

ASIAN AMERICANS: THE MEDIATING EFFECTS OF FAMILY ON THE
LONGITUDINAL IMPACT OF DISCRIMINATION ON SELF-ESTEEM AND WELLBEING

by

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B.A., University of Texas - Austin, 2011
M.S., Texas Tech University, 2013

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Family Studies and Human Services
College of Human Ecology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

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Abstract

The model minority stereotype portrays Asian Americans as resilient, educationally and financially successful, and family-focused, while it downplays the realities of discrimination and its effects on self-esteem. Research suggests that gender roles and immigration experiences are contributing factors to why Asian American women, especially second-generation immigrants, experience greater stress than women of other ethnic groups and Asian American men in general. Considering most Asian Americans are of East and Southeast Asian heritages influenced by Confucian family values and gender roles, this study examined how these values mediated the associated from discrimination to self-esteem during adolescence, and to educational and financial achievement (wellbeing) during adulthood for second-generation immigrants. Using data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (N = 554), results from a partially constrained group-comparison model demonstrated that Confucian values of familism and family cohesion were factors that significantly predicted adolescent self-esteem and adult educational achievement. Men's level of familism endorsement was also uniquely related to experiences with discrimination. Clinical implications and further research directions are discussed.

Keywords: Asian Americans, second-generation immigrant, Confucian family values, self-esteem

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Approved by:

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Dedication

To my most beloved parents, who taught me to care deeply, think critically, give kindly, love thoughtfully, and live bravely.

Preface

The following is a list of manuscripts I have published during my time in the doctoral program. I have three additional manuscripts in progress.

Lasley, C. Y., & Durtschi, J. (2015). The roles of dominance, jealousy, and violent socialization in Chinese dating abuse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1177/0886260515588525

Lasley, C. (2014). Group role-plays and the immigrant experience. In R. Bean, S. Davis, & M. P. Davey (Eds.), *Clinical supervision activities for increasing competence and self-awareness* (pp. 225-232). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The label of “model minority” imposed upon Asian Americans has cast a shimmering veil over their experiences, portraying them as resilient, hard-working, well-educated, financially stable, and family-focused while downplaying the realities and experiences of discrimination, trauma, and poverty (Yee, Debaryshe, Yuen, Kim, & McCubin, 2009). This stereotype imposed by mainstream society during the 1960’s civil rights movement to “[politically] and [socially] hammer against other disadvantaged groups” (Zia, 2000, p. 46) can lead to the underestimation of the needs of Asian Americans— who comprise 4.8% of the U.S. population (14.7 million people) and of which 75% are from East and Southeast Asia— and the reduction of societal attention and social services (Sue, Cheng, Saad, & Chu, 2012). The projected growth of Asian Americans to 9.2% of the U.S. population (more than 40.6 million people) by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012) and the call for more scholastic attention to Asian Americans (Sue et al., 2012) who have a 17.3% lifetime prevalence of mental illness (Takeuchi et al., 2007) makes it imperative that we understand their challenges.

Challenges faced by Asian Americans may differ by gender and immigration differences (Sue et al., 2012). For instance, Asian women have been reported to have higher risks for suicide than women of other ethnic groups of the same age category (Hahm, Ozonoff, Guamon, & Sue, 2010; Yang & WonPat-Borja, 2007) and to have higher risks for depression than Asian men (Yang & WonPat-Borja, 2007). Further, second-generation immigrant— born and raised in the U.S. with at least one first-generation parent or foreign-born and arrived in the U.S. prior to age four (Zhou, 1999) — Asian women have higher reported rates of suicidal ideation and suicide plans than second-generation immigrant Asian men and first-generation immigrant— foreign born and arrive in the U.S. at age 13 or over (Zhou, 1999) — Asian men and women (Duldulao,

Takeuchi, & Hong, 2009). These findings together suggest that Asian American women, especially those who are second-generation immigrants, have greater challenges than Asian American men in general.

Scholars have speculated that unlike Asian American men, Asian American women's double minority status exposes them to both racial and gender discrimination (Okazaki, 1998). Discrimination in turn negatively impacts self-esteem (Barry & Grilo, 2003) that is important for building resilience (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). A resilient Asian American is one who has achieved educational and financial success to better provide for their families—the reason for migration to the U.S. (Chan, 1991; Zia, 2000) and a symbol of personal and social wellbeing. For East and Southeast Asian Americans who embrace Confucian values of filial piety (i.e., duty of respect and obedience, family obligation, loyalty, support, and harmony) (Toyokawa & Toyokawa, 2013), it would be important to examine the integral role of family values in the relationship between discrimination and self-esteem and its subsequent impact on wellbeing. Confucianism is a sociopolitical philosophy originating from the teachings of Confucius (558-479 Before Common Era [BCE]) that posits the family as the fundamental unit of society, the unity (familism) and harmony (family cohesion) of which is cultivated through the fulfillment of gendered filial roles (Park & Chesla, 2007). A clearer understanding of familism, family cohesion, and gender as they relate to discriminatory experiences, self-esteem, and wellbeing can help scholars and clinicians better address the needs of Asian Americans and contribute to the deconstruction of the model minority stereotype.

Purpose of Study

This study examines gender and being second-generation immigrant by examining how discrimination impacts self-esteem and wellbeing via its influence on the value of familism and

family cohesion among second-generation immigrant Asian Americans. This study contributes to research about Asian Americans in three ways. First, it directly compares the experiences of women and men using a group-comparison path analysis rather than holding gender as a control variable for a single-sample path analysis, providing more robust statistical results. Second, it makes use of longitudinal data (from adolescence to adulthood) so that the long-term effects of discrimination on wellbeing via its influence on Confucian family values and self-esteem can be predictive. Third, it helps illuminate factors that may contribute to a component of the Asian American experience less understood—how gender and being second-generation immigrant associate with self-esteem and wellbeing.

An immigration generation that is not included in this study is the 1.5 generation—foreign-born and arrived in the U.S. between ages five and 12 (Zhou, 1999). This generation has reported to identify more strongly with their national origin values and are more like to maintain a consistent identity (either national origin or host country) compared to second-generation immigrants who self-identify depending on context (Tovar & Feliciano, 2009). The latter implies more value dissonance and less stable identity that may have unique implications for how East and Southeast Asian Americans remain resilient in a context where they have to contend with balancing mainstream individualistic culture outside the home and Confucian family values inside the home.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Second-Generation Immigrant Asian American Mental Health

Acculturation and minority status are two challenges commonly faced by Asian Americans both first-generation and second-generation immigrant (Yee et al., 2009). Acculturation—the cultural changes that occur as a result of continuous, first-hand contact between two different cultural groups or individuals (Graves, 1967; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936)—presents many challenges, including having to adapt one’s values, language, traditions, beliefs, and attitudes to that of the majority culture (e.g., Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Escobar & Vega, 2000). These acculturative demands can expose individuals to high levels of stress surrounding feelings of marginality and alienation (Berry et al., 1987), especially in a sociopolitical context that has historically been rooted in institutional and interpersonal discrimination against ethnic minorities, such as that of the U. S. (Harrell, 2000). Even in the 21st century, discrimination against Asian Americans is prevalent and continues in the form of viewing them as perpetual foreigners (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). That is, viewing Asian Americans as less “American” than White Americans or even non-American White Europeans (Devos & Banaji, 2005). The effects of perceived discrimination on the health of Asian Americans are well documented, including lowered self-esteem, a greater likelihood of having depressive or anxiety disorders, increased levels of internalized stereotyping, and decreased use of mental health services (Barry & Grillo, 2003; Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007; Spencer & Chen, 2004; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2000).

