

*Familistic values in recent immigrant families are linked to distinctive patterns of communication between adolescents and their fathers, mothers, and peers.*

## Values and Communication of Chinese, Filipino, European, Mexican, and Vietnamese American Adolescents with Their Families and Friends

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The work reported here was made possible by grants from the Faculty Senate of the University of California at Santa Cruz. The support of the National Center for Research in Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning and the Bilingual Research Group at the University of California at Santa Cruz is gratefully acknowledged. We appreciate the contributions of Carolyn Cherry, Jill Denner, Shantel Forstall, Nancy Fu, Yasmeen Husain, Cynthia Miranda, Michael Moon, Christina Poulou, Jose Vergara, and Emily Wu to the research design and data collection; of Tom Tutco, Randy Craig, and Edward Lopez to data collection; of David Cooper and Xavier Tapias to data analysis; and of Margarita Azmitia, Robert Cooper, Per Gjerde, and Cam Leaper to conceptual development. Finally, we thank the research participants for their reflections and help throughout this work.

American psychologists have often defined maturity in terms of individualistic qualities such as autonomy, independence, and initiative, and consequently they have defined well-functioning families as preparing children for these ideals. Yet anthropological and sociological writings emphasize that many cultural traditions, including Asian, Latino, African, and Eastern and Southern European, accord a central role to familism-norms of collective support, allegiance, and obligation. In such traditions, good children show support, respect, and reticence in the family, especially toward their fathers. Achievement or failure brings pride or shame to the family as a whole rather than signifying autonomy or independence of an individual family member. This paper addresses familistic values among adolescents from a range of cultural traditions and describes how individuality and connectedness are expressed within adolescents' family and peer relationships when cultural values emphasize the familistic qualities of respect and cohesion.

The theoretical perspective of this work focuses on the interplay between individuality and connectedness in the ongoing mutual regulation involved in relationships. Rather than framing individualism and collectivism as mutually exclusive cultural characteristics, the core of our model is the proposition that central to all relationships is the transactive interplay of individuality and connectedness, which functions as an important mechanism for both individual and relational development (Cooper, Grotevant, and Condon, 1983; Grotevant and Cooper, 1986). Individuality refers to processes that reflect the distinctiveness of the self. In language it is seen in assertions, disclosures, and disagreements with others. Connectedness involves processes that link the self to others, seen in acknowledgment of, respect for, and responsiveness to others. Our analyses of the conversations of families of European American adolescents revealed that family communication reflecting the interplay of both individually and connectedness was associated with adolescents' identity development and role-taking skill (Cooper, Grotevant, and Condon, 1983; Grotevant and Cooper, 1986). A second proposition of the model, which has come to be known as the continuity hypothesis, is that children's and adolescents' experiences in family relationships regarding the interplay of individuality and connectedness carry over to attitudes, expectations, and skills beyond the family to relationships with peers. Among European American adolescents we observed different styles of communication with parents and peers, yet individual differences among adolescents in the interplay of individuality and connectedness with parents were related to such individual differences with peers (Cooper and Cooper, 1992).

Our more recent work with the individuality and connectedness model is consistent with the increasing interest in developmental theory in grounding the frame of reference in cultural terms, by

moving away from considering children and adolescents in terms of static demographic categories and global ethnic group "characteristics" toward viewing individuals, families, and cultures as developing through time (Skolnick, Baumrind, and Bronson, 1990). We have been especially interested in the transaction of individuality and connectedness within family relationships when cultural traditions emphasize norms of respect and cohesion, and in how these traditions are powerful yet dynamic, changing in the process of immigration, acculturation, and economic mobility. Our approach has been extensively informed by current ecocultural theories (Weisner, Gallimore, and Jordan, 1988), which propose multidimensional models of the ecocultural niches of children and their relationships. Such models specify the goals and values of socialization; key personnel involved in socialization; the scripts or patterns of communication, both verbal and nonverbal, and features of activity settings in which important cultural information is transmitted. We have found the analysis of these features helpful in "unpacking" accounts of the role of culture in development. This paper focuses particularly on the first three of these dimensions. Other reports focus on the activity settings of school and household work (for example, Azmitia, Cooper, and Garcia, 1992; Cooper and others, in press; Cooper, Jackson, and Azmitia, in press).

