4.85	20.40	4.03
Girls	36.30	6.26	27.25	1.26

Aside from confirming previous results that immigrant fathers' performance scores were higher than those of non-immigrant fathers' among 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American boys and girls, observation of the means in Figure 3 also indicated that in immigrant families with girls, fathers' performance scores at 4 years were generally higher than at 7 years, while in immigrant families with boys the converse appeared true. In non-immigrant families with girls, however, fathers' performance scores at 4 years was generally lower than at 7 years, while in non-immigrant families with boys the converse appeared true. Taken together, these findings suggest a contrasting pattern of fathers' performance scores for both boys and girls of various ages in immigrant and non-immigrant families. In immigrant families with girls, fathers' performance in ethnic activities and behaviors appeared to decrease from 4 to 7 years of age, while in those with boys, fathers' performance appeared to increase. Conversely, in non-immigrant families with girls, fathers' performance in ethnic activities and behaviors appeared to increase, while in those with boys, fathers' performance appeared to decrease.

Relationship Between Parental Characteristics. In order to illuminate the relationships between the parental characteristics of fathers and mothers, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed. Table 9 presents the coefficients which emerged from these analyses. Among fathers and mothers as well as between fathers and mothers, their parental performance and encouragement scores were all significantly and positively related. Between fathers and mothers, their child rearing attitude scores were significantly and positively related. However, among fathers and mothers as well as between fathers and

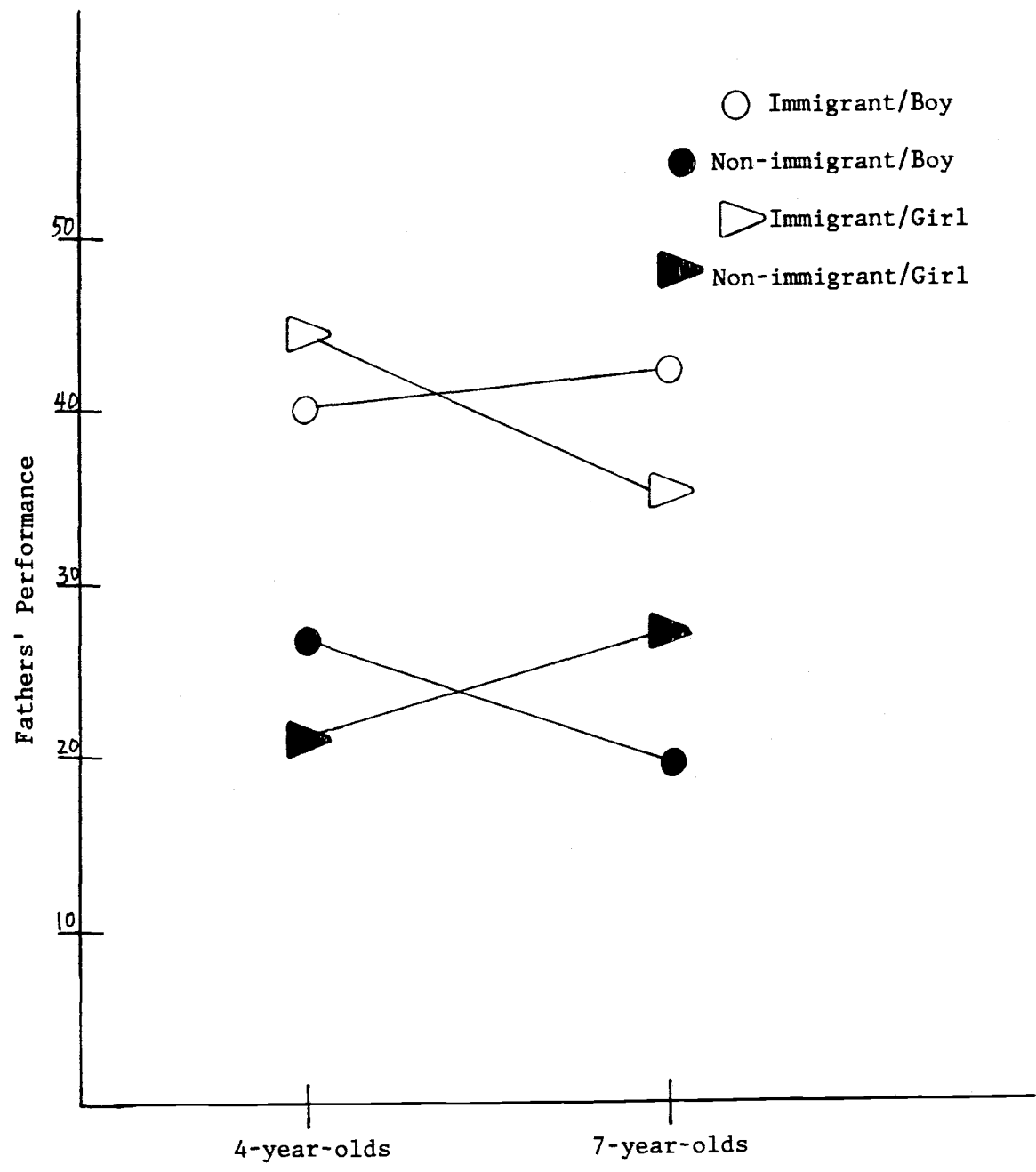


Figure 3: Means Associated with Fathers' Performance Scores by Children's Age, Sex and Family Type

Table 9

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Expressing the Relationships Between
the Parental Characteristics of Fathers and Mothers

<u>Fathers</u>			
Parents	Performance	Encouragement	Child Rearing Attitudes
Fathers'			
Performance	-----		
Encouragement	.80***	-----	
Child Rearing Attitudes	-.39**	-.23	-----
<u>Mothers</u>			
Parents	Performance	Encouragement	Child Rearing Attitudes
Mothers'			
Performance	-----		
Encouragement	.74***	-----	
Child Rearing Attitudes	-.46**	-.37**	
<u>Mothers</u>			
Parents	Performance	Encouragement	Child Rearing Attitudes
Fathers'			
Performance	.80***	.62***	-.49**
Encouragement	.65***	.57***	-.32*
Child Rearing Attitudes	-.47**	-.34*	.65***

*** p<.001
** p<.01
* p<.05

mothers, both their parental performance and encouragement scores were significantly and negatively related to their child rearing attitude scores, with one exception. This exception had to do with the relationship between fathers' child rearing attitude and their encouragement scores, which was not significant, but was also in a negative direction.

Relationships Between Parental Characteristics and Children's Ethnic Development. In order to examine the relationships between Chinese-American children's ethnic development scores and selected parental characteristics, Pearson correlation coefficients were also computed (see Table 10). Inspection of the correlation coefficients between these variables indicated that fathers' performance and encouragement scores tended to be ($p < .10$) or were significantly ($p < .05$) and negatively related to Chinese-American children's negative ethnic attitude scores, respectively. In addition, fathers' child rearing attitude scores tended to be significantly and positively related to their children's positive ethnic attitude scores ($p < .10$). Mothers' performance scores tended to be significantly and negatively related to their children's positive ethnic attitude scores ($p < .10$). No other significant relationships were found.

Regression Models of Parental Contributions. Finally, a series of multiple linear regression models were tested to assess the contributions of parental characteristics to Chinese-American children's ethnic development scores. Since previous analyses revealed a significant impact of children's age and family type on Chinese-American children's ethnic development scores and parental characteristics, these variables were included as predictor

Table 10

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Expressing the Relationships Between Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics and Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores

	<u>Fathers</u>			<u>Mothers</u>		
	Perform- ance	Encourage- ment	Child Rearing	Perform- ance	Encourage- ment	Child Rearing
Awareness	.08	-.01	.07	.09	.13	-.05
Preference	.15	.15	.11	-.06	-.11	.13
Positive Attitudes	-.05	-.10	.28 [ⓧ]	-.25 [ⓧ]	-.18	.10
Negative Attitudes	-.25 [ⓧ]	-.35*	.11	-.08	-.17	.16
Cognition	.03	.07	.20	-.07	-.04	.02

* p<.05

ⓧ p<.10

variables along with other parental variables in the first series of regression models tested. As a result, the first series of regression models tested included children's age, family type and fathers' and mothers' performance, encouragement and child rearing attitude scores as predictor variables. The criterion variables included Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness, preference, positive ethnic attitude, negative ethnic attitude and cognition scores, each analyzed separately. Results of these analyses revealed the regression models associated with Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness, $F(8, 37)=7.96$, $p<.001$, and cognition, $F(8, 37)=3.87$, $p<.01$, scores were significant. Table 11 presents the results of these analyses. In these analyses, children's age was the only significant predictor of Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness ($t=7.54$, $p<.001$) and cognition ($t=5.08$, $p<.001$) scores. Children's age contributed to Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness and cognition scores in a positive manner.