Although one may assume that first-generation immigrants would be more likely to experience acculturative stress than second-generation immigrants, research suggests that second-generation immigrant Asian Americans—those who grew up in the U.S.—also have to

bridge two cultures, which contributes to stress, anxiety, and depression (e.g., Shrake & Rhee, 2004; Yeh, Hough, McCabe, Lau, & Garland, 2004). For instance, a study of Korean American young adults revealed that negative mental health outcomes were associated with the pressure to cultivate one's ethnic heritage and values while also minimizing one's ethnic background in order to adapt to the more individualistic American culture (Hovey, Kim, & Seligman, 2006). A qualitative study of Asian Americans further illustrated how balancing two different cultures and communicating with their first-generation parents about these challenges pose a great deal of distress (Lee et al., 2009). Study participants noted how the stresses of the model minority stereotype add to the challenges of having to meet parental expectations to succeed academically and strive for certain career paths in order to be viewed as a good son or daughter; failure of which could negatively affect self-esteem and confidence. Culturally based family obligations to take care of parents, including acting as a language or cultural translator, are also stressful components of being second-generation. Moreover, experiences with discrimination are particularly distressing, especially during high school.

These narratives together paint a picture of a “cultural double-bind,” where second-generation Asian American adolescents and young adults are caught in between having to meet the expectations of both the mainstream American culture and the familial heritage culture that their parents retain to a greater degree. Consequently, second-generation Asian Americans may feel compelled to reject components of their heritage culture in order to be perceived as “acculturated” or “American” so as to avoid discrimination; although doing so may compromise their relationships with their families. At the same time, they may feel compelled to endorse components of their heritage culture in order to maintain positive family bonds, which can provide a sense of belonging and security within a context that perpetually views them as

foreign. In this sense, it can be argued that second-generation immigrants may experience greater mental disturbance than first-generation immigrants because of their having to wrestle with two cultural identities (Asian and American), whereas their first-generation counterparts have an already established cultural identity from growing up in their heritage country (Asian).

In terms of the cultural components that individuals and families contend with, for East and Southeast Asian Americans they are likely to be associated with Confucian values surrounding familism and family cohesion—relational elements that require the fulfillment of gendered filial roles to maintain family unity and harmony. It can be postulated then, that discrimination not only can influence individuals' wellbeing (e.g., self-esteem) directly, but also indirectly via the pressure for individuals to downplay *or* endorse heritage values (e.g., familism and family cohesion) that may still be honored by one's family. These associations may be particularly significant during adolescence—a critical period for the development of identity and self-concept (Erikson, 1968), during which discrimination has shown to have a negative effect on academic functioning (Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Therefore, Asian American adolescents' experience with discrimination may even have a long-term impact on their educational and occupational (and by extension, financial) achievements via direct and indirect influences on self-esteem. Given how educational and financial achievement are considered indicators of personal and social wellbeing to Asian Americans, and how higher education is increasingly tied to labor market success (Baum & Flores, 2011) and becoming a means to upward social mobility, these effects are particularly noteworthy to examine.

The Acculturative Family Distancing Theory

Scholars posit that acculturation gaps can increase intergenerational family conflict, defined as the conflict that results from the typical generation gap across families compounded

by acculturative differences between first-generation immigrant parents and their adolescent children (Titzmann & Sonnenberg, 2015; Ying, 1999). In other words, conflicts with parents are normative during adolescent years due to adolescents' primary orientation to the dominant culture outside the family (Eisenstadt, 2003). However, differences in degree of mainstream American culture adoption and heritage culture retention between parents and adolescents can exacerbate value incongruence and communication difficulties, resulting in problematic distancing between parents and adolescents (Hwang, 2006). The Acculturative Family Distancing Theory (AFD; Hwang, 2006; Hwang, Wood, & Fujimoto, 2010), therefore, provides a useful framework for conceptualizing and buttressing this study's hypotheses of how discrimination may affect Asian American adolescents' self-esteem via change in attitude towards heritage culture values.

The AFD theory suggests that acculturation gaps are likely to occur among immigrant families but that not all families develop problems. Among families who do experience problematic distancing, the mechanisms for creating parent-adolescent conflict are the breakdown in communication and incongruent cultural values that develop due to different rates of acculturation. These incongruent cultural values will likely occur along areas that are most likely to cause family conflict, such as traditional gender roles, importance of academic success versus social life, and weighing individual versus family needs. AFD theory hypothesizes that family distancing and its mechanisms will increase over time and lead to further distancing between parents and adolescents, thereby increasing risk for family conflict and subsequent mental health problems. Hwang (2006) further highlighted evidence suggesting that Asian American adolescents often experience communication difficulties with their parents and that these difficulties lead to greater individual and family dysfunction (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003;

Usita & Blieszner, 2002) and a breakdown in family cohesion (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). For adolescents who experience the pressure of adopting individualistic values while retaining or minimizing heritage cultural values in the face of discrimination, then, it can be hypothesized that the degree of heritage cultural value endorsement can play a mediating role on the effect of discrimination on self-esteem. Put differently, experience with discrimination may lead to a change in degree of heritage cultural value endorsement, which in turn can influence one's self-esteem due to potential AFD.

In summary, AFD theory supports this study's conceptualization of how discrimination may indirectly influence self-esteem via the mediating influence of how much adolescents adopt individualistic values and retain heritage cultural values (tested via endorsement of familism and family cohesion). AFD theory also echoes the importance of exploring how values surrounding the weighing of individual versus family needs and gender roles impact adolescents' experiences with acculturation and family distancing, and by extension their self-esteem and wellbeing.

Confucian Family Values

A Brief Introduction

For East and Southeast Asian Americans, heritage cultural values around family and gender roles are rooted in historical Confucianism (Cheung & Tang, 2008) — a philosophy recorded in writings called *lun yu*, or Analects. The Analects was composed by Confucius— a Chinese philosopher who lived during the Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 BCE) — and his disciples. The Spring and Autumn Period was a time of social unrest due to wars between states, and Confucius, witnessing the moral decline and disintegration of traditional ritual systems, studied, edited, and codified the ancient classic traditions and rituals in order to promote political and social stability (Park & Chesla, 2007). Confucius offered political and public service as a

way to implement and practice his philosophy, and his disciples continued the teachings until Confucianism became an officially recognized state ideology of China during the Han dynasty (206 BCE-184 Common Era [CE]) (Ni, 2000). Since the Han dynasty, Confucianism was adopted to various degrees by imperial China's tributary states across East and Southeast Asia. Confucianism thus established roots in the cultures of these various ethnic groups that, even with the later introduction of Daoism and Buddhism, remain visible in ways of social conduct and family life today (Neville, 2000; Park & Chesla, 2007).

Familism, Family Cohesion, and Gender Roles

Confucianism can be considered a set of ethical ideas that guides one in the practice of *dao*— the ideal of a good human life or way of being (Cua, 2000). To live this ethical way of life, one must fulfill one's duties and responsibilities in the five principal relationships: ruler and subject (government and citizen), parent and child, husband and wife, older sibling and younger sibling, and friend and friend (Confucius, 1983). Compared to Western individualistic ideology, Confucianism stresses *familism*— a family-centered worldview by which the family is the fundamental unit of society (Kim, 2010; Lee, 1989), and family cohesion is taken as foundational for sustaining the human community (Park & Chesla, 2007). That is, “the Confucian self is not so much a self-governing independent self [...], but a *relational* self that is not only formed within the family but is also modeled after the family” (Kim, 2010, pp. 477-478). Central to Confucian familism is the value of filial responsibility that can be fulfilled by enacting gender norms that promote the virtue of *ren* (benevolence, humanity, love) (i.e., Kim, 2010; Tang & Lai, 2008). These gender norms prescribed through the Analects emphasize patriarchy and the inferior role of women (Tang & Lai, 2008). For example, according to the analects of *san cong si de*, women ought to obey their fathers when they are young, serve the

needs of their husbands when they are married, and follow their sons' will when they are old. The analects of *xian qi liang mu* further identify the model woman as being a virtuous wife and a good mother. The role of men, conversely, involves being "productive" rather than "reproductive" and having the authority to be the head of the household (Tang & Lai, 2008). Men therefore enjoy relatively greater freedom to pursue education and their careers than women within this cultural ideology that emphasizes responsibility over freedom. These gendered roles are further captured by the traditional Chinese saying of *nan ju wai, nu ju nei* ("men outside, women inside"), illustrating how husbands should work and take charge of external affairs whereas women should take care of domestic matters. It is important to note that although familism (unity through the fulfillment of one's role and duties) is intended to promote family cohesion (a sense of harmony and joy in togetherness), the two concepts are not analogous. In other words, familism is more so the fulfillment of one's role and responsibility (behavior) whereas family cohesion is the potential relational outcome (emotional pleasure).