### Familistic Values

Because familistic values have been defined in many ways, they have been measured by questions tapping various features, including shared family goals, common property, mutual support, and the desire to perpetuate the family (Bardis, 1959). Familistic values have also been considered adaptive resources for ethnic families of color, especially under conditions of racism, immigration, or poverty (Harrison and others, 1990). Comparative studies have reported that Mexican Americans, Central Americans, and Cuban Americans have endorsed norms of familial obligation, family support, and use of the family as reference group, with family support showing the greatest stability across generations after immigration to the United States (Sabogal and others, 1987). Similar cultural values are evident in reports of traditional Chinese culture and Confucian values, which emphasize both family harmony, including social etiquette and face-saving communication among family members, and respect for family hierarchy, marked by conformity and obedience to those in authority (Hong, 1989; White and Chan, 1983). These values have been found to persist even as Chinese immigrants have experienced declining patrilineal kinship, scattering of extended families, and increased reliance on fictive kinship (Wong, 1985). Vietnamese ancestral worship and patrilineal traditions have been described in similar terms. Although disproportionately fewer elderly Vietnamese are with their families in the United States, kinship patterns appear stable among recent immigrants, and those who have been able to retain kinship are considered to be making better adjustments than those without such ties (Dunning, 1986; Haines, 1988; Masuda, Lin, and Tazuma, 1980). As with other cultural groups, Filipino traditions of familistic values, including norms of mutual support and hierarchical patterns of authority, have been described as pervasive yet undergoing changes among recent immigrants to the United States (Santos, 1983).

### Adolescents' Communication with Families and Peers

Familistic values emphasizing mutual support and the authority of parents especially fathers are reflected in distinctive patterns of communicating individuality and connectedness. For example, decisions that are considered to lie within adolescents' personal jurisdiction of "identity" in European American middle-class families, such as those regarding educational career, dating, and marital choices, may be made by the head of the household recently immigrated families (Santos, 1983). Fathers' relationships with their adolescents may thus be more hierarchical, resulting in low levels of consultation and negotiation with other family members. Accounts of Chinese and Anglo-Chinese parents valuing both conformity and self-direction in their children (Lin and Fu, 1990) are consistent with cultural traditions emphasizing harmony and tact, in which people are expected to sense one another's needs without explicit communication and to convey their own feelings with indirectness and subtlety.

Like familistic values, however, traditional communication patterns show signs of change. Economic necessity may effect a reorganization of family living patterns to accommodate shifting patterns of parental employment. For example, Davis and Chavez (1985) have described role reversals within Hispanic families in which unemployed men assume greater responsibility for household maintenance while their wives work outside the home. In other cases, changing marital roles may reflect adoption of middle-class democratic and egalitarian values (Gibbs, 1989),

The present study was designed to assess the role of ecocultural dimensions in adolescents' relationships with families-including fathers, mothers, and siblings-as well as with peers, by investigating three questions. First, what distinctive cultural patterns occur in familistic values among adolescents and their fathers and mothers, including patterns of intergenerational continuity and change? We investigated whether adolescents from cultural groups with more recent immigration experiences might be more likely to endorse familistic values than would European American adolescents, and also whether adolescents would be more likely to attribute familistic values to their parents than to themselves.

Second, we investigated what distinctive cultural patterns might occur in scripts or patterns of communication reflecting individuality and connectedness between adolescents and their families and peers. On the basis of earlier research, we predicted higher levels of expressions of individuality with parents among European descent adolescents than among those for whom cultural norms of respect might make the expression of assertions, disagreements, and disclosures less common. We also investigated the degree to which hierarchical patterns of decision making are evident in parent-adolescent communication.

