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Ethnic socialization and ethnic identity in Korean American adolescents and
young adults: The relative roles of parents and friends

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

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Ethnic socialization and ethnic identity in Korean American adolescents and young adults:
The relative roles of parents and friends

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by

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DEDICATION

Thank you, Jane.

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There are many people I need to thank and acknowledge.

- My committee
- My family
- My friends

Without them, the Ph.D. would not have happened.

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic socialization and ethnic identity in Korean American adolescents and young adults:

The relative roles of parents and friends

by

Ann Y. Kim

To contribute to the growing research on ethnic identity development, this dissertation examined the influences of parent and peer ethnic socialization on Korean American ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was defined using three dimensions: exploration, resolution, and affect. Exploration refers to the extent to which one has explored one's ethnic heritage. Resolution refers to a feeling of reaching a comfortable ethnic identity after exploration. Affect refers to the feelings one has towards one's ethnic identity. Ethnic socialization was defined as having three subcomponents: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Cultural socialization refers to conversations regarding one's history, culture, food, and other ethnic background knowledge. Preparation for bias refers to conversations regarding the bias that one may experience in greater society. Promotion of mistrust refers to conversations suggesting the individual keep distance from those of other ethnic and racial backgrounds. Ethnic identity has been identified as being significantly related to both academic achievement and psychological well-being. Thus, the healthy and secure achievement of ethnic identity is an important developmental task.

Ethnic identity and ethnic socialization were examined in a relatively understudied subpopulation of interest, Korean Americans. The Korean American community is typically viewed as being successful, based on the high proportions of those who hold postsecondary degrees and a median income that is higher than general median income for the United States (U.S. Census, 2011). However, adolescents in the community also experience mental and physical health challenges. The literature review in this dissertation discusses the role of ethnic identity in adolescent development, parent ethnic socialization, and the role of friends during adolescence. The literature suggests that friend ethnic socialization may be an important variable that has not been fully explored in research on ethnic identity development. The review concludes with the research questions examined in this dissertation.

Chapter 3 introduces the participants of the study and the methodologies used to answer the research question. Three-hundred and twenty-two Korean American adolescents and young adults were surveyed using an instrument made up several modified survey measures. The Ethnic Identity Scale (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004) was modified and shortened. Questions previously asked to parents about their racial socialization practices (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) were modified to fit the study's design of surveying adolescent and young adults about their perceived experiences having conversations with their parents and their friends. A pilot study was conducted preliminarily in order to test the validity of the survey instrument's use on this population and the results of the pilot study are included in this chapter.

Chapter 4 reports the results of the study. *T*-tests were used to verify whether ethnic socialization messages were experienced within the surveyed members of the population and

the study confirms that Korean American adolescents and young adults experienced having ethnic socialization conversations with parents and with friends. Multivariate regressions were conducted to examine the influences of the two sources of ethnic socialization on ethnic identity separately. The global construct of parent ethnic socialization significantly predicted exploration and resolution and the global construct of friend ethnic socialization significantly predicted exploration. Finally structural equation modeling was used to model each of the three subcomponents of ethnic socialization from each source and the three dimensions of ethnic identity simultaneously. Only parent promotion of mistrust significantly predicted exploration; whereas all three friend ethnic socialization components predicted all three aspects of ethnic identity.

Further discussions regarding the findings, limitations and suggestions for further research are included in chapter 5.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction.....	18
	a. Theorizing Ethnic Identity	18
	b. Ethnic Socialization.....	23
	c. The Current Study.....	24
II.	Literature Review	26
	a. Korean Americans	26
	b. Parent Ethnic Socialization.....	28
	c. Friend Ethnic Socialization.....	32
	i. Friends and Academic Achievement	35
	d. Current Study.....	37
III.	Method.....	40
	a. Participants	40
	b. Instrumentation	43
	i. EIS	43
	ii. Parent ethnic socialization	46
	iii. Friend ethnic socialization.....	50
	iv. Korean American-ness.....	53
	v. Demographic items	53

vi. Final instrument	54
c. Procedure	55
d. Data Analysis.....	57
i. Assumptions for SEM.....	59
ii. Missing data.....	63
IV. Results.....	65
a. Preliminary Analysis	65
i. EIS	65
ii. Parent ethnic socialization	68
iii. Friend ethnic socialization.....	71
b. Hypothesis Testing	74
i. Hypothesis 1	74
ii. Hypothesis 2	74
iii. Hypothesis 3	75
iv. Hypothesis 4	75
v. Hypothesis 5	76
1. Model 1	76
2. Model 2	77
3. Model 3.....	78

4. Model 4.....	78
5. Model 5.....	79
6. Model 6.....	79
V. Discussion.....	84
a. Contributions and Limitationstion.....	97
References.....	101
Appendix A: Pilot Study Survey	112
Appendix B: Dissertation Survey	120
Appendix C: Recruitment Emails.....	127
Appendix D: Factor Structure for Parent Ethnic Socialization	128
Appendix E: Factor Structure for Friend Ethnic Socialization.....	129
Appendix F: Factor Structure for Ethnic Identity.....	130

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A group of people who share a history, a common ancestry, and common cultural traditions such as food, dress, music, and language are defined as having a shared ethnicity (Phinney, 1996). Having an ethnic identity is the subjective sense of belonging to one's ethnic group (Phinney, 1996). The development of an ethnic identity is attributed to a number of interpersonal and individual mechanisms. The process of ethnic socialization, defined as the transmission of values, perspectives, and information regarding one's ethnic group (Hughes & Chen, 1997), is agreed to be one significant influence on the development of ethnic identity in childhood and adolescence. Research on ethnic socialization has focused on parents as the main socializing agents, a process referred to as familial ethnic socialization or parent ethnic socialization. There has been relatively little research on the role of friends as socialization agents in ethnic identity development despite research evidence pointing to the significant role of friends in many aspects of development during adolescence. This study will therefore examine the relationship between ethnic socialization, from both parents and friends, and ethnic identity development in one specific ethnic group, Korean Americans.

Theorizing Ethnic Identity

Erikson (1968) proposed identity development as a developmental task typically addressed during adolescence. Marcia (1980) extended Erikson's theoretical formulation by developing a typology of identity statuses based on "the presence or absence of a decision-making period (crisis) and the extent of personal investment (commitment)" (Marcia, 1980; p. 161). According to this model, those who have gone through an exploration or decision-making period and then committed to an identity are in the status *identity achievement*. Individuals who have no

commitment and have not explored are in the status *identity diffusion*. The *foreclosure* status is defined by a personal commitment to an identity in the absence of any exploration or decision-making process about the identity. The fourth status, *moratorium*, encompasses individuals who are in the exploration process and are still making a decision, as yet they lack a firm commitment (Kroger, Martinussen, & Marcia, 2010).

Phinney (1989) proposed a three-stage model of ethnic identity development grounded in Marcia's general typology of identity development. Using the same constructs defined by Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1980), individuals start in either diffusion or foreclosure and move through moratorium to reach ethnic identity achievement. Scholars have posed several criticisms of this model. These include pointing out the model being limited as it only focuses on general experiences of ethnic groups while deliberately leaving out the unique experiences of specific groups, such as knowing one's heritage language (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Further, the model assumes that one who has reached identity achievement also feels positively about one's ethnic group (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004). Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004) proposed a model that overcomes this second limitation by adding an affective component, affect. This model proposes three dimensions: exploration, resolution, and affect, to best describe the adolescent's state of ethnic identity. Exploration and resolution (equivalent to the concept of commitment or affirmation in previous models) function similarly as in previous models. However, the third dimension, affect, captures the feelings one holds towards one's own ethnic group. For example, two individuals may have equally explored and resolved their ethnic identities, yet one might have positive feelings towards membership in the ethnic group while the other has negative feelings. Thus, although commitment might be equal, the affect towards their ethnicity of these two individuals would be different.

This model of ethnic identity posited by Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004) has not been used with an identified Korean American sample to date; thus, the efficacy of the three-factor model for this population is currently unclear. By adding a third component, the model potentially provides more opportunities to find relationships between ethnic identity components and other concepts of interest. Of particular interest for this study are ethnic identity components and their relations to ethnic socialization. An application of the model to Latino adolescents, mostly of Mexican origin (66%) with some of Salvadoran (25%) and Guatemalan (9%) origin, found familial ethnic socialization to be a strong predictor of exploration and resolution but not affect (Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006). An examination of the relationships between the components of ethnic identity as defined in this model and self-esteem among African American, Asian American, European American, and Latino and in individuals of those groups who are living in the Midwest versus California (Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007) found that self-esteem was related to ethnic identity resolution for all groups living in the Midwest and for only European Americans and Latinos in California (Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007). Separating components of ethnic identity revealed important differences by region as well as ethnic group. Similarly, applying the three factor model of ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) may provide a clearer picture of the contribution of ethnic socialization to ethnic identity in Korean Americans.

Ethnic Identity and Psychological Outcomes

Research that finds a strong, positive ethnic identity to be a protective factor against negative psychological outcomes, such as depression and anxiety demonstrates the importance of understanding how ethnic identity develops. Four empirical studies have examined psychological outcomes and its relation to ethnic identity in Korean American adolescents to

date (i.e., Chae & Foley, 2010; Hovey, Kim & Seligman, 2006; Lee, 2005; Shrake & Rhee, 2004). Chae and Foley (2010) reported a positive relationship between ethnic identity and psychological well-being. Hovey and colleagues (2006) found a significant negative relationship with ethnic identity and trait anxiety. Shrake and Rhee (2004) focused on internalizing symptoms such as being withdrawn, anxious/depressed, somatic complaints, and externalizing symptoms such as, aggression and delinquency. High levels of achieved ethnic identity predicted low levels of problem behavior (Shrake & Rhee, 2004).

In the fourth study, the relationship among perceived discrimination and perceptions of depressive symptoms and social connectedness were moderated by ethnic pride, a dimension of ethnic identity included by the researcher (Lee, 2005). Among those who reported high ethnic pride, when perceived ethnic discrimination was low, participants reported relatively few depressive symptoms and strong social connectedness. However when perceived ethnic discrimination was high, participants reported greater depressive symptoms and weaker social connectedness. In contrast, among adolescents with low ethnic pride, perceived ethnic discrimination did not influence their depressive symptoms and feelings of social connectedness. This study found a more complex relationship between ethnic identity, depressive symptoms, and feelings of social connectedness by examining the dimensions of ethnic identity rather than its developmental stages. Overall, the findings from these studies suggest ethnic identity is a protective factor against negative psychological outcomes for Korean American adolescents.

Ethnic Identity and Academic Achievement

The relationship between ethnic identity and academic achievement has been less clear, and I could find no empirical research that has examined this relationship with a sole Korean American sample. Among studies examining the relationship between ethnic or racial identity

and academic achievement in other ethnic and racial groups very few studies utilizing the MEIM have found a significant relationship between ethnic identity and academic achievement. A study conducted by Yasui, Dorham, and Dishion (2004) was one of the few studies that found a significant positive correlation between MEIM scores and GPA among African American students. However, Worrell (2007) suggested cautious interpretation of those data, because this relationship is different from many other studies. As well, the MEIM total scores may be anomalous, as scores of African American students are the same as those of White students, counter to most of the extant literature. Worrell (2007) conducted a study with African American, Asian American, Hispanic, and White adolescents in the gifted and talented summer program in order to better understand the relationship between ethnic identity and academic achievement, measured by GPA in the summer program. He also found no significant relationship between the two constructs among the Asian American students in the study.

Although these studies point to a lack of relationship between ethnic identity and academic achievement, findings may not be conclusive because the MEIM measures ethnic identity as one global construct and produces a total score to use in analyses. Cokley, McClain, Jones, and Johnson (2012) examined one dimension, racial centrality, the degree to which race is a core part of an individual's identity and self-concept, and its relation to GPA in African American high school students. Racial centrality was a negative predictor of GPA with small to medium effect size (Cokley et al., 2012). Cokley and colleagues (2012) considered the negative messages African American students receive regarding the relationship between being Black and academic achievement to influence this relationship. This study's findings underscore the connections between ethnic and racial identity and academic achievement as well as the importance of separating the dimensions of ethnic and racial identity.

In a review of the strengths and challenges of Chinese Canadian students, Costigan, Hua, and Su (2010) identified ethnic identity, particularly feelings of belonging to the Chinese community and understanding of what it means to be Chinese, to be significantly correlated with GPA, perceptions of achievement, and value placed on academic achievement. Although the review focused on Chinese Canadian adolescents, the findings again provide evidence that ethnic identity is related to academic achievement (Costigan et al., 2010). The review also provides reason to believe that the lack of relationships found in the past may be related to having examined ethnic identity as one global concept, rather than by its separate dimensions.

The literature on ethnic identity and academic achievement paint a complicated picture where the relationship is not always clear. However, it is clear that the development of self-concepts like ethnic identity need to be considered in educational research, in order to fully maximize every child's achievement potential. As discussed above, previous research has demonstrated a relationship between ethnic identity and both the academic achievement and the psychological well-being of individuals, particularly those in the age range of individuals attending middle school, high school, and college.

Ethnic Socialization

In addition to psychological models that discuss ethnic identity development as a result of individual effort, scholars have examined external sources that encourage the development of ethnic identity. This study will examine one such external influence, ethnic socialization. Much of the literature on ethnic socialization has been informed by research on racial socialization practices within African American families. Findings from African American families report three different types of racial socialization messages (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). The first, referred to as *cultural socialization*, includes messages intended to instill racial

pride through knowledge of the group's heritage, customs, and values. *Preparation for racial bias* references messages specifically intended to prepare children for discrimination and prejudice from society in the future, and *promotion of mistrust* messages were those intended to teach children to be wary of White Americans (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

More recently, research with Latino and Asian American families revealed these families communicating more messages that transmit cultural understanding and pride in one's ethnic heritage (i.e., *cultural socialization*), and less of messages that prepare the next generation for negative experiences with other people, both in general and compared to their African American counterparts (e.g., Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Tummala-Narra, Inman, & Ettigi, 2011; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). The few studies comparing frequencies of ethnic socialization practices across ethnic groups found Asian American adolescents to report receiving less ethnic socialization than their other ethnic and racial peers (e.g., Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009). This difference in amount of perceived familial ethnic socialization suggests the need to consider the possibility of familial ethnic socialization to look different in Asian American households compared to other ethnic-racial families. Additionally examining ethnic socialization received from other sources, particularly friends and their influences on ethnic identity development, may contribute to a more complete picture of the process of ethnic identity development for this population.

The Current Study

Previous literature regarding ethnic identity and its in relation to both psychological and academic outcomes emphasizes the need to continue to investigate ethnic identity. The purpose of the study is to examine the dual contributions of ethnic socialization from parents and from friends to Korean American adolescents and young adults' development of ethnic identity. By

examining one specific Asian American subgroup, Korean Americans, the study intends to deconstruct the monolithic category of “Asian Americans”, which conflates broad ethnic diversity. Additionally, focusing on one ethnic group will also make it possible to identify the heterogeneity that exists within the group. Lastly, this study will contribute to the extant body of work in ethnic identity and ethnic socialization by investigating the relative contributions of two distinct sources of socialization, parents and friends, to ethnic identity development in Korean American adolescents and young adults.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will first provide a brief introduction on Korean American history in order to contextualize the lived experience of Korean Americans. The chapter will then discuss findings on ethnic socialization and ethnic identity development of Korean Americans and other ethnic minority groups in the literature. There has been little research conducted with Korean American families and their ethnic socialization practices and even less on friend ethnic socialization experienced by Korean American individuals. Therefore findings from research conducted with other ethnic groups will be discussed to inform how one might understand the relationship among these concepts of ethnic identity and ethnic socialization for Korean American individuals. Lastly, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of the research questions and the hypotheses of the proposed study.

Korean Americans

The first recognized Korean immigrants to come to the U.S. were seven thousand Koreans who entered the U.S. between 1903 and 1905, as plantation workers to Hawaii (Abelmann & Lie, 1995). During Japanese rule, a smaller number of students, political exiles, intellectuals, and picture brides left Korea for the United States. The U.S. involvement in the Korean War created an opportunity for Korean women to come to the United States, as they were sponsored by their U.S. military husbands. After the Korean War and the partitioning of the nation, immigration records refer only to South Korea¹. Korean immigration increased significantly after the U.S. abolished the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, a quota system that limited the number

¹ All Koreans discussed in this paper will be South Korean, unless otherwise stated.

of immigrants from particular countries. After this law was abolished, Koreans already living in the U.S. were allowed to sponsor family members to join them (Abelmann & Lie, 1995).

After 1965 the Korean government entered a period of tumultuous changes that encouraged greater emigration among the people. Two dictators (Jung Hee Park, 1961-1979; Du Hwan Chun, 1980-1987) industrialized the country but also sacrificed many human rights in the process (Abelmann & Lie, 1995). Rather than live under dictatorship, many Koreans chose to leave the country during this time, and the U.S. was one of many destination countries. Additionally, the government encouraged health professionals, such as doctors and nurses, to immigrate to different countries in order to send back money to help boost the nation's economy (Abelmann & Lie, 1995).