Contemporary second-generation immigrant Asian American adolescents who are socialized by these family-oriented heritage cultural values within the home but are simultaneously exposed to individual-oriented mainstream American culture outside the home can experience value dissonance. For example, studies show that East Asian American women often have emotional conflicts about their place in Western society as they attempt to reconcile their heritage cultural role for women with that of the perceived more assertive, independent, and outspoken role of American women (Park & Chesla, 2007; Pyke & Johnson, 2003). These emotional conflicts are further complicated by gender and racial discrimination against Asian American women in the U.S. Historically, Asian women have been characterized as hyper-feminine by White society as a way to denigrate and objectify women of color and justify their

racial and gender subordination (Espiritu, 1997; Hill Collins, 2000; Tajima, 1989). The Lotus Blossom imagery portrays Asian women as passive, weak, quiet, excessively submissive, slavishly dutiful, sexually exotic, and available for White men (Espiritu, 1997; Tajima, 1989). A qualitative study with Asian American women revealed that contemporary women experience internalized oppression where there is a belief that the only path to gender equality and assertive womanhood is via assimilation to the White mainstream culture. However, they also experience a cultural double-bind when they feel that not conforming to racialized expectations will risk White Americans challenging their ethnic identity (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Asian American men have also experienced historical gender discrimination in the form of being portrayed as emasculated, nerdy, or lacking heterosexuality (Shek, 2007). However, some research suggests that the status of Asian men relative to White men has risen with time while that of Asian women relative to White women has not (Kim & Lewis, 1994). Further, Asian American men have an option of assuming a powerful role in their families when the likelihood for women to do so is much less.

The intersectionality of gender and being second-generation immigrant is complex. However, when the literature is viewed as a whole, it can be conceived how Asian American women and men may respond disparately to the pressures of meeting both acculturation demands and heritage culture expectations. Presented with the challenge of discrimination, women may be inclined to reject the Confucian values of familism and family cohesion that binds them to particular familial obligations or gender roles. However, they may also be inclined to endorse them so as to meet family expectations and the Asian woman stereotype (in order to be viewed as “Asian” by mainstream society). Either way, Asian American women are in a double-bind that could impact their self-esteem and wellbeing (i.e., degree of educational and financial

achievement). As for men, endorsement of familism may serve as an interrupter for the effect of discrimination on self-esteem by its providing a family role alternative that gives more freedom and authority. Said differently, for both women and men, degrees of familism and family cohesion endorsement can act as mediating agents for the effects of discrimination on self-esteem and long-term wellbeing.

The Present Study

This gender-comparison study will examine how discrimination directly and indirectly impacts second-generation East and Southeast Asian American adolescents' self-esteem and long-term wellbeing (educational and financial achievement in adulthood) via the mediating influences of familism and family cohesion endorsement (see Figure 1 in Appendix A). The hypotheses for this study are as follows for both genders:

Hypothesis 1: Familism will mediate the relationship between discrimination and education and income level.

Hypothesis 2: Family cohesion will mediate the relationship between discrimination and education and income level.

Hypothesis 3: Self-esteem will mediate the relationship between discrimination and education and income level.

Hypothesis 4: Self-esteem will mediate the relationship between familism and education and income level.

Hypothesis 5: Self-esteem will mediate the relationship between family cohesion and education and income level.

Chapter 3 - Methods

Samples and Procedures

This study used data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), conducted by sociologists Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut from 1991 to 2006. The purpose of the initial three-wave data collection process was to explore the adaptation processes of second-generation immigrant children living in the United States. In the first wave, data were obtained by administering questionnaires to children attending eighth and nine grades in public and private schools in the metropolitan areas of Miami and Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and San Diego, California. In the second wave, data were obtained by administering or mailing questionnaires to the respondents who were about to graduate high school or had left school already. In the third wave, data were obtained by mailing questionnaires to the respondents who were then an average of twenty-four years old. Parent data were also obtained during the second wave in order to understand immigrant parental and familial characteristics.

For the purpose of this study, only second- and third-wave data (Time 2 and 3 in Figure 1) from the child respondents whose parents are from East and Southeast Asian countries or areas where Confucianism is the primary sociopolitical philosophy were included in the study. Participants whose parents are from countries that are primarily Muslim, Catholic, or Hindu were excluded because of this study's focus on family values that are based on Confucianism. The resulting sample included 681 participants. Of these participants, those who were missing scores on *all* variables were removed (those who were missing partial data were retained). This narrowing of the sample allowed for the purposeful analysis of a sample (N = 554) comprised of 264 males and 290 females who were on average 18-years-old at Wave Two and 24-years-old at Wave Three. Approximately 40% of these respondents identified as Vietnamese (American),

21% Lao (American), 11.4% Chinese (American), 10.4% Cambodian (American), 6.9% Hmong (American), 3.5% Japanese (American), and 2.5% Korean (American). While there is great ethnic diversity in East and Southeast Asia, the shared Confucian influence among these nationalities— cultivated through the adoption of the Confucian sociopolitical structure by imperial China’s tributary states throughout history and through Chinese migrants who brought with them Confucian family values to various East and Southeast regions— allows the grouping of these ethnic groups into one sample for the purpose of this study

Measures

Interpersonal Discrimination

Interpersonal discrimination at Wave Two was measured by a count variable calculated by summing the number of affirmative responses to the following questions: (1) “Have you ever felt discriminated against?”; (2) “If yes, have you ever felt discriminated against by teachers?”; (3) “...by students?”; (4) “...by counselors?”; (5) “...by White Americans in general?”; (6) “...by Latinos in general?”; and (7) “...by Black Americans in general?” The total possible score ranged from 0 to 7, with higher scores indicating a greater degree of perceived interpersonal discrimination from other social and ethnic groups. I acknowledge that these groups are not mutually exclusive and that a participant could respond affirmatively to more than one category in reference to a single discriminatory incident. The measure of actual severity or degree of perceived interpersonal discrimination, then, is compromised. However, an independent samples *t*-test indicated that there was a significant difference in the degree of perceived interpersonal discrimination experience between women ($M = 2.12$, $SD = 1.79$) and men ($M = 2.64$, $SD = 2.19$), with men reporting greater degrees of perceived discrimination than women ($t(552)$, $p = .002$).

Familism

Familism at Wave Two was measured by a three-item scale that assessed the degree participants endorsed familism. The items included: “If someone has the chance to help a person get a job, it is always better to choose a relative rather than a friend.”; “When someone has a serious problem, only relatives can help.”; and “When looking for a job a person should find a job near his/her parents even if it means losing a better job somewhere else.” The scale ranged from 1 (*agree a lot*) to 4 (*disagree a lot*). Responses were reverse scored, summed across items, and then averaged, with a higher mean score indicating a higher degree of endorsed familism. Internal consistency was adequate overall ($\alpha = .62$), and for women ($\alpha = .58$) and men ($\alpha = .65$) respectively.