Third, Within each cultural group, we investigated whether adolescents' expressions of individuality and connectedness with their fathers, mothers, and siblings may be differentially related to communication with their friends on a range of practical and personal topics typical of adolescents' activities and interests. On the basis of the continuity model, we predicted that when norms of respect render adolescents' relations with parents more formal, siblings may become more important links to adolescents' peer relationships across activity settings. We also predicted that continuity rather than compensation would be reflected in the associations between family and peer communication patterns (Cooper and Cooper, 1992).

In this study we made three important methodological changes from our earlier observational work on adolescents' family and peer discourse (Cooper and Cooper, 1992; Cooper, Grotevant, and Condon, 1983; Grotevant and Cooper, 1986). First, since we wanted to consider variability within each group, we used methods that would allow a larger sample than those typical of labor-intensive discourse studies. Second, because we sought to understand the expression of individuality and connectedness in families where norms of respect, particularly toward fathers, might make overt expressions of individuality rare, we chose self-report rather than observational methods to explore what does not happen as well as what does. Finally, throughout our work, we consulted focus groups composed of adolescents from each cultural group studied to make our instrument development, data analysis, and interpretations consistent with (their experiences in family and peer relationships).

## Method

**Research Participants.** The college students in our northern California sample identified themselves in terms of over thirty ethnic categories. This paper concerns the 393 adolescents who described themselves as of Mexican (N = 96), Vietnamese (N = 38), Filipino (N = 56), Chinese (N = 58), and European descent (N = 145) in response to questions about the ethnicity and country of origin for themselves and each family member. Adolescents in each group were of comparable ages (M = 19.9 years). The remaining adolescents in the sample included approximately 10 percent multiple-heritage youth as well as others in number too small for the analyses conducted for this paper. A high percentage of the adolescents in the sample were themselves immigrants, with 27

percent of Mexican, 52 percent of Chinese, 50 percent of Filipino, 84 percent of Vietnamese, and 5 percent of European descent adolescents being first-generation immigrants. Large proportions of the remaining students in the first four groups were children of immigrants. According to adolescents' reports, parents of Mexican descent adolescents had lower levels of formal education than parents in other groups, although unemployment appeared to be highest among parents of Vietnamese adolescents.

Measures. Adolescents rated the degree to which they perceived a set of familistic values to be held by themselves, their mothers, their fathers, and their maternal and paternal grandparents. This list, adapted from those used in studies of Hispanic and Asian acculturation, assesses the extent to which the family is seen as a source of support and obligation and as a reference group for decision making. Sample items include the following (Sabogal and others, 1987): "Family members should make sacrifices to guarantee a good education for their children." "Older siblings should help directly support other family members economically" "Much of what a son or daughter does in life should be done to please parents." "Families should consult close relatives, such as uncles and aunts, concerning what they see as important decisions."

Adolescents also characterized their expressions of individuality and connectedness with their mothers, fathers, siblings, same-gender friends, and opposite-gender friends by rating descriptive statements such as: "When I disagree with this person I try to negotiate." "This person communicates openly with me about his/her feelings." "I discuss my problems with this person." Finally, they rated how comfortable they felt discussing a number of topics, including how well they were doing in school; career goals; sexuality, dating, and marriage-, ethnicity and culture-, moral values; and alcohol and drugs. For the purposes of this paper, only illustrative patterns are presented-, a more extensive presentation of findings will appear in a forthcoming volume (Cooper, in press).

