NAVIGATING CULTURAL CROSSROADS: A FAMILY-CENTERED APPROACH OF STUDYING ACCULTURATIVE STRESS AND CAREER IDENTITY AMONG FILIPINO AND KOREAN AMERICAN YOUTH

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by

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This research used data from the Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (MLSAAF), a project directed by Dr. Choi Yoonsun, Professor and Chair of the Doctoral Program at the University of Chicago's Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice. Information on how to obtain the data is available on the MLSAAF website (https://www.mlsaaf.org/summary). No direct support was received for this project.

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

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and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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DEDICATION

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيم (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate).

Truly, God is the Greatest. All praise is to Him for making me see the impossible possible.

I am deeply grateful for the people who have supported me throughout this journey. First, to *umi* (mom) and *abah* (dad). What a blessed daughter I am. You have always given me unconditional love and support. And you raised me to love knowledge and never stop learning. I hope I have made you proud. To my late *nenek* (grandmother), you sent me off with your highest hope and warmest hug. Thank you for teaching me to treat others with kindness. I miss you very much. To my siblings, Kak Ain, Emi, Irah, Farid, Farah, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law, I love each one of you. Appreciate the laughter and encouragement. I miss the kiddos very much! To my fiancé, Oqi, your unwavering love has helped me throughout this long journey. You have taught me to work hard and never give up. I could not have done this without your support.

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ABSTRACT

Developing a career identity is essential for youths to experience career success in the later stages of their lives. However, it might be difficult for immigrant youth to explore and commit to a career because of the experiences of acculturative stressors. Using a large-scale survey dataset from the Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (MLSAAF) project, I conducted latent profile analyses to determine whether there were distinct parent-youth acculturative profiles among Filipino American and Korean American parents and youth. I also conducted multigroup path analyses to see whether these profiles moderate the mediated relationships between acculturative stress and career identity via *qin* (i.e., parents' fostering youths' feelings of love and closeness to parents) and social support. The findings indicated that some parent-youth acculturative profiles reported greater intergenerational cultural conflict which then linked to less recognition of *qin* in the relationships, and in turn, less defined career identity. Some profiles also reported greater racial/ethnic discrimination which related to less experiences of social support which in turn predicted a lower sense of career identity. The findings advance scholarship on the career development and contextual factors prevalent in Filipino American and Korean American groups in the Midwest region. The findings also underscore the usefulness of applying an acculturation framework for career practitioners when assisting immigrant families.

Keywords: stressors, acculturation, *qin*, social support, career identity, Asian American, youth

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Career identity is an important developmental marker for adolescents' well-being and success in life (Flum & Blustein, 2000; Kroger, 2007; Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011). It is usually defined as the stability and clarity of one's motivations, interests, and competencies (Erikson, 1968) and the ability to explore, plan, and form career goals (Holland et al., 1980). Researchers have found that having an established career identity is related to many career-related outcomes including higher self-efficacy and openness to exploring interests (Gushue et al., 2006; Leong, 1998; Super et al., 1996). In contrast, poor career identity may be linked to a lack of career aspirations and commitment (Porfeli et al., 2011).

Developing a career identity might be challenging for youth whose families have migrated from other countries. Individuals may encounter challenges associated with the acculturation process such as language barriers, cultural adjustment, and discrimination (Berry, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). They may find a huge cultural difference between their heritage culture and the host culture, lack intercultural competence to fit into the host culture, or feel discriminated against due to their minority identity. Those who experienced trouble managing ethnic and host cultures simultaneously or made the least effort to fit into the majority culture might experience poor psychological adjustment such as higher levels of depression and anxiety (Castillo et al., 2012; Chia & Costigan, 2006; Choy et al., 2021; Hou et al., 2016; J. Kim et al., 2014a; Romero et al., 2007; Yoon et al., 2017). Furthermore, challenges related to ethnic/racial discrimination are associated with higher psychological distress and lower career aspirations (Constantine & Flores, 2006; Diemer et al., 2010; Leong & Tang, 2016). Such negative experiences may lead to having trouble networking and exploring career paths outside of their ethnic groups.

Studies have also established the role of youth acculturative patterns in their careers. Youth with higher acculturation toward the host culture tend to show career decision-making styles similar to European Americans, are more comfortable networking in U.S. contexts, and have more mature career choice attitudes (Hardin et al., 2001; Leong & Chou, 1994; Leong & Tang, 2016; Leong & Tata, 1990; Nguyen et al., 2007; Shih & Brown, 2000; Tang et al., 1999).

Moreover, the psychological changes that families go through to adapt to the host culture shape not only youth but parents as well. However, youth and parents may not acculturate in the same way or at the same rate (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), which may create an acculturative gap. For example, a greater acculturative gap may refer to when youth orient to the host culture more than the heritage culture (i.e., Assimilated) while the parents retain the heritage culture (i.e., Separated). There may be less of an acculturative gap when youth are integrated (i.e., oriented to both host and heritage cultures) whereas the parents retain the heritage culture. Parents who are not integrated may not be able to help youth form their cultural identity, which can hinder youths' ability to develop career identity. In addition, greater acculturative gaps may increase conflicting career expectations between youth and parents which can negatively impact youths' career goals and interests (Chope, 2005; Chung, 2001; Farver et al., 2002; Ma et al., 2014; Ma & Yeh, 2010; Okubo et al., 2007).

Given that several studies have looked at acculturation and career outcomes in immigrant youth, the purpose of this study was to address gaps in research. First, I seek to extend the acculturation literature by examining parent-youth acculturative profiles across three indicators: language use, identity, and cultural practices. While Berry's (1997; 2003) model looked at acculturation by aggregating these indicators, it might be important to separate these indicators as individuals in a similar acculturative pattern may have varying degrees of language skills,

identity, and cultural practices. For instance, parents and youth may have similar Integrated identities (i.e., high host and heritage identity) but parents may prefer to speak the heritage language and engage in the heritage cultural practices while youth may prefer to speak and engage in the host culture. Additionally, career researchers have acknowledged that immigrant parents play an important influence on children's future goals and career pathways (Flores et al., 2019; Kantamneni & Fouad, 2022; Miller & Kerlow-Myers, 2009). However, to my knowledge, only two studies have examined parents and youth acculturation simultaneously in children's career outcome (Ghosh & Fouad, 2016; Kewalramani & Phillipson, 2020), thus, this study made a significant contribution to research.

My second aim was to see whether the profiles I found moderate the associations between acculturative stress and career identity via *qin* in parent-youth relationships and social support. In this study, acculturative stress was assessed by three indicators: intergenerational cultural conflict, dual cultural management difficulty (i.e., struggle with managing the host and heritage cultures), and perceived racial/ethnic discrimination. I also used potential mediators such as *qin* and social support. Previous studies have not yet examined dual cultural management difficulty and ethnic values such as *qin* in the context of youths' careers. Hence, this study was the first to understand the roles of these variables on career outcome. Plus, by using a person-centered approach, this study revealed unique acculturative patterns that might exist in Filipino Americans and Korean Americans while adding to our understanding of the parental influence on youth from a more culturally sensitive standpoint.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Acculturation and Career Outcomes of Filipino Americans and Korean Americans

Filipino Americans and Korean Americans are the third and fifth largest single Asian origin groups in the U.S., respectively (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). They have distinct acculturative and familial processes and, likely, career outcomes (Choi, Kim, et al., 2018; Choi, Park, et al., 2018; David & Nadal, 2013; Shin & Kelly, 2013; So et al., 2022). Filipino immigrants have a long history in the U.S. The first mass migration of Filipinos to the U.S. began in the early 1900s. Due to the large influence of Spanish and American colonization, Filipino immigrants are said to have a colonial mentality in which Spanish and American cultures are seen as superior to their culture (David & Okazaki, 2006; David & Nadal, 2013; Tuason et al., 2007). Hence, it is common to find second-generation Filipino Americans more proficient in English and highly engaged in host cultural practices compared to their Korean American counterparts (Choi, Park, et al., 2018; Ferrera, 2017).

Mass Korean immigration began in the 1960s (E. Kim & Wolpin, 2008). In contrast with Filipino Americans, Korean Americans typically retain their heritage culture by taking pride in the Korean language and cultural activities and living in cohesive, segregated Korean communities (Hurh et al., 1979; Kim, 1997; Kim & Berry, 1984). They find a sense of ethnic identification through large religious communities and economic establishments such as Korean churches, grocery stores, and Koreatowns (Choi & Foley, 2011; Kim et al., 2012; Yeh et al., 2005). This opens opportunities for upward mobility among their networks and resources.

Although both Filipino Americans and Korean Americans have been found to endorse their respective traditional values and cultural practices (Choi, Kim, et al., 2018; Choi, Park, et

al., 2018), it is also possible that, compared to Korean Americans, Filipino American youth may generally adjust to the American culture better and have a more established career identity because they are more familiar with the majority culture and the English language. Language proficiency is a well-known proxy for one's familiarity with the host culture; immigrants may fare better in the acculturative process when it is easier to learn the language of their host culture (Heine, 2020). It has also been found that youth with proficient American English tend to have developed career goals (Ma & Yeh, 2010; Patel et al., 2008; Shea et al., 2007). This may be because higher language acquisition leads to more confidence in networking and seeking out career information that is predominant in the host culture (Nadermann & Eissenstat, 2018).

Aside from language, researchers have also examined other dimensions of cultural adjustment including identity and behavior (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Berry, 2001; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Noels & Clément, 2015). Identity refers to how much one identifies to the host and/or heritage cultures (Ashmore et al., 2004) while behaviors are defined as attitudes and engagement in the behavioral norms of the cultures (Kim & Omizo, 2010). Immigrants may vary in the degree to which they associate with the host culture and/or retain their culture of origin in each domain. For instance, it is possible that a Korean American speaks English, but she does not identify as an American nor participate in American cultural activities rather she prefers to participate in the Korean community. Different patterns of acculturation may affect how people establish a career identity. For example, when one is more familiar with the host culture or with both the host and heritage cultures, one may have a greater ability to explore career opportunities.

In addition to acculturative patterns, acculturative stress (e.g., intergenerational conflict, dual cultural management difficulty, and experiences of discrimination; see discussion below)

may also affect the process of developing a career identity. Filipino American and Korean American college students reported having high acculturative stress which impacts their adjustment and sense of belonging in college (Lee & Padilla, 2014; Museus & Maramba, 2010). Both groups also reported experiencing negative stereotyping and stereotyping specifically about career choices common in Asian-origin groups (Kantamneni et al., 2018; Nadal et al., 2012; Poon, 2014; Tu & Okazaki, 2021). Such acculturative stressors may negatively impact their ability to form and define their career goals and interests.

While little is known about whether parents' acculturation affects youth career identity, a great deal of research has demonstrated the influential role that Asian American parents play in their children's academic and career development (Fouad et al., 2008; Ghosh & Fouad, 2016; Hui & Lent, 2018; Leong et al., 2004; Okubo et al., 2007; Shea et al., 2007; Tao et al., 2018). For instance, Asian parents who are highly involved in the host culture generally encourage children to explore their interests in deciding on a career (Leong et al., 2004; Wang et al., 2021; Xie et al., 2004; Young et al., 2003). This may be because parents learn the parenting behaviors that are common in European Americans such as promoting individual passions in career choices. Additionally, Korean American parents emphasize education and prestige in careers much more than any parents of other ethnicities (Kim, 1993; Kim, 1997) whereas Filipino culture emphasizes high parental control and family obligations (Choi, Kim, et al., 2018; Espiritu, 2003; Fuligni & Pederson, 2002), which may restrict children's career exploration based on personal interests and goals. It was unknown to what degree parents in the study's sample retained such heritage values and adopted behaviors and values of the host culture, and how these behaviors might have influenced their role in the youth's career identity.