In order to examine how parents as a unit might contribute to Chinese-American children's ethnic development scores, fathers' and mothers' performance, encouragement and child rearing attitude scores were each combined together for a second series of regression analyses. In these analyses, therefore, the predictor variables included children's age, family type, total parental performance, encouragement and child rearing attitude scores. The criterion variables were again Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness, preference, positive ethnic attitude, negative ethnic attitude and cognition scores, each analyzed separately. Results of these analyses revealed that the regression models associated with Chinese-American children's ethnic

Table 11

Results of Multiple Regressions Using Children's Age, Family Type, Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics in Predicting Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Awareness and Cognition Scores Separately

Predictor Variables	Ethnic Awareness F(8, 37)=7.96 p< .001			Ethnic Cognition F(8,37)=3.87 P<.002		
	b	t	p	b	t	p
Age	.115	7.54	.001	.335	5.08	.001
Family Type	.231	.26	.79	1.73	.46	.65
Fathers:						
Performance	.056	.92	.36	.116	.44	.66
Encouragement	-.042	-1.04	.30	.173	.93	.36
Child Rearing Attitudes	.019	.90	.37	.111	1.22	.23
Mothers:						
Performance	.042	.67	.51	-.029	-.11	.92
Encouragement	.010	.22	.83	-.147	-.76	.45
Child Rearing Attitudes	.018	.72	.48	.005	.05	.96

awareness, $F(5, 37)=11.92$, $p<.001$, and cognition, $F(5, 37)=5.63$, $p<.001$, scores were again significant. In addition, the regression model associated with Chinese-American children's negative ethnic attitude scores approached significance, $F(5, 37)=2.01$, $p<.10$. Table 12 presents the results of these analyses. For either ethnic awareness or cognition, children's age ($t=7.47$, $p<.001$; $t=5.07$, $p<.001$), and parental child rearing attitudes ($t=1.74$, $p<.10$; $t=1.85$, $p<.10$) significantly or tended to significantly contribute to Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness and cognition scores in a positive manner. For negative ethnic attitudes, however, children's age ($t=-1.93$, $p<.10$) and parental encouragement ($t=-1.99$, $p<.05$) tended to or significantly contributed to Chinese-American children's negative attitude scores, respectively, both in a negative manner.

Due to problems associated with multicollinearity relative to the relationships between various aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development previously summarized, a third regression model was tested, including all aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development in the model, simultaneously. In this analysis, therefore, the regression model included the predictor variables of children's age, family type, fathers' and mothers' performance, encouragement and child rearing attitudes, and the criterion variables of ethnic awareness, preference, positive ethnic attitude, negative ethnic attitude and cognition, simultaneously. Results of this analysis presented in Table 13 indicated that the overall regression model was significant ($R^2=.769$, $p<.05$) and again revealed that findings associated with the criterion variables of ethnic awareness, $F(8, 37)=7.96$, $p<.001$, and cognition, $F(8, 37)=3.87$, $p<.01$, were

Table 12

Results of the Multiple Regression Using Children's Age, Family Type and Total Parental Characteristics in Predicting Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Awareness, Cognition and Negative Attitude Scores Separately

Predictor Variables	Ethnic Awareness			Ethnic Cognition			Negative Attitudes		
	b	t	p	b	t	p	b	t	p
	F(5, 37)=11.92, R ² =.62, p<.001			F(5, 37)=5.63, R ² =.43, p<.001			F(5, 37)=2.06, R ² =.23, p<.10		
Age	.115	7.47	.001	.333	5.07	.001	-.018	-1.93	.10
Family Type	.150	.16	.87	2.09	.52	.61	.108	.19	.85
Parental Performance	.049	1.40	.17	.073	.49	.62	.025	1.17	.25
Encouragement	-.021	-.74	.46	.023	.19	.85	-.035	-1.99	.05
Child Rearing Attitudes	.019	1.74	.09	.086	1.85	.07	.005	.76	.45

Table 13

Results of the Multiple Regression Using Children's Age, Family Type, Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics in Predicting Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores Simultaneously

$R^2 = .769$				
Univariate	r	F(8, 37)	p	
Ethnic Awareness	.795	7.96	.0001	
Ethnic Preference	.459	1.24	.30	
Positive Attitudes	.443	1.13	.37	
Negative Attitudes	.523	1.74	.12	
Ethnic Cognition	.674	3.87	.01	

Predictor Variables	Ethnic Awareness		Ethnic Cognition	
	t	p	t	p
Age	7.54	.001	5.08	.001
Family Type	.26	.79	.46	.65
Fathers'				
Performance	.92	.36	.44	.66
Encouragement	-1.04	.30	.93	.36
Child Rearing Attitudes	.90	.37	1.22	.23
Mothers'				
Performance	.68	.51	-.11	.92
Encouragement	.22	.83	-.76	.46
Child Rearing Attitudes	.72	.48	.05	.96

significant. In both instances, only age contributed significantly to understanding Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness ($t=7.54$, $p<.001$) and cognition ($t=5.08$, $p<.001$) scores in a positive manner.

Finally, because age was shown to make such a significant impact on Chinese-American children's ethnic development scores, its inclusion in the regression models previously tested may have suppressed the importance of other predictor variables in understanding aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development. As a result, two additional regression models were tested, including one for 4-year-olds and another for 7-year-olds. Predictor variables in these regression models were family type, fathers' and mothers' performance, encouragement and child rearing attitudes scores. Criterion variables included Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness, preference, positive ethnic attitude, negative ethnic attitude and cognition scores, analyzed simultaneously. Results revealed that among 4-year-old Chinese-American children, the overall regression model was significant, $R^2=.652$, $p<.05$, and indicated that the findings associated with their ethnic awareness, $F(7, 14)=3.32$, $p<.05$, and cognition, $F(7, 14)=3.83$, $p<.05$, scores were significant. Table 14 presents the results of this analysis. For ethnic awareness, fathers' performance ($t=3.28$, $p<.01$), child rearing attitudes ($t=3.84$, $p<.01$) and mothers' performance ($t=2.01$, $p<.10$) significantly or tended to significantly contribute to Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness scores in a positive manner. Fathers' encouragement ($t=-3.18$, $p<.01$) also significantly contributed to Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness scores, but in a negative manner. For ethnic cognition, fathers' performance ($t=2.70$, $p<.05$) and child rearing attitudes

Table 14

Results of the Multiple Regression Using Family Type, Fathers' and Mothers' Characteristics in Predicting 4-Year-Old Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores Simultaneously

$R^2 = .652, p < .05$				
Univariate	r	F(7, 14)	p	
Ethnic awareness	.789	3.32	.05	
Ethnic preference	.597	1.11	.41	
Positive attitudes	.396	.37	.90	
Negative attitudes	.598	1.11	.41	
Ethnic cognition	.810	3.83	.05	

Predictor Variables	<u>Ethnic Awareness</u>		<u>Ethnic Cognition</u>	
	t	p	t	p
Family Type	1.12	.28	1.98	.10
Fathers' Performance	3.28	.01	2.70	.05
Encouragement	-3.18	.01	-2.20	.05
Child Rearing Attitudes	3.84	.01	3.92	.01
Mothers' Performance	2.01	.10	1.47	.16
Encouragement	-0.90	.38	-1.67	.15
Child Rearing Attitudes	-0.04	.97	-1.24	.24

($t=3.92$, $p<.01$) significantly contributed to Chinese-American children's ethnic cognition scores in a positive manner. Fathers' encouragement ($t=-2.20$, $p<.05$) significantly contributed to Chinese-American children's ethnic cognition scores in a negative manner.

Among 7-year-old Chinese-American children, the overall regression model was also significant ($R^2=.817$, $p<.05$) However, in this analysis findings associated with their ethnic preference, $F(7, 17)=3.41$, $p<.05$, scores were significant, and those associated with their positive ethnic attitude, $F(7, 17)=2.15$, $p<.10$, scores approached significance. Table 15 presents the results of this analysis. For ethnic preference, fathers' performance ($t=3.21$, $p<.01$) significantly contributed to Chinese-American children's ethnic preference scores in a positive manner, while mothers' performance ($t=-3.55$, $p<.01$) significantly contributed in a negative manner. For positive ethnic attitudes, mothers' performance ($t=-2.88$, $p<.01$) significantly contributed to Chinese-American children's positive ethnic attitude scores, but in a negative manner.