## Results and Discussion

Familistic Values. Adolescents' responses to questions about familistic values demonstrate the multidimensional nature of this construct. For example, on the average, adolescents from all five cultural groups strongly endorsed the statement "Family members should make sacrifices to guarantee a good education for their children," with no mean differences among groups ( $M = 3.60$  [on 4-point scale, with 1 = disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = somewhat agree, and 4 = agree],  $SD = 0.64$ ,  $F[4,322] = 1.86$ , n.s.). Thus at one level of analysis, adolescents from all five groups could be considered to hold familistic values. However, adolescents from these groups differed in their endorsement of a statement expressing norms of mutual support among siblings: "Older siblings should help directly support other family members economically" Chinese, Filipino, Mexican, and Vietnamese American adolescents endorsed this statement more strongly than did European American adolescents ( $F[4,313] = 17.95$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Adolescents of Filipino and Mexican descent reported endorsing this value less than their parents, whereas adolescents of Vietnamese and Chinese descent reported sharing parents' strong endorsement and European Americans reported sharing parents' weak endorsement of this value.

The use of the family as a reference group in decision making was tapped by statements such as "Much of what a son or daughter does in life should be done to please the parents." Chinese, Filipino, Mexican, and Vietnamese descent adolescents reported that they and their parents endorsed this value more than did European descent adolescents ( $F[4,307] = 11.35$ ,  $p < .001$ ) but across the five cultural groups significant main effects for generation were also found, with adolescents reporting their parents endorsing this more strongly than they did ( $F[2,584] = 79.50$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

A similar pattern of differences among cultural groups as well as between generations was found for a related item: "The family should consult close relatives such as uncles and aunts concerning what they see as important decisions." Chinese, Filipino, and Vietnamese descent students endorsed

this value significantly more than both Mexican and European descent student ( $F[4,304]= 4.68, p < .001$ ), but adolescents in all groups viewed their parent as holding this value significantly more strongly than they did. No significant differences were found in adolescents' views of their fathers' versus mother: expectations or between male and female adolescents.

Thus Mexican, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Filipino descent adolescents in our sample tended to endorse familistic values regarding mutual support among siblings as well as turning to parents and other close relatives in making important decisions. These findings document the strength of these values among adolescents in our sample, many of whom represented either the first or the second generation in the United States, yet we also found significant intergenerational differences. These findings suggest both continuity and change in familistic values in the groups sampled.

**Communication with Families and Peers.** A key finding regarding adolescents' descriptions of their communication was that within each cultural group, adolescents reported more formal communication with their fathers and more open communication of individuality and more negotiation with their mothers, siblings, and friends. For example, in response to the statements "This person communicates openly with me about his/her feelings" and "I discuss my problems with this person," adolescents in each of the five cultural groups reported lower agreement with respect to their fathers than to their mother, siblings, or friends ( $F[4,280] = 38.42, p < .0001$ , and  $F[4,274] = 33.23, p .001$ , respectively) (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). With regard to hierarchic patterns of communication, adolescents were most likely to agree that their fathers, compared with other family members or friends, "make most of the decisions in our relationship" ( $F[4,289] = 54.252, p < .0001$ ) (see Figure 5.3). Chinese, Filipino, and Vietnamese descent adolescents endorsed this description of their relationships with their fathers significantly more than did adolescents of Mexican and European descent.

The importance of context in understanding adolescents' communication with family and peers can be seen in their rating of how comfortable they felt talking with their fathers, mothers, siblings, and same- and opposite-gender friends on two contrasting topics: sexuality, dating, and marriage, and how they were doing in school. For these topics, they rated statements of the form "I feel comfortable talking about X with this person," with 1 = disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = somewhat agree, and 4 = agree. As shown in Table 5.1, effects of relationship, cultural group, and interactions were found for both topics.

On the topic of sexuality, dating, and marriage, adolescents in all five cultural groups reported what we will term a "gradient of comfort," feeling the least comfort with fathers and progressively more with mothers, siblings, and friends. Chinese and Vietnamese American students reported feeling less comfort than Filipino and Mexican American students, who in turn felt less comfort than European American students. In absolute terms, Filipino, Mexican and European American students, on the average, reported feeling comfortable discussing sexuality, dating, and marriage with their mothers, whereas Chinese and Vietnamese American students reported feeling somewhat uncomfortable.