The late 1980s saw the greatest number of immigrants from Korea, with over 35,000 Koreans entering the country per year (Abelmann & Lie, 1995). This coincides with Du Hwan Chun's dictatorship, when those who spoke out against the government were arrested (Abelmann & Lie, 1995). During this time Korea was the third largest sender nation (after Mexico and the Philippines). Immigration has slowed down since that decade, partially due to the recognition that economic success has become increasingly difficult to attain, and because Korea has become a significant player in the international economy (Abelmann & Lie, 1995). In the past decade, the U.S. Census Bureau recorded a 33% increase in Koreans in the U.S. from 2000 to 2010 compared to the previous decade (U.S. Census, 2011).

Within the context of the United States, this brief history illustrates that although Korean Americans are an Asian American subgroup that makes up East Asian Americans, along with Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans, compared to these other two East Asian American immigrant groups Korean Americans have a shorter immigration history. However compared to

other Asian American subgroups, such as, Southeast Asian Americans and South Asian Americans, Korean Americans have a longer history in the United States. Some societal indicators portray Korean Americans as highly successful. For instance, according to the 2011 American Community Survey 1-year estimate report the median family income is \$61,452 (\$50,502 median family income of entire country), and 49.6% of the population has a bachelor's degree or more (17.9% of the entire country). These statistics make Korean Americans seem well-adjusted and successful. However, other societal indicators portray a different picture. For example, in 2011 the percentage of female-headed households in poverty was 29.6% for the Korean American community, similar to the 31.4% of female-headed households in poverty found in the entire population. Having a community with such varying characteristics begins to depict the diversity that exists in this seemingly homogeneous group.

Culturally, Korean Americans are commonly described in the literature as having roots in Confucian values. Confucianism has been a part of Korean culture for several hundred years, and although its role in society is not as visible as it has been in the past, Confucianism is still part of the everyday lives of Koreans (Koh, 1996). Such values can be expected to be part of the ethnic socialization messages transmitted by Koreans who immigrate to the U.S. when they are raising their U.S.-born Korean American children. The communication of Confucian values is particularly relevant in research on family domains such as parenting practices (e.g., Kim & Hong, 2007) and parent-child conflict (e.g., Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2009). However for the purposes of this study that examines the individual's sense of ethnic identity achievement and perceived experiences of ethnic socialization, the influence of Confucianism in Korean American culture will not be explicitly examined.

Parent Ethnic Socialization

Much of the research on racial and ethnic socialization focuses on parents as the primary socializers, and research from Asian American families has focused on either the content of parent ethnic socialization or parental characteristics that contribute to differences in ethnic socialization practices. Among the small number of studies examining parent ethnic socialization messages in Asian American families a few have applied the three factor model of familial ethnic socialization developed by Hughes and colleagues (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) to frame their research questions, while others have qualitatively examined the content of familial ethnic socialization messages (e.g., Moua & Lamborn, 2010). Using survey data from an all-Asian but majority (61%) Hmong sample, Tran and Lee (2010) conducted an exploratory factor analysis and found the three factors (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion for mistrust) present in socialization messages in the Asian American families. However cautious application of the model is necessary, since the sample was majority Hmong.

In another interview study with 23 Hmong Americans adolescents (Moua & Lamborn, 2010) ten different themes of familial ethnic socialization practices were identified. Most of the ten themes seemed to fit into what Hughes and colleagues defined as cultural socialization (e.g., preparing traditional foods, speaking the language, participating in religious practices, etc). One theme found that is not included in the original definition of cultural socialization was the “expressing high expectations for academic achievement”. Adolescents reported parents and other adults in the family emphasizing doing well academically as part of being Hmong. Although the first study confirms Asian American families communicate the three types of ethnic socialization messages, similar to African American parents, the second study suggests the existence of unique messages about being a member of one’s ethnic group communicated in

Asian American families that do not have similar links to racial characteristics as in African American families. Lastly, both studies utilized a majority or all Hmong sample, making it unclear how much findings may be generalized to Korean Americans.

Scholars investigating familial ethnic socialization have also examined characteristics of parents that contribute to ethnic socialization practices. For example, Chinese American parents, who perceived experiencing greater amounts of discrimination, were found to communicate more ethnic socialization messages that would be considered preparation for bias such as, how to deal with insults and harassment and working harder than others in order to be similarly successful (Benner & Kim, 2009). An investigation of differences in maternal ethnic socialization messages by generation status among Mexican and Puerto Rican mothers (Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006) found generational differences in both groups. Those who were born in Mexico reported using more media as a part of ethnic socialization, such as watching Spanish television *telenovelas* (soap operas) with their children more often than their U.S.-born counterparts. Among Puerto Rican mothers, U.S.-born mothers wanted their children to know how to write and speak Spanish and therefore made greater efforts than their immigrant counterparts to teach their children to write in Spanish (Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). The findings from the studies suggest that in immigrant families, parents' self-perceptions of their status as immigrants contribute to the content of their ethnic socialization. Hence, when investigating familial ethnic socialization in Korean American families, because the community is hugely skewed toward first and second generation residents, generation status may be an important variable contributing to the content of ethnic socialization.

In one of the few studies that included data on familial ethnic socialization practices with a Korean American adolescent sample (Lee, 1994), participants reported parents encouraged them

to keep distance from other Asians. Such messages may serve as a novel type of promotion of mistrust that is distinct from the original promotion of mistrust construct (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001), defined as socialization by African American parents that encouraged their children to mistrust White Americans. The Korean American adolescents in Lee's (1994) study also reported parental encouragement to become "Americanized", where American meant White. Since the study's main focus was not examining ethnic socialization practices, it was unclear whether these Korean American parents were encouraging their children to leave behind their Korean-cultural roots or to become some version of bicultural. However, participants perceived parents believing that learning to be White was the way to becoming successful in the United States. In another study with a focus on racial identity and academic achievement in Korean Americans, Lew (2006) identified differences in perceptions of racial identity between high- and low-achieving Korean American adolescents. Data suggested that low-achieving adolescents identified more closely with Latino and African American adolescents, while perceiving their high-achieving counterparts as being more similar to White American adolescents. The study also found that high-achieving Korean American adolescents were told by their parents that the adolescents would not be perceived as "American", because the parents equated American with being "White" (Lew, 2006). These conversations were not visible among the low-achieving adolescents' families. The messages from the parents of high-achieving Korean American adolescents resembled the preparation for bias messages traditionally found in African American families, which intend to prepare youth for prejudice and discrimination from society. In both studies, Korean American parents consistently held strongly to the belief that being American was equivalent to Whiteness. Thus their socialization messages were somewhat different from the previously understood ethnic socialization

constructs of promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias, again suggesting different types of ethnic socialization messages being communicated in Korean American families.

The literature is very clear that parents provide a variety of ethnic socialization messages, and those messages can vary according to parent's ethnicity and immigration status. For this proposed study, the three dimensions of ethnic socialization identified by Hughes and colleagues (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) will assist in conceptualizing the types of socialization taking place in Korean American families. The conceptualization will also assist in determining how socialization messages in this population vary from evidence present in the current literature.

Friend Ethnic Socialization

Research on adolescent development has long recognized the important role of peers and friends in various domains such as academic achievement (e.g., Wentzel, Battle, Russell, & Looney, 2010), delinquent behavior (e.g., Prentice, 2008), moral development (e.g., Pozzoli & Gini, 2010), and sexuality (e.g., Furman & Simon, 2008). Although much research uses *peers* to refer to closest or best friends it is also common for the term to include members of reputation-based cliques and crowds, as well as an undefined group of age-mates (Prinstein & Dodge, 2008). Therefore, this study will use the term *friend*, defined as those in a voluntary, dyadic, horizontal (having a sense of equal status at its core) relationship that consists of mutual affection and a sense of reciprocity (Bagwell & Schmidt, 2011), and only examine perceived ethnic socialization from friends. By focusing on friends as an additional source of ethnic socialization, this study will add to the existing literature on ethnic socialization.

Currently, there seems to be no empirical work directly examining the role of friends and their ethnic socialization influences on Korean American adolescents. However there are a small

number of studies examining friend ethnic and racial socialization in other ethnic and racial groups. Only one empirical study has been identified that attempted to quantify the influence of friends as socialization agents in African American adolescents' and young adults' development of racial identity (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005). Survey data from high school and college students revealed parents to be the predominant source of socialization for adolescents, but parents, friends, and other adults were equally mentioned by college students. Messages that friends mostly communicated in high school included "Race doesn't matter", "You should 'keep it real'", and "You should be proud to be Black". Slightly different, college students reported friends mostly communicating "You should be proud to be Black", "With hard work, you can achieve anything, regardless of your race" and "You will experience discrimination". The findings of this study suggest that for African Americans friends do indeed provide racial socialization messages, and those messages vary somewhat with increasing age.

Thomas, Hoxha, and Hacker (2013) were also interested in identity development and the influences of socialization messages from peers for young African American women. Through interviews, Thomas and colleagues (2013) learned young women had conversations about what it means to be a Black woman and the struggles they experience. However, the content of these conversations differed according to the racial/ethnic composition of the group of peers. With non-Black peers the conversations focused more on educating, or socializing the peers to the Black experience. However, conversations with other Black women focused strongly on their shared experiences and helped the young women to feel positively about their racial identity (Thomas et al., 2013). The findings clearly documented not only that friends communicate socialization messages but that the ethnic/racial background of the friends make a difference in the content of the socialization. Overall these data suggest that for African Americans, peers fill

the role of socializer, both to support the strengthening of racial identity and to increase understanding of racial issues among diverse peers.

Connections between the ethnicity of peers and the differences in their socialization have been shown to be influential for Latino adolescents as well. An interview study with Mexican American high school students examined ethnic identity processes and their contribution to ethnic self-concept (Quintana, Herrera, & Nelson, 2010). In order to understand the development of ethnic self-concept, students were asked what it means to be Mexican American and to describe their experiences with peers and family members that related to their ethnic identity. Socialization from both family and peers contributed to adolescents' understanding of what it meant to be Mexican American. The main difference between family and friends was that friends were perceived as indirect sources of socialization, whereas family was a direct source. For example, the adolescents reported that their White friends, but not their Mexican friends, sometimes observed and reacted to their behaviors, such as being embarrassed about how loud the participants were in public (Quintana et al., 2010). Their friends' reactions sometimes caused the Mexican American adolescents to reflect on their behaviors and to consider modifying them depending on the ethnic make-up of the group of peers with whom they were interacting (Quintana et al., 2010). The participants connected both their behaviors and the reactions of their peers to their Mexican identity.

Further evidence of adverse peer socialization was also revealed in an interview study with 1.5- and second-generation Nigerian American youth participants (Awokoya, 2012). Interview questions addressed how these adolescents constructed identity in three different contexts: family, school, and peer-group setting. At school and among different peer-groups, participants reported experiences of being shunned at various times, with various groups for being either too

African, not African enough, or not Black enough (Awokoya, 2012). The study brings to light unique challenges faced by immigrant adolescents when attempting to find their niche with same ethnic or same race peer groups, each of which might present conflicting demands.

Due to the inconsistent use of the terms friend and peer by the researchers in these studies, it was unclear whether those responsible for socializing the participants were considered close friends or others in a general peer group. Still, the literature recognizes that friends provide a variety of ethnic and racial socialization for Latino and African American adolescents. Some of these socialization messages seem distinct from family socialization in that they challenge the adolescent's affective relationship with her/his ethnic heritage.

Friends and Academic Achievement. Friends play a socializing role in academic pursuits, especially when academic achievement is perceived to be linked to racial/ethnic identity. An examination of the “acting white” phenomenon, in which black students are negatively sanctioned by peers for high academic achievement, explored interview data from 32 African American males who were considered leaders in their student communities at six predominantly-White college campuses (Harper, 2006). These student leaders were asked whether they had negative experiences with same-race peers because peers saw their academic successes as “acting White” (Harper, 2006). Contrary to the assumptions of the “acting White” phenomenon, these students reported receiving positive support from their African American peers and unanimously credited the support of their peers as “essential to their success in college” (p.352; Harper, 2006). In a different study, interview data from 10 Cambodian American college students examined how peers were perceived as supports and obstacles in high school (Chuuon, Hudley, Brenner, & Macias, 2010). The students reported appreciating having like-minded friends in their advanced classes (e.g., Advanced Placement, Honors, International

Bachelaureate, etc) to discuss college-going requirements and other school expectations (Chuuon et al., 2010). The shared experience of trying to go to college was enough to create a sense of togetherness with peers who were not Cambodian American. Both studies confirmed the role of peers as socializers into an identity that included striving for academic success for these college students.

In contrast to empirical studies identifying friends as positive supports for adolescents, research with Latino students reports friends not always being perceived as positive influences. One study interviewed adolescents, parents, and community leaders and asked the three groups to identify definitions of success, barriers to success, and facilitators of success. When discussing barriers to success, all three groups of participants identified peers (Shetgiri et al., 2009). Peers were acknowledged as being influential in negative ways, whereas adults were identified as having the ability to help youth become successful (Shetgiri et al., 2009). Another study surveying middle and high school students found the older adolescent students perceiving friends as resources and support for academic success but also as challenges to academic success (Azmitia & Cooper, 2009). Friends were identified as challenges to academic success in ways such as romantic relationships taking too much time and therefore becoming distractions for academic pursuits and friends who dropped out of high school made the idea of dropping out tempting for some of the participants (Azmitia & Cooper, 2009).

In sum, the literature reveals that peers and friends socialize adolescents, whether for good or for ill. Although the literature on friend ethnic socialization is extremely limited, data across multiple domains converge to suggest that friends may be an important influence on ethnic identity development. Therefore the proposed study examined friends as an additional source of ethnic socialization information.

Current Study

The literature reviewed is highly suggestive that both family and peers serve as important socializing agents for adolescents. Research with Latino adolescents finds familial ethnic socialization to be strongly related to ethnic exploration and resolution (i.e., Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010). Although the proposed study examined Korean Americans, some level of similarity was expected since there are common experiences that children of immigrants share across ethnic groups. Therefore parent ethnic socialization experienced by Korean American individuals was hypothesized to predict ethnic exploration and resolution. Additionally, the content of parent ethnic socialization was assumed to serve as a starting point for ethnic exploration, and hence parent ethnic socialization predicting exploration. It was also assumed that individuals who identify as Korean American are individuals who know of their Korean ancestry by being told of this fact from communication from parents. Based off of parents having factual information to communicate to the younger generation, parent ethnic socialization was also expected to predict resolution. In contrast parent ethnic socialization was not expected to predict affect. During adolescents, developing emotional autonomy from parents is one of the significant milestones (Noom & Deković, 1998), and therefore it was expected that the participants of this study would vary in affect regarding their ethnic identity based on how much autonomy they had achieved at time of participation.

Friend ethnic socialization was hypothesized to predict ethnic exploration and affect, but not resolution. Friends' questions and/or comments regarding one's Korean American identity was expected to prompt questions, particularly if friends were also persons of color who were in the exploration process themselves. As for affect, qualitative research describing adolescents' interactions with friends regarding their ethnic identity used predominantly feeling-terms, such

as “embarrassed” (Quintana et al., 2010) and “feeling supported” (Chuuon et al., 2010, Harper, 2006). These findings suggest that adolescents interpret interactions with friends emotionally. Therefore friends’ reactions to the participants’ Korean American identity were expected to influence affect. Lastly, as seen with the Nigerian American adolescents in Awokoya (2012), Korean American adolescents and young adults were expected to have experiences of friends questioning their ethnic authenticity. Therefore friend ethnic socialization was not expected to significantly predict ethnic identity resolution.

The current study examined five specific hypotheses.

1. Korean American parents will communicate all three types of ethnic socialization defined by Hughes and Chen (1997): cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust.
2. Familial ethnic socialization will significantly predict adolescents’ and young adults’ ethnic exploration and resolution.
3. Friends of Korean American adolescents and young adults will communicate all three types of ethnic socialization defined by Hughes and Chen (1997): cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust.
4. Friend ethnic socialization will significantly predict ethnic exploration and affect.
5. Finally, both familial and friends as sources of ethnic socialization combined will simultaneously predict greater amounts of the variance in all three ethnic identity components, exploration, resolution, and affect, than that predicted by the two ethnic socialization sources separately in hypotheses 2 and 4 (See figure 1 for hypothesized model).