Potential Predictors of Career Identity

Career identity reflects how much adolescents have explored possible careers and whether adolescents have committed to a career (Erikson, 1968; Holland et al., 1980). Adolescents with a strong career identity are said to have undergone the career exploration process and are committed to a certain career path (Holland et al., 1980; Super et al., 1996). The idea of exploration and commitment regarding careers comes from Marcia's (1996) broader model of the development of ego identity. The model includes four identity statuses: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement. Diffusion refers to individuals who have neither explored possible careers nor committed to one. Foreclosure refers to those who have made a commitment to a career with little exploration of possible careers (e.g., choosing a parent-suggested career without exploring careers). Moratorium refers to individuals who have explored, or are exploring, different career options but have not committed to any. Achievement reflects those who have explored career possibilities and have committed to one. Below, I discuss how various acculturative stress might associate with career identity.

Acculturative Stress

Youth under stress may be less focused on career exploration and commitment, which can be detrimental for their career success. Stress may also result in youth perceiving less supportive and kind behaviors from others around them. In the present study, I look at three sources of acculturative stress which are intergenerational cultural conflict, dual cultural management difficulty, and perceived racial/ethnic discrimination. I discuss these stressors in detail below.

Intergenerational Cultural Conflict

Intergenerational cultural conflict is prevalent in immigrant families; it refers to the conflict between parents and children that is primarily due to divergent cultural values and beliefs (Juang et al., 2007). Immigrant youth often acculturate more quickly than their parents which may result in youth feeling caught between opposing values and practices of their parents and peers or experiencing internal conflict between their own beliefs and those of their less acculturated parents (Fuligni et al., 2002; Kim et al., 2009; Lee & Liu, 2001; Padilla et al., 1986). Youth who are oriented toward the host and heritage cultures (i.e., Integrated) with parents oriented toward the heritage culture (i.e., Separated) may experience fewer conflicts because children may have an understanding of how the heritage culture influences their parents. Whereas youth who are oriented toward the host culture (e.g., Assimilated) with Separated parents may experience greater conflict due to the lack of a cultural common ground.

A few studies have demonstrated the link between intergenerational cultural conflict and career outcomes. For instance, Ma and Yeh (2005) found that among Chinese American youth, greater intergenerational family conflict leads to indecisiveness in youth career choices. Other studies with combined Asian ethnic subgroup samples (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Japanese, Indian) suggested that conflict specific to careers such as parents and youth holding opposing career ideas might result in lower career aspirations in youth (Constantine & Flores, 2006; Ma et al., 2014).

Dual Cultural Management Difficulty

The trouble of managing dual cultural identities may also exacerbate immigrant youth's commitment to career identity. Research has widely documented the adjustment challenges of

Asian American youth in negotiating their cultural identities (James, 1997; Jun Li, 2009; J. Kim et al., 2014a; Tikhonov et al., 2019; Yeh et al., 2005). For example, youth may struggle to balance the majority and ethnic culture, feel forced to choose between the two cultures, or experience trouble deciding when to be "more Asian" and when to be "more American". Studies have suggested that experiencing such struggle may relate to higher psychological risks such as greater levels of depression and less optimism (Kim et al., 2014a; Romero et al., 2007).

Research has not yet established the link between this specific stressor and career identity although previous studies on acculturative stress more generally found that stress related to difficulty adjusting to the new culture impedes immigrant students' career commitment (Franco et al., 2019; Jeon, 2022; Jo et al., 2022; Reynolds & Constantine, 2007). Furthermore, youth who are struggling with developing identities in other areas such as friendships may be less committed to career planning (Porfeli et al., 2011; Wallace-Broscious et al., 1994). Thus, it is possible that the stress of managing host and heritage identities leads to lower career exploration and commitment among youth.

Perceived Discrimination

Racial/ethnic minority discrimination may negatively impact career identity. Previous studies have extensively highlighted the role of discrimination (e.g., negative stereotyping) on psychological distress and perceived barriers to pursuing career interests (Atkin & Tran, 2020; Fouad et al., 2008; N. E. Hill et al., 2003; Kantamneni et al., 2018; Leong & Tang, 2016; Shen et al., 2014; Poon, 2014; Woo et al., 2020). For instance, when Asian youth experience discrimination, they are more likely to conform to the stereotype-based careers such as STEM careers rather than a career that fit their personal goals (Fouad et al., 2008; Liu et al., 1999;

Okubo et al., 2007; Polenova et al., 2018). Thus, I expected to see a direct relationship between racial/ethnic discrimination and a less developed career identity in this study.

Interpersonal Mediators

Having a warm and supportive relationship with parents and others such as friends, teachers, and the community may play a role in how youth explore, develop, and commit to career goals. In the following sections, I describe and examine in-depth how *qin* and social support may mediate the relationship between acculturative stress and career identity.

Qin

The idea of *qin* uniquely characterizes Asian parent-youth relationships; it is described as the feeling of love and closeness to parents in response to the parents' benevolent practices such as parental devotion and sacrifice (Wu & Chao, 2011; 2017). Wu and Chao (2017) state that *qin* is fostered by relatively indirect expressions of parental love and warmth. Thus, researchers typically use the term *qin* to refer to parental behaviors that foster *qin* rather than *qin* itself. An example of when youth may experience *qin* is when parents understand their problems even before the child tells them. It is plausible that when acculturative stress occurs, youth may be less likely to perceive that parents are trying to understand their needs and acting in their best interest for children. In other words, the greater the acculturative stress, the less likely that youth experience *qin* in their relationships with parents.

Parents' attempts to foster *qin* may also influence adolescents' ability to explore and commit to a career. Several studies suggested that parental behaviors such as supporting children and being involved in children's lives are directly linked to children's confidence in making career decisions (Dietrich & Kracke, 2009; Guan et al., 2018; Ma & Yeh, 2010; Nota et al.,

2007; Stringer & Kerpelman, 2010). While such parental support and engagement have not been widely investigated in the context of ethnic values such as *qin,* it is possible that when youth perceive parent's indirect expressions of love and care (e.g., investing in their education for a better future), they are more likely to establish a career plan. Taken together, youth who experience higher acculturative stress may be less likely to perceive indirect expressions of love from parents, which may reduce youths' ability to form and define ideas for future careers.

Social Support

In addition to parental behaviors that foster *qin,* social support may also explain the relationship between acculturative stressors and youth career identity. Research has suggested that acculturative stress is negatively correlated with social support (Falavarjani et al., 2020; Kim et al., 2022) and that social support has a positive association with youths' ability to determine educational and career goals (D. J. Hill et al., 2021; Patel et al., 2008; Yakushko et al., 2008). It is possible that when youth experience acculturative stress such as discrimination because of their racial/ethnic minority identity, it reduces the ability to draw support from others, which lead to reduced opportunity for career networking such as discussing and asking for help regarding career choices.

Parent-Youth Acculturative Patterns as Moderators

I have discussed how the association of acculturative stressors and career identity may be mediated by *qin* and social support. In the following sections, I first explain the importance of studying separate acculturative domains (i.e., identity, language, practices) as opposed to aggregating them. Then, I explore the possibility of how parent-youth acculturative profiles may moderate the mediated relationships.

The Importance of Separating Acculturative Indicators

Berry (1997; 2003) has proposed a framework describing acculturation as the individual's endorsement of two cultural systems: 1) the host culture (e.g., American) and/or 2) the heritage culture (e.g., Asian). The framework suggests that the extent to which an individual adheres to both the host culture and culture of origin may produce four possible patterns of acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. The integration pattern refers to an individual strongly endorsing or immersed in both the heritage and host cultures. The domains of the culture may include identities, languages, and practices. This pattern has also been labeled as bicultural (Boski, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2010). The assimilation pattern refers to individuals who are not highly involved in their heritage culture, and instead are highly involved in the host culture. The separation pattern refers to low involvement in the host culture, and high involvement in the heritage culture. Finally, the marginalized status is relatively rare as individuals in this category participate neither in the host culture nor the culture of origin (Heine, 2020; Kim & Omizo, 2006).

Although Berry's (1997; 2003) model is helpful in thinking about acculturation, in practice, it is used to categorize individuals into four discrete groups. It does not examine where in the two dimensional space (of being involved in the host culture and being involved in the culture of origin) individuals are, does not examine separate domains of acculturation, and does not examine parents and children simultaneously (Rudmin, 2003; Rudmin et al., 2016; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). A person-oriented analysis can model groups of parents and youth that exist anywhere in a space defined by how strongly both parents and youth are involved in 1) their culture of origin and 2) the new host culture, and examine separately language use, cultural identities, and engagement in cultural practices (these domains are assessed by Berry (1997) but

averaged together). It is important to examine these indices because two groups of similar patterns may nevertheless differ on specific acculturative aspects (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). For instance, two groups classified as bicultural may differ in how much they are involved in cultural activities of the heritage and host cultures.

Variations of Parent-Youth Acculturative Profiles in Youth Career Identity

Additionally, we can postulate a variety of parent-youth acculturative patterns that may play a moderating role in the mediated relationship between acculturative stress and career identity. For example, a group of bicultural youth who have parents who are more "separated" may be less likely to experience acculturative stress (due to their familiarity with both cultures), more likely to perceive *qin* in their relationship (due to their involvement in their culture of origin), and therefore, are more likely to form stable career ideas. In other words, patterns of acculturation may not necessarily be detrimental to youth's career identity if youth are more acculturated to the host culture than their parents while also retaining their culture of origin. Bicultural youth are familiar with the host and heritage cultural contexts as well as potentially opposing cultural forces that influence their parents' expectations, so they may understand the meaning of *qin* and feel supported by their parents (Wu & Chao, 2011). If this is the case, there may be low levels of intergenerational conflict for this group, and there may not be a lot of within-group variation in intergenerational conflict to predict other variables such as *qin*. On the other hand, if youth strongly engage in the host culture while parents are strongly immersed in the heritage culture (i.e., high acculturative gap), there may be greater variation in intergenerational conflict, making it more possible to find associations between this variable and other variables such as *qin* (e.g., perceiving parents do not think of them and their future), which then lead to lower career aspirations and plans.

Taken together, it is important to explore how the parent- youth acculturative profiles may moderate the mediated effects of the main study variables. This study uniquely contributes to the literature by using a family-centered approach that examines multiple acculturative dimensions (i.e., language, identity, and cultural practices) and reveals parent-youth acculturative groups in this sample, which may also account for group differences among Asian American groups (Chung et al., 2004; Schwartz et al., 2010).

Current Study

When conducting the study, I had two goals. First, I wanted to see whether there were distinct parent-youth acculturative profiles. Second, I wanted to examine whether these profiles moderate the relationships between acculturative stressors (i.e., intergenerational cultural conflict, dual cultural management difficulty, perceived racial/ethnic discrimination) and career identity via *qin* and social support. Specifically, I hypothesized the following:

H1: There are distinct parent-youth acculturative profiles in the Filipino American and Korean American samples.

H2: The profiles will moderate the direct effects (i.e., between acculturative stress and career identity) and indirect effects (i.e., between acculturative stress and career identity via *qin* and social support).

H3: In at least one profile, *qin* and social support will mediate relationships between acculturative stressors and career identity.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Method

The dataset came from the Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (MLSAAF). The MLSAAF is a longitudinal study of Filipino and Korean American youth and their parents. The primary goal of the MLSAAF project was to examine how parent-child dynamics are associated with youth academic, mental health, and behavioral outcomes throughout adolescence until young adulthood.