On the topic of how well they were doing in school, adolescents in all groups reported a similar comfort gradient, with progressively greater levels of comfort from fathers to mothers and siblings to friends. On the average, adolescents in all groups reported feeling comfortable talking with their fathers.

It is striking that adolescents in some cultural groups expressed high levels of familistic values concerning support and reliance on the advice of family members, but felt some discomfort in actually discussing some topics. In follow-up focus groups held separately with adolescents from each cultural group, students confirmed their experience of holding familistic values and turning to their families for advice, together with holding formal relationships with fathers. They elaborated that they might discuss school with their fathers, but that the salience of their fathers' authority might

lead them not to disclose sensitive facts such as having changed their undergraduate major from premed to humanities or social science. These remarks suggest that issues of reasoning, judgment, and negotiation of personal and parental jurisdiction continue to be salient in late adolescence (Yau and Smetana, in press). Some students remarked that they felt they might convey such information to their fathers through their mothers, siblings, or cousins (see Youniss and Smollar, 1985). This view appeared more common among immigrant youth, several of whom described their own roles as that of "the third parent."

**Links Between Adolescents' Communication with Family and Peers.** Our findings provide some support for the continuity model and for the hypothesis that when norms of respect render adolescents' relationships with parents more formal, siblings may function as important links to adolescent peer relationships. As shown in Figure 5.4, on the topic of sexuality, dating and marriage—for which adolescents' communication with parents, especially fathers, was less open—significant correlations were found between adolescents' comfort in communicating with their siblings and friends among Filipino, Mexican, and European descent adolescents. In contrast, as shown; Figure 5.5, on the topic of how well they were doing in school, adolescent ratings of comfort in talking with friends were associated with ratings of siblings and mothers for Filipino, Mexican, European, and Vietnamese descent adolescents and with ratings of fathers for Filipino, Mexican, and European descent adolescents.

These findings suggest that linkages between family and peer relationships may differ across cultural groups as well as across topics or activity setting. For example, in talking about school, Mexican American adolescents' views of their fathers, mothers, and siblings were all associated with their views of friends, whereas Chinese American adolescents' ratings reflected no significant associations between adolescents' views of family and peers.

## Conclusions and Next Steps

These findings regarding values and communication in adolescents' relationships with family and peers appear to challenge definitions of adolescent maturity solely in terms of autonomy. They also enrich the model of individuality and connectedness by clarifying the significance of distinctive persons in adolescents' lives, including fathers, mothers, and siblings; values regarding mutual family support and guidance, and patterns of communication in the context of discussing particular topics. In the present study, adolescents from Chinese, Filipino, Mexican, and Vietnamese families saw themselves and their parents as holding norms of reliance on family members for both support and guidance in decision making. Patterns of communication generally appeared more formal with fathers than with mothers in all cultural groups, with hierarchical patterns especially evident within Asian American families. Our analyses of the association between family and peer communication patterns provide some support for the continuity model and the hypothesis that when norms of respect render adolescents' relations with parents more formal, siblings may become more important in contributing to adolescents' peer relational skills. However, they also indicate that linkages between families and peers may vary in different cultural groups as well as domains.

In our focus group discussions, adolescents from several cultural groups described how their fathers' expectations and opinions were often conveyed to them by their mothers, and how their mothers' expectations were often conveyed to them by siblings or cousins. Hence in our current work we are investigating the contributions of fathers and other family members to adolescent maturity in ways that go beyond dyadic relationships and direct talk. In a study of Mexican American and European American children and adolescents, interviews of fathers and mothers in their homes in their native languages have revealed the indirect ways in which both parents convey their values and contribute to the guidance of their children, especially when domains of expertise differ between generations (Azmitia, Cooper, and Garcia, 1992). In a study of Japanese, Japanese American, and European American adolescents, conducted in collaboration with our Japanese colleagues Hiroshi Azuma, Keiko Kashiwagi, Hiroshi Shimizu, and Otoshi Suzuki, we are