Family Cohesion

Family cohesion at Wave Two was measured by a three-item scale that assessed the degree to which participants perceived their family relationships to be affectionate, enjoyable, and valuable. The items included: “Family members feel close to each other,” “Family members want to spend time together,” and “Family togetherness is important.” The scale ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). Responses were summed across items and then averaged, with a higher mean score indicating a higher degree of family cohesion. Internal consistency was adequate overall ($\alpha = .84$), and for women ($\alpha = .85$) and men ($\alpha = .82$) respectively.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem at Wave Two was measured by the ten-item Rosenberg Global Self-Esteem Scale, which assessed an “individual’s positive or negative attitude towards the self as a totality” (Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach, & Rosenberg, 1995, p. 141). The scale included both self-confidence and self-depreciation components, such as “I feel that I am a person of worth, at least

on an equal basis with others,” “I feel I do not have much to be proud of,” “I take a positive attitude towards myself,” and “I wish I could have more respect for myself.” The scale ranged from 1 (*agree a lot*) to 4 (*disagree a lot*). All self-confidence items were reverse scored, summed across with self-depreciation item scores, and then averaged, with a higher mean score indicating higher global self-esteem. Internal consistency was adequate overall ($\alpha = .81$), and for women ($\alpha = .82$) and men ($\alpha = .81$) respectively.

Education and Income

Education and income at Wave Three were measured by the participants’ years of education received and amount of income at age 24. For education, participants selected one of ten options, ranging from “Some high school” to “Professional or Doctoral degree (for example, JD, MD, DDS, Ph.D.).” These responses were then inputted by the original researchers into their dataset as total number of years the participant received education: 10 = *some high school*, 12 = *graduated from high school*...16 = *graduated from 4/5-year-college*...18 = *some graduate school/master’s degree/professional or doctoral degree*.

As for income as a measure of financial success, participants selected one of 12 options for income range (e.g., “Less than \$5,000”, “\$5,000 - \$9,999”... “\$200,000 or more”), which was then inputted by the original researchers into their dataset as the median (e.g., “\$2,500”, “\$7,500”... “\$250,000”). For the purpose of model estimation, income scores were divided by 1000 to reduce the magnitude of variance before being entered into the analysis.

Family Socioeconomic Status as Control Variable

Family socioeconomic status (SES) at Wave Two was included in the path analysis as a control variable because low SES has been shown to be a strong predictor of poor outcomes due to having more life stressors and less social mobility, especially for women (Coiro, 2001; Leu et

al., 2008; O'Campo, Eaton, & Muntaner, 2004). By controlling for the effects of SES, the path analysis will be able to estimate the magnitude of variance accounted for by the primary variables that are not also accounted for by SES. A measure of SES at Wave Two, however, was indirect and required combining responses with that of Wave One to obtain a more direct measurement of SES. At Wave Two, participants assessed their family's economic situation by using a scale to compare their current SES to that three years ago at Wave One ("Compared to three years ago, do you think that your family's economic situation now is..."). The scale ranged from 1 (*much better*) to 3 (*about the same*) to 5 (*much worse*). I ascribed these responses with a new range of 2 (corresponding to "1") to -2 (corresponding to "5"), with 0 being "about the same". These values were added to participants' reverse-coded responses at Wave One ("What do you think your family's economic situation is?"), which originally allowed for a range of responses from 1 (*wealthy*) to 3 (*lower-middle class*) to 5 (*poor*). The new set of responses then ranged from -1 to 7. In order to retain the original scale of the question, I grouped values -1 and 0 with "1" (*poor*) and values 6 and 7 with "5" (*wealthy*). This process of recoding and rescaling is described in Table 1 in Appendix B. Overall, women reported higher levels of family socioeconomic status ($M = 3.32, SD = 1.25$) than men ($M = 3.04, SD = 1.28$) ($t(552), p = .026$).

Analysis Plan

Multiple-group path analysis was used to examine and test whether differences in the structural parameters across gender groups were statistically significant in Mplus 7 (Muthen & Muthen, 1998-2011). All variables were normally distributed, meeting assumptions for multivariate normality, and full-information maximum-likelihood input accounted for missing values. First, an initial unconstrained model was estimated for model fit. According to Hu and

Bentler (1999), a Chi-square statistic with a non-significant p-value, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) values greater than .95, a Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) value below .08, and a Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) value below .08 would establish evidence of an acceptable fit between the model and the observed data.

Next, to measure group invariance, the same model where all paths were constrained to be invariant between the groups was estimated. This model fit was significantly poorer than the unconstrained model, determined by the incremental difference in chi-square values and degrees of freedom. The fit indices indicated that the model and the observed data did not fit the observed data equally well for both genders. In order to identify if there were invariant paths within the model across genders, constraints were imposed on each path one at a time to identify these paths. Chi-square difference tests were conducted in order to retain the most fitting and parsimonious model. Constrained paths that did not depreciate model fit indicated that gender was not a significant moderator for those paths. In other words, there were no significant differences in the strengths of those paths between men and women.

To test the indirect paths (H1 to H5), bootstrapping with 5000 iterations was applied to the final partially constrained model (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results are presented below.

Chapter 4 - Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 (Appendix C) shows the means and standard deviations for the predictor, mediator, and outcome variables for women and men respectively. The results of the descriptive analysis for women's scores show that the mean for discrimination level is 2.12 affirmative responses ($SD = 1.79$); familism is 2.04 units ($SD = .66$); family cohesion is 3.44 units ($SD = .98$); self-esteem is 3.18 units ($SD = .51$); education is 14.69 years ($SD = 1.87$); and for income is 41.67 or \$41,670 ($SD = 35.52$). The results for men's score show that the mean for discrimination level is 2.64 affirmative responses ($SD = 2.79$); familism is 2.18 units ($SD = .72$); family cohesion is 3.48 units ($SD = 1.00$); self-esteem is 3.19 units ($SD = .53$); education is 13.87 years ($SD = 1.86$); and for income is 45.31 or \$46,610 ($SD = 43.66$). The mean scores for women and men's discrimination level are notably small. One reason for this may be underreporting due to Asian Americans' perception that they as the model minority—resilient and conforming—ought not to “complain” about their experiences. Another reason may be their not perceiving the model minority stereotype as discrimination due to its relatively positive connotation compared to that experienced by other ethnic groups such as Blacks or Latinos. The standard deviation scores for discrimination level, on the other hand, are notably large. This may be due to variability in how adolescents conceptualize discrimination and the form and severity of discrimination they experienced (e.g., social isolation vs. bullying). The standard deviation scores for income are also large for both women and men. One reason for this may be national diversity in the sample. That is, individuals whose families are from China, Korea, or Japan are likely to have had higher education and socioeconomic status prior to immigration than those from Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos due to differences in political and economic development.

Those whose families immigrated with higher social capital may be able to better support their adolescents in achieving greater levels of education, thereby promoting a higher likelihood for future financial success. Finally, women and men's scores differed significantly on discrimination and familism, where men reported significantly higher levels of discrimination ($t(552), p = .002$) and higher levels of familism endorsement ($t(552), p = .002$) than women. Women, however, reported significantly higher levels of education than men ($t(552), p = .000$). Women and men's scores did not differ significantly for family cohesion, self-esteem, and income (see Table 3 in Appendix D).

Correlations

Table 2 (Appendix C) also shows the correlations among predictor, mediator, and outcome variables for women and men respectively. The correlations revealed important information. First, the correlation between discrimination and familism was significant for men ($r = .27, p < .01$) but not for women. Discrimination was also not significantly correlated with any other variable for both genders. Second, familism was significantly correlated with family cohesion in a positive direction and self-esteem in a negative direction for both men and women. Further, familism was significantly correlated with education for women ($r = -.25, p < .01$) but not for men, and was not significantly correlated with income for either gender. Third, family cohesion was significantly correlated with self-esteem for both women and men ($r = .18, p < .01$; $r = .29, p < .01$, respectively) but not with other variables, apart from familism as previously noted. Fourth, self-esteem was significantly correlated with education for both women and men ($r = .20, p < .01$; $r = .23, p < .01$, respectively), but not with income for either gender. Finally, education and income were significantly correlated for both women and men ($r = .35, p < .01$; $r = .17, p < .05$, respectively). These results together suggest that, despite discrimination only

having an association with men's level of familism endorsement, in general the greater the level of familism endorsement, the greater the level of family cohesion and the lower the level of self-esteem for both women and men. Further, the greater the family cohesion, the greater the level of self-esteem; the greater the level of self-esteem, the greater the level of education; the greater the level of education, the greater the level of income. Finally, for women, the lower the level of familism endorsement, the higher the level of education. Given that women in this sample reported higher levels of education than men, it is not surprising that they scored lower on familism.