Table 15

Results of the Multiple Regression Using Family Type, Fathers and Mothers Characteristics in Predicting 7-Year-Old Chinese-American Children's Ethnic Development Scores Simultaneously

$R^2=.817, p<.05$				
Univariate	r	F(7,17)	p	
Ethnic awareness	.575	1.20	.35	
Ethnic preference	.764	3.41	.05	
Positive attitudes	.686	2.15	.10	
Negative attitudes	.511	.86	.56	
Ethnic cognition	.414	.50	.82	

Predictor Variables	Ethnic Preference		Positive Attitudes	
	t	p	t	p
Family Type	.61	.56	-1.81	.10
Fathers Performance	3.21	.01	1.20	.25
Encouragement	-0.23	.82	-1.29	.25
Child Rearing Attitudes	.94	.36	.97	.35
Mothers Performance	-3.55	.01	-2.88	.01
Encouragement	.47	.65	1.44	.20
Child Rearing Attitudes	-0.12	.91	.11	.92

DISCUSSION

There were two major purposes in this study. The first focused upon understanding the developmental nature of ethnic development among 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American boys and girls from immigrant and non-immigrant families. The second focused upon understanding the contributions of selected parental characteristics on aspects of these children's ethnic development. Aspects of ethnic development included ethnic awareness, preference, positive attitudes, negative attitudes and cognition. The selected parental characteristics included fathers' and mothers' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors, encouragement of their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors and child rearing attitudes. All children and parents who participated in this study were from intact families, and were from the middle, upper-middle and upper classes.

Developmental Nature of Ethnic Development

Impact of Age, Sex and Family Type. Application of a 2 (age: 4- vs. 7-year-olds) x 2 (sex: boys vs. girls) x 2 (family type: immigrant vs. non-immigrant) analysis of variance on aspects of ethnic development revealed a significant main effect for age. More specifically, 7-year-old Chinese-American children had (1) significantly higher ethnic awareness and cognition scores, (2) significantly lower negative ethnic attitude scores, and (3) a tendency toward lower ethnic preference scores than their 4-year-old counterparts. Seven-year-olds and four-year-olds were not significantly different in their positive ethnic attitude scores. There were also no significant main effects for sex and family type or interaction effects.

Findings regarding the developmental nature of ethnic development among Chinese-American children obtained in this study provides general support for previous research in this area. The fact that ethnic awareness and cognition increases significantly during the years 4 to 7 supports previous findings that children's knowledge and conceptual understanding of their own ethnicity increases markedly during these years (Goodman, 1964, Newman, Liss & Sherman, 1983; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). With respect to ethnic preference, however, a tendency toward a decrease occurred in their preference for their own ethnic group during these years. This finding coincides with earlier findings on Black children, where an outgroup ethnic preference occurred (Clark & Clark, 1939; Durrett & Davy, 1978; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). However, it does contradict findings with Chinese children in Taiwan and Hong Kong, who showed more ingroup ethnic preference during these ages (Morland & Hwang, 1981). Perhaps, the nature of the society in which these children live may help to explain this difference. The society from which Chinese children in Taiwan and Hong Kong come is ethnically quite homogeneous. It is likely, therefore, that when given a choice from among individuals of various ethnic groups to "invite to a birthday party", for example, the homogeneous nature of that society, with its own cultural values and standards would have influenced these children to prefer individuals from their own ethnic group. However, Chinese children in the American society are open to a wide range of ethnic groups. They are exposed to a more diverse society with cultural values and standards associated with a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Seven-year-old children are especially confronted with such diversity when they attend public schools. Opportunities to

interact with both adults and children from other ethnic groups, therefore, may have led them to prefer these individuals over other individuals of their own ethnic group to "invite to their birthday party". A decrease in their ethnic preference for their own ethnic group, therefore, is a reasonable outcome of such an experience. However, it should be noted that the Chinese culture is a minority culture in the United States. As a minority culture, the ideals and values of such a culture may not be as valued as those of the dominant culture (Fine & Bowers, 1984). This less valued status associated with their own ethnic group may have also led 7-year-old Chinese-American children to move toward a more outgroup ethnic preference.

Still also, the nature of the measurement device used to assess children's ethnic preference may have influenced the results of this study. Interviews with the 4-year-olds suggested that they displayed no difficulty in making their preference choices. These children were choosing the photographs of children associated with their own ethnic group as an individual they would like to invite to their birthday party. Seven-year-olds, however, had a more difficult time with their choices. Some even refused to choose from among the photographs of children shown them. They responded by indicating that they would only invite "friends" to their birthday party, and certainly the photographs shown to them were not of their friends, but were of children totally unfamiliar to them. Friendship is a very significant aspect of a 7-year-old's social world (Madge, 1976). Friends as peers make a marked impact upon their lives, much more than at 4 years of age. Due to the wide range of individuals a 7-year old has been exposed to, their friends would more likely come from diverse ethnic

and cultural backgrounds. Such diversity among friends, therefore, would more likely lead them toward preferences for friends from other ethnic groups than 4-year-olds.

The finding that there was a significant decrease in the negative ethnic attitudes of Chinese-American children from 4 to 7 years of age indicates that ethnic attitudes toward their own ethnic group are also beginning to be formed during the early childhood years. This supports previous research in this area (Clark & Clark, 1939; Goodman, 1964; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Sugawara, 1967; Williams, Best & Beswell, 1975), and indicates that during the years 4 to 7, Chinese-American children become significantly less negative in their evaluation of their own ethnic group. However, the fact that positive ethnic attitudes did not change significantly during this time suggests that changes in ethnic attitudes may first proceed with changes in negative ethnic attitudes in a less unfavorable direction, before positive attitudes toward their own ethnic group begins to increase. Perhaps, in a 4 to 7-year-old child's search for a positive self identity, particularly among peers, it is the negative attitudes towards one's own ethnic group that needs to be dealt with, while positive ethnic attitudes are maintained.

Finally, findings in the present study indicated no significant sex and family type differences in aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development. The absence of sex differences has been reported in past research among White, Black and Mexican-American children (Durett & Davy, 1978; Genesee, Tucker, & Lambert, 1978). Therefore, the non-significant sex differences were expected. Aspects of ethnic development among boys and girls proceed in a similar fashion

and at the same general rate during 4 to 7 years of age. However, the absence of any family type differences in the data were quite puzzling, since immigrant Chinese-American families are more likely to maintain their cultural practices than their non-immigrant counterparts (Huang, 1976). Although attempts were made to distinguish clearly between the immigrant and non-immigrant samples used in this study, perhaps such samples were not as distinct as originally thought. On the one hand, about one-third of the non-immigrant families in this study were from San Francisco (seven out of nineteen), which houses one of the largest populations of Chinese-Americans in the United States. These non-immigrant families, therefore, were surrounded by a rich Chinese culture. Although they were born and raised in the United States, many still maintained the cultural traditions and values of their ethnic heritages. The maintenance of these cultural values, therefore, may have blurred the differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant samples used in this study. On the other hand, immigrant families used in this study were quite successful educationally and occupationally. They appeared to have found a niche in the American society. They were predominantly from the middle-, upper-middle, and upper classes and also lived in large cities where cultural diversity is evident. Therefore, they would have been exposed to the world beyond their cultural backgrounds, either through education, travel or their social interactions. Their children were born in the United States and were English speaking. Most of the parents became citizens of the United States. Such commitment and experiences, therefore, indicates an acceptance of American values and standards. As a result, the blurring of differences between immigrant and non-immigrant families could have

also occurred.

Differences and Relationships Between Aspects. Information on the differences and relationships between aspects of ethnic development among Chinese-American children was obtained after children's ethnic development scores were standardized for comparison purposes. Application of t-tests between aspects of ethnic development among 4-year-old Chinese-American children revealed the following results: (1) ethnic awareness and preference were not significantly different from each other, (2) ethnic awareness and preference were significantly higher than ethnic cognition and attitudes (i.e., both positive and negative attitudes), in that order of difference, (3) ethnic cognition was significantly higher than ethnic attitudes (i.e., both positive and negative attitudes), and (4) positive and negative ethnic attitudes were not significantly different from each other.