The project was implemented in Chicago and surrounding Midwest areas. Data were collected at three time points between 2014 and 2018. Participants were recruited from multiple sources including phonebooks, schools, religious institutions (e.g., churches, temples), ethnic grocery stores, and ethnic community organizations. Outreach campaigns about the study were actively distributed until the project reached its target numbers (at least 350 families for each subgroup). At Time 1, the study surveyed 378 Filipino parent-youth dyads and 408 Korean American parent-youth dyads. At Time 2, the participants consisted of 225 Filipino American parent-youth dyads and 278 Korean American parent-youth dyads. Finally, at Time 3, only youth participants were surveyed but not parents, totaling 309 Filipino American and 341 Korean American youths.

Family was the sampling unit. The sampling criteria were families with a child age between 12 and 17 years old and at least one parent of Korean or Filipino heritage. Youth and their primary caretaker (mostly mothers) were asked to complete the survey in private to protect privacy and confidentiality. Participants have the option to be interviewed in person by trained

researchers or complete the survey independently either through mail or online. Participants were given an incentive upon survey completion ($40 for parents and $20 for youth).

Sample Characteristics

At Time 1, the average age for Filipino American youth was 15.28 (*SD* = 1.89) while for Korean American youth was 14.76 (*SD* = 1.91). Gender distribution was about equal for both with 56.20% and 47.56% girls for Filipino Americans and Korean Americans, respectively. About 71% of Filipino American and 58.29% of Korean American youth were U.S.-born, and the average years of living in the U.S. among foreign-born were 8.47 years (*SD* = 4.24) for Filipino Americans and 8.13 years (*SD* = 4.28) for Korean Americans. At Time 2, Filipino American youths' average was 16.29 (*SD* = 1.63) while Korean American youths' average age was 16.07 (*SD* = 1.63). At Time 3, the average age for Filipino American youth was 16.74 (*SD* = 1.14) while for Korean American youth was 16.63 (*SD* = 1.13).

The average age of parents at Time 1 was 46.21 years (*SD* = 5.79) for Filipino Americans and 45.32 years (*SD* = 3.76) for Korean Americans. Ninety percent of Filipino American parents were immigrant (the rest were U.S. born) while 99% of Korean American parents born outside of the U.S. For Filipino Americans, 89% of parents were married, 5% were divorced, 2% were widowed, and 1% were separated. Of Korean Americans, 92% were married, 4% were divorced, 1% were widowed, and 2% were separated. Filipino American families have a higher income range midpoint at an average of $101,191 (*SD* = $58,243) while the average for Korean American families was $75,096 (*SD* = $48, 098).

Measures

All measures discussed in this section are in Appendix A. The questionnaires were originally in English and were translated into Korean and Filipino languages by a committee of translators. Any discrepancies were discussed and agreed upon among the committee. The response options for all measures were an ordinal Likert scale, ranging from 1 (never or not at all) to 5 (always or strongly). A higher score indicated a higher level of the constructs.

Acculturation: Language, Identity, and Behavior (LIB). This scale was measured at Time 1 and was administered to youth and their parent. Adopted from the LIB scale (Birman & Trickett, 2002), youth and parents rated their engagement in the language competency, identity, and cultural practices of the host and heritage cultures. An example item for language competency is "How well do you understand English/Korean/Filipino language?". A sample item for identity is "I am proud of being American/Korean/Filipino" while a sample item for cultural practices is "Read English/Korean/Filipino books, websites, newspapers, or magazines". Reliability results were as the following (Filipino/Korean): English language competence (.84/.89), ethnic language competence (.82/.87), American identity (.81/.77), ethnic identity (.76/.77), American cultural practices (.75/.79), and ethnic cultural practices (.79/.74).

Career Identity. This scale was measured at Time 3 and consisted of eight items. It was adopted from the Seoul Survey (2018). Sample items include "I have a field that I am currently interested in as well as a distinct reason why" and "I would oppose my parents if they pressured me to pursue a major against my will". This was the only career-related outcome present in the study. This scale had good reliability for both Korean (.88) and Filipino (.88) subgroups.

Intergenerational Cultural Conflict. This was measured at Time 2. Ten items measured whether youth have disagreements on things with their parents. Example items include "Your

parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions" and "You want to state your opinion, but your parents consider it to be disrespectful to talk back". Reliability was high for the Filipino (.92) and Korean (.89) groups.

Dual Cultural Management Difficulty. This scale was also measured at Time 2. The six items measured youth experiences in navigating their ethnic culture (Korean/Filipino) and the dominant American culture. Sample items include "It is difficult to balance two cultures (Filipino/Korean and American cultures)" and "It's difficult to know when I need to be more Filipino/Korean or American in a certain situation". The scale yielded high reliability for the Filipino (.90) and Korean (.88) groups.

Perceived Racial Discrimination. This scale was measured at Time 2. The five items measured youth perceptions of discrimination experiences by people other than their ethnic groups (i.e., outgroup). Examples of items include "I have felt discriminated by whites", "I have felt discriminated by other Asians", "I have felt discriminated by racial/ethnic minorities like Black or Hispanic", and "My teacher(s) treat me unfairly because I am Korean/Filipino". Reliability was moderately high for the Filipino (.81) and Korean (.82) groups.

***Qin*.** This was measured at Time 2. Nine items measured youth perceptions of parental behaviors that foster the feeling of *qin* (i.e., indirect expression of love and warmth). Example items include "Insist on taking care of me even when they don't feel well or are tired" and "Understand my difficulties even though they don't say anything". The scale produced high reliability for the Filipino (.90) and Korean (.89) groups. Note that this scale did not measure youths' actual feeling of *qin* but rather what they think of parental behaviors that promote the feeling of *qin.* For the sake of brevity, I refer the variable as *qin* throughout the paper.

Social Support from School, Peers, and Community. This was also measured at Time 2. The four items asked the youth about important people whom they can rely on. Example items include “There is at least one teacher or another adult at school that I can talk to if I have a problem” and “Other students in my class help me do my best”. Reliability was acceptable for Filipino (.68) and Korean (.74) groups.

Control Variables. The following control variables, assessed at Time 1, were included in the study: Family income, youth’s gender, and age of youth and parents. Parents were asked, “What was the total income of your household (before tax) last year (2014)?”. Responses were categorical and ranged from (1) Less than $25,000, (2) $25000-$49,999, (3) $50,000-$74,999, (4) $75,000-$99,999, (5) $100,000-$149,999, and (6) $150,000 or more. The youth was asked about their gender (0 = male; 1 = female). Parents and youth were also asked to state or type out their ages in a blank field. Responses for ages were continuous.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Power Analysis

To determine the minimum sample size for mediated effects, I performed a Monte Carlo power analysis for a sample size of 250 using Mplus (Muthén, and Muthén, 1998-2017). I specified the complex mediational model to include three predictors, two mediators, and one outcome variable. All variables were continuous. Power was calculated across 10,000 replications and the path coefficient reached significance at the .05 level for a small effect size. The simulation yielded power estimates to detect the total mediated effect at .88 for a small effect size (i.e., .15 considered as a small effect size; Cohen, 1992). Researchers have suggested that a power of .80 and above is sufficient to detect significant mediated effects (Thoemmes et al., 2010). Based on the results, the sample sizes of Filipino Americans (N = 378) and Korean Americans (N = 397) seem highly adequate.

Distribution and Correlation of Main Variables

I also conducted a series of preliminary analyses to examine the distribution of the main variable of interests, skewness, and kurtosis values. I used Kline's (2016) guide for absolute skewness and kurtosis values. Skewness can vary between -3 and +3 while kurtosis can vary between -10 and +10. In the Filipino American sample, the study variables were normally distributed, falling under the normal distribution range of skewness (-1.83 to 1.99) and kurtosis (-.63 to 2.49). In the Korean American sample, the study variables have a normal distribution with a range of skewness (-1.56 to 1.89) and kurtosis (-.24 to 1.93), except parental English

proficiency. Parents' English proficiency was slightly left-skewed (-3.13) and leptokurtotic or "peaked" (10.83).

Descriptive statistics and correlations among the main study variables were examined and presented in Appendix B. For Filipino Americans, intergenerational cultural conflict was positively correlated with racial discrimination, $r(277) = .32$, $p < .001$, and dual cultural management difficulty, $r(277) = .52$, $p < .001$. It was also negatively correlated with *qin*, $r(275) = -.20$, $p < .001$, and social support, $r(275) = -.35$, $p < .001$. Racial discrimination was negatively correlated with career, $r(259) = -.25$, $p < .001$, *qin*, $r(276) = -.40$, $p < .001$, and social support, $r(277) = -.24$, $p < .001$. Dual cultural management difficulty was positively correlated with career identity, $r(266) = .18$, $p = .003$, and social support, $r(277) = -.34$, $p < .001$. *Qin* was positively correlated with social support, $r(275) = .26$, $p < .001$, and career, $r(258) = .23$, $p < .001$.

For Korean Americans, intergenerational cultural conflict was positively correlated with dual cultural management difficulty, $r(313) = .33$, $p < .001$, and racial discrimination, $r(313) = .29$, $p < .001$. It was negatively correlated with *qin*, $r(310) = -.13$, $p = .02$, and social support, $r(311) = -.15$, $p = .009$. Dual cultural management difficulty was positively correlated with racial discrimination, $r(313) = .34$, $p < .001$. Racial discrimination was negatively correlated with social support, $r(308) = .24$, $p < .001$. *Qin* was positively correlated with social support, $r(311) = -.15$, $p = .007$, and career, $r(291) = .21$, $p < .001$. Career was also positively correlated with social support, $r(292) = .18$, $p = .002$. There were no other significant correlations.

Main Analyses

Latent Profile Analyses

I conducted latent profile analyses (LPA) to determine parent-youth acculturative patterns that might exist in the Filipino and Korean American samples. The goal was to use the groups as moderators during the multigroup path analysis. Latent profile is a person-oriented approach; it identifies hidden groups in a dataset by obtaining the probability that individuals belong to different groups or profiles. It also examines the group distributions and determines whether those distributions are meaningful. I used five general steps to obtain profiles of parents and youth acculturation (Ferguson et al., 2020).

Step 1: Handling Missing Data

Full information maximum likelihood (FIML) was utilized to handle cases with missing items in one composite variable. FIML considers missingness at the composite level and addresses it by using all available information in the data. Participants were removed from the analysis when values on all acculturative indicators were missing (Filipino Americans = 62; Korean Americans = 51).

Step 2: Analyzing a Series of Plausible Iterative LPA Models

The analyses were run separately for Filipino Americans and Korean Americans. I initially modeled one profile and iteratively tested additional profiles. I stopped when subsequent model did not predict significantly more variance than the previous model, *k*-1.

To avoid converging on a local solution (i.e., false maximum likelihood), researchers suggest using multiple random sets of two values as start values to estimate the model (Hipp &

Bauer, 2006; McLachlan & Peel, 2000). It is also recommended that the second value for the final stage optimizations to be no more than a quarter of the initial stage starts values (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017). Hence, I used 1000 as the number of random start values and 250 as the second value.

Step 3: Evaluating Model Fit and Interpretability

The analysis yielded these criteria information: 1) Entropy (Celeux & Soromenho, 1996) is a composite that signifies the overall ability of a mixture model to return distinct profiles. This is derived from the weighted average of posterior classification probabilities. 2) Smallest profile percentage. Profile with the smallest percentage higher than 5% is preferred as it indicates higher confidence that the selected profile represents a distinct grouping that might be generalizable to other samples. 3) The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1987) is an information index based on the loglikelihood and the number of parameters. 4) The Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC; Schwarz, 1978) signifies the tradeoff between maximizing the likelihood ratio statistic and increased model parameters. 5) The Sample Size-Adjusted Bayesian Information Criterion (SABIC; Sclove, 1987) is the Bayesian Information Criterion with further sample size adjustment. 6) The Vuong Lo-Mendell-Rubin test (VLMR; Lo, Mendell, & Rubin, 2001) compares the fit between a *k* vs *k*-1 profiles; a non-significant *p*-value means the more parsimonious model (*k*-1) may be sufficient. 7) The Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio Test (LRT; McLachlan & Peel, 2000) which is a nested model that compares neighboring models (e.g., *k* vs *k*-1 profiles). A non-significant LRT for a model with *k* profiles indicates that the solution is not superior to a *k*-1 profile solution and hence, the more parsimonious model is preferred. It is worth noting that sometimes LRT consistently shows significant *p*-value due to the increased number of parameters that represent the data.