Group Invariance

Goodness of model fit indices indicated a good fit between the unconstrained model and the data (Kline, 2005): $\chi^2 (4) = 3.421$, CFI = 1.00; TLI = 1.04; RMSEA = 0.000 (90% CI = .000, .085), and SRMR = .016. Given that the fully constrained model weakened the model fit ($\chi^2 (20) = 31.728$, CFI = 0.917; TLI = 0.833; RMSEA = 0.046 (90% CI = .006, .075), and SRMR = .05), each path was constrained one at a time. Only two paths, (1) discrimination predicting familism and (2) familism predicting income, produced poorer fitting models indicating that these paths were not invariant across the unconstrained and constrained models. This resulted in a parsimonious model with only two (out of 16) paths left freely estimated. Goodness of model fit indices indicated a slight improvement in fit between the model and data after 14 constraints were added: $\chi^2 (18) = 15.562$, CFI = 1.00; TLI = 1.04; RMSEA = 0.000 (90% CI = .000, .046), and SRMR = .04.

Path Analysis

Tables 4 and 5 (Appendix E and F) provide the unstandardized regression coefficients, standard errors, and standardized regression coefficients for the direct effects estimated in the

unconstrained model and final partially constrained model, respectively. Only statistically significant results for the control variable (i.e., family socioeconomic status) were included in the tables. The unstandardized regression coefficients should be interpreted as a 1 unit increase in the predictor is associated with a 1 unit increase in the outcome variable (i.e., self-esteem, income, and education). The standardized regression coefficients should be interpreted as 1 standard deviation increase in the predictor is associated with a 1 standard deviation increase in the outcome variable.

For men, discrimination, familism, family cohesion, and family socioeconomic status accounted for approximately 11% of the variance in self-esteem; all variables except income accounted for 7% of the variance in education; and all variables except education accounted for 3% of the variance in income. For women, the same variables accounted for approximately 10% of the variance in self-esteem, 7 % of the variance in education, and 4% of the variance in income. The low percentage of data accounted for by the model may be partially due to the large variation in discrimination and income level scores for women and men.

Direct Effects

Results of direct effects from both the unconstrained and constrained models together reveal additional information. First, results from both models revealed that discrimination did not have a statistically significant direct effect on self-esteem for women and men. However, there was a significant direct effect on familism for men ($b = .09$ $p < .001$ unconstrained).

Second, familism had no effect on family cohesion for either genders but did have a direct negative effect on self-esteem for both women ($b = -.16$, $p < .001$ unconstrained) and men ($b = -.17$, $p < .001$ unconstrained). Constraining this path, however, revealed that women and men did not differ significantly in how they experienced the effect of familism on self-esteem (b

= -.16, $p < .001$). In other words, the impact of familism on self-esteem is comparatively strong for both women and men.

Third, familism had no significant effect on income for both women and men, although constraining this path yielded poor model fit indices. This result can be interpreted as there being a large enough difference in the strength of how women and men experience the effect of familism on income but that the difference are not detectable with the present sample size.

Fourth, there was a direct effect of familism on education ($b = -.57, p < .01$ unconstrained; $b = -.33, p < .05$ constrained) for women but not for men. However, this direct effect for men became significant when the path was constrained ($b = -.33, p < .05$). This result can be interpreted as— although familism can significantly influence women’s level of education, there is no significant difference in strength between women and men’s experience with the effect of familism on education.

Fifth, family cohesion had an effect on self-esteem for both women ($b = .08, p < .01$ unconstrained; $b = .12, p < .001$ constrained) and men ($b = .16, p < .01$ unconstrained; $b = .12, p < .001$ constrained), but had no effect on education and income for both genders. Sixth, self-esteem had no effect on income for both genders but had significant effects on education for women ($b = .70, p < .001$ unconstrained) and men ($b = .90, p < .001$ unconstrained).

Constraining this path, however, revealed that there are no significant differences in the strength of how women and men experience the effect of self-esteem on education ($b = .76, p < .001$). This result can be interpreted as self-esteem being a similarly important factor for women and men that contributes to high educational achievement.

Finally, family socioeconomic status had a direct effect on self-esteem for women ($b = .06, p < .01$ unconstrained) and on family cohesion for both women ($b = .12, p < .001$

unconstrained) and men ($b = .12, p < .001$ unconstrained). Constraining both paths, however, revealed that there are no significant differences in the strength of how women and men experience effects of socioeconomic status on self-esteem ($b = .04, p < .05$) and family cohesion ($b = .12, p < .01$).

Indirect Effects

Tables 6 and 7 (Appendix G and H) provide the standardized regression coefficients, confidence intervals, and t -values for statistically significant indirect effects. The results in relation to the study hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Familism significantly mediated the relationship between discrimination and education via its influence on self-esteem *for men* ($\beta = -.01, p < .05, CI = -.02, -.004$). There were no other significant mediating effects on education for women and on income for either men or women.

Hypothesis 2: Family cohesion did not mediate the relationship between discrimination and education or income for either men or women.

Hypothesis 3: Self-esteem significantly mediated the relationship between discrimination and education via discrimination's primary effect on familism *for men* (same results as that for Hypothesis 1). This was not so for women and there were no other significant mediating effects on the relationship between discrimination and income for either men or women.

Hypothesis 4: Self-esteem significantly mediated the relationship between familism and education *for men* ($\beta = -.05, p < .01, CI = -.22, -.06$), and *for women* ($\beta = -.04, p < .01, CI = -.08, -.02$). There were no other significant mediating effects on the relationship between familism and income.

Hypothesis 5: Self-esteem significantly mediated the relationship between family cohesion and education *for men* ($\beta = .05, p < .01, CI = .04, .16$), and *for women* ($\beta = .05, p < .01, CI = .02, .08$). There were no significant mediating effects on the relationship between family cohesion and income.

Alternative Model

Due to there being no significant paths for the prediction of income, an alternative unconstrained model that excluded income was estimated. Goodness of model fit indices indicated a poor fit of the model to the data: $\chi^2 (14) = 37.168, CFI = .84; TLI = .53; RMSEA = .077$ (90% CI = .048, .108), and SRMR = .067. Therefore, the original unconstrained model was retained before it was tested for group invariance.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

The purpose of this longitudinal study on East and Southeast Asian Americans was to examine how experiences of discrimination during adolescence predict adult wellbeing (understood as education and income level), and how these relationships are mediated by effects of Confucian family values (familism and family cohesion) and self-esteem. The findings offer insights into the experiences of second-generation Asian Americans that can inform clinical practice and implications for future research.

Four key findings emerged from this study. First is how the mediating role of familism functioned differently for women and men. For women, familism's negative effect on self-esteem, and in turn on level of educational achievement, suggests that women are distressed by having to meet Confucian family and gender role expectations, which involves an inward focus on the family rather than an outward focus on personal educational achievement. For men, familism also poses distress and indirectly impacts their educational achievement. However, unlike women, men's level of familism endorsement altered with degree of perceived discrimination. That is, the greater the level of discrimination adolescent men experience, the greater the level of familism endorsement, and in turn the lower the level of self-esteem and educational achievement. One interpretation of this finding is that having the option to assume a status within the Confucian family that is more respected in comparison to the perpetually subordinate status in the mainstream White culture means that there are greater expectations to succeed despite adversity. In other words, because men are expected to become successful, so as to provide for their families in the future (being a "good son"), they may experience additional pressure to succeed academically despite their more flexible role in the family compared to women. This double-bind may limit the emotional support Asian men perceive they have access

to in their families. For some men, they may even internalize the distress instead of seek support because they do not want to be considered victims. This pressure can be exacerbated when adolescents find it challenging to discuss with their first-generation parents about their personal experiences due to language barrier or acculturation differences (e.g., Hwang, 2006; Qin, Way, Mukherjee, 2008). This internalization can then lead to a decrease in self-esteem and lowered educational success in the future— an association found among adolescents and young adults in previous research (e.g., Hickman, Bartholomae, & McKenry, 2000; Lockett & Harrell, 2003; Wong et al., 2003). Women, conversely, may not experience a significant impact of discrimination on their level of familism endorsement because their realities are characterized by double gender subordination in and outside the home. Put differently, women may have become desensitized to gender or racial discrimination due to their being “stuck” and not having a role or status alternative. There is, therefore, less room or freedom within their stringent, duty-bound roles as women—be it as daughter, sister, or wife—than men, who experience a greater difference in social status outside and inside the home.