Taken together these findings suggested the following conclusions about the differences between aspects of ethnic development among 4-year-old Chinese-American children. First, among these 4-year-old children, the processes of ethnic awareness and preference appear to occur as two simultaneous processes rather than one occurring before the other. Previous research has suggested that the process of ethnic awareness begins earlier than ethnic preference (Proshansky, 1966). However, the present study did not provide data in support of such a proposition. Perhaps, by age 4, the processes of ethnic awareness and preference are well underway. Determination of when each of these processes first begins, therefore, needs to be undertaken using a sample of children at younger ages. It should be noted, however, that some researchers (Kircher & Furby, 1972; Rohrer, 1977) have suggested

that ethnic preference may occur even before ethnic awareness. This is so because the characteristic of preference involves an individual's attention to stimuli, which leads to an exploration of that stimuli from which knowledge about that stimuli is gained. Further research is needed, therefore, to determine the complex relationship between awareness and preference in children's ethnic development.

Second, among 4-year-old Chinese-American children, ethnic awareness and preference appear to be more developed than ethnic cognition, and ethnic cognition appears to be more developed than ethnic attitudes (both positive and negative). Past research provided general support for such developmental findings (Proshanky, 1966), indicating that the development of ethnic awareness and preference occurs before ethnic cognition, followed by ethnic attitudes.

Finally, among 4-year-old Chinese-American children, ethnic attitudes appears to be the least developed among all aspects of ethnic development. Ethnic attitudes, therefore, appears to be just beginning to emerge. This conclusion is reasonable in light of the fact that the development of ethnic attitudes involves the emergence of belief systems that develop on the basis of the previous processes of ethnic awareness, preference and cognition (Katz, 1976).

Among 7-year-old Chinese-American children, application of t-tests revealed (1) ethnic awareness and cognition to be significantly higher than ethnic preference, (2) ethnic awareness to be significantly higher than ethnic cognition, and (3) ethnic awareness, cognition and preference to be significantly higher than ethnic attitudes (for both positive and negative attitudes), and (4) negative ethnic attitudes to be significantly lower than positive ethnic attitudes.

Taken together, these findings suggest the following conclusions about 7-year-old Chinese-American children's ethnic development. First, ethnic awareness and cognition appear to be highly active processes among children 7 years of age. Both of these aspects markedly increased during these ages. This result is reasonable since ethnic awareness and cognition involve the development of classification skills that lead to increased knowledge of one's own ethnic group (Durrett & Davy, 1978; Genesee, Tucker, & Lambert, 1978). Furthermore, the increase in ethnic awareness appears to have taken place at a higher point on the standardized ethnic development scale than ethnic cognition. This difference in ethnic awareness and cognition is also plausible. Although ethnic awareness and cognition involves similar classification skills, ethnic cognition involves further conceptual abilities which including an understanding of the concepts of permanence and conservation which develop more fully after 7 years of age (Aboud, 1984; Clark, Hovcevar, & Dembo, 1983; Semaj, 1983; Slaby & Frey, 1975).

Second, among 7-year-old Chinese-American children, ethnic preference also appears to be a highly active process. Unlike ethnic awareness and cognition, however, ethnic preference tended to decrease during the years 4 to 7. Discussion of this decrease in ethnic preference was previously undertaken when presenting information on the significant main effect of age on aspects of children's ethnic development.

Finally, among 7-year-old Chinese-American children, ethnic attitudes (both positive and negative) continues to be the least developed aspect of ethnic development. While positive ethnic

attitudes maintained themselves during the years 4 to 7, negative ethnic attitudes decreased significantly during this period, leading to a significant difference between positive and negative ethnic attitudes at 7 years of age. Discussion of this finding was undertaken previously when considering findings associated with the significant main effect of age on aspect of Chinese-American children's ethnic development.

Computation of Pearson correlation coefficients for tests of the relationships between aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development revealed the following results. First, across all subjects, ethnic awareness was significantly and positively related to ethnic cognition. Second, ethnic awareness and cognition tended to be or was significantly and negatively related to negative ethnic attitudes, respectively. Finally, ethnic preference was significantly and positively related to positive ethnic attitudes. As a group, some of these findings substantiate previous findings already discussed, while others add further information about the relationships between different aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development.

First of all, discussion of the relationship between ethnic awareness and cognition was alluded to in considering findings associated with the differences between ethnic awareness and cognition among 7-year-old Chinese-American children. Second, the significant negative relationships between both ethnic awareness and cognition and negative ethnic attitudes appear plausible in light of the fact that knowledge and cognitive understanding of one's self frequently leads to less unfavorable evaluations of the self (Brand, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974). Since ethnicity is also part of the self, such self-knowledge and

understanding would also likely lead to less negative attitudes about one's own ethnic group. Finally, the significant positive relationship between ethnic preference and positive ethnic attitudes also appears reasonable. It is not likely that an individual who does not prefer his/her own ethnic group would have positive attitudes toward that ethnic group. Since ethnic preference are beginning attitudes known to be precursors of later more crystallized attitudes (Katz, 1976), then one would expect ethnic preference (or preference for one's own ethnic group) to be positively related to positive attitudes toward that ethnic group.

In addition to the above pattern of relationships between various aspects of ethnic development among Chinese-American children, computation of Pearson correlation for 4-year-olds and 7-year-olds, separately, revealed some interesting differences. Among 4-year-old Chinese-American children, ethnic awareness was significantly and positively related to ethnic cognition, and ethnic preference was significantly and negatively related to negative ethnic attitudes. Among 7-year-olds, however, ethnic preference was significantly and positively related to ethnic awareness and positive ethnic attitudes. Taken together these findings suggest that while ethnic awareness and cognition go hand in hand at 4 years of age, ethnic awareness and preference go hand in hand at 7 years of age. One possible explanation might be that 4-year-olds are actively involved in the acquisition of knowledge about ethnicity (Durrett & Davy, 1978; Goodman, 1964). Awareness and cognition, therefore, are significant in this acquisition process. Seven-year-olds, on the other hand, have gained some semblance of knowledge and understanding about ethnicity and are now

actively involved in the development of beginning attitudes, thus preferences regarding their ethnicity (Katz, 1976). In addition, among 4-year-olds, high preference for one's own ethnic group was related to less negative attitudes toward that ethnic group. However, among 7-year-olds, high preference for one's own ethnic group was related to more positive attitudes toward that ethnic group. One possible explanation for these findings could be that, among 4-year-olds, the expression of preference for one's own ethnic group involves a defense against negative attitudes toward that ethnic group, since knowledge and understanding of that ethnic group is still not yet well developed. Among 7-year-olds, however, the expression of preference for one's own ethnic group involves the identification of positive attitudes toward that ethnic group, based on a more stable knowledge and understanding of that ethnic group. More research is needed to further varify these propositions.

Parental Characteristics

Impact of Age, Sex, and Family type. Application of a 2 (age) x 2 (sex) x 2 (family type) analysis of variance on the parental (both mothers and fathers) characteristic scores revealed a significant main effect for family type. Immigrant fathers and mothers had significantly higher parental performance and encouragement scores than non-immigrant parents. Immigrant parents, therefore, performed ethnic activities and behaviors as well as encouraged their children's involvement in these ethnic activities and behaviors significantly more often than their non-immigrant counterparts. This finding is not surprising, since immigrant families tend to sustain their cultural customs or traditions by performing ethnic activities or behaviors, and

to require their children to do so in a new country (Huang, 1976).

In addition, immigrant fathers and mothers had significantly lower child rearing attitudes scores than their non-immigrant counterparts. This indicated that immigrant parents were less positive (i.e., less confident, accepting, understanding and trusting) in their child rearing attitudes than non-immigrant parents. This finding is understandable from the perspective of traditional Chinese child-rearing practices. These practices require children to be more submissive, respectful and obedient, particularly at very young ages. Therefore, immigrant families who maintain their cultural customs, when they settle in a new country, would be more likely to be traditional in their child rearing practices (Huang, 1976).

Furthermore, there were no significant sex or age differences in the manner in which Chinese-American parents performed ethnic activities and behaviors, encouraged their children's involvement in these activities and behaviors and held on to certain child rearing attitudes. Both boys and girls, 4 to 7 years of age, were exposed to their parents performance of ethnic activities and behaviors, encouragement of their children's involvement in these activities and behaviors, and child rearing attitudes in a similar manner. Perhaps the young ages of children used in this study may have not allowed for these age and sex differences to be displayed.