I determined the best-fitting profile solutions by looking for cases when entropy was between .80 and 1, the smallest profile percentage was greater than 5%, the VLMR and LRT *p*-values were non-significant, and the AIC, BIC, and SABIC in model *k* were significantly less than the model *k*-1 (Spurk et al., 2020; Ferguson et al., 2020).

Table 1

Filipino American Parent-Youth LPA Model Fit Summary

Model	Log Likelihood	AIC	BIC	SABIC	Entropy	Smallest profile %	VLMR *p*-value	LRT *p*-value
1	-4985.27	10018.54	10112.97	10036.83	-	-	-	-
2	-4640.61	9355.23	9500.82	9383.42	0.84	38	0	0
3	-4455.49	9010.98	9207.72	9049.08	0.87	17	0	0
4	-4325.61	8777.21	9025.11	8825.22	0.89	10	0.10	0

Note. n = 316; The VLMR test and the LRT compare the current model to a model with *k*-1 profile. LPA = latent profile analysis; AIC = Akaike's Information Criterion; BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; SABIC = Sample-Adjusted BIC; VLMR = Lo-Mendell Ruben; LRT = bootstrap likelihood ratio test.

Table 2

Korean American Parent-Youth LPA Model Fit Summary

Model	Log Likelihood	AIC	BIC	SABIC	Entropy	Smallest profile %	VLMR *p*-value	LRT *p*-value
1	-5088.30	10224.60	10320.22	10244.07				
2	-4799.53	9673.06	9820.47	9703.07	0.99	12	0.05	0.05
3	-4635.36	9370.71	9569.91	9411.26	0.93	12	0.05	0.05
4	-4356.92	8839.85	9090.83	8890.93	0.99	2.5	0.69	0.69

Note. n = 346; The VLMR test and the LRT compare the current model to a model with *k*-1 profile. LPA = latent profile analysis; AIC = Akaike's Information Criterion; BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; SABIC = Sample-Adjusted BIC; VLMR = Lo-Mendell Ruben; LRT = bootstrap likelihood ratio test.

Table 1 shows the LPA model fit summary for Filipino Americans (n = 316). Model 3, with three profiles, was retained as the best model to fit the data based on the adequate entropy

value (.87) and an acceptable smallest class percentage (17%). The log likelihood, AIC, BIC, and SABIC values were significantly less than Model 2. The *p*-value for the VLMR test became non-significant when adding one solution which suggested that the more parsimonious profile (i.e., the *k*-1 profile) was a better fit. Note that the LRT test consistently showed significant value for *k* vs *k*-1 profile ($p < .001$) although I ran up to seven profiles to see if the value would become nonsignificant. As I mentioned above, this can sometimes happen due to the increased number of free parameters. Therefore, choosing the final model based on the other criteria was sufficient. Thus, hypothesis 1 was confirmed; there were in fact unique profiles of acculturation.

The LPA model fit summary for Korean Americans ($n = 346$) is shown in Table 2. Based on similar reasonings as the Filipino American sample, Model 3 would be retained as the entropy value (.93) was relatively high and the smallest class percentage was 12%. The log likelihood, AIC, BIC, and SABIC values were also significantly less than the previous model. When adding one more profile to the model, the *p*-value for the VLMR and LRT tests became nonsignificant which indicated that the more parsimonious model would be retained (i.e., Model 3).

Step 4: Investigating Patterns in Selected Profiles

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of Filipino American Profiles on Acculturation Indicators

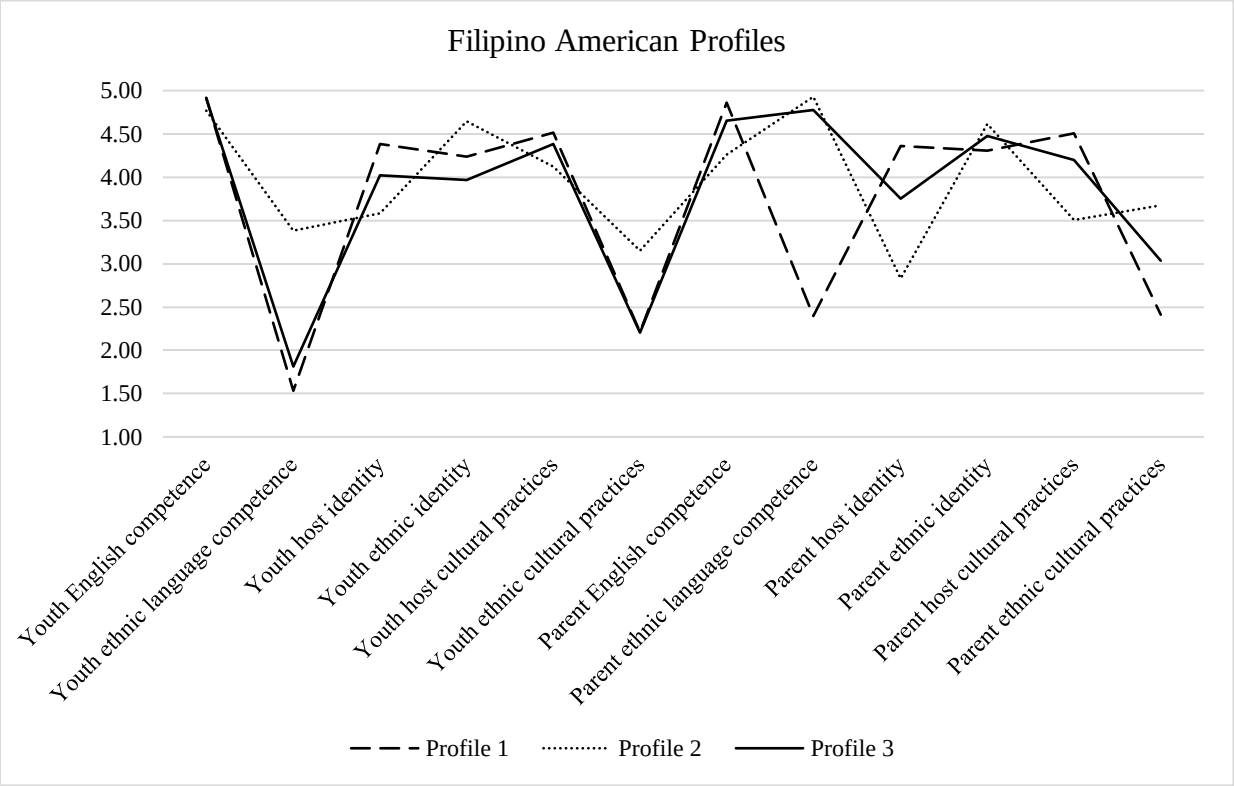
Variable	Profile 1 *Similar integrated identity, host-oriented dyad* ($n = 58$)		Profile 2 *Similar ethnic identity dyad with moderate-integrated practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents* ($n = 159$)		Profile 3 *Similar integrated identity dyad with host-oriented practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents* ($n = 99$)	
	Parent	Youth	Parent	Youth	Parent	Youth
English Competence	4.86 (0.56)	4.92 (0.37)	4.26 (0.56)	4.77 (0.37)	4.65 (0.56)	4.91 (0.37)

Ethnic Language Competence	2.40 (0.43)	1.53 (0.82)	4.93 (0.43)	3.38 (0.82)	4.78 (0.43)	1.81 (0.82)
Host Identity	4.36 (0.89)	4.38 (0.77)	2.83 (0.89)	3.58 (0.77)	3.75 (0.89)	4.02 (0.77)
Ethnic Identity	4.31 (0.59)	4.24 (0.56)	4.61 (0.59)	4.65 (0.56)	4.48 (0.59)	3.97 (0.56)
Host Cultural Practices	4.51 (0.64)	4.51 (0.62)	3.50 (0.64)	4.12 (0.62)	4.20 (0.64)	4.39 (0.62)
Ethnic Cultural Practices	2.41 (0.69)	2.21 (0.66)	3.67 (0.69)	3.15 (0.66)	3.03 (0.69)	2.20 (0.66)

Note. Means and standard deviations for variables across all profiles. Values outside of the parenthesis represent the means. Values inside the parenthesis represent the standard deviations.

Figure 1

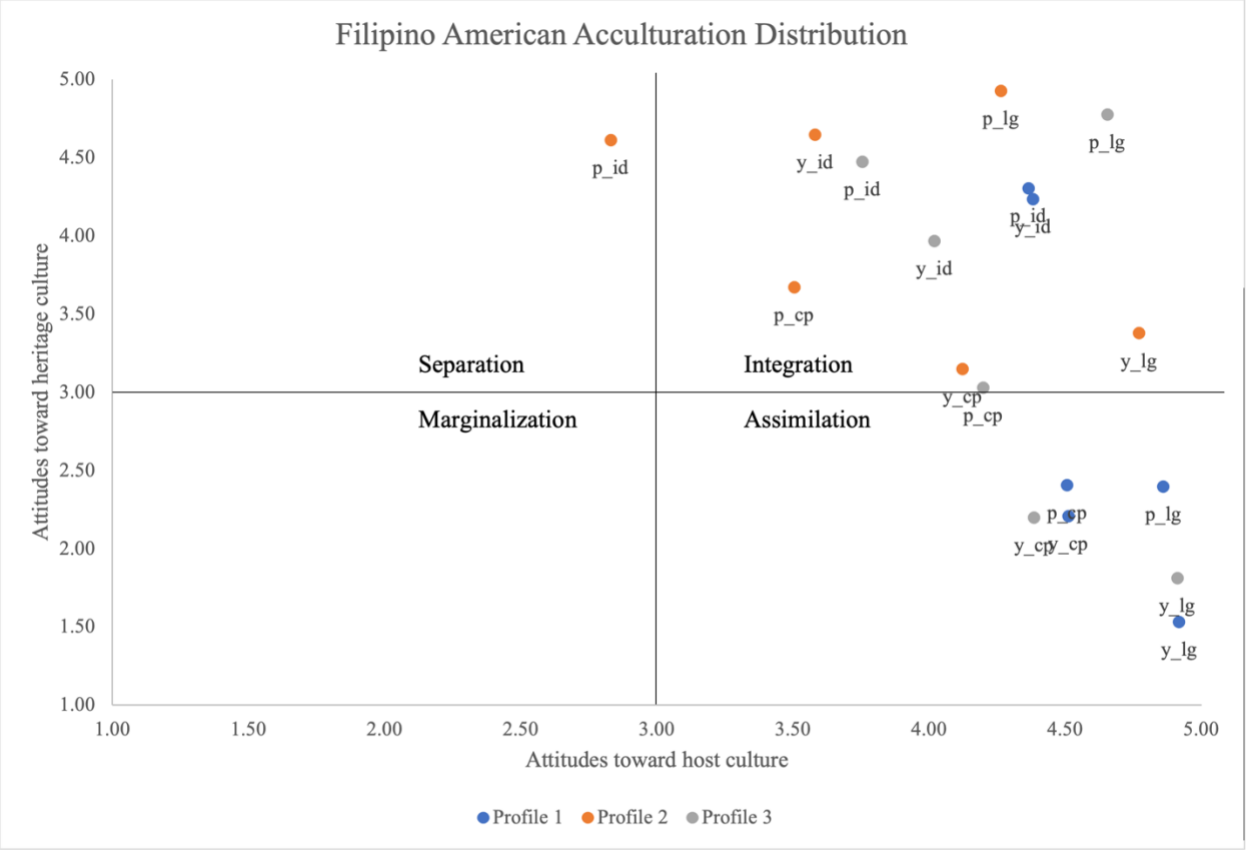
Line Graph Comparing Indicator Variables in Mean Score Format for Filipino Americans



Note. Profile 1: n = 58; Profile 2: n = 159; Profile 3: n = 99.