The second key finding is how family cohesion is not a significant mediator of the effects of discrimination on self-esteem, although it is a critical factor that positively influences adolescent self-esteem and future wellbeing for both women and men. Family cohesion’s positive effects on self-esteem, and in turn education level, demonstrates that enjoyable and intimate family relationships are a great source of support and resilience for adolescent Asian Americans. Family cohesion not being a significant mediator of the negative effects of discrimination on self-esteem, however, suggests that family cohesion is unaffected by or unrelated to the experience of discrimination. One way this may occur is that adolescents do not share their experiences of discrimination with their families. That is, if adolescents did share with

their parents, an increase in family cohesion can be expected of supportive families. For many Confucian households, however, adolescents are often silenced because they are expected to obey their parents' expectations rather than engage their parents in discussion about their personal lives (Ho, 1996; Qin et al., 2008). Therefore, adolescents may simply not share with their parents this aspect of their lives although they are able to maintain positive relationships with their families. An intriguing hypothesis, then, is that if family cohesion could be bolstered by enhancing parent-adolescent open communication, it could become a significant buffer of the effects of discrimination on self-esteem. Regardless, these findings converge with extant literature on how family cohesion is a buffer to psychosocial stressors (e.g., Laursen & Collins, 1994; Pottie, Dahal, Georgiades, Premji, & Hassan, 2015). They also partially support the Acculturative Family Distancing theory, such that a greater degree of cohesion— or less parent-adolescent distancing as an outcome of more congruent cultural values between parent and adolescent— is associated with a lower risk for family conflict and subsequent mental health concerns (such as low self-esteem). However, since high levels of family cohesion does not equate open communication between parents and adolescents, a future exploration of this difference will help further buttress the AFD proposition that a breakdown in communication due to incongruent cultural values is the mechanisms for family conflict (lower family cohesion) and subsequent mental health concerns.

The third key finding is the powerful role of self-esteem as a mediator for factors that influence wellbeing. Self-esteem not only significantly mediated the relationships from familism and family cohesion to education level for both women and men, but it also mediated the influence of discrimination on education level for men (as afore mentioned). These outcomes highlight self-esteem as a core determinant of second-generation immigrant Asian American

wellbeing rather than just as an outcome of high achievement— results that are illustrated by how, despite better academic performance compared to peers, Asian American adolescents have reported the lowest rates of self-esteem compared to that of African and Latino peers (e.g., Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Rhee et al., 2003; Way & Chen, 2000), suggesting that self-esteem plays a more dynamic role in its interactions with other ecological factors that could impact wellbeing. Self-esteem’s close association with familism and family cohesion are also congruent with literature that demonstrated how second-generation Asian American adolescents’ sense of self is highly influenced by the quality of their relationship with their first-generation parents (e.g., Lee et al., 2009; Qin et al., 2008).

Finally, the fourth key finding is income level’s lack of predictive association with all variables yet possession of explanatory power in the study. The worsening of model fit when income was excluded suggest that income is an important component to understanding Asian American wellbeing within the context of discrimination, family values, and self-esteem. The worsening of model fit when equality constraints were imposed on the path from familism to income, despite the paths being statistically insignificant regardless, further indicate that this association is experienced differently between women and men. A greater sample size in the future may be able to detect the difference. Nonetheless, the negative correlation of familism with income for women suggest that women are less likely to personally pursue financial achievement in their “husband (man) outside, wife (woman) inside” family role. The opposite could be the explanation for the positive association between familism and income for men.

Strengths and Limitations

This study possesses three noteworthy strengths. Namely, the use of longitudinal data allowed for the associations from adolescent experiences to adult wellbeing to be predictive. The

use of a group-comparison model to directly compare the experiences of women and men instead of holding gender as a control variable for a single-sample path analysis provides more robust statistical results. Further, the revelation of Asian Americans having to wrestle with discrimination and cultural double-binds, at times compromising their self-esteem and wellbeing in order to meet expectations, also contributes to the debunking of the model minority stereotype.

This study also has several limitations typical of using secondary datasets. First, the definition and measurement of discrimination and family socioeconomic status were unclear and up to subjective interpretation. This was particularly so because the respondents were adolescents who may have had different perceptions and definitions for these variables among them. The use of the discrimination variable as an additive measure was also problematic because it does not accurately measure the severity of the discriminatory experience. For example, an individual may have scored more affirmative responses (high score) to having been discriminated by three disparate groups of people in a mild manner when an individual may have scored only one affirmative response (low score) to having been discriminated against by only one group in a severe manner. The measurement of discrimination also did not include a measure of gender discrimination. Further, the high variability (standard deviations) in discrimination and income level responses may have contributed to the low percentage of variance accounted for by the model in the outcome variables, suggesting that other important variables have yet to be examined. Finally, all responses were self-reported and there was not a measurement of social desirability to control for deflated or inflated responses.

Implications and Future Direction

Notwithstanding the limitations, this study has important implications for clinical work with second-generation immigrant Asian Americans and future investigation of factors that contribute to their resilience.

Clinical

The cultural double-bind of Confucian family values and acculturative demands (experienced through discrimination) plays an important role in the development of adolescent self-esteem and adult wellbeing; yet Asian American adolescents may not feel they have an outlet for processing their challenges. Especially when both the model minority stereotype and role for children within Confucian families impose the expectation for silence and social obedience, adolescents may perceive that they cannot receive support inside or outside the home. Therefore, intervention efforts geared towards acknowledging the cultural double-bind (to ‘un-silence’ the Asian American experience) and providing a venue for support and discussion may be helpful for adolescents. One way to do so is for school counselors and teachers to support the establishment of Asian American student associations in high schools, and through this venue provide psychoeducation about the effects of discrimination and the cultural double-bind on their wellbeing. Guided open discussions (preferably by an Asian American teacher or counselor for in-group identification) about personal experiences with cultural double-binds can be additionally validating and empowering for Asian American women who may be otherwise stuck and desensitized from the double gender subordination. Having such a supportive venue become a normalized part of the high school educational experience can introduce early on during this critical period of adolescent identity development (Erikson, 1968) the importance of addressing, rather than simply internalizing, their experiences. This may even help increase Asian American

adolescents' use of mental health resources in their adulthood if accessing such services are considered taboo by their parents who have to consent to treatment.

Another way to address the stress of the cultural double-bind is to provide a platform for parents to learn about how familism and family cohesion can impact adolescents' self-esteem and long-term wellbeing. Understanding that first-generation immigrant Asian American parents tend to perceive discipline and having high expectation for their adolescents as an expression of care (Chao, 1994), it may be helpful to appeal to this frame of mind by framing how indispensable active listening to the experiences of their adolescents can be to the development of not only healthy family relationships, but also self-esteem and success in adulthood. A child-centered focus, rather than parent-centered focus, can help motivate parents to more proactively learn how to engage adolescents about the personal lives. To provide such a platform for parent learning, clinicians can host workshops and classes through cultural centers that can often be found in ethnic hubs such as Chinatowns, Japantowns, and Koreatowns found in larger cities. Psychoeducation and conversations about the importance of active listening and validation, even if parents cannot fully comprehend the experiences of their adolescents, can also take place in family therapy. Research suggests that Asian Americans have a greater likelihood of choosing informal and alternative social services over mental health professionals, however (Sue et al., 2012). Therefore, intervention efforts that are delivered through cultural centers or even church or faith-based communities will likely have a farther reach. This need also underscores the importance of having more Asian American clinicians fluent in ethnic Asian languages and who can provide culturally sensitive services to this population.