It should be indicated, however, that a significant age x sex x family type interaction effect was found for fathers' performance scores. Aside from confirming previous results that immigrant fathers' performance was higher than those of non-immigrant fathers' among both 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American boys and girls, this significant

interaction also indicated that, in immigrant families with girls, fathers' performance in ethnic activities and behaviors appeared to decrease from 4 to 7 years of age, while in those with boys, fathers' performance appeared to increase. On the other hand, in non-immigrant families with girls, fathers' performance in ethnic activities and behaviors appeared to increase, while in those with boys, fathers' performance appeared to decrease. Taken together these findings suggest a contrasting pattern of fathers' performance for both boys and girls at various ages in immigrant and non-immigrant families. Perhaps, in immigrant families, ethnic values regarding the role of males and females are more entrenched. The male plays a dominant role in such families, overseeing the carrying-out of family customs and traditions. The female role, however, is a more submissive one, primarily providing support to her husband in carrying-out such family traditions (Huang, 1976). As boys grow older, therefore, fathers' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors for them would likely increase, since boys are the future bearers of family customs and traditions. Learning these customs become more crucial as they become older. Girls, however, are primarily supporters of the bearers of family customs and traditions. Fathers' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors for them, therefore, would likely decrease.

Conversely, in non-immigrant Chinese-American families, Western cultural values may have made more of an impact. The emphasis on autonomy and independence, particularly among males (Huang, 1976), is important. Males are expected to be resourceful and to establish for themselves a place in the world, distinctly different from their families of origin. A movement away from one's family culture in an

attempt at establishing a distinct identity, therefore, is likely to occur. Under such circumstances, fathers' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors for their sons is not likely to increase with age. Among girls, however, the characteristics of dependence, relationships and closeness to one's family are somewhat emphasized (Huang, 1976). As a result, as girls become older, they gradually emerge as the future bearers of family customs and traditions. Fathers' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors for their daughters, therefore, is likely to increase with age. At this point, however, these ideas are still conjecture and are in need of empirical varification.

Relationships Between Parental Characteristics. Computation of Pearson correlation coefficients for tests of the relationships between parental characteristics revealed several important findings. First, among fathers and mothers, and between fathers and mothers, parental performance and encouragement scores were all significantly and positively related. Second, between fathers and mothers, their parental child rearing attitude scores were significantly and positively related. Finally, among fathers and mothers, and between fathers and mothers, both parental performance and encouragement scores were significantly and negatively related to their child rearing attitudes, with one exception. This exception had to do with the relationship between fathers' child rearing attitudes and their encouragement scores, which was not significant, but also in a negative direction. These findings suggest that the parental characteristics used in this study were not clearly distinct from each other. A great deal of overlap occurred between them. This is not surprising,

particularly with respect to scores associated with the parental performance and encouragement measures. These measures contained items that were almost identical, except for asking parents to rate their performance on selected ethnic activities and behaviors in one measure, and then to rate their encouragement of their children's involvement in these same activities and behaviors in the other measure.

In addition, findings indicated that fathers and mothers were similar in terms of their relative position with respect to their scores on parental performance, encouragement and child rearing attitudes. This suggested that future data analyses at some point should take into consideration these positive relationships between the parental characteristics, and treat fathers' and mothers' scores as a unit (i.e., combined) rather than separately.

Finally, these findings suggested that among fathers and mothers, and between fathers and mothers, higher performance and encouragement scores were significantly related to lower child rearing attitude scores. An exception to this findings was the relationship between fathers' encouragement and their child rearing attitudes, but even this relationship was in a negative direction. Apparently, therefore, the more fathers and mothers performed and encouraged their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors, the less positive (i.e., less confident, accepting, understanding and trusting) were their child rearing attitudes. This appears understandable, if we can assume that extensive performance and encouragement by parents illustrate more parental control over their child's behavior. Such controlling behaviors are known to be positively related to less confident, accepting, understanding and trusting child rearing

attitudes (Branch & Newcomb, 1986).

Relationships Between Parental Characteristics and Children's Ethnic Development. Pearson correlation coefficients for tests of relationships between parental characteristics and aspects of children's ethnic development revealed several findings. First, fathers' performance and encouragement tended to be or was significantly and negatively related to children's negative ethnic attitudes, respectively. Second, fathers' child rearing attitudes tended to be significantly and positively related to children's positive ethnic attitudes. Finally, mothers' performance tended to be significantly and negatively related to children's positive ethnic attitudes. No other significant relationships were found. The first two findings indicate the salience of fathers as models in young children's ethnic development. Social learning theory (Bandura, 1965) would have emphasized the importance of confident, accepting, understanding and trusting models in children's learning. In addition, studies of Chinese families have pointed to the power of fathers in such families as the dominant decision maker and disciplinarian (Huang, 1976).

The finding that mothers' performance tended to be negatively related to positive ethnic attitudes among 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American children is an interesting one. It suggests that mothers can hamper children's development of positive attitudes toward their own ethnic group. Perhaps, mothers' extensive performance of ethnic activities and behaviors leads children away from perceiving such activities and behaviors positively, during a time when children's sense of autonomy and initiative are being developed, and family values

often conflict with those of their peers (Erickson, 1963).

Finally, the fact that a majority of the coefficients regarding the relationships between parental characteristics and aspects of children's ethnic development were non-significant is puzzling. This is not consistent with research findings indicating that parents do play a major role as significant models and reinforcers in children's social learning (Bandura, 1965). These non-significant findings, however, may be due to the measurements used to assess parental characteristics in this study. These measures were generalized measures focused on obtaining information on parents' overall perceptions of their performance and encouragement of their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors, and their child rearing attitudes. Perhaps more specific measures centered upon obtaining parents' actual performance and encouragement of their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors, and their child rearing practices, may have led to more fruitful findings.

Parental Contributions to Children's Ethnic Development. On the basis of testing a series of multiple regression models to assess the contributions of parental characteristics on aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development, several significant findings were obtained. First, ethnic awareness and cognition were the criterion variables that harbored most of the significant predictor variables. These findings are not surprising when one considers the fact that among Chinese-American children, ethnic awareness and cognition are active processes that markedly increase during the ages 4 to 7 years (Clark & Clark, 1939; Goodman, 1964). Ethnic preference and attitudes, particularly negative ethnic attitudes, while they decrease

during this period, do so at a much slower rate.

Second, age was the strongest significant predictor variable of aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development. For ethnic awareness and cognition, age was a significant positive predictor. However, for negative ethnic attitudes, age tended to be a negative predictor. These findings replicated findings related to the developmental nature of aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development that were previously presented and discussed.

Third, since fathers' and mothers' parental characteristics scores were highly correlated with each other, fathers' and mothers' characteristic scores were looked at as a unit (i.e., fathers' and mothers' characteristics scores combined) in several regression analyses. Results from these analyses indicated that parental encouragement was a significant negative predictor of children's negative ethnic attitudes. However, parental child rearing attitudes tended to be a positive predictor of children's ethnic awareness and cognition. These findings suggested that Chinese-American parents who encourage their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors are likely to have children with less negative attitudes toward their own ethnic group. Furthermore, more positive (i.e., more confident, accepting, understanding and trusting) child rearing attitudes were related to higher levels of ethnic awareness and cognition. Taken together, these results support the proposition derived on the basis of social learning theory that parental reinforcement of children activities and behaviors, and parental warmth and acceptance of their children's activities and behaviors, are related to their social learning (Bandura, 1965).

Finally, since age was such a significant predictor of Chinese-American children's ethnic development, and as such may have suppressed the impact of parental characteristics on aspects of children's ethnic development, separate regression models were tested for 4- and 7-year-olds. Among 4-year-olds, fathers' performance and child rearing attitudes were significant positive predictors of Chinese-American children's ethnic awareness and cognition. However, fathers' encouragement was a significant negative predictor of children's ethnic awareness and cognition. Furthermore, mothers' performance tended to be a positive predictor of children's ethnic awareness. Among 7-year-olds, fathers' performance was a significant positive predictor of Chinese-American children's ethnic preference. Mothers' performance, however, was a significant negative predictor of children's positive ethnic attitudes and tended to be a negative predictor of these children's ethnic preference.

These findings are interesting from several different perspectives. First, among 4-year-olds, ethnic awareness and cognition were the criterion variables that harbored most of the significant predictor variables. Among 7-year-olds, however, ethnic preference and positive ethnic attitudes were the criterion variables that harbored most of the significant predictor variables. If we assume that (1) ethnic awareness is one of the earliest aspects of ethnic development to occur (Clark & Clark, 1939, Goodman, 1964) and (2) ethnic awareness and cognition, in part, involve some similar conceptual abilities (Aboud & Skerry, 1983), then, it is not surprising that ethnic awareness and cognition were the criterion variables that harbored most of the significant predictor variables among children at 4-years of

age. On the other hand, if we assume that (1) ethnic preference and attitudes are aspects of ethnic development that develop later in children, and (2) preference are beginning attitudes which lead to later more substantial attitudes (Katz, 1976), then it is also not surprising that ethnic preference and positive ethnic attitudes were the criterion variables that harbored most of the significant predictor variables among children at 7 years of age.