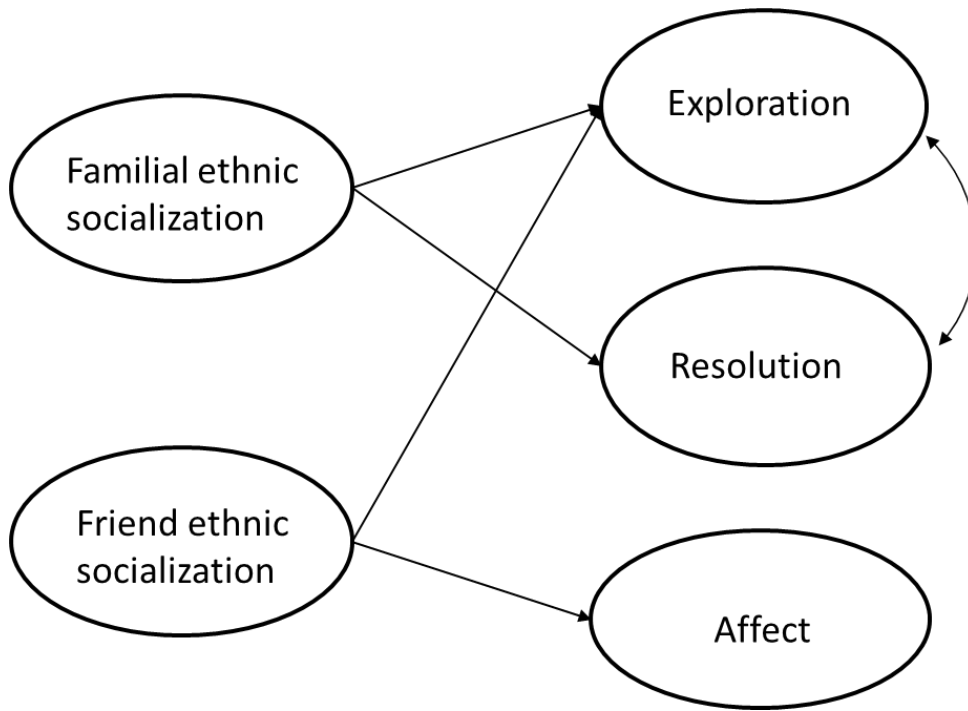


Figure 1. Hypothesized model of proposed study on familial and friend ethnic socialization and ethnic identity in Korean Americans

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

Participants for the study were 322 Korean American adolescents and young adults (over 18 years of age) who are members of any organization that serves the Korean American ethnic community across the United States. Effect size and power was considered to estimate an ample sample size for the study, a minimum of 222 (Soper, 2006-2014). Effect size was estimated at .17 based on effect sizes reported in prior research (Juang & Moin, 2010). Power was included at .80, a commonly used in social science research (Cohen, 1992). This is suggested as the most reasonable level because smaller levels of power will increase the risk of Type II error and greater levels of power demand for significantly larger sample sizes (Cohen, 1992).

The sample was approximately split in half based on gender (53.9% female). There were slightly more individuals who indicated that they were born in the U.S. versus those who answered that they were not born in the U.S. but this neared an even split as well (56.1% born in the U.S.). The majority (80%) of the sample indicated their primary caregivers before college as both “mom and dad”. Concerning the neighborhoods where participants grew up, slightly over half (52%) answered growing up in neighborhoods that were less than 5% Korean. The χ^2 test results indicated that gender, primary caregivers, and neighborhood composition based on immigrant generation status were nonsignificant (see Table 1).

Among those who provided their preferred ethnic label the majority of the sample (73%) answered “Korean American or Korean-American”. Answers varied significantly based on immigrant generation status, with those not born in the U.S. identifying as Korean more than those born in the U.S. and those born in the U.S. identifying as Korean American more than

those not born in the United States. A significantly greater proportion of those identifying as Korean American also reported that they grew up in neighborhoods that were less than 5% Korean. However these results were considered invalid because Warner (2008) recommends that no cell have less than 5 observations when conducting a χ^2 test and in this χ^2 contingency table among the 16 observed cells, three cells had values equal to zero and three additional cells had values less than 5. Ethnic labels did not vary significantly based on gender, primary caregivers, or age group which was dummy-coded as a young group that included individuals who indicated being between the ages of 18 and 23 or the old group that included individuals who indicated being “24 and older”. The gender by age distribution was significantly different, with 78% of the female participants being in the young group compared to the 57% of the male participants.

Lastly, participants were asked whether they were currently attending an institution of higher education. Of the 321 participants who answered, over four-fifths (86%) answered yes, and there was no significant difference related to attending a higher education institution between those who were of the immigrant generation and those who were born in the U.S. or among those who indicated currently attending an institution of higher education versus those who are not attending an institution of higher education. However there was a significant difference between the gender groups, with more women indicating that they were currently attending an institution of higher education.

Table 1

Chi-square Results of Various Demographic Aspects of Participants

		χ^2 - test	<i>p</i>
Gender	by caregiver	$\chi^2(5) = 6.243$	.283
	by neighborhood composition	$\chi^2(3) = 1.366$	.711
	by higher education	$\chi^2(1) = 4.688$	.030
US born	by gender	$\chi^2(1) = 3.79$	.538
	by caregiver	$\chi^2(5) = 2.492$	.778
	by neighborhood composition	$\chi^2(3) = 3.977$	.264
	by higher education	$\chi^2(1) = 0.059$	.808
Young/Old	by caregiver	$\chi^2(5) = 3.575$	.612
	by neighborhood composition	$\chi^2(3) = 5.523$	.137
	by gender	$\chi^2(1) = 16.658$	< .001
Ethnic label	by gender	$\chi^2(3) = 0.903$	.825
	by US born	$\chi^2(3) = 49.737$	<.001
	by Young/old	$\chi^2(3) = .408$	.939
	by caregiver	$\chi^2(15) = 11.231$	.736
	by neighborhood composition	$\chi^2(9) = 32.044$	<.001
	by higher education	$\chi^2(3) = 2.139$	.544

Instrumentation

The instrument used was developed specifically for this study and consisted of items modified from the Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS: Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) and the racial socialization measure developed by Hughes and colleagues (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). A small pilot study with a total of 81 items was initially conducted to assess the psychometric properties of this novel instrument. Below I first briefly describe how the pilot study (see Appendix A for full pilot survey) was conducted. This is followed by a discussion of the pilot instrument's performance and the process of creating the final instrument. The section ends with a brief description of the final instrument.

In order to recruit participants for the pilot study, student organizations intended to serve students of Korean descent in institutions of higher education and churches with Korean American congregations in southern California and the northern Midwest (e.g., Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, & Wisconsin) were emailed a brief description of the study and the survey link (see Appendix B for email). The pilot survey was closed after 70 participants' answers were collected.

EIS. Ethnic identity of the participants was measured using the EIS (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004), a measure comprising three subscales exploration, resolution, and affect that is used frequently in the literature. The original EIS is made up of 17 items that ask participants to indicate how often they experienced the statements regarding their ethnic identity using a 5-point Likert scale: 1- Never, 2- Only a handful of times, 3- Occasionally, 4- Frequently, 5- Very frequently. The exploration subscale includes seven items such as, "I read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that teach me about my ethnicity." and "I participate in activities that expose me to my ethnicity." The resolution subscale includes four

items such as, “I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me” and “I understand how I felt about my ethnicity.” The affect subscale includes six items such as, “I feel negatively about my ethnicity.” and “I wish I were of a different ethnicity.” Five of the items required reverse-coding; thus, higher numbers indicate more positive answers.

A total of 43 participants completed the EIS portion in the pilot study. The results of the preliminary confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) supported a three-factor model among a Korean America sample (Table 2). Due to the small sample size, model fit indices were not examined. Rather, the inter-items correlations and factor loadings, with a cut-off of .35 (Brown, 2006), were closely examined to determine whether the items together measured the various constructs they intended to measure.

Table 2

CFA Factor Loadings of Ethnic Identity Scale

		Estimate	S.E.	<i>p</i>
RESOLUT	CLRMEAN	.610	0.097	< .001
	USTDETH	.913	0.036	< .001
	KNWMEAN	.912	0.036	< .001
	ETHCL	.807	0.058	< .001
EXPLOR	ACTVTCH	.835	0.049	< .001
	EXPRETH	.579	0.101	< .001
	LRNETH	.953	0.023	< .001
	BKSMAG	.744	0.070	< .001
	ACTVPO	.849	0.045	< .001
	LRNBYDO	.649	0.088	< .001
	DOACTCH	.835	0.049	< .001
AFFECT	ETHFEEL	.718	0.086	< .001
	NEGFELR	-.904	0.115	< .001
	WSHDIFR	-.442	0.163	.007
	PFRDIFR	-.294	0.203	.147
	DSLKER	-.029	0.157	.854
	NTHAPR	-.351	0.153	.022

From the pilot study, bivariate correlations were obtained of all the EIS items. Several items on each of the subscales demonstrated high correlations that were greater than .8, with other items on its subscale. Two items, one from the exploration subscale and one from the affect subscale, were removed based on these high correlations in order to remove any risk of multicollinearity. In the process of examining the remaining items, two additional items that had very similar wording to other items on the exploration subscale was considered for removal. A set of three items had similar roots (“I participate in activities...”) and moderately high correlations (.65-.74). One of these items was removed. Another pair of items was also very similar; one item listed more sources of information (books, magazines, newspapers, internet) than the other, and the item asking the broader range of information sources was kept. No items from the resolution subscale were removed, as the resolution subscale consisted of only 4 items. In the past, a minimum of three items is suggested to determine a factor (Bollen, 1989).

Parent ethnic socialization. Items developed with African American families by Hughes and Chen (1997) were modified to be relevant for Korean American participants. Items were reworded to refer to Korean or Korean American things, such as history books and people. Participants were asked to indicate how frequently experienced the statements with their caregivers’ ethnic socialization behavior using a 5-point Likert scale: 1- Never, 2- Only a handful of times, 3- Several times, 4- Frequently, 5- Very frequently.

In the pilot a total of 40 participants completed the familial ethnic socialization portion of the survey. The cultural socialization subcomponent was measured by ten items such as “My caretakers did things to celebrate Korean history,” and “My caretakers talked to me about important people or events in Korean American history (such as, LA Riots 1992, Harold Hongju Koh, etc).” Preparation for bias was measured by 11 items such as “My caretakers told me

people might treat me badly due to my ethnicity,” and “My caretakers had conversations about ethnic/racial differences in physical features.” One item, “My caregivers have had conversations about ethnic/racial differences visible in physical features” was included in attempt to identify conversations regarding racialized experiences identified in a previous study with Chinese and Korean American individuals (Kibria, 2000) and Latino/a youth (Gonzalez-Backen & Umaña-Taylor, 2011). This was an item I included for the pilot, and was not part of the original list of items developed by Hughes and Chen (1997). Finally, promotion of mistrust was measured by six items. The original two items asking about distrusting and keeping distance from “White Americans” were kept. Four additional items were included to ask participants about messages regarding Black and Latino Americans and other Asian Americans. This was based on previous research finding that Korean American parents have discussed attitudes towards other non-Korean, Asian American groups with their children (i.e., Lee, 1994).

A CFA using the pilot data confirmed the three-factor model among a Korean America sample (Table 3). Again, model fit indices were not examined. Rather, the inter-item correlations and the factor loadings were used to determine whether the items measured the dimensions of familial ethnic socialization they intended to measure. The results of the CFA confirmed a three-factor model but with modifications. One suggestion based on low standardized factor loadings was the removal of one item, “My caregivers have had conversations about ethnic/racial differences visible in physical features” from the preparation for bias subscale. This was an item I included for the pilot, and was not part of the original list of items developed by Hughes and Chen (1997). This item did not load onto either the preparation for bias subscale or the promotion of mistrust subscale and was therefore removed

from the instrument. Reliability, measured with Cronbach's alpha, was .93 for the final instrument using pilot data.

Table 3

CFA Factor Loadings of Familial Ethnic Socialization Survey

		Estimate	S.E.	<i>p</i>
CULTSOC	CGKHBK	.701	0.089	< .001
	CGKSBK	.775	0.071	< .001
	CGKCE	.887	0.046	< .001
	CGKHCB	.712	0.087	< .001
	CGKAHCB	.405	0.141	.004
	CGKCLTH	.686	0.093	< .001
	CGPOP	.707	0.087	< .001
	CGIMPK	.829	0.062	< .001
	CGIMPKA	.531	0.126	< .001
	CGHIS	.739	0.083	< .001
PREPB	CGETH	.332	0.149	.026
	CGBDTRT	.920	0.032	< .001
	CGSMRT	.581	0.112	< .001
	CGDSCRM	.910	0.034	< .001
	CGTVKA	.551	0.118	< .001
	CGUNFR	.853	0.049	< .001
	CGEQUAL	.788	0.067	< .001
	CGVSW	.714	0.085	< .001
	CGLIM	.786	0.071	< .001
	CGTALKO	.620	0.105	< .001
CGPHYS	.370	0.145	.011	
PROMOM	CGTRSTW	.499	0.142	< .001
	CGDISTW	.530	0.134	< .001
	CGTRSTB	.909	0.050	< .001
	CGDISTB	.903	0.051	< .001
	CGTRSTA	.717	0.095	< .001
	CGDISTA	.639	0.117	< .001

With ten participants quitting before filling out the ethnic socialization measures, the pilot study also suggested the survey was too long. Therefore in addition to considering the CFA results, individual items were examined in order to identify those that were unnecessary for the purposes of the study. For instance, two items that originally separated reading “Korean story books” versus reading “Korean history books” were combined. One item was determined to be missing from the pilot; an item on heritage language. The original racial socialization scale did not include items on heritage language. However research on various immigrant groups identified speaking one’s heritage language to be valued by parents as a way of keeping connections with the ethnic heritage (i.e., Hmong: Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Spanish: Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Therefore I added one item, “My caretakers emphasized speaking Korean as an important part of being our ethnicity”, to measure messages regarding the maintaining and using Korean language. In this way items were reduced on the cultural socialization subscale from ten items to seven items. Four items were retained for the preparation for bias subscale. Three items were retained for the promotion of mistrust subscale; the ones that measured distrust, and not those that asked about keeping distance, towards White Americans, African and Latino Americans, and other Asian Americans.

Friend ethnic socialization. In order to measure friend ethnic socialization, the pilot study first asked participants to recall the names and ethnicities of three current closest friends. Participants of the pilot study were not consistent in answering the first question regarding friends. Thirty-one participants answered this open-ended question fully by providing all the information that was requested.

Following this question on friends, a total of 37 participants completed the close-ended questions of the friend ethnic socialization portion of the pilot survey. Nearly all of the same

items used for familial ethnic socialization were used to measure friend ethnic socialization, with one modification: “my friends” replaced “my caretaker” in all of the items. Only one item had been modified and split into two items the pilot study: “My friends and I have talked about Korean storybooks, movies, and drama/shows” and “My friends and I have talked about Korean popular culture that we have seen on the internet (such as, blogs, music videos, memes, etc).” These two items were split in this manner with the intent to isolate the additional role of the internet, as it is new technology that was not as easily available for past generations of immigrants.

The results of the CFA factor loadings demonstrated a three-factor model with friend ethnic socialization as well, suggesting that the items measured the three dimensions (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust) of friend ethnic socialization they intended to measure (Table 4). Reliability for the final instrument, measured by Cronbach’s alpha, was .93.

Table 4

CFA Factor Loadings of Friend Ethnic Socialization Survey

		Estimate	S.E.	<i>p</i>
CULTSOC	FKHBK	.916	0.037	< .001
	FKDRMAS	.936	0.034	< .001
	FKPOP	.772	0.074	< .001
	FKCULT	.652	0.104	< .001
	FCBKHST	.713	0.088	< .001
	FCBKAHS	.550	0.125	< .001
	FKTCLTH	.629	0.107	< .001
	FKPOPC	.768	0.074	< .001
	FKIMPL	.563	0.124	< .001
	FKAHST	.411	0.148	.006
	FKHST	.452	0.140	.001
PREPB	FETHIMP	.515	0.133	< .001
	FUNFTRT	.834	0.061	< .001
	FSMRT	.399	0.150	.008
	FLIM	.845	0.059	< .001
	FTVTRT	.722	0.089	< .001
	FEQUAL	.634	0.109	< .001
	FBOTRT	.788	0.074	< .001
	FVSW	.821	0.065	< .001
	FTLKO	.574	0.119	< .001
	FPHYS	.344	0.157	.028
PROMOM	FTRSTW	.871	0.051	< .001
	FDISTW	.766	0.082	< .001
	FTRSTB	.856	0.051	< .001
	FDISTB	.923	0.035	< .001
	FTRSTA	.934	0.030	< .001
	FDISTA	.502	0.129	< .001

Correlations and factor loadings from the pilot study data and the content of the items from the shortened parent ethnic socialization subscale were all examined in order to determine how to shorten the friend ethnic socialization subscale. The pilot study data did not demonstrate a meaningful split of the two cultural socialization items (other media versus the internet) that were intentionally split. These items were combined into one item for the dissertation study. The one item regarding visible physical features did not load onto either the preparation for bias subscale or the promotion of mistrust subscale, and therefore removed.

Korean American-ness. In addition to the original items meant to measure ethnic socialization, six additional items were included in the pilot instrument: “My caretakers explained to me what it meant to be Asian”, “My caretakers described being Korean American as a combination of being Korean and White”, “My caretakers explained to me what it meant to be Korean,”, “My friends and I have talked about what it meant to be Asian American”, “My friends and I have talked about what it means to be Korean American”, and “My friends and I talked about what it meant to be Korean.” These items were intended to measure whether Korean American parents and friends differentiate race and ethnicity, and discuss what it means to be Korean American. Previous literature identified Korean American parents equating American-ness with Whiteness (Lee, 1994). Therefore, these items were included in order to gain insight into ideas of Korean-ness, Whiteness, and Korean American-ness.