Research

This study offers suggestions for future research. First, an extension of this study to a comparison of first-, 1.5-, and second-generation immigrant adolescents can help further illuminate the social and familial factors that uniquely impact each group. For first- and 1.5-generation immigrants, they may experience the cultural double-bind to a lesser degree if any, and may have access to cultural or familial resources that second-generations perceive they do not (e.g., more similar acculturative challenges between adolescents and parents and therefore more open acknowledgement and discussion).

Second, research that includes parental input in addition to adolescent self-report can be useful in examining familial dynamics at play that contribute to second-generation resilience. For example, a measure of the degree to which parents expect their children to adopt individualistic American culture and also retain heritage culture—or the degree to which they are aware of or acknowledge the gender and racial discrimination faced by their adolescents—, can help illustrate factors that contribute to value incongruence and problematic distancing as described by the Acculturative Family Distancing theory.

Third, an examination of the differences among East and Southeast Asians nationalities will help to elicit additional contextual factors that contribute to differences in experience of discrimination, self-esteem, educational achievement, and financial achievement. Although families from East or Southeast Asian countries share a Confucian cultural root, their political and economic contexts differ and may play a role in how they are perceived in the mainstream American culture and how supportive parents can be to their children's educational and occupational endeavors. They may also play a role in how high parents' expectations are for their adolescents to succeed. Familial expectation for or dependency on adolescents' success,

combined with the amount of social capital parents can offer, may result in difference in the experience of the cultural double-bind and consequent level of self-esteem.

Fourth, the use of qualitative methods to explore how Asian American adolescents conceptualize discrimination, how it relates to the model minority stereotype, and how adolescents experience discrimination, can help clarify the variability in reports of perceived discrimination. Qualitative interviews with adolescents about reasons they do or do not share with their parents about their experiences and how they maintain family cohesion regardless will provide additional knowledge about how adolescents process, internalize, and externalize their experiences. This will also provide valuable information for the substantiation of the Acculturative Family Distancing Theory that purports a breakdown in communication as one of the mechanisms for parent-child distancing, which reduces family cohesion and increases the likelihood of mental health problems.

Finally, an extension of this study by incorporating a measure of mental health outcomes (e.g., anxiety and depression) can provide further insight to how Asian American adolescents fair within this context of cultural double-bind, family dynamics, and expected educational and financial achievement. Outcomes measures could also include marriage and formation of a family by having offspring— often wished upon by parents and used as an indicator of life satisfaction.

Conclusion

This study advanced the knowledge of second-generation immigrant East and Southeast Asian American wellbeing by providing empirical evidence that heritage Confucian family values and gender roles mediate women and men's self-esteem and wellbeing differentially in the context of discrimination. This study also partially provided

support for the Acculturative Family Distancing Theory through findings regarding family cohesion. The study's findings illustrate how women's lack of status or role alternative due to both racial and gender discrimination in American society and their subordinate role in the family can lead to lower self-esteem during adolescence and lower personal achievement in adulthood. For men, the experience of status difference in and outside the Confucian family can compound the pressure to succeed to such a degree that it negatively influences self-esteem and long-term educational achievement. By helping address these cultural double-binds through intervention and education for adolescents and parents, clinicians and educators can assist Asian Americans in enhancing their resiliency and their development of more value-congruent and affirming relationships with their families.

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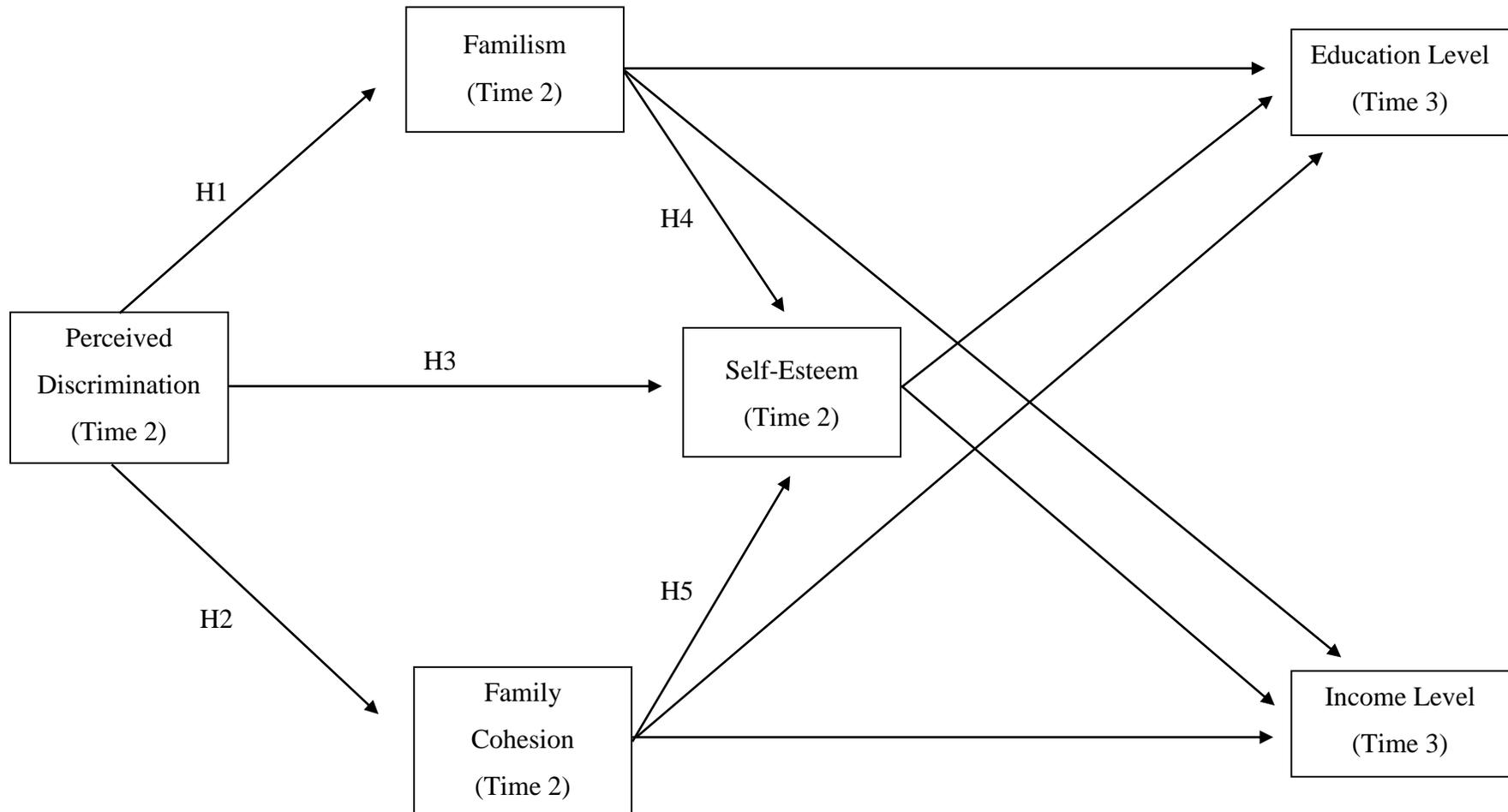
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Appendix A - The Group-Comparison Model



Note: This model was tested separately for women and men, controlling for family socioeconomic status.