Second, fathers' characteristics appears to be more predictive of Chinese-American children's ethnic development than mothers' characteristics, particularly among children 4 years of age. As previously indicated, in Chinese families the father is the more dominant figure, being the decision maker and disciplinarian in the family, particularly for children at younger ages (Huang, 1976). It was reasonable to find, therefore, that the fathers' variables were more predictive of 4-year-old children's ethnic awareness and cognition. However, fathers' characteristics can also contribute both positively and negatively to aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development. For example, among 4-year-old children, fathers' performance and child rearing attitudes significantly contributed to their children's ethnic awareness and cognition in a positive manner. Likewise, among 7-year-old children, fathers' performance contributed significantly to their children's ethnic preference. These findings indicate that fathers can be significant and/or reinforcing models in enhancing aspects of children's ethnic development at both 4 and 7 years of age. Fathers' encouragement, however, significantly contributed to 4-year-old children's ethnic awareness and cognition in a negative manner. Extensive encouragement by fathers for involvement

of their children in ethnic activities and behaviors, therefore, can also hamper the development of children's knowledge and cognitive understanding of their ethnicity at 4 years of age.

Finally, despite the fact that fathers' characteristics appear to be more significant in children's ethnic development at 4 years of age, mothers' characteristics can also make their impact on children's ethnic development. Mothers' performance tended to positively contribute to the ethnic awareness of 4-year-old Chinese-American children. Mothers, therefore, can also be significant models for enhancing children's development of ethnic awareness at 4 years of age. Mothers' performance, however, significantly contributed to Chinese-American children's ethnic preference and positive ethnic attitudes in a negative manner at 7 years of age. Perhaps extensive performance by mothers of ethnic activities and behaviors among 7-year-olds may lead them to develop less preference and positive attitudes toward their own ethnic group, since such performance frequently conflicts with behaviors and values of their peer culture.

Summary

In summary, ethnic awareness and cognition significantly increased among Chinese-American children from 4 to 7 years of age. However, ethnic preference and negative ethnic attitudes tended to decrease or decreased significantly, respectively, during these years. There was no significant difference between the positive ethnic attitudes of 4- and 7-year-olds. In addition, no significant sex and family type main or interaction effects were obtained. Ethnic awareness and preference appeared to develop earlier than ethnic cognition, followed by ethnic attitudes (both positive and negative attitudes). However, the

differences and relationships between aspects of ethnic development among Chinese-American 4- and 7-year-olds varied with age.

Immigrant parents (fathers and mothers) performed ethnic activities and behaviors and encouraged their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors significantly more often than non-immigrant parents. However, immigrant parents had significantly less positive (i.e., less confident, accepting, understanding and trusting) child rearing attitudes than non-immigrant parents. No significant main effects for age and sex on parental characteristics were obtained. However, a significant age x sex x family type interaction effect was found for fathers' performance scores.

Among fathers and mothers, and between fathers and mothers, parental performance and encouragement were significantly and positively related. In addition, between fathers and mothers, parental child rearing attitudes were significantly and positively related. However, among fathers and mothers, and between fathers and mothers, parental child rearing attitudes were significantly and negatively related to parental performance and encouragement, with one exception. This exception had to do with the relationship between fathers' child rearing attitudes and their encouragement scores, which was also in a negative direction. Fathers' performance and encouragement tended to be or was significantly and negatively related to children's negative ethnic attitudes, respectively, while fathers' child rearing attitudes tended to be significantly and positively related to children's positive ethnic attitudes. Mothers' performance tended to be significantly and negatively related to children's positive ethnic attitudes. All other relationships between parental characteristics

and aspects of children's ethnic development were not significant.

Ethnic awareness and cognition were the criterion variables harboring most of the significant predictor variables. Age was the strongest predictor variable of Chinese-American children's ethnic development. Parental (fathers and mothers combined) encouragement was a significant negative predictor of children's negative ethnic attitudes, while parental (fathers and mothers combined) child rearing attitudes tended to be a positive predictor of children's ethnic awareness and cognition. Among 4-year-olds, ethnic awareness and cognition were the criterion variables harboring most of the significant predictor variables. Among 7-year-olds, however, ethnic preference and positive ethnic attitudes were the criterion variables harboring most of the significant predictor variables. Fathers' characteristics appeared to be more predictive of aspects of Chinese-American children's ethnic development, particularly among children 4 years of age. However, fathers and mothers contributed both positively and negatively to aspects of 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American children's ethnic development.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Although results of this study provided several important findings regarding the developmental nature of ethnic development among Chinese-American children and parental contributions to these children's ethnic development, a number of limitations were encountered in this study. Some of these limitations will be discussed following, with suggestions for future research.

Sample. In the present study, findings revealed no significant differences between aspects of ethnic development among Chinese-

American children from immigrant and non-immigrant families. These findings were not expected since immigrant families are known to maintain traditional customs and values as they move into a new country (Huang, 1976). Although attempts were made to clearly distinguish between the immigrant and non-immigrant samples used in this study, perhaps such samples were not as distinct as originally thought. Both immigrant and non-immigrant samples were recruited through associations with programs for Chinese Americans. The strategies of recruiting sample for this study, therefore, might be biased. This idea was discussed at length previously. Future studies comparing differences in aspects of ethnic development among children from immigrant and non-immigrant families, therefore, should take extreme care in clearly distinguish between their sub-samples when they are used in studies.

In addition to the variable of family type, the variable of children's age emerged as another limitation associated with this study. In the present study, among 4-year-old Chinese-American children, there were no significant differences between the ethnic awareness and preference scores of children. At 4 years of age, therefore, ethnic awareness and preference occurred as two simultaneously active processes associated with children's ethnic development. Previous research had suggested that ethnic awareness commences before ethnic preference (Goodman, 1964; Newman, Liss & Sherman, 1983; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). The present study, however, did not provide data to substantiate such a finding. In order for such substantiation to occur, a future study using still younger children as subjects needs to be conducted.

Parental Measures. With respect to the parental measures used, a

number of limitations were encountered. First, in this study parental measures of performance, encouragement and child rearing attitudes were employed. These measures contained questions relating to parents' performance of ethnic activities and behaviors, encouragement of their children's involvement in these ethnic activities and behaviors and child rearing attitudes. Questions related to parents' ethnic preferences and attitudes were not included in the questionnaires. This may be the reason why the present study found more significant predictors among parental characteristics when the criterion variables were ethnic awareness and cognition. The parental characteristics studied were less predictive of ethnic preference and attitudes. Parental performance and encouragement, therefore, may have more to do with children's knowledge and understanding of ethnic concepts rather than ethnic preference and attitudes. Future studies might employ parental ethnic preference and attitude measures to investigate the direct link between children's and parents' ethnic preference and attitudes.

Second, although attempts were made through the questionnaires to obtain actual parental performance and encouragement (i.e., behavioral practice) information, like all questionnaire devices, the present questionnaires suffered from problems related to self-report approaches. While the questionnaires asked for specific parental performance and encouragement practices, parents were still free to respond to the questionnaires in a manner they felt were socially desirable. Socially desirable responses, therefore, would have clearly been at odds with the intent of the present study. In an attempt at studying the relationship between parents' actual ethnic practices and

aspects of children's ethnic development, future observational studies would be worthwhile. Such observational studies could be conducted in naturalistic or contrived laboratory settings, using videotape equipment to record actual parental ethnic practices.

Third, findings in this study regarding the significant positive relationships between parental performance and encouragement suggested that a great deal of overlap existed between these variables. In fact, these variables may not be very distinct from each other. Both measures included the same questions, with one containing questions focused on obtaining information on parents' performance of selected ethnic activities and behaviors, while the other involving questions focused on obtaining information on parents' encouragement of their children's involvement in these same ethnic activities and behaviors. In answering these questionnaires, however, the distinction between these variables was problematic. For example, parental celebration of various ethnic festivals may be the same as encouraging their children's involvement in such activities, since such a celebration may be a family matter in which all family members participate. Future studies, therefore, need to delineate the concept of parental performance and encouragement in a more precise manner.