Demographic items. Participants were asked to report their age, gender, whether they were born in the United States, the number of years they have been living in the U.S. if they were not born in the United States, and whether they were attending an institution of higher learning. Participants also reported their primary caretaker(s) growing up (i.e., mother, father, mother and father, other adults in the family, siblings) and whether caretakers were born in the United States.

Participants were also asked to identify their ethnic labeling. Participants read the following paragraph to get a brief introduction regarding what ethnicity refers to:

Ethnicity refers to cultural traditions, beliefs, and behaviors that are passed down through generations. Some examples are Mexican, Cuban, Nicaraguan, Chinese, Taiwanese, Filipino, Jamaican, African American, Haitian, Italian, Irish, and German. When you are answering the following questions, we'd like you to think about what YOU consider your ethnicity to be.

Participants were then asked, "What is your ethnicity?" followed with several answer options:

Korean, Korean American or Korean-American, Asian American, and other. In the pilot study, 26% of the participants answered Korean American, 20.5% answered Korean-American, 12.3% answered Korean. Other answers included Korean American adoptee, Korean international, and American of Korean descent. These items were later included as covariates in the analyses.

Final instrument. For the dissertation study, the instrument used was based on the pilot study (see Appendix C for full dissertation survey). Given the results of the CFA and correlations, the final version of the EIS for the dissertation study had 13 items total; four items on the exploration subscale, four items on the resolution subscale, and five items on the affect subscale. The final version of both the familial ethnic socialization measure and the friend ethnic socialization measure had 14 items total; seven items assessing cultural socialization, four items assessing preparation for bias, and three items assessing promotion of mistrust.

All the items regarding Korean American-ness from the pilot survey were included in the dissertation survey. They were initially included in the CFA with other cultural socialization items. However these items did not fit well with the other cultural socialization items. They were not used in any further analyses. Lastly, all of the demographic items from the pilot were included in the dissertation survey. One additional item was included and that was one asking whether the participant was part of an institution of higher education. This was included because

individuals were also contacted through churches, and there has been research identifying college as a time a place when individuals of color have opportunities to explore ethnic and racial identities.

The answer space provided to elicit information about friends, seemed to pose some difficulty for participants in the pilot study. Therefore per suggestions from Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2009), the final web survey was re-designed to have two boxes per friend; one box asked for the name and one box for the ethnicity of the friend. This question regarding friends was also moved to the end of the friend ethnic socialization scale in efforts to encourage participants to fill out the survey items and reduce participant fatigue.

1.	<input type="text" value="Friend name"/>	<input type="text" value="Friend's ethnicity"/>
2.	<input type="text" value="Friend name"/>	<input type="text" value="Friend's ethnicity"/>
3.	<input type="text" value="Friend name"/>	<input type="text" value="Friend's ethnicity"/>

The instrument consisted of 41 items on ethnic identity and ethnic socialization, 8 demographic items, and 3 questions asking for names and ethnic background of 3 friends, making the final instrument a total of 52 items.

Procedure

Human Subjects approval was gained from the University's Office of Research for both the pilot study and the current study. Each time after approval was granted, the survey was hosted online on website www.surveymonkey.com, with a secure survey server with data encryption. Participants were recruited using emails to all student leaders of Korean American organizations listed on student organization directories of universities and colleges. In addition to recruiting participants through higher education institutions, I also contacted youth programs in religious

organizations, as a large proportion of the Korean American population has been well-documented to identify as Christian and attend religious services (e.g., Ecklund, 2006).

Student organization leaders at colleges and universities and church pastors with Korean congregations were emailed with an introduction to the study, the survey link, and were asked to distribute the survey email to anyone applicable (Appendix C). Areas not included in the pilot study were targeted, such as the Bay Area of California, the East Coast, and the South. The Korean American population is not spread evenly across the United States, and therefore no one in states such as Montana and Kentucky were contacted. There may have been Korean American individuals living in those states but there was no way of contacting them. Once participants followed the link, the first page of the survey was the informed consent page. Then participants were directed to the survey when they clicked on the button acknowledging that they would like to participate.

A raffle for five \$30.00 amazon.com gift cards was offered as an incentive to participate in the study. After participants filled out the survey, they were then given the option to provide me with their email addresses to be entered into the raffle. Emails were collected on a separate google.com document in efforts to separate survey responses from identifying information of the participants.

The survey link setting allowed anyone to access the survey at any time. There was no time limit to finishing the survey and the survey did not allow participants to save and return to the survey. Four hundred participants was the set goal at the start of the study, and therefore the survey link was deactivated once participant numbers surpassed 400. After the survey link was deactivated, all of the data were downloaded from surveymonkey.com onto a password-protected computer.

Data Analysis

Data management and analyses was done using SPSS and *Mplus* (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2011). In order to test hypotheses 1 and 3, examining the existence of familial and friend ethnic socialization, I conducted *t*-tests comparing reported results to 1 (never). The *t*-ratio was calculated using the following equation:

$$t = \frac{\bar{X}-1}{\frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}} \quad \text{where } s = \text{standard deviation and } n = \text{sample size.}$$

Multivariate regression analyses tested hypotheses 2 and 4. This analysis method predicted the influences of familial and friend ethnic socialization on the three ethnic identity components. Significance was determined using $\alpha = .05$ as the cut-off for both the estimated standardized regression coefficients and the overall R^2 for each dependent variable. Effect size was discussed using Cohen's (1988) suggested cut-offs: r of .10 or less ($r^2 < .01$) is small, r near .30 ($r^2 = .09$) is medium, and r greater than .50 ($r^2 > .25$) is large.

Six covariates were also included in the multivariate analyses. Previous literature has identified ethnic identity to be influenced by various individual characteristics. Gender was one covariate because some previous research with Latino adolescents has identified girls experiencing more cultural socialization in the form of learning tasks that are considered gender-specific (e.g., Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). The status of being born in the U.S. versus those who indicated not being born in the U.S. because origin of birth is been commonly used as one of many indicators of ethnicity. Age, dummy-coded as the young (1 = "18-23 years old") and old (0 = "24 and over"), was another covariate because lifespan research has identified identity development to continue till an individual is in his/her late twenties and early thirties (Kroger et al., 2010). Primary caregiver was also included as a covariate due to mothers being identified as the main transmitter of culture (e.g. Farré & Vella, 2013). Primary caregiver was dummy-coded

for analysis. Neighborhood composition was another covariate that was considered because studies with African American have identified adolescents and young adults as being influenced by the racial composition of their neighborhoods (e.g., Hurd, Sellers, Cogburn, Butler-Barnes, & Zimmerman, 2013). Lastly, ethnic label was considered as a covariate. Previous research with Latino and Asian American adolescents have identified first and second generation immigrant youth choosing to identify with different ethnic labels (Kiang, Perreria, & Fuglini, 2011). Ethnic label was dummy-coded for analysis.

In order to test hypothesis 5, structural equation modeling (SEM) simultaneously modeled the influences of familial and friend ethnic socialization on the three ethnic identity components. Although multivariate regression was another feasible option for addressing the hypothesis, SEM was considered a more adequate option because of its strengths. SEM demands relations among variables be determined a priori and therefore can be used for inferential purposes (Byrne, 2012). Also both observed and unobserved variables can be incorporated by SEM procedures. Ethnic socialization and ethnic identity are both constructs that are not directly observable, and therefore are better analyzed as latent variables. Using SEM procedures to represent these constructs as latent variables allows the estimation error variance parameters (Byrne, 2012).

Model fit was assessed using the following fit indices: CFI, RMSEA with the 90% Confidence Interval (CI), and SRMR. Although the χ^2 statistic is commonly used for assessing model fit, it is sensitive to large sample size and nonnormally distributed data. It has also been criticized for being inaccurate since it assumes that there is a perfect model (Steiger, 2007). It was not used to assess overall model fit, but was examined to conduct χ^2 difference tests when models were nested. The CFI is an incremental index that measures proportional improvement

between a hypothesized model and a “less restricted nested baseline model” (Byrne, 2012). For the CFI, a cutoff value of .95 is recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999) to assess good model-fit. The two other fit indices are considered *absolute* indices of fit because they determine how well a hypothesized model fits with the sample data (Byrne, 2012). With regards to RMSEA, there seems to be little consensus regarding the adequate cutoff and Bryne (2012) offers various opinions: up to .08 as reasonable (Browne & Cudeck, 1993), between .08 to .10 as mediocre fit (MacCallum et al.,1996), and .06 as the cut-off of good fit suggested by Hu and Bentler (1999). The most conservative cutoff of less than .05, suggested by Browne and Cudeck (1993) was used. The SRMR is average value of the standardized residuals and Bryne (2012) suggests values smaller than .05 as indicating good fit.

Assumptions for SEM. The normality of individual items were examined by visually through histograms. Many of the items did not meet the normality assumption, such as those items asking the about promotion of mistrust. Due to the content of the items, it was sensible that the answers to these items were not normally distributed. Additionally, skewness and kurtosis values were examined using the guidelines proposed by West, Finch, and Curran (1995); skewness < 2;kurtosis < 7. Only one item (“I dislike my ethnicity”) had skewness and kurtosis greater than those guidelines and one item (“My caretakers described being Korean American as a combination of being Korean and White.”). Neither items were included in further analysis.

According to Kline (2012) there are five general conditions that need to be met before inferring causal relations between two variables using SEM. First the presumed cause needs to happen before the presumed effect. This assumption was met at least partially because both parent and friend ethnic socialization is assumed to have happened during the time individual participants were growing up, before the state of their ethnic identity at the time of survey

participation. However, I cannot claim that ethnic socialization has stopped and is not currently ongoing. Therefore I can only claim that the assumption was partially met.

The second assumption is that there is an association between the predictor variables and the outcome variables. Correlations among both kinds of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity confirmed that this assumption was partially met due to some correlations being significant and others not. There was not any discernable pattern other than for parent cultural socialization which had some significant correlations with ethnic exploration and resolution but no significant correlations with affect (Table 5). Friend ethnic socialization demonstrated similar trends as well, with friend cultural socialization having the highest correlations with ethnic exploration and resolution, and friend preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust having smaller correlations (Table 6). These correlations confirmed that this assumption was partially met.

	EXPL1	EXPL2	EXPL3	EXPL4	RESO1	RESO2	RESO3	RESO4	AFF1R	AFF2R	AFF3R	AFF4R
PCULT1	.211**	.226**	.266**	.194**	.160**	.147*	.120*	.144*	-0.009	-0.027	0.049	0.044
PCULT2	.339**	.192**	.287**	.345**	0.089	0.097	0.09	0.078	0.053	0.007	0.07	0.038
PCULT3	.260**	.178**	.324**	.243**	0.109	.128*	0.084	0.106	0.063	0.028	0.029	-0.037
PCULT4	.221**	.243**	.222**	.197**	.195**	.177**	.188**	.188**	-0.044	0.042	-0.005	0.03
PCULT5	.236**	.136*	.281**	.254**	.142*	0.102	.126*	.140*	0.008	-0.034	-0.004	0.038
PCULT6	0.109	0.045	0.083	0.108	0.081	0.056	0.07	0.059	0.046	0.071	0.065	0.064
PCULT7	.163**	0.052	.155**	.188**	0.067	0.036	0.099	0.103	0.059	0.037	0.03	0.023
PPRPB1	.276**	0.044	.149*	.219**	0.114	0.039	0.061	.120*	-0.04	0	-0.074	-0.036
PPRPB2	.257**	-0.038	.117*	.246**	0.058	0.013	-0.008	0.006	-1.28*	-0.028	-0.068	-0.017
PPRPB3	.225**	-0.047	.229**	.236**	0.06	0.024	0.1	0.057	0.008	0.017	-0.016	0.055
PPRPB4	.218**	-0.036	0.065	.136*	0.036	0.006	0.037	0.024	-1.38*	-0.041	-0.061	-0.09
PPROMW	.296**	0.005	.177**	.178**	0.072	0.027	0.069	0.058	-1.47*	-0.018	-1.67**	-0.069
PPROMBL	.257**	0.109	.177**	.202**	0.11	0.044	0.065	0.086	-1.73**	-1.50*	-1.77**	-0.037
PPROMAA	.230**	0.038	.162**	.135*	0.098	-0.011	0.061	0.046	-1.79**	-0.007	-2.12**	-0.077

Table 5. Correlations between Parent Ethnic Socialization and Ethnic Identity

	EXPL1	EXPL2	EXPL3	EXPL4	RES01	RES02	RES03	RES04	AFF1R	AFF2R	AFF3R	AFF4R
FCULT1	.278**	.458**	.510**	.356**	.159**	.185**	.165**	.160**	0.1	0.046	0.037	-0.038
FCULT2	.298**	0.102	.410**	.359**	0.05	0.07	0.074	0.063	0.064	0.07	0.026	0.015
FCULT3	.295**	0.046	.318**	.340**	0.063	0.072	0.109	0.084	0.023	0.037	-0.018	-0.021
FCULT4	.320**	.350**	.431**	.338**	.175**	.165**	.121*	.142*	.146*	0.091	0.054	0.018
FCULT5	.323**	.221**	.423**	.382**	.208**	.166**	.165**	.169**	0.076	0.008	0.034	0.015
FCULT6	.300**	0.015	.261**	.302**	0.053	0.053	0.038	0.026	0.056	0.019	0.015	-0.003
FCULT7	.306**	-0.033	.248**	.297**	0.106	0.063	0.057	0.057	0.002	-0.066	-0.04	-0.009
FPRPB1	.381**	.232**	.255**	.281**	.239**	.236**	.179**	.217**	-0.06	-0.108	-0.031	-0.078
FPRPB2	.413**	0.072	.398**	.375**	.151*	.136*	0.105	.121*	-0.093	-0.1	-0.09	-0.085
FPRPB3	.373**	0.091	.294**	.296**	.160**	.171**	.153**	.178**	-0.197**	-0.217**	-0.158**	-0.075
FPRPB4	.249**	0.095	.168**	.190**	0.089	0.078	0.036	0.072	-0.190**	-0.119*	-0.134*	-0.149*
FPR0MW	.280**	0.068	.217**	.207**	0.099	0.063	0.073	0.081	-0.086	-0.066	-0.151*	-0.045
FPR0MBL	.130*	0.091	.128*	0.085	-0.002	0.002	-0.034	-0.035	-0.089	-0.06	-0.159**	-0.013
FPR0MAA	.168**	0.064	.169**	0.077	0.021	0.036	0.027	0.043	-0.173**	-0.077	-0.207**	-0.113

Table 6. Correlations between Friend Ethnic Socialization and Ethnic Identity

The third assumption is the existence of isolation, which refers to the existence of an association even after controlling for other variables. A 2-step linear regression was conducted with parent ethnic socialization as the predictor and friend ethnic socialization as the covariate. When friend ethnic socialization was entered into the regression analyses parent ethnic socialization was no longer a significant predictor. Therefore this assumption was concluded as not being met.

The fourth assumption is that the observed distributions of the data are “those assumed by the method used to estimate associations” (p. 113, Kline, 2012). This assumption requires examination normality, since that is the required distribution for regression analyses. This assumption was not met because data were not normally distributed.

The fifth assumption is that direction of the causal relationship is correct. This assumption was difficult to meet because there is a possibility that parents and friends provide different ethnic socialization messages in reaction to the state of ethnic identity development of the individual. However this is an empirical question that has yet to be answered in the literature. For the purposes of the study, this assumption is considered to have been met since there is literature confirming ethnic socialization contributing to the development of ethnic identity. Based on two out of the five assumptions not being met and two other assumptions only being partially met, the conclusion reached was that the SEM causal assumptions were not met.

Missing data. Data were screened using *IBM SPSS 22.0* (IBM, 2013). A total of 441 participants started the survey. Participants who only started the survey and did not answer any portion of the ethnic socialization measures or ethnic identity items were completely removed. Additionally, participants who had indicated an ethnic identification label that was not a variation combination of Korean American were removed completely (e.g., “white”, “Chinese

American”). All other participants were included for the SEM analysis, since *Mplus* utilizes full maximum estimation procedures that allows for individuals to be included in the analyses even when they have some answers missing. All missing data were coded 999. For the other analyses, participants were excluded temporarily using list-wise deletion.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

In this chapter item means, correlations, and CFA results of the instrument will be discussed in the preliminary analysis. This will be followed by discussions of each analyses conducted to answer the five research question.

Preliminary Analysis

EIS. EIS total scores ranged from 32 to 65 ($n = 270$; $M = 50.77$; $SD = 7.22$), out of a maximum possible score of 75. Subscale totals varied as well: exploration 4 – 20 ($n = 283$; $M = 50.77$; $SD = 7.22$), resolution 4 – 20 ($n = 277$; $M = 15.85$; $SD = 3.67$), and reverse-coded affect 5 – 25 ($n = 284$; $M = 22.12$; $SD = 3.27$). EIS item scores ranged from 1 to 5. With regards to means (Table 7), ethnic exploration and resolution item means were high, ranging from 2.74 (expl4) to 4.19 (expl2). Affect item means were low, ranging from 1.37 to 1.75. However there were participants who answered 5 on the affect items, indicating that there were participants who felt negatively about their ethnic identity.