Figure 2

Distribution of Filipino American Profiles Based on Berry's Model of Acculturation (1997)



To interpret the patterns of the three-profile solutions, I assigned a label based on the mean scores and characteristics of the acculturation indicators (i.e., language, identity, behavior). For Filipino Americas, indicators where youth and parents are similar were described before the semicolon and were labeled '*Similar*', and indicators where they differ were described after the semicolon. In some cases, domains with similar orientations were consolidated and labeled using the cultural orientation, rather than the specific domains. This was intended for brevity. For example, the first part of '*Similar integrated identity, host-oriented dyad'* means that parents and youth displayed similarly high identities toward the host and heritage cultures (i.e., integrated identity). The second part refers to the language and cultural practice domains; parents and youth

engaged in the language and cultural practices of the host culture more than the heritage culture (i.e., host-oriented).

The first profile was labeled '*Similar integrated identity, host-oriented dyad'* (18%, *n* = 58). This is the only label without a semicolon as the youth and parents have similar orientation in all acculturation domains. As illustrated in Table 3 and Figures 1 and 2, youth and parents reported similar integrated identities which oriented toward both the host (M_{Youth} = 4.38; $M_{Parents}$ = 4.36) and heritage cultures (M_{Youth} = 4.24; $M_{Parents}$ = 4.31). They also reported greater preferences for host language (M_{Youth} = 4.92; $M_{Parents}$ = 4.86) and host cultural practices (M_{Youth} = 4.51; $M_{Parents}$ = 4.51) than for ethnic language (M_{Youth} = 1.53; $M_{Parents}$ = 2.40) and Filipino cultural practices (M_{Youth} = 2.21; $M_{Parents}$ = 2.41). Thus, I added '*host-oriented*' to refer to the host language and cultural practice preferences that are higher than the heritage culture.

The second profile was labeled *'Similar ethnic identity dyad with moderate-integrated practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents*' (50%, *n* = 159). Youth and parents reported similar identity and cultural practice orientations but different language competence. They reported the greatest ethnic identity (M_{Youth} = 4.68; $M_{Parents}$ = 4.65) and the lowest host identity (M_{Youth} = 3.58; $M_{Parents}$ = 2.8) compared to youth and parents in profiles one and three. Hence, they were labeled '*Similar ethnic identity*'. In terms of cultural practice, both youth and parents reported modest preferences toward the host culture (M_{Youth} = 4.12; $M_{Parents}$ = 3.50) and Filipino culture (M_{Youth} = 3.15; $M_{Parents}$ = 3.67). Thus, this domain was labeled '*moderate-integrated practice'* for both parents and youth. Additionally, the youth were highly competent in English (4.77) than the ethnic language (3.38), hence, they were labeled '*English-speaking'* while the parents were labeled '*bilingual'* as shown by their high English skills (4.26) and ethnic language competence (4.93).

Profile three was titled *'Similar integrated identity dyad with host-oriented practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents'* (32%, *n* = 99). Like profile one, youth and parents in this profile reported similar integrated identities toward both host (M_{Youth} = 4.02; $M_{Parents}$ = 3.78) and heritage cultures (M_{Youth} = 3.97; $M_{Parents}$ = 4.48). They also reported greater cultural practices in the host culture (M_{Youth} = 4.39; $M_{Parents}$ = 4.20) than in the Filipino culture (M_{Youth} = 2.20; $M_{Parents}$ = 3.03). Language competence was different for youth and parents. Youth highly preferred English (4.91) more than the ethnic language (1.81) while parents were competent in both English (4.65) and ethnic language (4.78). Thus, the youth were labeled '*English-speaking'* whereas the parents were labeled '*bilingual'*.

Table 4

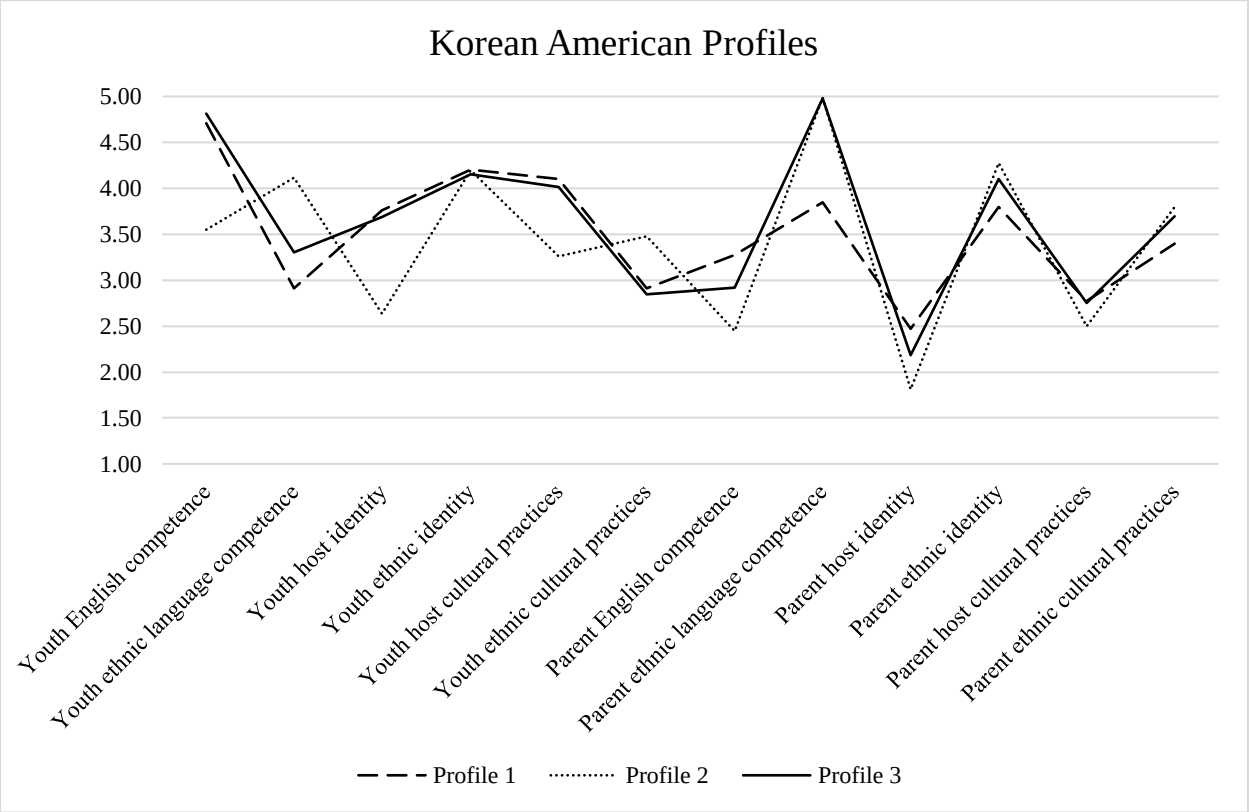
Means and Standard Deviations of Korean American Profiles on Acculturation Indicators

Variable	Profile 1 *Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; bilingual and ethnic-oriented parents* (*n* = 46)		Profile 2 *Ethnic identity bilingual youth with moderate-integrated practice; Korean-speaking and ethnic-oriented parents* (*n* = 65)		Profile 3 *Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; Korean-speaking and ethnic-oriented parents* (*n* = 286)	
	Parent	Youth	Parent	Youth	Parent	Youth
English Competence	3.27 (0.78)	4.71 (0.41)	2.45 (0.78)	3.55 (0.41)	2.92 (0.78)	4.81 (0.41)
Ethnic Language Competence	3.85 (0.14)	2.91 (0.91)	4.99 (0.14)	4.11 (0.91)	4.98 (0.14)	3.30 (0.91)
Host Identity	2.47 (0.79)	3.76 (0.72)	1.81 (0.79)	2.64 (0.72)	2.18 (0.79)	3.69 (0.72)
Ethnic Identity	3.80 (0.57)	4.20 (0.70)	4.28 (0.57)	4.19 (0.70)	4.10 (0.57)	4.15 (0.70)
Host Cultural Practices	2.77 (0.71)	4.10 (0.70)	2.50 (0.71)	3.26 (0.70)	2.75 (0.71)	4.01 (0.70)
Ethnic Cultural Practices	3.40 (0.68)	2.91 (0.78)	3.80 (0.68)	3.48 (0.78)	3.70 (0.68)	2.85 (0.78)

Note. Means and standard deviations for variables across all profiles. Values outside of the parenthesis represent the means. Values inside the parenthesis represent the standard deviations.

Figure 3

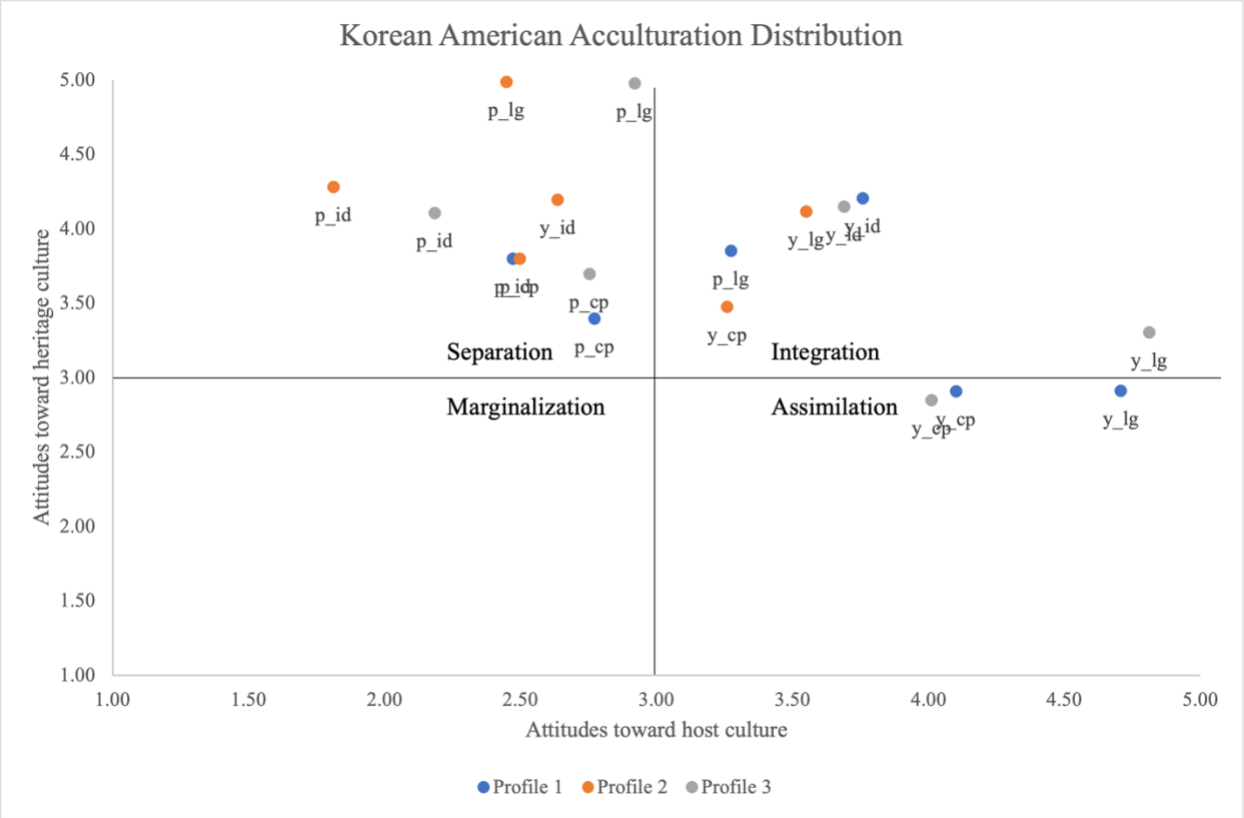
Line Graph Comparing Indicator Variables in Mean Score Format for Korean Americans



Note. Profile 1: n = 46; Profile 2: n = 65; Profile 3: n = 286.