Children's Measures. In reference to the children's ethnic development measures, limitations can be classified into two categories (1) administration procedures and (2) test content/technique.

In terms of administration procedures, a number of problems were encountered. In the present study, the researcher who tested the children was unfamiliar with the children until the actual testing took place. Although the researcher spent some time in conversation with

the children prior to the actual testing (i.e., to make children feel more comfortable in the test situation), some children were still uneasy about the test situation. Such uneasiness affected these children's willingness to participate and cooperate in the test situation. This uneasiness did affect some of the children's responses in the study. In future studies, therefore, researchers should take care in familiarizing themselves with the children, so comfort on the part of both researcher and children can occur.

The average time for administering the ethnic development tests per child was about 16 minutes. For 7-year-olds, this length of testing time proceeded well. However, for 4-year-olds, the testing time appeared a little long for their attention spans. In several instances, these children were distracted by other toys in the room, and gave responses that were irrelevant to test questions. Possibly, the uneasy test situation, coupled with the toy distractions in the room, may have magnified the problems associated with the length of testing time. Usually, 4-year-olds are capable of testing time lengths longer than 16 minutes. However, a combination of the strange situation and toy distractions may have hampered the smooth administration of tests for some children. In addition to familiarity with children, therefore, future investigations should keep outside distractions at a minimum. Furthermore, careful planning in keeping the interests of children during the test situation would be appropriate.

As a result of the uneasiness of some children about the test situation, about 1/4 of the children required their parents or siblings to be present in the testing room when testing took place. On some

occasions, a few children, especially 4-year-olds, tended to seek the approval of parents for their answers to questions. As a result, among these children, responses in the test situation were contaminated by such outside forces. Future studies, therefore, should plan their experiments so that the influences of such outside forces can be minimized.

With respect to problems associated with the ethnic development test content and technique, comments from children, particularly 7-year-olds, during the administration of the ethnic preference section of the test are worth noting. To obtain children's ethnic preference, children were shown photographs of children from different ethnic groups and were asked such questions as "which one they would like to invite to their birthday party?" The photographs of children in the test were, of course, unfamiliar to the children being tested. In such a test situation, some 7-year-olds refused to choose from among the photographs presented, because none of them depicted a "friend" of theirs, and "they only invite friends to their birthday party". Such problems were not evident among 4-year-olds, but 7-year-olds, apparently, were wanting to make more realistic choices for their preferences. This problem in test content raises a question regarding whether the present method of using photographs to obtain a measure of children's ethnic preferences is truly valid, particularly among older children. For a more accurate assessment of their ethnic preferences, observation techniques in naturalistic settings appears more appropriate. Future investigations, therefore, in addition to picture preference test, should also use observational techniques to assess children's ethnic preferences.

Aside from problems encountered with the photographs in the ethnic preference section of the test, use of photographs and line drawings throughout the entire ethnic development test raises additional issues of concern. Although attempts were made to clearly distinguish between children from various ethnic groups depicted in the photographs and line drawings, and pilot testing of them revealed a high rate of correct identification responses among pilot test subjects, a number of other characteristics in the photographs and line drawings may have influenced children's choices in this study. The researcher took extreme care in selecting photographs and line drawings for the test, considering additional characteristics such as attractiveness, quality, facial expressions, size, background and similarity except for ethnic facial characteristics. However, differences between the photographs and line drawings were still present. A future study to establish further reliability and validity estimates for the ethnic development tests, therefore, would be worthwhile. In this endeavor, use of observational techniques would become important. Results from observational measures of aspects of ethnic development could then be related to children's responses on the ethnic development tests used in this study.

Other Studies. In addition to future studies that can be conducted as a result of limitations encountered in this study, other studies can be undertaken which might add to the body of knowledge in the area of children's ethnic development. As a result of interacting with the 7-year-olds in this study, and experiencing the importance that friends play in their lives, a study of how peers affect children's ethnic development would be worthwhile. In addition, the

present study collected a whole host of other data beside those reported in this thesis. Among these were the subscale scores from the parental child rearing attitudes questionnaire, aspects of ethnic cognition, including identity, stability and constancy, and Chinese-American children's preference and attitudes toward children of the Black and White ethnic groups. In the present study, only Chinese-American children's preference and attitudes toward their own ethnic group were analyzed. Future studies focused on the preference and attitudes of Chinese-American children toward the Black and White ethnic groups for both developmental and comparison purposes would clearly add to the present body of knowledge. Furthermore, as a result of this study, a desire to assess the developmental nature of ethnic development using a longitudinal design appears attractive at this point. Following a group of children over a number years can provide us with more accurate information about the general nature of ethnic development among young children in comparison to information obtained using a cross-sectional design. Finally, within our society a number of families have recently adopted children from different countries into their families. Questions regarding how these children develop their ethnic identities, and how their adopted parents might contribute to such identities could be combined for the development of a significant research project.

Implications for Early Childhood Educators

In the field of early childhood education, increasing attentions have been placed on finding ways to facilitate positive ethnic identity among young children (Phinney & Rotheram, 1986). Since early childhood educators are in frequent and close contact with children and their

parents from various ethnic groups, information that would help them in their endeavors would be worthwhile.

On the basis of findings obtained in this study regarding the developmental aspects of ethnic development among Chinese-American children and how selected parental characteristics might contribute to this process, several useful implications can be made for early childhood educators who work with Chinese-American families. First, it is clear that there are developmental patterns in the ethnic development of Chinese-American children. Certain aspects of ethnic development increase markedly during the years 4 to 7, while others decrease and still others are just beginning to emerge. For example, knowledge and cognitive understanding about ethnicity increases during the years 4 to 7, while ethnic preference tends to decrease, and ethnic attitudes are just beginning to emerge. Information such as that listed above is important for early childhood educators in their attempt to enhance the development of Chinese-American children's concepts of ethnicity based on children's developmental abilities and needs. Furthermore, communication of this information to Chinese-American parents is important for their understanding and enhancement of positive ethnic identities among their children.

Second, even among Chinese-American families the unique family backgrounds from which they come are important considerations in understanding and enhancing the ethnic development of their children. Immigrant and non-immigrant families were markedly different in the manner in which they performed and encouraged their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors. Furthermore, the child rearing attitudes held by parents within these families were different.

Such unique family backgrounds, therefore, suggest that these families have their own special set of expectations and values for the ethnic development of their children. Such expectations and values are important considerations in aiding families toward their goal of enhancing the development of positive ethnic identities among their children. In conjunction with information on the developmental aspects of ethnic development among young children, these unique sets of parental expectations and values can be considered, so that discrepancies between them may be minimized. Minimization of such discrepancies are important for the development of positive ethnic identities among children and close family relationships.

Third, Chinese-American parents are salient models in the ethnic development of their children. Their performance and encouragement of children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors can have an impact on children's understanding and attitudes about their own ethnicity. Furthermore, parental child rearing attitudes do play a role in children's ideas about ethnicity. The fact that findings concerning parental performance, encouragement and child rearing attitudes among Chinese-American mothers and fathers were so positively related, suggests that within these families both mothers and fathers were quite similar in their parental characteristics. This supports the notion that Chinese-American families are close families, having parents with similar expectations and values regarding the importance of ethnicity in their family lives. Work with such families in aiding the positive development of children's ethnic identities, therefore, should be undertaken by interacting with these families as a unit rather than as consisting of separate individuals unrelated to each

other. This was further supported by the findings in this study that total (fathers and mothers combined) parental encouragement and child rearing attitudes contributed significantly to children's knowledge and cognitive understanding of ethnicity.

In addition, the finding that fathers' characteristics appeared to make more of an impact on children's ethnic development than mothers, especially during the younger ages, communicates information on the nature of family roles in Chinese-American families. In Chinese-American families, whether from immigrant or non-immigrant families, fathers continue to be significant individuals affecting children's development, particularly at 4 years of age. The traditional cultural values related to the father's role as the primary decision maker and disciplinarian, therefore, continues to be felt. Programs focused on aiding Chinese-American families in facilitating their children's development, therefore, should become more serious about the involvement of fathers in programs associated with the education and caring of their children. This does not mean, however, that mothers are not important in facilitating children's ethnic development. Present data do point out that mothers' performance can have an impact on children's ethnic knowledge and attitudes.