investigating how values and expectations are conveyed and we are probing the indirect pathways of -guidance and negotiation of both fathers and mothers (Gjerde and Cooper, 1992). We are also investigating "bridges and buffers" in the patterns of linkages among families, peers, school, and work that reflect a range of continuities and discontinuities, rather than assuming that continuities or "matches" between developmental contexts are necessarily positive (Azmitia, Cooper, and Garcia, 1991; Cooper, Jackson, and Azmitia, in press).

### Useful Strategies for Studying Culture and Development

We concluded by noting four ways in which conceptions of culture and relationships have enriched our research Strategies. First, we wish to underscore the importance of collaboration among colleagues, students, and research participants with a range of cultural experiences. This is especially important given the danger of using middle-class European American experiences as models of universal patterns of development, proceeding to use research constructs and instruments derived from one culture with members of another culture, and interpreting between-culture differences as deficits compared with middle-class European American experience. A useful framework for this progressive collaboration is the "parallel research" design described by Sue and Sue (1987). In this approach, investigators first identify potentially universal processes, such as those involved in family guidance, negotiation, and conflict resolution as adolescents come to maturity (Cooper, in press). Investigators then develop ways to measure those processes that are appropriate for each culture studied and then identify both similarities and differences across cultural groups in terms of how these processes contribute to adolescent development.

Second, taking a developmental view of individuals, relationships, and cultures as dynamic rather than static and monolithic is reflected in the method of assessing adolescents' cultural or ethnic identity with open-ended questions rather than requiring them to check one of a set of predetermined self-descriptions. When Stephan (1992) used such open-ended questions, she found multiple-heritage identities among adolescents within many ethnic "groups," and she also found situational variation in the self-descriptions they used when completing official forms; describing how they saw themselves with their families, classmates, and friends; and naming the group -with whom they identified most closely. In the present study, open-ended response formats also revealed evidence of these multiple-heritage and situational patterns of ethnic identity. We found that our sample included about 10 percent multiple-heritage youth, and that a number of adolescents described both their parents as Chinese and reported speaking Mandarin with them yet listed their own ethnicity as Vietnamese, apparently reflecting their experiences as refugees. Similar issues emerge with regard to describing family composition. Students asked us: "What do I put under mother and father if I was raised by my grandmother and never knew my mother or father?" "My aunt is like a sister to me-are you going to ask about her?" "What if I'm like the third parent in my family?" These examples illustrate how ethnicity and family are culturally and socially constructed meanings, and how we might adapt our research methods to enrich our understanding of them (see Cooper, Jackson, and Azmitia, in press, for further discussion of these issues).

Third, rather than pursuing idealized representative samples, it may be more useful to provide "ballpark" descriptions of parameters of samples linked to key ecocultural dimensions, such as communities of origin, generation and goals of immigration, family structure and membership, and languages spoken (Schofield and Anderson, 1989). Finally, self-report and observational methodologies have each made important contributions to cultural research on development. Open-ended interviews with individuals and with focus groups are critical for overcoming ethnocentrism and the inevitable limitations of any one investigator's cultural experiences; survey methods are critical for assessing generalizability across diverse populations, and observational work, including discourse analyses, provides insight about transactive relational patterns that individuals may be unaware of and hence unable to report.

In closing, we note that our findings have stimulated us to reconsider views of parents and adolescents as progressively renegotiating asymmetrical patterns of parent-child regulation toward peerlike mutuality. Such accounts may be better descriptions of European American families than of recent immigrants whose traditions sustain more hierarchical patterns, but we may benefit from examining more closely how individuality and connectedness are negotiated across generations in any cultural group. Even accounts of European American fathers suggest challenges in this process. For example, the "bridge hypothesis" of Mannie and Tomasello is based on Gleason's (1975, p. 293) proposal that, during language acquisition, "fathers are not as well tuned in to their children as mothers are in the traditional family situation.... Then are probably serious and far-reaching good effects that result.... Children have to learn to talk to their fathers and other strangers.... (They) try harder I( make themselves both heard and understood. In this way, fathers can be seen as a bridge to the outside world, leading the child to change her or his language in order to be understood" (cited in Mannie and Tomasello, 1987, p. 24).