Figure 4

Distribution of Korean American Profiles Based on Berry's Model of Acculturation (1997)



The labels for Korean American dyads were organized differently since youth and parents were not similar in any profiles. The youths' domain orientations were described before the semicolon while the parents' orientations were described after the semicolon. Like Filipino Americans' labels, domains with similar orientations were consolidated and labeled using the cultural orientation, rather than the specific domains. For example, the first part of '*bilingual and ethnic-oriented parents'* means that parents engaged in languages of both the host and heritage cultures (i.e., bilingual). The second part refers to the identity and cultural practice domains: parents showed higher orientation toward the heritage culture in terms of identity and cultural

practices (i.e., ethnic-oriented). In the following sections, the descriptions for the labels are based on Table 4 and Figures 3 and 4.

The first profile was labeled *'Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; bilingual and ethnic-oriented parents'* (12%, *n* = 46). Youth reported integrated identity as shown by the preferences for host identity (3.76) and ethnic identity (4.20). In terms of language and cultural practice, they displayed higher preferences toward English (4.71) and host cultural practices (4.10) than the Korean language (2.91) and cultural practices (2.91). Thus, they were '*host-oriented'* in language and practices. The parents reported competence in both English (3.27) and the Korean language (3.85). Unlike the youth, the parents had higher ethnic identity (3.80) and Korean cultural practices (3.40) while lower host identity (2.47) and host cultural practices (2.77). Thus, parents' identity and cultural practices were labeled as '*ethnic-oriented'*.

Profile two was titled *'Ethnic identity bilingual youth with moderate-integrated practice; Korean-speaking and ethnic-oriented parents'* (16%, *n* = 65). Youth reported greater ethnic identity (4.19) than host identity (2.64). They were labeled '*bilingual'* as shown through their competence in English (3.55) and ethnic language (4.11). In terms of cultural practice, they displayed modest preferences for host culture (3.26) and ethnic culture (3.48). The parents had exceptionally high competence in the Korean language (4.99) than English (2.45). They also reported high ethnic orientation for identity (4.28) and cultural practices (3.70), and low host identity (1.81) and host cultural practices (2.50).

Finally, profile three was labeled *'Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; Korean-speaking and ethnic-oriented parents'* (72%, *n* = 286). Youth in this profile reported similar patterns to youth in profile one: integrated host identity (3.69) and ethnic identity (4.15), greater preferences toward host language (3.69) and host cultural practices (4.01), and fewer preferences

toward the Korean language (3.30) and Korean cultural practices (2.85). Thus, the label for youth was kept similar to youth in profile one. Meanwhile, parents in this profile reported similar ethnic orientation as parents in profile two: greater Korean language competence (4.98), ethnic identity (4.10), and ethnic cultural practices (3.70). On the other hand, they reported lower preferences in English skills (2.92), host identity (2.18), and host cultural practices (2.75). Hence, the label for parents were kept similar to parents in profile two.

Step 5: Conducting a Covariate Analysis

After determining the profiles, I evaluated the effects of covariates of interest which were income, gender, youth's age, and parents' age. I used the BCH approach to compare covariate differences across profiles (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2014b). Covariates were added by regressing the latent profile construct on the covariates. This approach has been found to yield robust results even for non-normal distributed variables (Bakk & Vermunt, 2016; Nylund-Gibson & Masyn, 2016). The results are presented in Tables 5 and 6. All covariates were significantly different across the three profiles which signified that the composition of the profiles might differ by these covariates. Thus, all covariates were controlled in the path analysis later.

Table 5

Mean Scores from Covariate Analysis for the Filipino American Profiles

Variable	Profile 1 *Similar integrated identity, host-oriented dyad* (*n* = 58)	Profile 2 *Similar ethnic identity dyad with moderate-integrated practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents* (*n* = 159)	Profile 3 *Similar integrated identity dyad with host-oriented practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents* (*n* = 99)
Income	4.41[a]	3.51[b]	4.41[c]
Gender	.48[a]	.64[b]	.50[c]
Age (Youth)	15.37[a]	15.39[b]	14.86[c]
Age (Parent)	47.91[a]	45.50[b]	44.83[c]

Note. Group with different superscripts were significantly different at $p < .001$.

Table 6

Mean Scores from Covariate Analysis for Korean Americans Profiles

Variable	Profile 1 *Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; bilingual and ethnic-oriented parents* (n = 46)	Profile 2 *Ethnic identity bilingual youth with moderate-integrated practice; Korean-speaking and ethnic-oriented parents* (n = 65)	Profile 3 *Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; Korean-speaking and ethnic-oriented parents* (n = 286)
Income	3.12^{a}	2.65^{b}	3.35^{c}
Gender	$.41^{a}$	$.46^{b}$	$.49^{c}$
Age (Youth)	15.02^{a}	14.82^{b}	14.70^{c}
Age (Parent)	46.67^{a}	44.74^{b}	45.16^{c}

Note. Group with different superscripts were significantly different at $p < .001$.

Multigroup Path Analyses

Path analyses with maximum likelihood robust errors (MLR; Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017) were conducted to examine the associations between acculturative stressors and career identity, and whether those associations were mediated by *qin* and social support. MLR provides reliable estimates for samples that violate assumptions of normality (Rhemtulla et al., 2012). According to previously established guidelines by Hu and Bentler (1999) and Kline (2016), I examined model fit with the following parameters: 1) chi-square values (non-significant values), chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio (ratio less than 3), 2) Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; values less than .08), 3) Comparative Fit Index (CFI; values greater than .90), 4) Tucker-Lewis index (TLI; values greater than .90), and 5) standardized root mean square residual (SRMR; values less than .08).

Preliminary Analyses for Filipino Americans

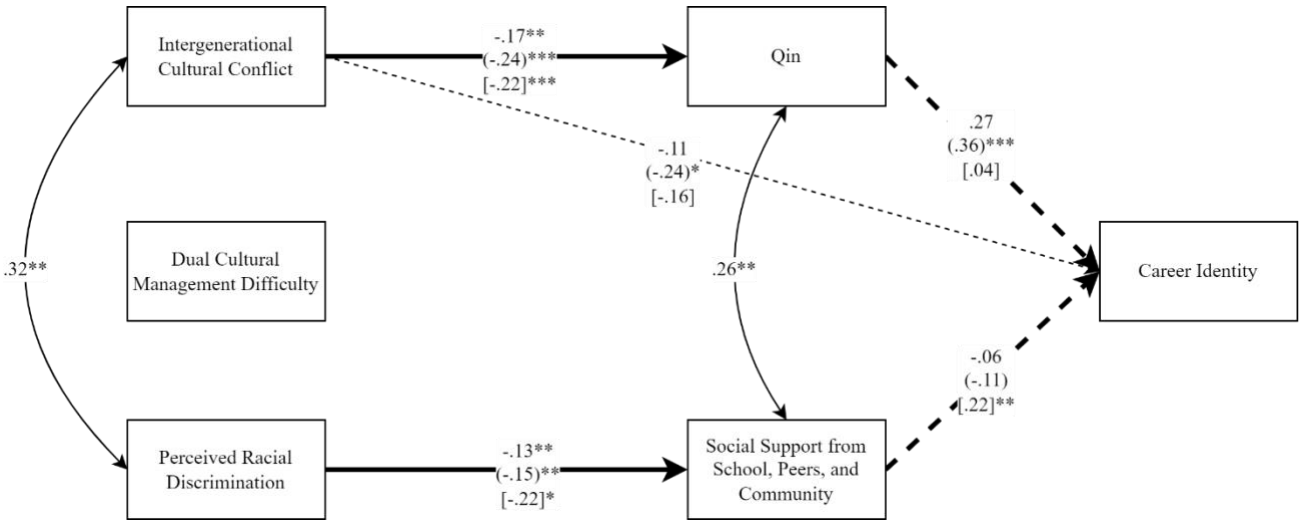
I tested an unconstrained model where all paths were freely estimated. Next, I tested a fully constrained model where I constrained all paths to be equal between the three profiles. I conducted a Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square difference test to identify significant changes in the chi-square statistic for the unconstrained and constrained model (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017). The unconstrained model ($\chi 2$ (27) = 43.87, CFI = .82, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .07) and the constrained model (χ^2 (57) = 101.23, CFI = .83, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .06) were significantly different based on the Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square difference test ($\Delta\chi 2$ (30) = 57.23, $p < .001$). These results suggested that the model should be considered separately for the three profiles. Hence, I utilized a partially constrained model as my final model. In the partially constrained model, the paths were constrained to be equal when the specific paths were not significantly different across all three groups. The model also contained freed pathways when the paths were significantly different for at least one profile. This model showed an excellent fit for the data (χ^2 (36) = 90.77, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .06; See Figure 5). Therefore, hypotheses 2 and 3 were confirmed.

Figure 5 shows that there is a significant direct path between intergenerational cultural conflict and career identity for certain profiles. There are also significant mediated paths between intergenerational cultural conflict and career identity via *qin* for certain profiles. There are significant mediated paths between perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and career identity via social support for certain profiles. These paths are discussed in detail below.

Results for Filipino Americans

Figure 5

Final Path Model for Filipino American Profiles



Note. Estimates outside of parentheses represent estimates for profile one. Estimates inside of parentheses represent estimates for profile two. Estimates inside of square brackets represent estimates for profile three. Dashed lines indicate paths that differed significantly between the three profiles. Bold lines indicate significant indirect effects. Nonsignificant paths are not shown. Model fit indices $\chi 2$ (36) = 90.77, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .06. *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001.

The findings suggested that intergenerational conflict (β = .24, *SE* = .11, p = .03) and *qin* (β = .36, *SE* = .08, p < .001) were positively associated with career identity for profile two only. The link between intergenerational conflict and career was not significant for profile one (β = -.11, *SE* = .16, p = .47) and profile three (β = .16, *SE* = .09, p = .12). Similarly, the link between *qin* and career were not significant for profile one (β = .27, *SE* = .14, p = .06) and profile three (β = .04, *SE* = .11, p = .71). Dual cultural management difficulty and racism showed no significant association with career identity. Additionally, across all three profiles, increased

intergenerational conflict was related to a lower perception of *qin* while increased perceived racial discrimination was associated with lower social support. Increased social support was associated with higher career identity, but this relationship was only found in profile three (β = .22, *SE* = .09, *p* = .01).