Correlations of the items demonstrated high correlations among many items that were on the same subscale and low correlations across subscales. The exceptions were two pairs of ethnic exploration items that had low correlations: items 1 and 2 ($r = .28$) and items 2 and 4 ($r = .38$). All other correlations were greater than .40. Items on the resolution subscale were all highly correlated ($> .64$). The five items on the affect subscale had correlations greater than .41, except item 1 and 4 that had a lower correlation ($r = .30$). Reliability, measured by the Cronbach's alpha, was .722.

The CFA results were examined next. Overall model fit indices suggested a good model fit. The χ^2 test of model fit was significant, but was expected due to the large sample size. The CFI

was .96, the cut-off suggested by Hu and Bentler (1999) as good model fit. The RMSEA estimate indicated good fit at .07, with a small 90% confidence interval (.05 - .09). Standardized factor loadings were strong for all three of the EIS subcomponents as well. Exploration items had factor loadings that ranged from .44 to .89, with item 2 having a lower factor loading while the other items had loadings of .61 and above. Resolution items had factor loadings ranging from .80 to .95. Item 3 of the resolution subscale had a factor loading of .95 which could be considered high but reexamination of its correlations with other resolution items did not indicate multicollinearity, and was interpreted as the item being a good estimate of the latent variable, ethnic resolution. Lastly, reverse-coded items on the affect subscale had factor loadings ranging from .48 to .90. All factor loadings were significantly different than zero ($p < .001$) and modification indices did not suggest any significant changes.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	M	SD
1. EXPL1												2.78	1.05
2. EXPL2	0.28											4.19	0.95
3. EXPL3	0.48	0.4										3.04	1.11
4. EXPL4	0.71	0.25	0.38									2.74	1.13
5. RESO1	0.21	0.36	0.21	0.25								3.89	1.02
6. RESO2	0.12	0.31	0.22	0.26	0.64							4.05	0.97
7. RESO3	0.12	0.32	0.2	0.26	0.75	0.8						3.98	1.02
8. RESO4	0.15	0.31	0.21	0.26	0.75	0.75	0.86					3.93	1.07
9. AFF1/R	-0.05	0.1	0.08	0.01	0.22	0.3	0.23	0.22				1.75/4.25	0.83
10. AFF2/R	-0.12	0.14	-0.04	-0.1	0.17	0.13	0.15	0.11	0.41			1.60/4.40	1
11. AFF3/R	-0.03	0.16	0.07	-0.04	0.21	0.26	0.21	0.16	0.68	0.54		1.56/4.44	0.78
12. AFF4/R	-0.04	0.06	0.05	-0.04	0.15	0.13	0.16	0.09	0.3	0.45	0.41	1.65/4.35	0.85

Table 7. Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Ethnic Identity Scale Items

Parent ethnic socialization. All answers to parent ethnic socialization items ranged from 1 to 5. Means of parent socialization indicated that Korean American parents communicated ethnic socialization (Table 8). Several of the cultural socialization items were reported to be experienced at the greatest frequency among all of the ethnic socialization items: pcult4 (3.75), pcult1 (3.13), pcult2 (2.99), pcult5 (2.84), and pcult3 (2.58) but not overall. Pcult7 was experienced at the lowest frequency (1.79) of all the cultural socialization items. Means of the preparation for bias items were lower, indicating that these types of messages were experienced with less frequency; all four ranging between 1.85 to 2.50. Promotion of mistrust items also fell in that range but promotion of mistrust regarding Black Americans and Latinos were higher (2.20) than that regarding White Americans (1.71) and other Asian Americans (1.97).

Correlations among the items measuring parental socialization from the dissertation study data suggested the potential for a 4-factor model. The two items regarding Korean American history only correlated highly with each other ($r = .56$) and had lower levels of correlation with other cultural socialization items (.19 - .34). This was not surprising due to the fact that the majority of the participants indicated being first or second generation Korean American and therefore was assumed that their parents might not have clear ideas about the difference between what it means to be a Korean living in the U.S. versus being Korean American. Two items on the preparation for bias subcomponent also shared a lower ($r = .36$) correlation (prep for bias 3 and 4) but further examination of the correlations revealed that item 4 was highly correlated ($r = .52$) to a promotion of mistrust item 1, suggesting that preparation for bias item 4 might also measure some part of the construct, promotion of mistrust. The three items intended to measure promotion of mistrust were highly correlated with each other (.62 - .70). The Cronbach's alpha was .863.

Although the model fit indices of the CFA were only adequate the strong factor loadings provided additional confirmation that the instrument was reliably measuring the subcomponents. The CFI was .87, lower than the recommended .95 by Hu and Bentler (1999) but was considered adequate as it neared .90, recognized as good fit by Bentler (1992). The RMSEA was estimated at .10 with a 95% confidence interval of .08 to .11, barely meeting the cut-off of mediocre fit (MacCallum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996). The SRMR was .07 smaller than the suggested cut-off of .08 (Hu & Bentler, 1999), giving me a little more confidence that the results of the CFA were adequate to proceed. The standardized loadings of the CFA were examined next. Standardized factor loadings for the cultural socialization construct were strong, ranging from .43 to .77. To note the two items regarding Korean American history and culture had the two lowest factor loadings (.43 and .44), and the other items had loadings ranging .70 and above for the latent construct they were attempting to estimate. Preparation for bias items had factor loadings ranging from .58 to .79, and promotion of mistrust items had factor loadings ranging from .80 to .84. All factor loadings were significant ($p < .001$).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	M	SD
1. PCUL11														3.13	1.39
2. PCUL12	0.54													2.99	1.31
3. PCUL13	0.55	0.61												2.58	1.31
4. PCUL14	0.61	0.48	0.42											3.75	1.35
5. PCUL15	0.59	0.51	0.52	0.58										2.84	1.33
6. PCUL16	0.26	0.34	0.19	0.26	0.35									2.15	1.28
7. PCUL17	0.27	0.3	0.2	0.23	0.43	0.56								1.79	1.04
8. PPRPB1	0.26	0.25	0.33	0.19	0.25	0.24	0.25							2.17	1.35
9. PPRPB2	0.18	0.25	0.3	0.15	0.22	0.14	0.17	0.61						2.5	1.29
10. PPRPB3	0.28	0.33	0.34	0.23	0.36	0.38	0.36	0.44	0.47					1.85	1.04
11. PPRPB4	0.22	0.21	0.31	0.22	0.21	0.17	0.2	0.47	0.56	0.36				2.2	1.48
12. PPROMW	0.17	0.16	0.25	0.15	0.17	0.11	0.15	0.38	0.46	0.35	0.52			1.71	1
13. PPROMBL	0.24	0.18	0.2	0.21	0.19	-0.04	0.01	0.37	0.32	0.2	0.37	0.62		2.2	1.27
14. PPROMAA	0.24	0.13	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.03	0.2	0.41	0.34	0.28	0.34	0.66	0.7	1.97	1.14

Table 8. Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Parent Ethnic Socialization Items

Friend ethnic socialization. All answers to friend ethnic socialization items ranged from 1 to 5. Although friends were perceived to communicate some cultural socialization frequently (friend cultural socialization items 1, 5, and 4) one item from the preparation for bias item had a high mean as well (item 1). The two remaining cultural socialization items had low means (items 6 and 7), which could be explained by the fact that Korean American history is not commonly taught in public schools. The remaining item means of friend preparation for bias items were fairly similar to the means of parent preparation for bias items. Lastly the means of the three promotion of mistrust items were also similar to parent promotion of mistrust item means (Table 9).

Correlations among the friend ethnic socialization items from the dissertation data suggested some items correlating highly with other items not intended to measure the same subcomponents. Preparation for bias item 2 was highly correlated with five of the seven items measuring cultural socialization (.41 - .55). Cultural socialization item 7 was highly correlated with two preparation for bias items (.55 and .40) and one promotion of mistrust item (.42). Although the three promotion of mistrust items were highly correlated with each other (.65 - .77), promotion of mistrust of White Americans was additionally highly correlated with three of the four preparation for bias items (.50 - .54). Reliability, measured by the Cronbach's alpha, was .895.

The overall model fit results of the CFA with friend ethnic socialization were adequate, and the factor loadings were strong. The CFI was .87, nearing the desired .90. The RMSEA was .12, with a 95% CI of .10 and .13. The SRMR was .07, smaller than the suggested cut-off of .08 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The standardized loadings of the CFA were examined next. Standardized factor loadings ranged from .57 to .76 for all seven items on the cultural socialization subscale. The two items related to Korean American culture and history had factor loadings within the

range of the other items. Factor loadings for the preparation for bias subscale ranged from .70 to .85, and .81 to .90 for promotion of mistrust. These factor loadings were higher than the recommended .30-.35 (Brown, 2006) and all significantly different from 0 ($p < .001$). The strong factor loadings confirmed the instrument was reliably measuring the subcomponents.

Modification indices did not suggest any significant changes.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	M	SD
1. FCULT1														3.52	1.17
2. FCULT2	0.4													2	0.95
3. FCULT3	0.41	0.57												2.2	1.07
4. FCULT4	0.66	0.46	0.45											2.87	1.24
5. FCULT5	0.52	0.47	0.46	0.6										2.96	1.26
6. FCULT6	0.31	0.59	0.59	0.35	0.47									1.87	1.05
7. FCULT7	0.15	0.58	0.43	0.31	0.38	0.63								1.76	0.95
8. FPRPB1	0.28	0.24	0.36	0.26	0.39	0.26	0.33							3.02	1.23
9. FPRPB2	0.32	0.41	0.4	0.37	0.43	0.46	0.55	0.53						2.28	1.23
10. FPRPB3	0.23	0.27	0.26	0.27	0.37	0.35	0.4	0.6	0.69					2.75	1.18
11. FPRPB4	0.16	0.22	0.25	0.15	0.3	0.27	0.38	0.51	0.54	0.62				2.17	1.34
12. FPROMW	0.21	0.26	0.22	0.24	0.33	0.3	0.42	0.4	0.5	0.54	0.5			1.77	1.06
13. FPROMBL	0.2	0.18	0.21	0.21	0.27	0.2	0.23	0.33	0.29	0.33	0.38	0.65		1.89	1.11
14. FPROMAA	0.24	0.22	0.18	0.24	0.34	0.2	0.31	0.35	0.4	0.42	0.39	0.72	0.77	1.83	1.03

Table 9. Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Friend Ethnic Socialization Items

Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis 1. Using t-tests, it was confirmed that Korean American adolescents and young adults perceived their caregivers communicating all three types of ethnic socialization defined by Hughes and Chen (1997): cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Participants' answers for each of the subcomponents were averaged and then compared to 1, since 1 was the answer choice for having "never" experienced each item. Mean averages were 2.74 (cultural socialization, $sd = .92$; $t(310) = 33.572$), 2.18 (preparation for bias, $sd = 1.03$; $t(315) = 20.416$), and 1.96 (promotion of mistrust, $sd = .99$; $t(317) = 17.287$). All subcomponents were significantly different from 1 ($p < .001$).

Hypothesis 2. In order to determine if parent ethnic socialization as a whole predicted ethnic exploration and resolution, all items measuring parental ethnic socialization were combined to create a composite variable. Using multivariate regression in the form of a path analysis, parent ethnic socialization significantly predicted both ethnic exploration ($\beta = .370$; $p < .001$) and ethnic resolution ($\beta = .147$, $p = .014$). Resolution and exploration were significantly correlated ($r = .313$, $p < .001$). The effect size of total exploration explained by parent ethnic socialization was significant ($p < .001$) and the R^2 was medium, 13.7%. The effect size of total resolution explained was small, 2.2% and not significant ($p = .22$).

An additional analysis was conducted with the previously discussed 6 covariates. Two of the dummy-coded primary caregiver variables required removal due to small sample size (primary caregiver as "other adults" and "siblings"). With the remaining covariates, the model fit was good according to the SRMR (.034) and the RMSEA (.055; 90% CI [.031, .079]), but not the CFI (.811). Three covariates were significant: primary caregiver as "mom" ($\beta = -.300$; $p = .009$) and primary caregivers as "mom and dad" ($\beta = -.287$; $p = .021$), neighborhood composition (β

= .168; $p = .003$) and being young ($\beta = -.148$; $p = .010$). The total variance in exploration explained remained significant and the total variance in resolution explained remained nonsignificant. The total variance in parent ethnic socialization explained by the covariates was 11.5% and this was significant ($p = .001$).

Hypothesis 3. Korean American adolescents and young adults perceived their friends communicating all three types of ethnic socialization defined by Hughes and Chen (1997): cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Participants' answers for each of the subcomponents were averaged and then compared to 1 using t -tests. Mean averages were 2.45 (cultural socialization, $sd = .82$; $t(287) = 30.174$), 2.56 (preparation for bias, $sd = 1.04$; $t(292) = 25.735$), and 1.83 (promotion of mistrust, $sd = .96$; $t(296) = 14.826$). All subcomponents were significantly different from 1 ($p < .001$).

Hypothesis 4. A similar multivariate regression (path analysis) procedure was done for friend ethnic socialization. A composite variable was created by totaling all the items measuring friend ethnic socialization and then a multivariate regression analysis was conducted using this variable. Friend ethnic socialization significantly predicted ethnic exploration ($\beta = .517$, $p < .001$) but did not significantly predict affect ($\beta = -.038$; $p = .529$). Affect and exploration were not significantly correlated ($\beta = .016$, $p = .799$). The total exploration explained by friend ethnic socialization was significant ($p < .001$) and the R^2 was large, 26.7%. The total affect explained by friend ethnic socialization was not significant ($p = .753$) and the R^2 was very small, .1%.

Again covariates were included in the path analysis. Two of the 5 dummy-coded caregiver variables needed to be removed due to model non-identification ("other adults" and "siblings" as primary caregivers). Once these items were removed a normal model with covariates was produced. The model fit was mixed. The SRMR suggested good fit (.054) but the RMSEA

(.128; 90% CI [.106, .151]) and CFI (.488) was very poor. Three covariates were significant: being born in the U.S. ($\beta = -.129$; $p = .037$), neighborhood composition ($\beta = .140$; $p = .017$) and being in the young group ($\beta = -.186$; $p = .002$). The total variance in exploration explained by friend ethnic socialization ($p < .001$) and the R^2 increased, 29.0%. The total variance in friend ethnic socialization explained by the covariates was significant ($p = .011$) but the R^2 was small, 7.7%. The total variance in affect remained nonsignificant ($p = .852$).

Hypothesis 5. In order to best model the data, the hypothesized model was tested first and then additional models were generated.

Model 1. Both parent and friend ethnic socialization were estimated as latent variables and modeled simultaneously to predict the variance in two ethnic identity components each: parent ethnic socialization predicting exploration and resolution, while friend ethnic socialization predicting exploration and affect. Overall fit was poor (see Table 10). The CFI was .626, which is too low to meet the required good fit cut-off. The RMSEA estimate was .104, with a 90% CI of .100 – .108, which is considered too large. The SRMR was also too large, at .101. To note, the measurement model was significant with all of the individual items estimating the latent variables significantly ($p < .001$), with high factor loadings for the ethnic socialization latent variables ($> .45$) and the outcome latent variables ($> .39$).

With regards to the model, ethnic exploration was not significantly predicted by parent ethnic socialization ($p = .323$), but was significantly predicted by friend ethnic socialization ($p < .001$). Affect was significantly predicted by friend ethnic socialization ($p = .047$) and resolution was significantly predicted by parent ethnic socialization ($p < .001$). The poor model fit and the availability of free parameters suggested further modeling with more specificity.

Model 2. In this second model, rather than global parent ethnic socialization and friend ethnic socialization latent variables, the subcomponents of ethnic socialization were separated: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Hypotheses regarding which subcomponents of ethnic socialization would predict ethnic identity were not made a priori and therefore a model predicting all three aspects of ethnic identity was tested. Overall model fit was better than the initial hypothesized model (see Table 10). The change in the CFI estimate to .820 was closer to the recommended .90-.95 than that of the previous model. The RMSEA changed from .104 to .074 and the SRMR was .067, also smaller than .106 of model 1. Again the measurement model was significant ($p < .001$) with high standardized factor loadings for the factor indicator variables. Parent cultural socialization items 6 (.484) and 7 (.476) were not estimating the latent variable as highly as the other cultural socialization items ($> .67$). These were the two items regarding Korean American history and important people, whereas the other items were regarding Korean history and important people. These items had shown signs of being separate from the other cultural socialization items when inter-item correlations were examined previously.

In this model exploration was significantly predicted by parent promotion of mistrust ($p = .027$), friend cultural socialization ($p < .001$), friend preparation for bias ($p = .014$), and friend promotion of mistrust ($p = .002$). Resolution was significantly predicted by friend preparation for bias ($p = .014$) and there was a trend towards prediction by friend promotion of mistrust ($p = .066$). Affirmation was significantly predicted by friend preparation for bias ($p = .031$).

Standardized and normalized residuals were examined to determine model misfit. Item 2 of the ethnic exploration measure indicated larger residuals (-.517) than all the other items (.036 – -.213) and had lower loadings (.393) than the other exploration items ($> .64$). This suggested the

potential for a model that could better explain the data with its removal. Therefore the item was removed for the next model.