Figure 1. Group-comparison model: Direct and indirect associations among discrimination, familism, family cohesion, self-esteem, education level, and income level (N = 554)

Appendix B - Socioeconomic Status as Control Variable

Table 1

Recoding of Family Socioeconomic Status (SES) Used As a Control Variable

	Original scale score "1"	Original scale score "2"	Original scale score "3"	Original scale score "4"	Original scale score "5"
SES at Time 1	Wealthy	Upper-middle class	Lower-middle class	Working class	Poor
Time 1 SES reverse coded	"5"	"4"	"3"	"2"	"1"
SES at Time 2	Much better	Better	About the same	Worse	Much worse
Time 2 SES recoded	"+2"	"+1"	"0"	"-1"	"-2"
Range for sum of Time 1 and Time 2 recoded scores	"7" (i.e., <i>wealthy</i> + <i>much better</i>)	--	--	--	"-1" (i.e., <i>poor</i> + <i>much worse</i>)
New scores adjusted to retain original scale of 1-5	Responses of 5, 6, or 7 coded as "5" (<i>wealthy</i>)	4 as "4" (<i>upper-middle class</i>)	3 as "3" (<i>lower-middle class</i>)	2 as "2" (<i>working class</i>)	Responses of 1, 0, or -1 coded as "1" (<i>poor</i>)

Appendix C - Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

Table 2

Correlations among Discrimination, Familism, Family Cohesion, Self-Esteem, Education, and Income (N = 554)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. Discrimination	–	.27**	-.04	.01	.10	.06	2.64	2.19
2. Familism	-.02	–	.12*	-.19**	-.08	.11	2.18	.72
3. Family Cohesion	-.02	.18**	–	.29**	.03	-.03	3.48	1.00
4. Self-Esteem	-.07	-.18**	.14**	–	.23**	-.03	3.19	.53
5. Education	.05	-.25**	-.10	.20**	–	.17*	13.87	1.86
6. Income	-.03	-.15	-.08	.11	.35**	–	45.61	43.66
<i>M</i>	2.12	2.04	3.44	3.18	14.69	41.67		
<i>SD</i>	1.79	.66	.98	.51	1.87	35.52		

Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed). Education = number of years. Income was divided by 1000.

Pearson correlation for women are in the lower left and men in the upper right. Means and standard deviations for women are below the table and for men in the two extreme right columns.

Appendix D - Descriptive Statistic *T*-Tests

Table 3

T-Values for Discrimination, Familism, Family Cohesion, Self-Esteem, Education, and Income

(*N* = 554)

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i> -value
Discrimination – women	2.12	1.79	<i>t</i> (552), <i>p</i> = .002
Discrimination – men	2.64	2.79	
Familism – women	2.04	.66	<i>t</i> (552), <i>p</i> = .002
Familism – men	2.18	.72	
Family cohesion – women	3.44	.98	<i>t</i> (552), <i>p</i> = .610
Family cohesion – men	3.48	1.00	
Self-esteem – women	3.18	.513	<i>t</i> (552), <i>p</i> = .844
Self-esteem – men	3.19	.526	
Education – women	14.69	1.87	<i>t</i> (552), <i>p</i> = .000
Education – men	13.87	1.86	
Income – women	41.67	35.52	<i>t</i> (552), <i>p</i> = .809
Income – men	45.31	43.66	

Note: Greyed areas highlight the gender that scored statistically higher scores on a particular variable than the other.

Appendix E - Regression Coefficients for Unconstrained Model

Table 4

Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients in Multiple-Group Unconstrained Model

Parameter	Women			Parameter	Men		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	β		<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
1. Discrimination → Self-Esteem	-.02	.02	-.06	1. Discrimination → Self-Esteem	.01	.01	.03
2. Discrimination → Familism	-.01	.02	-.02	2. Discrimination → Familism	.09***	.02	.27***
3. Discrimination → Family Cohesion	.003	.03	.01	3. Discrimination → Family Cohesion	-.02	.03	-.05
4. Familism → Self-Esteem	-.16***	.04	-.21***	4. Familism → Self-Esteem	-.17***	.04	-.23***
5. Familism → Income	-8.48	4.80	-.16	5. Familism → Income	8.94	6.07	.15
6. Familism → Education	-.57**	.21	-.20**	6. Familism → Education	-.06	.22	-.02
7. Family Cohesion → Self-Esteem	.08**	.03	.16**	7. Family Cohesion → Self-Esteem	.16***	.03	.31***
8. Family Cohesion → Income	-1.33	3.14	-.01	8. Family Cohesion → Income	-2.17	4.16	-.05
9. Family Cohesion → Education	-.17	.14	-.09	9. Family Cohesion → Education	-.07	.15	-.04
10. Self-Esteem → Income	5.69	5.43	.08	10. Self-Esteem → Income	.20	8.81	.002
11. Self-Esteem → Education	.70**	.26	.19**	11. Self-Esteem → Education	.90**	.32	.26***
12. SES → Self-Esteem	.06**	.02	.15**	12. SES → Self-Esteem	.02	.02	.05
13. SES → Family Cohesion	.12**	.05	.15**	13. SES → Family Cohesion	.12*	.05	.15*

Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed). Greyed areas highlight statistically significant paths.

Appendix F - Regression Coefficients for Partially Constrained Model

Table 5

Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients in Multiple-Group Partially Constrained Model

Parameter	Women			Parameter	Men		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	β		<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
1. Discrimination → Self-Esteem	-.01	.01	-.02	1. Discrimination → Self-Esteem	-.01	.01	-.02
2. Discrimination → Familism	-.01	.02	-.02	2. Discrimination → Familism	.09***	.02	.27***
3. Discrimination → Family Cohesion	-.01	.02	-.02	3. Discrimination → Family Cohesion	-.01	.06	-.02
4. Familism → Self-Esteem	-.16***	.03	-.20***	4. Familism → Self-Esteem	-.16***	.03	-.22***
5. Familism → Income	-6.68	4.59	-.12	5. Familism → Income	8.75	5.64	.14
6. Familism → Education	-.33*	.15	-.12*	6. Familism → Education	-.33*	.15	-.13*
7. Family Cohesion → Self-Esteem	.12***	.02	.23***	7. Family Cohesion → Self-Esteem	.12***	.02	.24***
8. Family Cohesion → Income	-1.71	2.46	-.05	8. Family Cohesion → Income	-1.71	2.46	-.04
9. Family Cohesion → Education	-.12	.10	-.06	9. Family Cohesion → Education	-.12	.10	-.06
10. Self-Esteem → Income	4.37	4.56	.06	10. Self-Esteem → Income	4.37	4.56	.05
11. Self-Esteem → Education	.76***	.20	.21***	11. Self-Esteem → Education	.76***	.20	.21***
12. SES → Self-Esteem	.04*	.02	.10*	12. SES → Self-Esteem	.04*	.02	.11*
13. SES → Family Cohesion	.12**	.03	.15***	13. SES → Family Cohesion	.12*	.03	.15***

Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed). Greyed areas highlight freely estimated paths (unconstrained).

Appendix G - Indirect Effects for Women

Table 6

Significant Indirect Effects of the Group-Comparison Model for Women (Standardized Solutions;

N = 290)

Predictor	Mediator(s)	Outcome	β	CI	<i>t</i>-value
Familism →	Self-Esteem →	Education	-.04	-.22, -.05	-2.99**
Family Cohesion →	Self-Esteem →	Education	.05	.04, .16	3.16**

*Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed). Indirect paths tested with 5,000*

bootstraps. CI = 95% confidence interval.

Appendix H - Indirect Effects for Men

Table 7

Significant Indirect Effects of the Group-Comparison Model for Men (Standardized Solutions; N = 264)

Predictor	Mediator(s)	Outcome	β	CI	<i>t</i>-value
Discrimination →	Familism →	Self-Esteem	-.06	-.02, -.007	-3.54***
Familism →	Self-Esteem →	Education	-.05	-.22, -.05	-2.95**
Discrimination →	Familism → Self-Esteem →	Education	-.01	-.02, -.004	-2.53*
Family Cohesion →	Self-Esteem →	Education	.05	.04, .16	3.9**

Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed). Indirect paths tested with 5,000

bootstraps. CI = 95% confidence interval.