Then, I examined the indirect effects between acculturative stressors and career identity via *qin* and social support to see if these indirect relationships were significant among Filipino American youth. All mediated paths in the conceptual model were tested. Furthermore, the findings revealed that increased intergenerational conflict was associated with a lower perception of *qin*, which in turn predicted decreased career identity. This indirect association was significant only in profile two (β = -.09, *SE* = .03, *p* = .006) but not in profile one (β = -.04, *SE* = .03, *p* = .08) and profile three (β = -.01, *SE* = .02, *p* = .72). Increased perceived discrimination was related to decreased social support, which then negatively predicted career identity. However, this indirect path was significant only for profile three (β = -.05, *SE* = .03, *p* = .05), but not for profile one (β = .01, *SE* = .02, *p* = .69) and profile two (β = .02, *SE* = .01, *p* = .23).

Preliminary Analyses for Korean Americans

The Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square difference test indicated that the unconstrained model (χ^2 (27) = 43.87, CFI = .82, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .07) and the constrained model (χ^2 (57) = 101.23, CFI = .83, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .06) were significantly different ($\Delta\chi^2$ (30) = 57.23, $p < .001$). Similar to Filipino Americans, these results suggested that the model should be considered separately for the three profiles in the Korean American sample. Therefore, I utilized a partially constrained model as my final model. In the partially constrained model, the paths were constrained to be equal when the specific paths were not significantly different across all three groups. The model also contained freed pathways when the paths were significantly

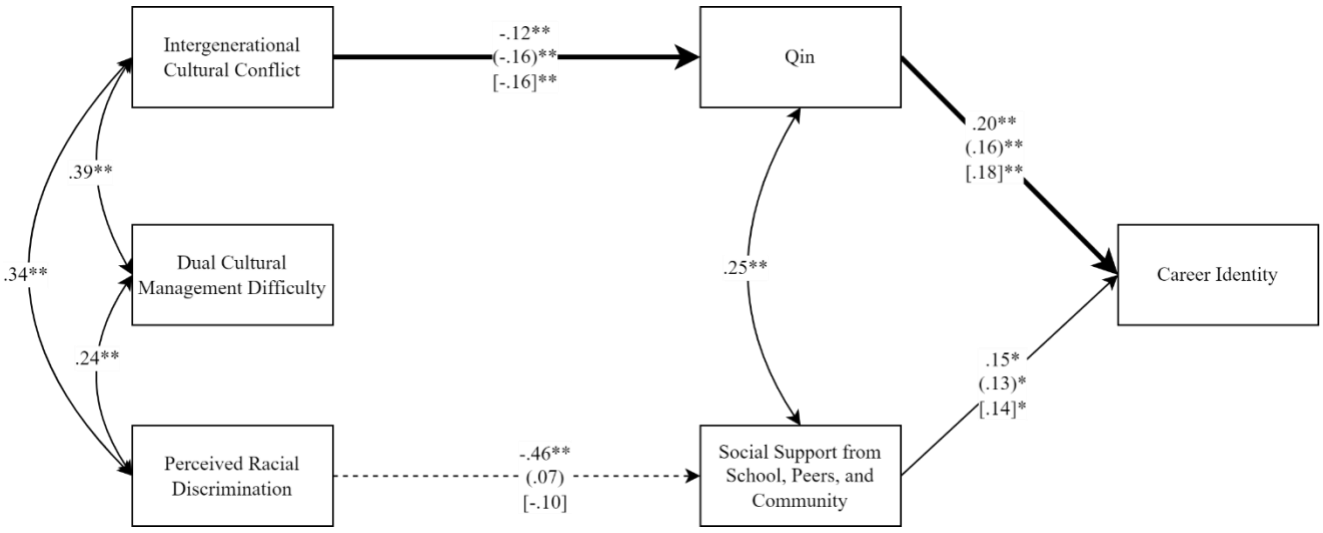
different for at least one profile. The model fit the data well (χ^2 (36) = 80.25, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .05; See Figure 6). Hence, hypotheses 2 and 3 were confirmed.

Figure 6 shows that there are significant mediated paths between intergenerational cultural conflict and career identity via *qin*. There are also significant mediated paths between perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and career identity via social support for certain profiles. No direct paths are observed in this sample. I discuss the paths in depth below.

Results for Korean Americans

Figure 6

Final Path Model for Korean American Profiles



Note. Estimates outside of parentheses represent estimates for profile one. Estimates inside of parentheses represent estimates for profile two. Estimates inside of square brackets represent estimates for profile three. Dashed lines indicate paths that differed significantly between the three profiles. Bold lines indicate significant indirect effects. Nonsignificant paths are not shown. Model fit indices χ^2 (36) = 80.25, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, SRMR = .05. *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Results suggested that no acculturative stressors were directly predicting career identity for Korean American youth. However, the results indicated that increased *qin* was associated with higher career identity for all groups: profile one (β = .20, *SE* = .07, *p* = .006), profile two (β = .16, *SE* = .06, *p* = .007), and profile three (β = .18, *SE* = .06, *p* = .003). Similarly, higher social support was also related to higher career identity across all groups: profile one (β = .15, *SE* = .07, *p* = .04), profile two (β = .13, *SE* = .06, *p* = .03), and profile three (β = .14, *SE* = .06, *p* = .03). Increased intergenerational conflict was associated with lower experiences of *qin* across all groups as well: profile one (β = -.12, *SE* = .05, *p* = .01), profile two (β = -.16, *SE* = .06, *p* = .008), and profile three (β = -.16, *SE* = .06, *p* = .007). Only one path differed for the profiles; increased racism was associated with lower social support for profile one (β = -.46, *SE* = .16, *p* = .004) whereas it was not significant for profile two (β = .07, *SE* = .11, *p* = .50) and profile three (β = -.10, *SE* = .10, *p* = .32). Dual cultural management difficulty showed no significant association with career identity.

Finally, I investigated the indirect effects of acculturative stressors and career identity via *qin* and social support. Only one significant indirect effect was observed in all three profiles. Higher intergenerational conflict with parents was predicting lower experiences of *qin*, which in turn, predicted decreased career identity. This was significant across all profiles: profile one (β = -.02, *SE* = .01, *p* = .04), profile two (β = -.03, *SE* = .01, *p* = .04) and profile three (β = -.03, *SE* = .01, *p* = .03).

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

There were two goals when conducting the study. First, I wanted to see whether there were distinct profiles of parent-youth acculturation. Berry's (1997; 2003) model of acculturation examined cultural orientation based on aggregated indicators of language use, identities, and cultural practices. I was interested in separating these indicators and seeing where parents and youth vary in terms of their endorsement of the host and heritage cultures. The findings suggested that distinct parent-youth acculturation profiles were present in the Filipino American and Korean American samples. Second, I wanted to see the unique relationships between acculturative stress and career identity via *qin* and social support. The patterns for the mediated paths did vary according to the profiles.

Overall, the findings highlighted several important takeaways for Asian American youths' careers. First, the way that parents and youth acculturate in specific domains plays a role in youths' career identity. For instance, the negative mediated association between parent-youth conflict and career via *qin* was profound in profiles where parents have a high orientation toward ethnic identity and practices. This may be because parents expect youth to explore careers that are more predominant in their ethnic group. This also confirms previous findings that Asian immigrant parents are an important influence on children's future goals and career pathways (D. J. Hill et al., 2021; Tang et al., 1999; Tu & Okazaki, 2021; Wang et al., 2021). Second, domain-specific acculturation provides an understanding of the significant mediated paths. For example, the mediating role of social support from discrimination to career identity was profound in certain youth involved in the host cultural practices but not in others who also participated in the host culture. Lastly, the significant mediating paths suggested that positive values such as *qin* and social support could explain the relationship between acculturative stressors and career

identity. Thus, it might be worth promoting these values to enhance youths' careers as well as exploring these variables in future studies.

In the following sections, I discuss in-depth how the parents and youth in Filipino and Korean ethnic groups vary in terms of domain-specific acculturation. Then, I discuss ways that the parent-youth acculturative profiles vary in the mediated path analyses. Next, I discuss the limitations of the study and suggest how future research might address those limitations. Finally, I recommend implications for practice including promoting qin and social support in Asian American families.

Discerning the Variability in Parent-Youth Acculturation Profiles

Within Filipino American groups, parents and youth have similar patterns of cultural identity and practices. Parents and youth in profiles one (*Similar integrated identity, host-oriented dyad*) and three (*Similar integrated identity dyad with host-oriented practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents*) reported similar identity toward both host and heritage cultures (i.e., integrated identity) while parents and youth in profile two (*Similar ethnic identity dyad with moderate-integrated practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents*) reported orientation for Filipino identity. Moreover, parent-youth dyads in profiles one and three preferred to engage in host cultural practices more so than their heritage culture. Both parents and youth in profile two showed a moderate tendency for participating in both host and heritage cultural practices. Filipino American youth and parents tend to differ in their language competencies. Youth in all profiles and parents in profile one preferred to engage in the host language whereas parents in profiles two and three tend to engage in both host and heritage languages (i.e., bilingual). Taken together, the overall tendency toward host cultural orientation was in line with researchers' assertion of Filipino's colonial mindset and behaviors for assimilation (David &

Okazaki, 2006; David & Nadal, 2013; Ferrera, 2017; Tuason et al., 2007). However, some parent-youth dyads did show preferences for Filipino identity and cultural practices which were unique in this particular sample.

Within Korean American groups, the youth and parents reported distinct patterns across the identity, language, and cultural practice domains. Korean American youth in profiles one (*Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; bilingual and ethnic-oriented parents*) and three (*Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; Korean-speaking ethnic-oriented parents*) reported identity orientation toward both host and heritage cultures (i.e., integrated identity) whereas youth in profile two (*Ethnic identity bilingual youth with moderate-integrated practice; Korean-speaking ethnic-oriented parents*) reported high Korean identity than host identity. In terms of language and practices, youth in profiles one and three showed a tendency for engaging in the host language and cultural activities. Youth in profile two reported preferences for both host and Korean languages as well as participating in host and Korean cultural activities. On the other hand, the parents in all profiles reported a tendency for Korean identity, language, and cultural practices. Only parents in profile one showed a preference for both host and Korean languages. Previous studies have suggested that Korean Americans retain their heritage cultural identity and practices by living in close-knit ethnic communities (Hurh et al., 1979; Kim, 1997; Kim & Berry, 1984). In the present study, this was observed among the parents despite the youth showing an overall tendency for the host culture in all aspects of acculturation (except for profile two who showed high engagement in ethnic identity, Korean language, and Korean cultural practices).

There were a few differences between the Filipino American and Korean American groups. First, Filipino American youth and their parents tend to have similar patterns in identity and cultural practices. This observation was not seen among Korean American youth and their

parents who tend to have different directions for all domains. Second, Filipino American youth were less proficient in their ethnic language compared to Korean American youth (except for profile two). Although some Korean American youth preferred the host language, their Korean language competency was above average. These differences suggest that Filipino and Korean ethnic groups have unique acculturative patterns across the three domains.

Of interest, there were distinct patterns of acculturative domains between youth and their parents across ethnic groups. For youth in both groups, identity seemed to be a separate issue from language and cultural practices. According to Figure 2, identity for Filipino American youth tends to be in the *Integration* quadrant (i.e., high in host and heritage cultures) whereas language and cultural practices tend to be in or closer to the Assimilation quadrant (i.e., high in host culture but low in heritage culture). Figure 3 shows that identity for Korean American youth also tends to be integrated except for youth in profile two whose identity was in the *Separation* quadrant (i.e., low in host culture but high in heritage culture) but closer to *Integration*. Language and cultural practices for Korean American youth were in or closer to the *Integration* quadrant. Filipino American parents seemed to have almost similar patterns as their youth. The parents' identity was in or closer to the Integration quadrant while their language and cultural practices were spread out between *Integration* and *Assimilation*. Korean American parents' identity, language, and cultural practices were all in or closer to the *Separation* quadrant.