Model 3. Overall model fit of this next model improved slightly from the previous model (see Table 10). The same ethnic socialization components significantly predicted the same ethnic identity dimensions, as in the previous model. Since the measurement model did not change the standardized factor loadings continued to be low for parent cultural socialization items 6 and 7. Modification indices also pointed out this misfit by the high correlation between the two items. Although separation of these indicator variables as a separate latent variable was considered, it could not be achieved due to not meeting the minimum of having 3 indicator variables to estimate a latent variable. Instead, the items were allowed to covary in the next model.

Model 4. The resulting model again showed improved overall model fit (see Table 10). Additionally, in the measurement model the standardized factor loadings of pcult 6 (.439) and pcult7 (.425) decreased, suggesting that the shared variance was inflating the factor loadings. There was no change in which ethnic socialization components predicted which ethnic identity dimension. By allowing the two items to covary, model 4 became a nested model within model 3. Therefore a χ^2 difference test was conducted to determine whether the change was significant. The χ^2 difference was 83.033 with 1 degree of freedom and the p -value was $< .001$, confirming that the change in model fit was significant.

Modification indices of this model were examined to check if any further modifications needed consideration. Friend cultural socialization items 1 and 4 were highly correlated with a modification index of 57.095, with the next largest modification index being 34.195. The items were reviewed: “My friends and I have talked about Korean books, movies, tv shows, and/or

other things that we have seen on the internet (e.g., fiction, nonfiction, historical, political, cultural, etc).” and “My friends and I have talked about traditional Korean clothing and/or popular Korean clothing or hairstyles.” Contextually, discussing one aspect of Korean culture (clothing or hairstyles) could occur in conjunction with having watched movies, TV shows, or material on the internet. Therefore I decided to allow these additional two items to covary in the next model.

Model 5. In this model adding the path between the two friend cultural socialization items improved the overall model fit (see Table 10). Again a χ^2 difference test was conducted to determine whether the additional path contributed statistically significantly. The χ^2 difference was 63.378 with 1 degree of freedom, which in turn confirmed that the overall model fit improved significantly ($p < .001$). There were no modification indices that looked larger than the others or made theoretical sense to consider and therefore no further modifications were made.

Model 6. Once this final model was determined, the covariates were added to the model. Inclusion of covariates affected the model fit negatively. All indices changed for the worse (see Table 10). The model had covariates controlling for gender, young versus old, neighborhood composition, primary caregiver, place of birth, and ethnic label on every predictor variable (all parent ethnic socialization components and friend ethnic socialization components). Three of the 6 covariates were significant for parent cultural socialization: being born in the U.S. ($\beta = -.135$; $p = .025$), having only mom as the primary caregiver ($\beta = -.248$; $p = .039$), and neighborhood composition ($\beta = .171$; $p = .003$). Two covariates were significant for parent preparation for bias: being born in the U.S. ($\beta = -.168$; $p = .009$) and having mom as the primary caregiver ($\beta = -.276$; $p = .009$). Two covariates were significant for friend cultural socialization: being born in

the U.S. ($\beta = -.174$; $p = .006$) and neighborhood composition ($\beta = .178$; $p = .003$). There were no significant covariates for the other predictor variables, and covariates young versus old and ethnic labels were not significant for any of the predictor variables.

An additional model with the nonsignificant covariates removed was examined. Model fit improved significantly ($\Delta\chi^2 (215) = 777.361$; $p < .001$). However the separate model fit indices were still not close to acceptable fit levels (CFI = .797; SRMR = .162). Therefore the final model without any covariates was selected as the study's final model (see Appendices D-F for factor structures).

Table 10.

Overall Model Fit Indices

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
χ^2	3273.805	1930.902	1779.520	1696.487	1633.109	2920.746
<i>df</i>	732	704	666	665	664	1009
<i>p</i>	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001
			$\Delta\chi^2 (1) = 83.033$ <i>p</i> < .001	$\Delta\chi^2 (1) = 63.378$ <i>p</i> < .001		
CFI	0.626	0.820	0.833	.845	0.854	.727
RMSEA	0.104	0.074	0.072	.070	0.067	.077
90%CI	.100- .108	.070- .078	.068-.076	.065- .074	.063- .072	.074- .081
SRMR	0.101	0.067	0.064	.063	0.063	.156

In summary, the final model (Figure 2) concluded one significant path from parent promotion of mistrust to ethnic exploration (standardized estimate = .185; $p = .025$). In contrast there were five significant paths from friend ethnic socialization to all three dimensions of ethnic identity. Friend cultural socialization significantly predicted ethnic exploration (standardized estimate = .485; $p < .001$). Friend preparation for bias significantly predicted all three dimensions of ethnic identity (standardized estimate for exploration = .293; $p < .001$; standardized estimate for resolution = .240; $p = .003$; standardized estimate for reverse-coded affect = -.209; $p = .017$). The relationships with ethnic exploration and resolution were positive, whereas the relationship with reverse-coded affect was negative. Friend promotion of mistrust significantly predicted exploration (standardized estimate = -.253; $p < .001$), and the relationship was negative.

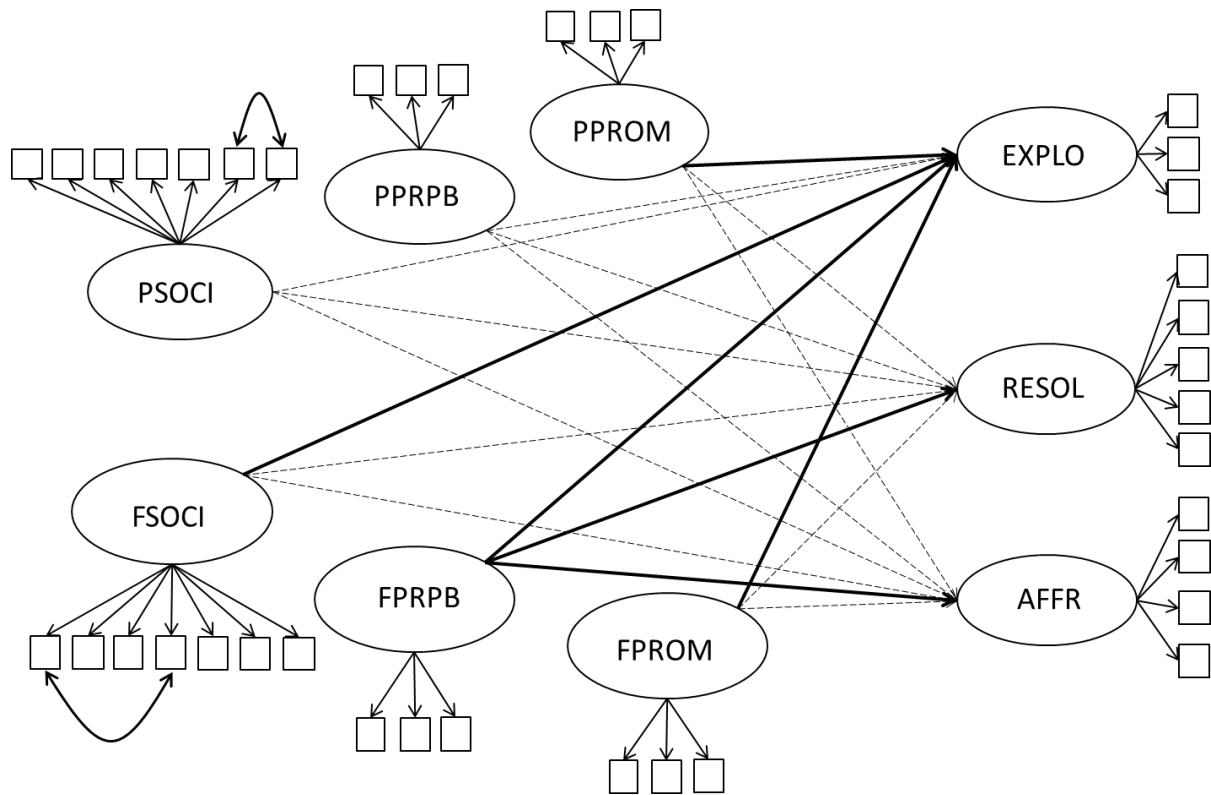


Figure 2. Final model

Note.

PSOCI: parent cultural socialization.

PPRPB: parent preparation for bias.

PPROM: parent promotion of mistrust.

FSOCI: friend cultural socialization.

FPRPB: Friend preparation for bias.

FPRM: friend promotion of mistrust.

EXPLO: exploration.

RESOL: resolution.

AFFR: reverse-coded affect.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study examined ethnic identity and its relationship to perceived ethnic socialization from parents and from friends of Korean American adolescents and young adults. The study was one of the first to apply the ethnic identity model theorized by Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004) to this population. This model not only identifies ethnic exploration and resolution but also includes an additional dimension, affect, in its conceptualization of ethnic identity. The study also applied a modified version of the ethnic socialization model theorized by Hughes and colleagues (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) to a Korean American sample.

Findings and Significance

Parent ethnic socialization. Findings confirmed that Korean American adolescents and young adults experienced ethnic socialization messages from both parents and friends. In conversations with parents surrounding all three subcomponents of ethnic socialization (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust) participants reported cultural socialization as the most frequent and promotion of mistrust being the least frequent. This suggests the parent generation recognizes the potential for racial and ethnic challenges to be experienced by the younger generation. Higher levels of cultural socialization echo findings from other studies that find Japanese and Chinese American families mainly communicating cultural socialization (e.g., Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). Lower levels promotion of mistrust can be attributed to several reasons. One reason could be inaccurately written items. The items only asked whether parents encouraged keeping distance, and Korean American parents may communicate keeping distance in

different ways, such as encouraging mistrust or discouraging romantic relationships. Additionally, over half of the participants indicated that they grew up in neighborhoods that were less than 5% Korean. Other students at school were likely from other racial and ethnic backgrounds, exposing the Korean American young adults and adolescents to gain exposure and learn more about people from these other backgrounds. One could assume that keeping distance was not an option. With the exposure and getting to know people from other racial and ethnic backgrounds in the neighborhood and in school, the participants could be refusing to have these kinds of promotion of mistrust conversations with their parents.

Another reason for the lower levels of promotion of mistrust could be related to the process of recruitment and the context from which the participants were coming from. Participants were emailed through two major social avenues: university-registered student organizations or Korean American-identified churches. Student organizations varied from cultural organizations (e.g., Korean traditional drumming group, Korean traditional dance group, K-pop music appreciation group, etc) to religious organizations (e.g., Korean Christian Bible Study, Korean Catholic Students, etc). As mentioned in the introduction of the Korean American population, a significant proportion of Korean Americans attends Protestant church and identify as Christian. Considering that many participants were recruited through their religious affiliation I could assume for many of the participants, their ethnic identity and religious identity were closely tied together.

In an ethnographic study at a second-generation Korean American church in Chicago Chong (1998) identified how members of the church associated conservative Christian values and beliefs with traditional Korean values and beliefs. Some participants interviewed in the study even identified and criticized how the church leadership emphasized aspects of

Christianity and the bible that fit well with traditional Korean culture, such as the hierarchical rhetoric of being servants of God combined with traditional Korean culture emphasizing filial piety, whereas other aspects of being “a good Christian”, such as openness were de-emphasized (Chong, 1998). The connecting and use of one to reinforce the other had negative consequences as well, in that individuals who were frustrated with the church also expressed distancing themselves from the Korean American culture in general (Chong, 1998). These findings suggest that for those participating in this study, cultural socialization might not be as easily separated out. One has the possibility of growing up in a church where conversations about Korean culture and values were tied to Christianity. The distinction of what is Korean and what is Christianity could be difficult to make. For instance, cultural events could have been hosted at one’s church and then it would be difficult to know how much of the cultural event is cultural and how much of it is religious.

More recent research on Korean American religious identity has pinpointed second-generation Korean Americans’ church going patterns to be different from their parents. During or after college many are either leaving the church and Christianity all together (e.g., Kim & Pyle, 2004) or moving away from an ethnic-specific church (Park, 2011). Park (2011) observed a multi-ethnic bible study group on a college campus and interviewed Korean American individuals who had chosen to be members of this multiethnic bible study group. One of the reasons was that the bible encourages Christians to be open and welcoming of everyone and participants of Park’s study felt that being part of an ethnic-specific bible study was self-segregating.

It seems these ideas of openness from one’s religious values could counteract the mistrust one might hold. If one is surrounded by parents and friends who identify as “open and

welcoming Christians” they may have used the bible’s teachings to also encourage being welcoming of people from all races and ethnicities. Since findings suggest promotion of mistrust in Korean American families differ from previously identified promotion of mistrust in African American families, further research is needed to determine what promotion of mistrust looks like for this population.

Friend ethnic socialization. Participants’ conversations with friends similarly included all 3 subcomponents of ethnic socialization; again cultural socialization conversations were experienced as the most frequent and promotion of mistrust conversations were the least frequent. The findings suggest Korean American adolescents and young adults are having conversations about their ethnic background not only their parents but also with their friends about various aspects of being Korean American. This pattern of cultural socialization being communicated the most and promotion of mistrust being communicated the least, as found with parent ethnic socialization, suggest various explanations. Korean American young adults and adolescents could be having one type of conversation more than other types of conversations with their friends that are similar to the ones they had with their parents because these conversations are already familiar. It could also be that the Korean American young adults and adolescents are better equipped with the tools to have conversations that fall into the cultural socialization category since these are kinds of conversations they had with their parents more often and are therefore having those conversations with their friends.

Additionally, regarding low levels of promotion of mistrust if the close friends Korean American young adults and adolescents are primarily interacting with are from church or a religious group, the friends could also be influenced by Christian values and beliefs of being welcoming and open. The opposite could be happening as well with the Korean American

individuals could be adhering to Christian values and beliefs and/or choosing to not have promotion of mistrust conversations with their friends. Further research is needed to clarify these ideas.

Parent ethnic socialization predicting ethnic identity. As hypothesized, parent ethnic socialization as a global construct significantly predicted participants' ethnic exploration and resolution when tested using a multivariate regression analysis. This was similar to that found among Latino adolescents (e.g., Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010). Increases in frequency of parent ethnic socialization was found to be related to more frequent feelings of exploration and of resolve. One explanation for this could be that individuals who receive more parent ethnic socialization pursue more ethnic exploration. It could also be that individuals who are exploring their ethnic heritage more than their peers seek out more ethnic socialization from their parents. The magnitude of explained resolution was not statistically significant indicating that the impact parent ethnic socialization has on resolution is not meaningfully large. From a developmental perspective this could be explained as parent ethnic socialization providing basic information such as that the individual is of Korean heritage when the individual is younger but then the parent ethnic socialization not having much further influence as the individual grows older.

Growing up with mom or mom and dad as the primary caregiver(s) was a significant negative predictor of parent ethnic socialization. In other words, compared to those who grew up with dad, other adults, or siblings as primary caregiver(s) received greater frequencies of parent ethnic socialization. It could be that moms might consider behaviors, such as cooking Korean food or taking the children to Korean church, as enough ethnic socialization and do not feel the need to verbalize socialization messages. Or it could also be

that those who are primarily raised by mom feel comfortable with mom and are asking mom to stop communicating the ethnic socialization messages.

Neighborhood composition was also a significant predictor of parent ethnic socialization, with greater numbers of Korean neighbors being related to greater frequency of parent ethnic socialization. This could be related to parents having other adults in the neighborhood to talk to about various ethnic socialization topics. As well, Korean neighbors might act as additional socializing agents who raise unique questions and topics. Adolescents may discuss these with their parents, contributing to the frequency of ethnic socialization conversations in the family.

The third significant characteristic predicting parent ethnic socialization was being in the young group (18-23). This was negatively related to parent ethnic socialization. It is difficult to explain why this was so. It seemed that there could be a variety of reasons for this relationship. For instance, those from the young group could have parents who were also younger than those from the old group and therefore the parents were not as knowledgeable to have frequent Korean cultural socialization conversations. It could also be that the parents were more recent immigrants and did not feel the need to provide as frequent ethnic socialization messages. This relationship warrants further research on the parents' characteristics in order to better understand their ethnic socialization behaviors.

Being female did not significantly predict ethnic exploration and resolution. This echoes the studies with other adolescents of color that do not find gender differences (e.g. Pahl & Way, 2006). It was thought that gender differences were not significant because Korean American families are typically small with one or two children. Therefore conversations regarding ethnic identity and heritage might be happening with all the children in the family,

not just the female children. For instance, if conversations surrounding ethnic identity are happening at the dinner table, all family members present will be part of the conversations. Further research with families with both male and female children need to be examined in order to determine whether parents are having similar conversations with children of both genders.

Being born in the U.S. was also not a significant predictor of parent ethnic socialization. In other words regardless of where the individual was born parents of either groups communicated ethnic socialization messages in similar frequencies. Since the parent generation is more familiar with Korean culture and have gained more experiences living in the U.S. as a person of Korean heritage, it can be assumed that they have more things to talk about with their children. Parents who came to the U.S. as adults may also feel that they do not have much to discuss with their children who are growing up either as young immigrants or as children of immigrants, since the parents did not have that experience.