A different sort of fathers' bridging was described in a focus group held recently in Japan, when a college student told our colleagues how their father wanted her to work at his company so he could see her more often. Hence we extend the remarks of Collins and Russell (1991) by observing that communicative challenges may exist between adolescents and their families and friends from a range of cultural groups, but understanding variability within and between groups in how such challenges are met will help us map key resources for adolescents' coming to maturity

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Figure 5.3. Mean Ratings by Adolescents of the Statement "This Person Makes Most of the Decisions in Our Relationship" for Family Members and Friends

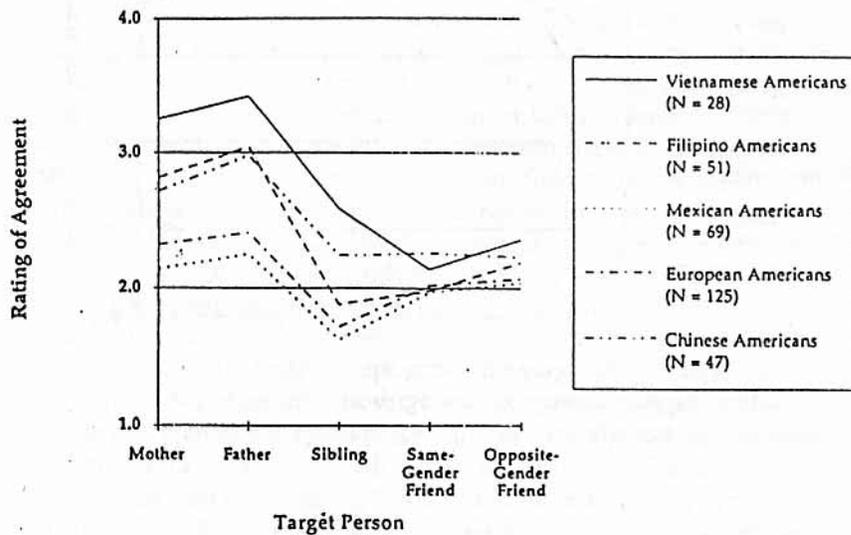


Figure 5.4. Correlations Between Adolescents' Comfort in Talking About Sexuality, Dating, and Marriage with Family Members and with Friends

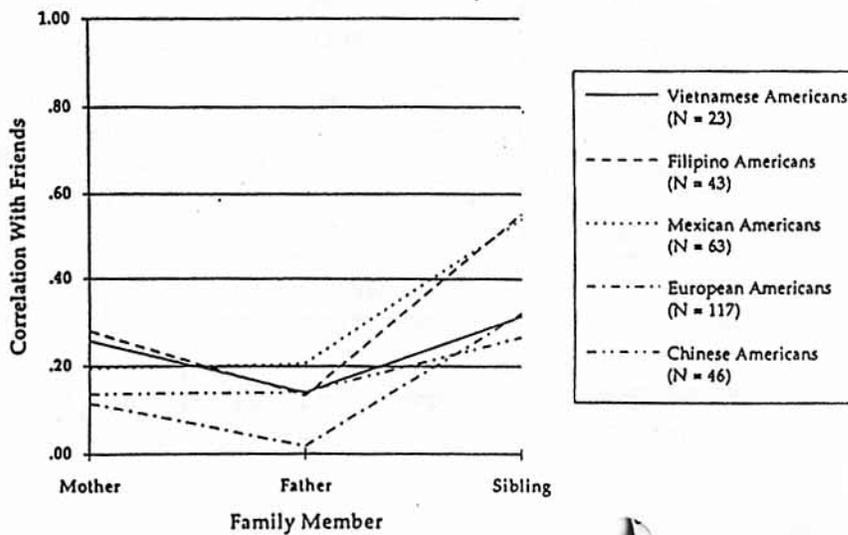


Figure 5.5. Correlations Between Adolescents' Comfort in Talking About How Well They Are Doing in School with Family Members and with Friends