It should be noted, however, that while fathers and mothers can facilitate aspects of children's ethnic development, their involvement in children's lives can also impede such a process as well. Extensive parental performance and/or encouragement of their children's involvement in ethnic activities and behaviors can lead children away from understanding and developing concepts and positive attitudes about their own ethnicity. Perhaps, such extensive performance and

encouragement among parents leads children away from an appreciation of their own ethnic heritages, since such pressure leads to conflicts among 4-year-olds with their developing sense of autonomy and initiative, and among 7-year-olds, the values of their peer culture.

In conclusion, the present study provided very useful information on the developmental aspects of ethnic development among 4- and 7-year-old Chinese-American children from immigrant and non-immigrant families. It also provided important data on how their parents might contribute to this process. Information such as this is important for Chinese-American parents as well as early childhood educators in their work with Chinese-American families.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Parental Performance Questionnaire

PARENTAL PERFORMANCE QUESTIONNAIRE (PPQ)

Listed below are questions about the kinds of ethnic activities and behaviors that you may practice in your daily life. Please read each question carefully and circle the response which best represents your own practice of each activity or behavior.

	NA	Never	Sometimes	Often	Mostly	Always
1. Do you eat Chinese food at home?	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Do you sing or play Chinese music at home?	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Do you take your child to Chinese shows (e.g. movies, acrobatics, concerts) if they are available in this area?	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Did you celebrate Chinese festivals (e.g., Lunar New Year, Mid-Autumn festival) in the past three years?	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Do you visit or make Chinese friends in the United States?	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. How often do you visit Chinatown when you have a chance to visit a big city?	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Do you speak Chinese (any dialect) at home?	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. Among Chinese-Americans, do you use Chinese in conversation if it is possible?	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Do you teach Chinese culture to your American friends?	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Do you send your children to Chinese schools or other related camps if it is possible?	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Do you identify yourself to be a Chinese instead of an American?	0	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX B**Parental Encouragement Questionnaire**

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (PEQ)

Listed below are questions about the kinds of ethnic activities and behaviors that you may encourage your child to become involved in. Please read each question carefully, and circle the response which best represents the degree to which you encourage your child to become involved in the activity or behavior.

	NA	Never	Sometimes	Often	Mostly	Always
1. Do you encourage your child to eat Chinese food?	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Do you encourage your child to sing or play Chinese music at home?	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Do you encourage your child to go to Chinese shows (e.g., movies, acrobates, concerts) if they are available in your neighborhood?	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Do you encourage your child to visit or to make Chinese friends in the United States?	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Do you encourage your child to read books about China and to explore the Chinese culture?	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. Do you encourage your child to participate in Chinese festivals (e.g., Lunar New Year, Mid-Autumn festival)?	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Do you encourage your child to use Chinese in conversation if it is possible among their Chinese friends and relatives?	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. Do you encourage your child to go to Chinese school or culturally related camps if it is possible?	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Do you encourage your child to teach his/her American friends about the Chinese culture?	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Do you encourage your child to speak Chinese (any dialect) at home?	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Do you encourage your child to identify himself/herself to be a Chinese instead of an American?	0	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C

Parental Attitudes Survey

PARENTAL-ATTITUDE SURVEY (PAS)

Listed below are statements about parenting and about child rearing. Please read each statement carefully and circle the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	It Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I feel I am faced with more problems than most parents.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
2. Few parents have to face the problems I find with my children.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
3. It's hard to know what to do when a child is afraid of something that won't hurt him/her.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
4. Most parents aren't sure what is the best way to bring up children.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
5. Children don't realize that it mainly takes suffering to be a good parent.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
6. Parents sacrifice most of their fun for their children.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
7. Raising children isn't as hard as most parents let on.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
8. It's hard to know when to make a rule and stick by it.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
9. Raising children is a nerve-wracking job.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
10. It's hard to know what healthy sex ideas are.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
11. The earlier a child is weaned from his/her emotional ties to his/her parents the better he/she will handle his/her own problems.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
12. A child who misbehaves should be made to feel guilty and ashamed of him/herself.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
13. There is no reason why a child should not learn to keep his/her clothes clean very early in life.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
14. Children should be toilet-trained at the earliest possible time.	SD	D	ID	A	SA

(PAS, continued)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	It Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
15. A child who wants too much affection may become a "softie" if it is given to him/her.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
16. One thing I cannot stand is a child's constantly wanting to be held.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
17. A child should be weaned away from the bottle or breast as soon as possible.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
18. It's a parent's right to refuse to put up with a child's annoyance.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
19. If you put too many restrictions on a child, you will stunt his/her personality.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
20. When a boy is cowardly, he should be forced to try things he is afraid of.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
21. Family life would be happier if parents made children feel they were free to say what they think about anything.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
22. Talking with a child about his/her fears most often makes the fear look more important than it is.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
23. A child's ideas should be seriously considered in making family decisions.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
24. Children should have a share in making family decisions just as the grown-ups do.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
25. If you let children talk about their troubles they end up complaining even more.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
26. Children shouldn't be asked to do all the compromising without a chance to express their side of things.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
27. There's a lot of truth in the saying, "children should be seen and not heard."	SD	D	ID	A	SA
28. Most children's fears are so unreasonable it only makes things worse to let them talk about them.	SD	D	ID	A	SA

(PAS, continued)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	It Depends	Agree	Strongly Agree
29. Family conferences which include the children don't usually accomplish much.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
30. The trouble with trying to understand children's problems is they usually just make up a lot of stories to keep you interested.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
31. Children who are not watched will get in trouble.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
32. Children must be told exactly what to do and how to do it or they will make mistakes.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
33. Children have no right to keep anything from their parents.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
34. Children have a right to activities which do not include their parents.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
35. A child should be allowed to try out what he/she can do at times without the parents watching.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
36. More parents should make it their job to know everything their child is doing.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
37. If rules are not closely enforced children will misbehave and get into trouble.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
38. It is hard to let children go and visit people because they might misbehave when parents aren't around.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
39. It is hard to know when to let boys and girls play together when they can't be seen.	SD	D	ID	A	SA
40. A child should never keep a secret from his/her parents.	SD	D	ID	A	SA

APPENDIX D

Demographic Questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire

A: ABOUT YOU AND YOUR BACKGROUND

1. Name: _____ Sex: _____ Birthdate: _____
2. Were you born in the United States? (Circle one) Yes No
(If "yes" skip to question #6. Otherwise continue on.)
3. What year did you come to the United States? (Specify) _____
4. How many times have you gone back to your native country during last 10 years? _____
5. What is your native language? (Specify) _____
6. Do you currently have permanent U.S. residency?
(Circle one) Yes No
7. In which country do you hold your citizenship? _____
8. Where did you live the longest in your life time?
(Specify) _____ City _____ State _____ Country
How long? _____ Year _____ Month
9. Are you a member of any Asian organization in the United States? (Circle one) Yes No

(If "yes", please check the type of organization it is and indicate the time per month or year you participate in the organization's activity. You may check more than one, if you belong to each type of organization)

- _____ Religious (e.g., church) _____ times/month
- _____ Recreational (e.g., golf, tennis) _____ times/month
- _____ Social (e.g., Chinese community) _____ times/month
- _____ Benevolent (e.g., community service) _____ times/month
- _____ Professional (e.g., Asian-American Engineering Association) _____ times/year
- _____ Other (Specify) _____ times/month

10. What languages do you use in your conversations with your child participating in this research project?
(List below)

<u>Language/Dialect</u>	<u>Percentage of Conversation</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____

11. Who else lives with you in your present household besides your children? (List below):

<u>Relationship to you</u>	<u>Age</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

B. ABOUT YOUR OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION

1. What is your occupation? (Specify) _____

2. Is it part-time or full-time? (Circle one)
Part-time Full-time
3. Estimate your current occupational income. (Check one)
- _____ Under \$8,000
_____ \$8,000 - \$20,000
_____ \$20,001 - \$30,000
_____ \$30,001 - \$40,000
_____ \$40,001 - \$50,000
_____ \$50,001 - \$60,000
_____ \$60,001 and up
4. What is the last grade you completed in school? (Check one)
- _____ None
_____ 1 - 6 grade
_____ 7 - 9 grade
_____ 10 - 11 grade
_____ 12 (High School Graduate or GED)
_____ College non-graduate or post high school job training
_____ College graduate
_____ Graduate training
5. List most of your friends from most (1) to least (5):
- a. Asian (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Japanese) _____
b. Black _____
c. Caucasian _____
d. Mexican _____
e. Others _____ (please specify _____)

Do you have any comments or concerns that you would like to express to the researcher about this research project. Please feel free to do so in the space provided below. Thank you very much for your cooperation!