Ethnic label used by the individual was not a significant predictor of parent ethnic socialization. Previous research on Asian American ethnic label choice seem to mainly focus on the relationship between the individual's choice of using a heritage label versus a pan-ethnic label and the labels that others ascribe (e.g., Kiang & Luu, 2013; Kodanna & Abreo, 2009). Therefore one explanation for this lack of a significant relationship could be that ethnic label choice is a personal matter that is less likely to be influenced by parents. However this needs further research to verify these explanations.

The significant and nonsignificant covariates provided evidence for furthering notions of heterogeneity within Korean American young adults and adolescents. Context, specifically the kind of family and neighborhood the individual grew up in, influenced the kinds of

messages individuals received and contributed to the different ethnic identities Korean American young adults and adolescents developed. Typically used characteristics such as country of birth or gender were not meaningful for this particular group, suggesting that these demographic characteristics utilized to suggest differences within the community are not accurately distinguishing differences.

Friend ethnic socialization predicting ethnic identity. As predicted in hypothesis 4, friend ethnic socialization as a global construct significantly predicted exploration but in contrast to the original hypothesis friend ethnic socialization did not significantly predict affect. Friend ethnic socialization predicting exploration was expected because friends were expected to be exploring their own identities at the same time. Additionally friends who are not in the process of exploring could be asking questions about Korean culture which in turn could be encouraging exploration by the individual. Also, individuals who are exploring could be initiating conversations with friends such as working out ideas s/he is exploring or inviting friends to explore with them by attending cultural events together.

With regards to affect, one explanation could be that frequent conversations with friends challenged individuals' feelings so much so that no pattern was identifiable. Additionally considering that the individuals surveyed were in their late adolescence or young adulthood developmentally, they could have not been influenced affectively by how their friends felt towards their Korean American identity. One suggestion for further research would be to examine the ethnic make-up of the friends and consider if friends are persons of color who are also developing an ethnic identity at the same time, whether individuals feel the need to explore further or develop more ethnic pride.

Being born in the U.S. was a significant predictor of friend ethnic socialization. Those who were born in the U.S. experienced lower levels of friend ethnic socialization than those who were not born in the United States. This could be explained as a result of differences in friends. Those born in the U.S. could have friends who were also born in the United States, and in turn have less information to transmit in the form of cultural socialization. In contrast those who were not born in the U.S. have more knowledge of Korea and may initiate more conversations with friends and/or serve as the person to whom friends ask questions.

A second significant predictor of friend ethnic socialization was being in the young group. These individuals experienced lower levels of friend ethnic socialization than those in the older group. It is difficult to determine whether this is a reflection of a generational difference. Considering ideas of identity development happening till one is in his/her late twenties (Kroger et al., 2010), this finding was unexpected. Further research is needed to better understand why this particular finding appeared.

Neighborhood composition was the third significant predictor of friend ethnic socialization. As with parent ethnic socialization, growing up in neighborhoods with more people of Korean descent was related with greater frequency of friend ethnic socialization. This finding was also difficult to understand because the question did not specify whether I was asking for friends from growing up or friends currently. If the friends were from growing up in one's neighborhood, I would expect this finding being related to individuals being friends with individuals who were also receiving greater frequencies of ethnic socialization from their surroundings. If the friends who are providing the ethnic socialization are from the current, then the relationship between friend ethnic socialization and neighborhood composition may be more distant. Individual may be seeking out

friendships with individuals that are closer to the people s/he is accustomed to from growing up in certain neighborhoods.

Gender was again not a significant predictor of friend ethnic socialization. Again, without knowing where the friends are from it is difficult to interpret why this might be happening. By college many individuals develop opposite-gender friends with whom they spend significant time (Johnson, 2004) and therefore the friend ethnic socialization could be happening irrespective of the gender of the individual and the gender make-up of the friends. Additionally, traditional Korean culture tends to have gender-specific elements regarding how males should be and how females should be. Because there are messages for both genders and the questions regarding ethnic socialization asked about frequency of ethnic socialization, both gender groups may have received similar frequencies of socialization just not the same content. Further research is needed to investigate this as a possibility.

Primary caregiver was also not a significant predictor of friend ethnic socialization. This could simply be related to primary caregivers and friends being separate. It could also be that primary caregivers had a small influence friend selection and questions that could connect parents and friends were not obtained in this study. It may only look like individuals are attributing friend ethnic socialization to friends and parent ethnic socialization to primary caregivers as a limitation of the data. Further research is needed to examine how much

Lastly, ethnic label was not a significant predictor of friend ethnic socialization. Considering that people tend to be friends with others who are similar to them (Kandel, 1978), this lack of a relationship could mean that regardless of the preferred ethnic label individuals are talking with their friends about their ethnic identity. In other words friend ethnic socialization is not influencing the ethnic label of choice. It could also be that the

individual is settled on his/her ethnic label and this label is not influencing the frequency of friend ethnic socialization received.

Identification of these various significant and nonsignificant covariates also contributed to the field's understanding of the heterogeneity that exists among the Korean American population. Various individual characteristics were identified as being related to differences in ethnic socialization conversations with friends, providing more support for the idea that the individual attracts different kinds of friends, and friends shape the individual. Juang, Nguyen, and Lin (2006) studied the influence of context, connections between concentrated versus dispersed Asian American neighborhoods and Asian American identity. The study did not find large difference between the two groups and attributed the lack of difference to the fact that Asian Americans are numerically a minority anywhere in the U.S. even in the so-called concentrated areas. One direction for more in-depth research may be to examine friends as a mediator between social contexts and ethnic identity.

Simultaneously predicting ethnic identity. Finally, when parent ethnic socialization and friend ethnic socialization was modeled simultaneously the original hypothesized model did not explain the data very well. A better model was one that separated the 3 subcomponents of both parent and friend ethnic socialization to predict all 3 dimensions of ethnic identity. In the final, best-fitting model only one parent ethnic socialization component, parent promotion of mistrust, significantly predicted ethnic identity, and it was exploration. This was interesting considering that these promotion of mistrust conversations were reported to be the least frequent. Korean American young adults and adolescents may be exploring about their ethnic heritage in order to gain information to better understand the context of the promotion of mistrust messages. Exploration by the Korean American young

adults and adolescents could also be encouraging promotion of mistrust messages from the parents. For instance, if the child is listening to Korean hip hop music, the parent might prioritize the genre of hip hop and its associations with African Americans over the language and the content being from Korea. Parents may then feel the need to caution the child with the negative stereotypes connected to the African American community.

All three components of friend ethnic socialization significantly predicted ethnic exploration. It is possible that talking to friends about even mundane, everyday activities such as watching Korean shows was considered ethnic exploration in the perceptions of the participants and therefore appearing as a strong predictor of ethnic exploration. Another explanation could be that once individuals hear about friends participating in cultural activities they also seek out and/or participate in cultural activities together. The negative relationship identified between friend promotion of mistrust and exploration could be that discussing the racial dynamics in the United States, such as how other communities of color are treated poorly in contrast to how Korean Americans are perceived positively, contributed to the individual feeling less of a need to pursue ethnic exploration since Korean Americans are viewed positively in comparison.

Friend preparation for bias was the only component that significantly predicted resolution. Although the directionality is unclear, this finding suggests that conversations regarding the bias that Korean Americans experience in U.S. society is related to the identity resolution of Korean American individuals. The conversations with friends could be contributing to the individual's resolution. Or the previously-achieved resolution by individual could also invite preparation for bias conversations from friends. It was surprising parent preparation for bias did not have the same influence. However again considering the

developmental stages of the participants there is a greater possibility that conversations with friends happened more recently, and thus had a stronger relationship.

Friend preparation for bias was also the only significant predictor of affect. Discussions with friends surrounding the poor treatment of Korean Americans in U.S. society were related to feeling negatively about being part of the Korean American ethnic community. Individuals could be attributing the negative feelings they have towards being Korean American as being caused by the poor societal treatment of Korean Americans. The opposite seems unlikely, that negative feelings towards one's ethnic identity was contributing to society's treatment of Korean Americans.

There were two meaningful differences between the SEM model and the two multiple regression models. According to the SEM model, none of the parent ethnic socialization components significantly related to resolution, whereas in the multivariate regression analyses, parent ethnic socialization was significant. This could be due to a combining effect of the different socialization subcomponents being included into the regression analysis as a composite variable, whereas the SEM model separated the subcomponents. In other words, parent cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust may all insignificantly predict ethnic resolution separately but since the regression analysis only examined parent ethnic socialization as one composite variable, there may have been some sort of additive effect. Further research is needed to examine what contributes to the development of ethnic resolution.

The second difference was the significant relationship between friend preparation for bias and affect in the SEM model. This relationship did not appear in the multiple regression model. It seems creating a global construct of friend ethnic socialization negated the

relationship that friend preparation for bias had with the affect an individual feels towards one's Korean American ethnic identity. Further research is needed to examine what about friend preparation for bias is connected to one's affect.

Contributions and Limitations

One of the significant contributions of the study is that it examined one subgroup of Asian Americans. Subcategories of Asian Americans are recognized to be different but then in practice individuals are not separated. By examining Korean Americans separately I was able to identify a parent ethnic socialization subcomponent that may have not been identified if other Asian sub-groups were included in the sample. If the separation of Korean cultural socialization and Korean American cultural socialization is indeed a result of having a majority first and second generation sample, including other Asian American groups with longer immigration histories such as Chinese and Japanese Americans would have not identified such a split.

Additionally in the process of modeling parent ethnic socialization, potential for a new ethnic socialization component appeared: Korean American cultural socialization. This seems to have appeared as a significant differentiation because of the nature of this population. Participants for the study are not distant from the immigrant generation that left Korea and therefore knowledge of Korea is easier to access either by firsthand experience or learning directly from those who remember Korea. When knowledge of Korea is so clear, any departures into Korean American culture would be more apparent and potentially jarring.

A separate Korean American cultural socialization domain did not appear within friend ethnic socialization. One explanation for this can be linked to the social context of living in the United States. For instance when talking with friends who do not share Korean heritage,

the friends may attribute anything that does not seem “American” in their minds to Korean culture. Among friends who share Korean ancestry, everyone is likely to have varying levels of knowledge regarding Korean and Korean American culture. Therefore separation of Korean culture versus Korean American culture may become difficult because perceptions regarding boundaries of where Korean culture stops and Korean American culture begins may be different for every individual. The differences between parents’ and friends’ conversations regarding the potential for a distinction between Korean American cultural socialization versus Korean cultural socialization also suggests that Korean Americans are not simply Koreans living in the United States. Rather Korean Americans are much more complicated with various experiences and individual characteristics that contribute to ideas about their ethnic identity.

One of the main theoretical contributions of the study is its application of the Ethnic Identity Scale on a Korean American young adult and adolescent population. The scale performed well with good reliability and factor structure. The reduction of the items did not seem to harm the scale. One suggestion for further research would be testing positively worded affect items with the negatively worded affect items.

Another theoretical contribution of the study is its application of ethnic socialization items on a Korean American young adult and adolescent population. The three components of ethnic socialization, as identified by Hughes and colleagues, were also experienced by this population. One area of further research is to examine whether there are additional ethnic socialization messages experienced by this group.

A third contribution of the study is that the study focused on two sources of ethnic socialization simultaneously. In a recent literature review of ethnic and racial identity,

Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2014) suggested the need for closer examination of sources of ethnic socialization other than parents. It seems that although theoretically it is meaningful to examine friends as additional sources of ethnic socialization, the findings of the study suggest that the relationship between friend ethnic socialization and ethnic identity development is not so linear. The residuals of the final model were significant and the overall fit of the final model were only adequate, indicating that there is still much that has not yet been explained about Korean American ethnic identity. For instance, one could hypothesize friend ethnic socialization mediating parent ethnic socialization. The current model does not take into consideration the influences parents have on friend choice and parents could indirectly influence the content of friend ethnic socialization, which would then in turn influence ethnic identity development. Further research is needed to model these alternative paths that represent different influence relationships among the two sources of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity.

There were several additional limitations to the study. In terms of research design, the survey did not ask where the participants resided currently. Thus, the representativeness of the sample is unknown. Therefore findings must be generalized very cautiously, since this was a convenience sample of participants. Another limitation is that participants were surveyed about their experiences, but neither parents nor friends were surveyed. However, this was not considered a serious limitation because the study intended to better understand the perceived experiences of this population. Finally, there was a ceiling effect with the age of the participants. Participants were only given the option to mark that they were 24 and older; thus I could not discern if any participants were significantly older than 24. Alternative models were also not examined. One possible alternative model would have

been to model exploration as a mediator for identity development. The final model simply modeled the three components of ethnic identity separately, whereas modeling exploration as a mediator would also attempt to account for how exploration may contribute to explaining affect and resolution. This model would align with stage models that conceptualize ethnic identity development as a process an individual goes through (e.g., Phinney, 1989).

Therefore exploration is considered necessary for individuals to reach resolution. Another alternative model would have been to include the reciprocal effects of parent ethnic socialization and friend ethnic socialization. Research on adolescents' friendships and their influences suggest that the influences of parents and the influences of friends reinforce each other, rather than being at odds with each other (Bagwell & Schmidt, 2011).

The separate hypotheses of the study spawned different paths for further research. The low frequencies of promotion of mistrust conversations with both parents and friends made me wonder if mistrust was not a topic of conversation for this population. Further research examining the content of ethnic socialization messages is needed. Additionally, among friends, questions asking whether contents of conversations change based on the ethnic make-up of friends should be pursued. Research from other ethnic/racial groups has demonstrated that conversations vary as a result of the ethnic make-up of the friends who are part of the conversations. More in-depth research is needed to examine the content and processes of these conversations to better understand the role that friends play in individual ethnic identity development.

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Appendix A. Pilot Study Questionnaire

1. What is your age?
 - a. 18
 - b. 19
 - c. 20
 - d. 21
 - e. 22
 - f. 23
 - g. 24+
2. What is your gender?
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Other
3. Were you born in the U.S.?
 - a. Yes
 - i. Was your mother born in the U.S.?
 1. Yes
 2. no
 - ii. Was your father born in the U.S.?
 1. Yes
 2. no
 - b. no
 - i. how many years have you been living in the U.S.?

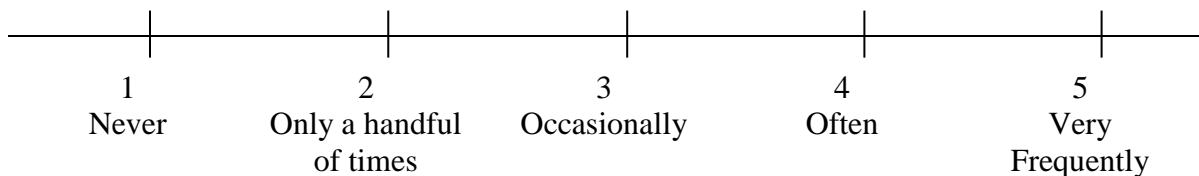
4. Who was your primary caretaker in elementary school?
- a. Mom
 - b. Dad
 - c. Mom & Dad
 - d. Other adults, such as aunt, uncle, grandma, grandpa, etc
 - e. Sibling(s)

The U.S. is made up of people of various ethnicities. Ethnicity refers to cultural traditions, beliefs, and behaviors that are passed down through generations. Some examples of the ethnicities that people may identify with are Mexican, Cuban, Nicaraguan, Chinese, Taiwanese, Filipino, Jamaican, African American, Haitian, Italian, Irish, and German. In addition, some people may identify with more than one ethnicity. When you are answering the following questions, we'd like you to think about what YOU consider your ethnicity to be. Please write what you consider to be your ethnicity in the first question and refer to this ethnicity as you answer the following questions. *Modified to fit online survey form.*

Ethnic Identity Scale

1. What is your ethnicity?

Answer the following statements using the below answer scale



2. My feelings about my ethnicity are mostly negative.
3. I participate in any activities that would teach me about my ethnicity.
4. I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me.
5. I experience things that reflect my ethnicity, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies.
6. I attend events that have help me learn more about my ethnicity.
7. I read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that teach me about my ethnicity.
8. I feel negatively about my ethnicity.
9. I participate in activities that expose me to my ethnicity.
10. I wish I were of a different ethnicity.
11. I am not happy with my ethnicity.
12. I learn about my ethnicity by doing things such as reading (books, magazines, newspapers), searching the internet, or keeping up with current events.
13. I understand how I felt about my ethnicity.
14. If I could choose, I would prefer to be of a different ethnicity.
15. I know what my ethnicity means to me.
16. I participate in activities that teach me about my ethnicity.
17. I dislike my ethnicity.
18. I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me.

Answer the following statements using the below answer scale.

1 |	2 |	3 |	4 |	5 |
Never	Only a handful of times	Occasionally	Often	Very Frequently

Race vs Ethnicity, Acculturation + Enculturation:

- a. My caretakers explained to me about what it meant to be Asian.
- b. My caretakers explained to me about what it meant to be Korean.
- c. My caretakers described being Korean American as a combination of being Korean and White.