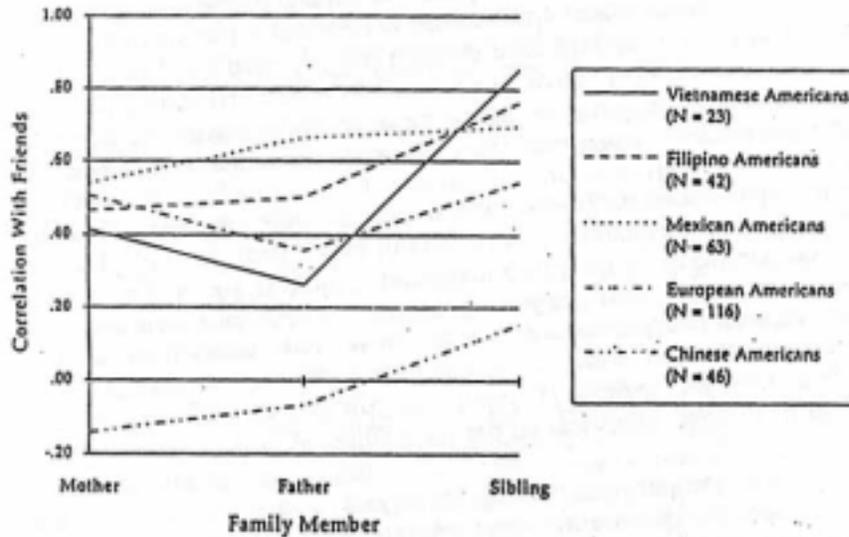


Table 5.1. Adolescents' Comfort Levels When Talking with Family Members and Friends

*"I feel comfortable talking about sexuality, dating, and marriage with this person."*

Target Person	Vietnamese Americans (N = 24)	Filipino Americans (N = 42)	Mexican Americans (N = 63)	European Americans (N = 116)	Chinese Americans (N = 47)	Overall Mean (N = 292)
Father	1.58	1.93	1.86	2.26	1.70	1.97 (a)
Mother	1.88	2.12	2.52	2.71	1.98	2.44 (b)
Sibling	2.92	2.74	2.76	2.99	2.51	2.82 (c)
Same-gender friend	3.29	3.62	3.43	3.67	3.38	3.53 (d)
Opposite-gender friend	2.96	3.64	3.44	3.57	3.36	3.47 (d)
Overall means	2.53 (e)	2.79 (e,f)	2.80 (e,f)	3.06 (f)	2.59 (e)	

*"I feel comfortable talking about how well I'm doing in school with this person."*

Target Person	Vietnamese Americans (N = 24)	Filipino Americans (N = 42)	Mexican Americans (N = 63)	European Americans (N = 116)	Chinese Americans (N = 47)	Overall Mean (N = 292)
Father	2.54	2.67	3.00	3.26	2.70	2.97 (a)
Mother	2.79	3.02	3.22	3.41	2.85	3.17 (b)
Sibling	3.08	3.12	3.18	3.30	3.30	3.23 (b)
Same-gender friend	3.13	3.17	3.40	3.55	3.38	3.40 (c)
Opposite-gender friend	3.13	3.31	3.41	3.56	3.49	3.44 (c)
Overall means	2.93 (e)	3.06 (e,f)	3.24 (e,f)	3.41 (f)	3.14 (e,f)	

Note: Rows and columns labeled with different letters differ at the .05 level based on Newman-Keuls post-hoc tests.