Cultural Socialization

- 1. My caretakers read me Korean history books.
- 2. My caretakers read me Korean story books.
- 3. My caretakers took me to Korean cultural events.
- 4. My caretakers did things to celebrate Korean history.
- 5. My caretakers did things to celebrate Korean American history.
- 6. My caretakers took me to get Korean traditional clothes.
- 7. My caretakers took me to get popular Korean clothes or hairstyles.
- 8. My caretakers talked to me about important people or events in Korean history (such as Korea's Independence day, General Lee Soon Shin, King Sejong, etc).
- 9. My caretakers talked to me about important people or events in Korean American history (such as, LA Riots 1992, Harold Hongju Koh, etc).
- 10. My caretakers talked to me about aspects of Korean history I didn't learn in school (such as the Korean War).

Preparation for Bias

11. My caretakers told me my ethnicity is an important part of who I am.
12. My caretakers told me people might treat me badly due to my ethnicity.
13. My caretakers told me people might think I am smart due to my ethnicity.
14. My caretakers talked to me about discrimination based on my ethnicity.
15. My caretakers explained to me about something I saw on TV that showed poor treatment of Korean Americans.
16. My caretakers talked to me about unfair treatment due to my ethnicity.
17. My caretakers talked to me about fighting for equality for Korean Americans.
18. My caretakers told me that I must be better than White kids to get the same rewards.
19. My caretakers told me people might try to limit me because of my ethnicity.
20. My caretakers talked about the treatment of Koreans or Korean Americans with someone else when I could hear.
21. My caretakers had conversations about ethnic/racial differences in physical features.

Promotion of Mistrust

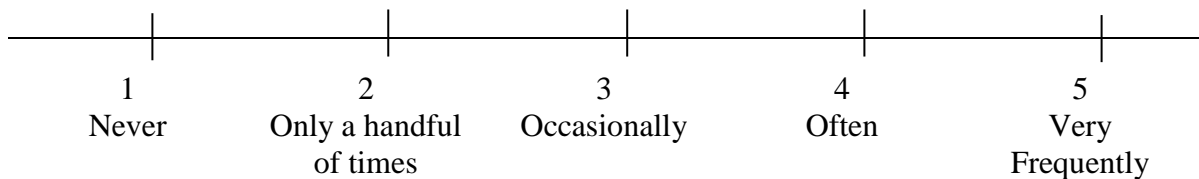
22. My caretakers did or said things to keep me from trusting White Americans.
23. My caretakers did or said things to encourage me to keep distance from White Americans.
24. My caretakers told me to keep distance from African Americans and/or Latino Americans.
25. My caretakers told me to distrust African Americans and/or Latino Americans.
26. My caretakers told me to distrust other Asian Americans.
27. My caretakers told me to keep distance from other Asian Americans.

Write the first names and the ethnicities of your three closest friends right now.

- a.
- b.
- c.

Please answer the following items with these friends in mind and the ethnicity that you identified at the beginning of the survey.

Answer the remaining statements using the following answer scale.



- a. My friends and I have discussed being Asian American.
- b. My friends and I have discussed being Korean American.
- c. My friends and I talked about my being Korean American as a combination of being Korean and White.

Cultural Socialization

1. My friends and I have talked about Korean history books and historical movies and dramas/shows.
2. My friends and I have talked about Korean storybooks, movies, and dramas/shows.
3. My friends and I have talked about Korean popular culture that we have seen on the Internet (such as, blogs, music videos, memes, etc).
4. My friends and I have attended Korean cultural events together.

5. My friends and I have done things to celebrate Korean history (such as Korea's Independence Day).
6. My friends and I have done things to celebrate Korean American history.
7. My friends and I have talked about traditional Korean clothing.
8. My friends and I have had conversations about popular Korean clothing or hairstyles.
9. My friends and I have talked about important people or events in Korean history (such as Korea's Independence Day, General Lee Soon Shin, King Sejong, etc).
10. My friends and I have talked about important people or events in Korean American history (such as, LA Riots 1992, Harold Hongju Koh, etc).
11. My friends and I have talked about aspects of Korean history we didn't learn in school (such as the Korean War).

Preparation for Bias

12. My friends and I have had conversations about my ethnicity as an important part of who I am.
13. My friends and I have talked about unfair treatment I may experience due to my ethnicity.
14. My friends and I have had conversations about people thinking I am smart due to my ethnicity.
15. My friends and I have had conversations about people trying to limit my success because of my ethnicity.
16. My friends and I have talked about something I saw on TV that showed poor treatment of people in my ethnic group.
17. My friends and I have talked about fighting for equality for my ethnic group.

18. My friends and I have talked about people treating me badly due to my ethnicity.
19. My friends and I have talked about how people in my ethnic group need to be better than White kids to get the same rewards.
20. My friends have talked about being Korean or Korean American with someone else when I could hear their conversation.
21. My friends and I have had conversations about ethnic/racial differences visible in physical features.

Promotion of Mistrust

22. My friends have done or said things to me to keep me from trusting White Americans.
23. My friends have done or said things to encourage me to keep distance from White Americans.
24. My friends have told me to keep distance from African Americans and/or Latino Americans.
25. My friends have told me to distrust African Americans and/or Latino Americans.
26. My friends have told me to distrust other Asian Americans.
27. My friends have told me to keep my distance from other Asian Americans.

Appendix B. Dissertation Study Questionnaire.

1. What is your age?
 - a. 18
 - b. 19
 - c. 20
 - d. 21
 - e. 22
 - f. 23
 - g. 24+

2. What is your gender?
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Other

3. Were you born in the U.S.?
 - a. Yes
 - i. Was your mother born in the U.S.?
 1. Yes
 2. no
 - ii. Was your father born in the U.S.?
 1. Yes
 2. no
 - b. no
 - i. how many years have you been living in the U.S.?

4. Who was your primary caretaker in elementary school?
 - a. Mom
 - b. Dad
 - c. Mom & Dad
 - d. Other adults, such as aunt, uncle, grandma, grandpa, etc
 - e. Sibling(s)

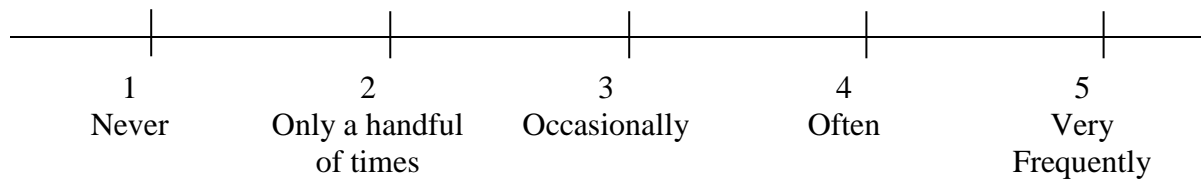
5. Are you a student of an institution of higher education, such as community college, college, and/or university?
 - a. Yes
 - b. no

Ethnic Identity Scale

Ethnicity refers to cultural traditions, beliefs, and behaviors that are passed down through generations. Some examples are Mexican, Cuban, Nicaraguan, Chinese, Taiwanese, Filipino, Jamaican, African American, Haitian, Italian, Irish, and German. When you are answering the following questions, we'd like you to think about what YOU consider your ethnicity to be. **Please write what you consider to be your ethnicity and refer to this ethnicity as you answer the following questions.**

What is your ethnicity?

Answer the following statements using the below answer scale



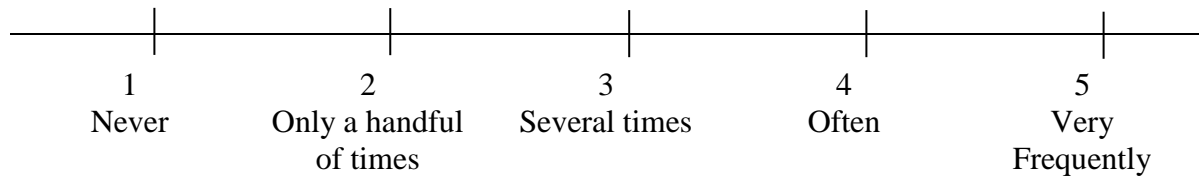
Thinking about your ethnicity-

1. I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me.
2. I participate in any activities that would teach me about my ethnicity.
3. My feelings about my ethnicity are mostly negative.
4. I experience things that reflect my ethnicity, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies.
5. I feel negatively about my ethnicity.
6. I am not happy with my ethnicity.
7. I learn about my ethnicity by doing things such as reading (books, magazines, newspapers), searching the internet, or keeping up with current events.
8. I understand how I felt about my ethnicity.
9. If I could choose, I would prefer to be of a different ethnicity.
10. I know what my ethnicity means to me.
11. I participate in activities that teach me about my ethnicity.

12. I dislike my ethnicity.

13. I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me.

Answer the following statements about growing up in your household with your caregivers using the below answer scale.



Race vs Ethnicity, Acculturation + Enculturation:

- a. My caretakers explained to me about what it meant to be Asian American.
- b. My caretakers explained to me about what it meant to be Korean American.
- c. My caretakers described being Korean American as a combination of being Korean and White.

Cultural Socialization- With regards to Korean and Korean American culture,

1. My caretakers read me or made me read Korean books or watch Korean movies or dramas/shows, and other things on the Internet (e.g., fiction, nonfiction, historical, political, cultural, etc).
2. My caretakers and I have attended Korean cultural celebrations and/or Korean historical events (such as Korea's Independence Day celebration).
3. My caretakers took me to get Korean traditional clothes and/or popular Korean clothes or hairstyles.
4. My caretakers emphasized speaking Korean as an important part of being our ethnicity.

5. My caretakers talked to me about important people or events in Korean history, particularly those I didn't learn in school (such as the Korean War, Korea's Independence Day, General Lee Soon Shin, King Sejong, etc).
6. My caretakers did things to celebrate Korean American history.
7. My caretakers talked to me about important people or events in Korean American history (such as, LA Riots 1992, Harold Hongju Koh, etc).

Preparation for Bias- Please think about how your ethnicity was talked about in your house.

8. My caretakers told me my ethnicity is an important part of who I am.
9. My caretakers told me people might think I am smart due to my ethnicity.
10. My caretakers talked to me about discrimination based on my ethnicity.
11. My caretakers explained to me about something I saw on TV that showed poor treatment of Korean and/or Korean Americans.
12. My caretakers told me that I must be better than White kids to get the same rewards.

Promotion of Mistrust- Please think about how other ethnic/racial groups were talked about in your house.

13. My caretakers have said and done things for me to distrust White Americans.
14. My caretakers have said and done things for me to distrust African Americans and/or Latino Americans.
15. My caretakers have said and done things for me to distrust other Asian Americans.

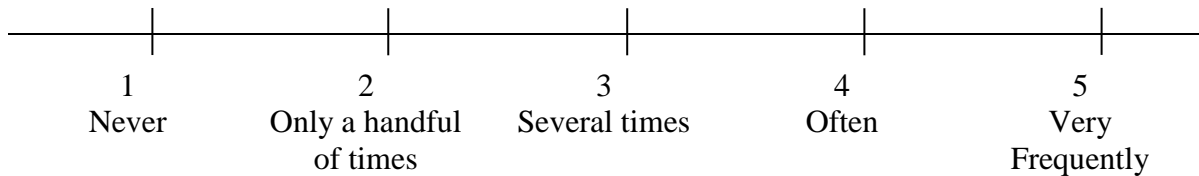
Write the first names and the ethnicities of your three closest friends below.

Friend's name #1
Friend's name #2
Friend's name #3

Friend's ethnicity
Friend's ethnicity
Friend's ethnicity

Please answer the following items with these friends in mind and the ethnicity that you identified at the beginning of the survey.

Answer the remaining statements about your interactions with your friends using the following answer scale.



- d. My friends and I have talked about being Asian American.
- e. My friends and I have talked about being Korean American.
- f. My friends and I talked about my being Korean American as a combination of being Korean and White.

Cultural Socialization- Please think about the conversations on Korean and Korean American culture you have had with your friends.

1. My friends and I have talked about Korean books, movies, tv shows, and/or other things we have seen on the Internet (e.g., fiction, nonfiction, historical, political, cultural, etc).
2. My friends and I have talked about important people or events in Korean history we didn't learn in school (such as the Korean War, Korea's Independence Day, General Lee Soon Shin, King Sejong, etc).

3. My friends and I have attended Korean historical events (such as Korea's Independence Day celebration) and/or Korean cultural celebrations.
4. My friends and I have talked about traditional Korean clothing and/or popular Korean clothing or hairstyles.
5. My friends and I talked about speaking Korean as an important part of being my ethnicity.
6. My friends and I have done things to celebrate Korean American history.
7. My friends and I have talked about important people or events in Korean American history (such as, LA Riots 1992, Harold Hongju Koh, etc).

Preparation for Bias- Please think about how your ethnicity was talked about with your friends.

8. My friends and I have had conversations about my ethnicity as an important part of who I am.
9. My friends and I have had conversations about people thinking I am smart due to my ethnicity.
10. My friends and I have talked about something I saw on TV that showed poor treatment of Koreans or Korean Americans.
11. My friends and I have talked about discrimination based on my ethnicity.
12. My friends and I have talked about how people in my ethnic group need to be better than White kids to get the same rewards.

Promotion of Mistrust- Please think about how other ethnic/racial groups were talked about with your friends.

13. My friends have said and done things for me to distrust White Americans.

14. My friends have said and done things for me to distrust African Americans and/or Latino Americans.

15. My friends have said and done things for me to distrust other Asian Americans.

Appendix C. Invitation Email

Subject: Please help graduate student research

First Invitation email:

Hello (*name of organization and name of contact*),

My name is Ann Kim. I am a graduate student at the University of California Santa Barbara. I am emailing you to ask that you and members of your organization fill out my survey investigating Korean American ethnic identity and experiences of ethnic socialization. The survey is fairly short and has taken other participants roughly XX minutes to complete. The survey will be available to complete till December 23, 2013. There will be a raffle, giving away five amazon.com gift cards, \$30 each, at the end of that time.

The survey is anonymous and secure (i.e., no IP addresses will be saved). I hope you can help me, and please feel free to email me if you have any questions.

Thank you in advance,

Ann Kim

Reminder email:

Hello (*name of organization and name of contact*),

My name is Ann Kim. I emailed a couple weeks ago asking you to participate in my dissertation research. If you and members of your organization have already participated, thank you again for your participation. If you have not yet participated, I hope you can do so since the survey will be closed in a couple of weeks. I would appreciate it if you could send out a reminder to your members as well. Don't forget to submit your email address if you want to be entered into the raffle at the end!

Thank you,

Ann Kim

Appendix D.*Factor Structure of Parent Ethnic Socialization for Final Model*

		Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	p
PSOCI	BY				
	PCULT1	0.761	0.030	25.582	< .001
	PCULT2	0.707	0.034	20.576	< .001
	PCULT3	0.694	0.036	19.513	< .001
	PCULT4	0.721	0.033	21.781	< .001
	PCULT5	0.775	0.029	26.344	< .001
	PCULT6	0.402	0.052	7.678	< .001
	PCULT7	0.387	0.053	7.250	< .001
PPRPB	BY				
	PPRPB1	0.732	0.035	20.824	< .001
	PPRPB2	0.842	0.031	27.087	< .001
	PPRPB3	0.590	0.044	13.422	< .001
	PPRPB4	0.653	0.040	16.282	< .001
PPROM	BY				
	PPROMW	0.751	0.032	23.363	< .001
	PPROMBL	0.821	0.030	27.551	< .001
	PPROMAA	0.823	0.030	27.375	< .001

Appendix E.*Factor Structure of Friend Ethnic Socialization for Final Model*

		Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	p
FSOCI	BY				
	FCULT1	0.561	0.047	11.927	< .001
	FCULT2	0.779	0.030	25.957	< .001
	FCULT3	0.718	0.034	21.023	< .001
	FCULT4	0.631	0.042	15.019	< .001
	FCULT5	0.681	0.039	17.643	< .001
	FCULT6	0.718	0.035	20.502	< .001
	FCULT7	0.621	0.043	14.571	< .001
FPRPB	BY				
	FPRPB1	0.706	0.035	20.141	< .001
	FPRPB2	0.783	0.029	26.669	< .001
	FPRPB3	0.864	0.024	35.412	< .001
	FPRPB4	0.711	0.034	20.605	< .001
FFROM	BY				
	FFROMW	0.780	0.027	28.612	< .001
	FFROMBL	0.857	0.023	37.060	< .001
	FFROMAA	0.911	0.021	44.093	< .001

Appendix F.*Factor Structure of Ethnic Identity for Final Model*

		Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	<i>p</i>
EXPLO	BY				
	EXPL1	0.792	0.030	26.075	< .001
	EXPL3	0.608	0.043	14.057	< .001
	EXPL4	0.870	0.029	30.106	< .001
RESOL	BY				
	RESO1	0.783	0.027	29.527	< .001
	RESO2	0.834	0.021	38.998	< .001
	RESO3	0.924	0.013	70.176	< .001
	RESO4	0.914	0.014	65.653	< .001
AFFR	BY				
	AFF1R	0.787	0.031	25.383	< .001
	AFF2R	0.604	0.044	13.812	< .001
	AFF3R	0.905	0.026	34.830	< .001
	AFF4R	0.497	0.050	9.952	< .001