Furthermore, youth in both groups reported strong ethnic identity despite showing preferences for host identity, language, and practices (except for profile two in both groups where they also participated in heritage cultural activities). Previous studies suggested that second-generation Korean Americans view their ethnic identity more positively and use their ethnic networks to sustain their Korean identity and practices while successfully integrating into

the host culture (Chae & Foley, 2010; Cheng et al., 2015; De Leersnyder et al., 2020; Yeh et al., 2005). Similarly, second-generation Filipino Americans were found to embrace their Filipino identity and seek to improve their understanding of the ethnic culture. For example, they would learn more about Filipino culture by visiting the Philippines, having more Filipino friends, and taking courses to learn the native languages (Ferrera, 2017; Gutierrez, 2018; Ocampo, 2013).

In the next sections, results from the multigroup path analyses are discussed while considering the parent-youth acculturative profile variations. I first discuss the association between intergenerational cultural conflict and career identity via *qin*. Then I discuss what was found in the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and career identity via social support. Finally, I explore possible explanations for dual cultural management difficulty.

Paths from Intergenerational Conflict to Career Identity via *Qin*

The first route from intergenerational cultural conflict to career identity was via *qin*. *Qin* is the feeling of love, warmth, and closeness to parents. These feelings are fostered through parents' benevolent behaviors (e.g., being thoughtful of child's needs, providing instrumental support for child's future; Wu & Chao, 2011; 2017). In this discussion, I used the term *qin* to refer to youth perception of parental behaviors that fostered *qin*. The direct and indirect paths of these relationships are discussed below.

Direct Path of Intergenerational Cultural Conflict and Career Identity

Only profile two of Filipino Americans (*Similar ethnic identity dyad with moderate-integrated practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents*) showed a significant direct path from intergenerational cultural conflict to career identity. Parents in this profile reported greater orientation toward the Filipino language and cultural practices as well as fewer

preferences for host cultural identity. A possible explanation is that when parents are highly involved in the ethnic culture and have a low sense of pride in the host culture, they have high expectations for children to preserve their ethnic values and to choose careers that fit their cultural expectations (e.g., careers that are more common in the Filipino community). Previous studies have suggested that youth often feel conflicted about their career interest due to different career expectations that parents have which might impact how they view and define their personal career goals (Constantine & Flores, 2006; Ma et al., 2014; Okubo et al., 2007).

Mediated Path of Intergenerational Cultural Conflict and Career Identity via *Qin*

Interestingly, profile two of Filipino Americans also showed a significant mediated path between intergenerational cultural conflict and career identity via *qin*. Experiencing cultural conflict with parents leads to less experiences of *qin*, which in turn, predicts less career commitment and exploration. This might happen especially if parents had high expectations for maintaining the heritage culture such as sacrificing personal career interests for the sake of the family. In such situations, youth may have a hard time understanding love and warmth from their parents which may hinder their ability to form a stable career identity.

The mediated path was also significant for all profiles of Korean American youth and parents. Profiles one (*Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; bilingual and ethnic-oriented parents*) and three (*Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; Korean-speaking ethnic-oriented parents*) consisted of youth with higher host language and cultural practice and parents with higher overall heritage cultural orientation (except parents in profile one who were also competent in English). Profile two (*Ethnic identity bilingual youth with moderate-integrated practice; Korean-speaking ethnic-oriented parents*) consisted of youth with a tendency toward

both host and ethnic languages and cultural practices, and parents with higher overall Korean cultural orientation. Profiles one and three may indicate a greater acculturative gap due to the youth being more assimilated to the host language and practices and the parents retaining heritage identity and cultural practices. However, there was not much difference between profiles with greater or lower gaps in terms of their effects on the mediated path. It may be that ethnic-oriented parents have high expectations for maintaining heritage cultural values such as behaving like a traditional Korean person and choosing careers that are predominant in the Korean community (e.g., STEM careers). The conflicting expectations may impact how youth perceive being loved and cared for by their parents which affect their career exploration and commitment.

Paths from Perceived Racial Discrimination to Career Identity via Social Support

Another route through which acculturative stressors influenced career identity was racial discrimination via social support. The more youth perceived feeling discriminated against due to their ethnic group, the less likely they reported having social support from the school, peers, and community, and in turn, the lower their sense of career identity. Previous studies on the career development of Asian American youth (combined ethnic samples) have reported the experiences of career barriers including negative stereotyping, unfair treatment, and occupational segregation (Chen & Fouad, 2013; Hill et al., 2021; Kantamneni et al., 2018; Leong & Tang, 2016; Tu et al., 2019). Interviews with Korean American youth revealed that youth tend to keep to themselves and did not share problems with their friends or teachers when experiencing racial/ethnic discrimination (Yeh et al., 2005). Thus, the lack of social support may limit relationships with others which are also necessary for career networking and learning about career resources. Next, I discuss the significant mediated associations between discrimination and career identity.

Mediated Path of Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Career Identity via Social Support

This mediated path was significant in profile three of Filipino Americans (*Similar integrated identity dyad with host-oriented practice; English-speaking youth and bilingual parents*), but not in profiles one and two. This path was also significant in profile one of Korean Americans (*Integrated identity and host-oriented youth; bilingual and ethnic-oriented parents*), but not in profiles two and three. In this study, perceived racial/ethnic discrimination refers to the experiences of being treated unfairly by the outgroups (i.e., people who are not in the same ethnic group). A common factor among Filipino American youth in profile three and Korean American youth in profile one was their high involvement in the host cultural practices. One explanation could be that participating in the host cultural activities may increase the likelihood of youth being a target of discrimination. For instance, even though second-generation youth are born in the host culture, highly fluent in the host language, and engaged in the host cultural practices, they may still be treated as foreigners due to how they look and behave in the host culture. The phenomenon of 'perpetual foreigner' is one of the most common sources of discrimination among minority individuals (Armenta et al., 2013; Wu et al., 2020).

In addition, social support may be more pronounced for individuals living and involving in their ethnic culture. Ethnic support can be found through an ethnic enclave which is a cultural community where a particular ethnic group is geographically located, and socially and economically supportive of its members (Portes, 1981). Findings on the advantages of living in ethnic enclaves have been mixed, although several studies reported that they may provide organized employment support and networks to foster economic opportunities among Asian immigrants (Cho, 2017; Fong & Shen, 2011; Ram et al., 2002). Social support from own ethnic groups can also provide resources to navigate acculturative stress. However, the information

regarding the ethnic/racial demographic of participants' areas of living was not collected in this study. Future studies might collect relevant data and affirm the role of social support among immigrants living in ethnic enclaves.

Nevertheless, youth under stress due to experiencing racial/ethnic discrimination may find it challenging to perceive social support from others around them, and in turn, may not be fully aware of the career resources that are available to them. Research has documented that acculturative stress including discrimination, alienation, and marginalization is a source of career barriers (Chen & Fouad, 2013; Kantemneni et al., 2018; Leong & Tang, 2016). It may lead to one perceiving social support and career opportunities as limited.

On the other hand, there was also youth who reported high involvement in host cultural practices (e.g., profile three of Korean Americans) but the mediated path was not significant. One explanation could be the directional effects of these variables. A study found that greater orientation to the host culture was related to Chinese Americans' fewer perceptions of discrimination (Juang & Cookston, 2009), although acculturation was measured more broadly. They concluded that involvement in the host culture did not predict one to be discriminated but rather discrimination experiences were what made one reluctant to acculturate to the host culture. Unfortunately, I could not examine reciprocal relationship because each variable was only assessed at one time point. Further research to clarify the bidirectional relationships between the main study variables would be valuable.

Dual Cultural Management and Career Identity

Finally, dual cultural management difficulty was not significantly related to career identity, *qin*, or social support across all profiles. This stressor refers to the internal struggle to

manage or balance two cultural identities (Kim et al., 2014a). It was not found significantly associated with any main study variables. This may be because the other predictor variables are more relevant to career identity. For instance, in the Filipino American sample, intergenerational cultural conflict was highly relevant to *qin* while perceived racial/ethnic discrimination was highly associated with social support. Moreover, I anticipated a direct path between this stressor and career identity since identity formation is important to career development (Erikson, 1968). Perhaps a significant relationship was not found because of the measure itself; the questions did not ask for work domains but rather, cultural identity more broadly. Future studies that examine dual cultural management difficulty more specific to careers are warranted.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Studies

This study is not without limitations that could be addressed by future research. First, although this study was longitudinal, each variable was measured only at one time point (e.g., parent-youth acculturation at Time 1, intergenerational cultural conflict at Time 2, career identity at Time 3). Therefore, we were not able to assess changes in variables over time. Future studies could consider collecting similar data across several time points, ideally three time points or more, and use robust analysis such as random intercepts cross-lagged panel model (RI-CLPM; Hamaker et al., 2015). With RI-CLPM, researchers can separate between-group and within-group variances, and thus, assess change over time. The data were also collected from youth and their mothers in Chicago and the Midwest area which might not be representative of the entire Filipino American and Korean American population. It might also be valuable to measure fathers' acculturation as the data can enrich the family-centered approach of acculturative profiles. Additionally, the findings cannot be generalized to parents and youth in other Asian

American subgroups. Future studies may consider collecting a larger homogenous sample of Asian ethnic subgroups to evaluate within-group and between-group differences.

The dataset also relied almost exclusively on youth perceptions of acculturative stressors, qin, social support, and career identity. Combining more sources of reports such as peers' and teachers' reports might provide a more accurate picture of youth actual behaviors in those areas. Future studies may also consider using career-related variables such as career-focused parenting behaviors, discrimination specific to careers, and social support regarding careers. For example, the Career-Specific Parental Behaviors scale (Dietrich & Kracke, 2009) measures parental behaviors that support, interfere, or disengage with children's careers. Discrimination can also be measured using the Perceptions of Barriers scale (Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001). This scale measures individuals' perceptions of future job discrimination (e.g., "In my future job, I will probably be treated differently because of my ethnic/racial background"). The Social Support Microsystems Scale (Seidman et al., 1995) might also be used; youth will be able to rate the support from peers, teachers, and extended family regarding career development. Furthermore, researchers may consider using qualitative studies to ask career-specific questions that may be more relevant to career-related outcomes. Thus, these limitations must be kept in mind while interpreting the current results.

Implications for Practice

The present findings also have implications for career practitioners. The findings suggest that parent-youth acculturative profiles are important and should be considered to fully understand youth's career outcomes and to design intervention programs. Therefore, programs should be tailored to youth and parents' acculturation experiences. One way that this can be implemented is to invite youth and parents to share their stories regarding identity, language, and

cultural practice orientations. It may be useful to see where parents and youth are similar and different so they can work together to address the gaps and further improve parent-youth relationships.

Practitioners may also work with participants to develop coping strategies for acculturative stressors. For instance, helping youth reduce conflict with parents and avoid internalizing stereotypes and discrimination may be beneficial. Parents can also learn ways to facilitate cultural adaptation and understand their children's concerns regarding careers. As an example, parents can learn about career resources available in the host culture, not only for themselves but for them to assist children in making informed career decisions. Finally, interventions should focus on a strength-based approach by highlighting shared and positive ethnic cultural values. For example, practitioners can educate youth who are more oriented to the host culture to recognize the way their parents express indirect love and care (i.e., *qin*). One way this can be done is by fostering ethnic cultural orientation for youth to develop the cultural framework to interpret the qualities and meanings of *qin* (Wu & Chao, 2017).

Overall, this study provides support that there are distinct parent-youth acculturative profiles among the Filipino American and Korean American samples. These profiles also vary in the mediated paths between acculturative stress and career identity via *qin* and social support. The differential patterns of parent-youth dyads demonstrate the importance of studying distinct acculturation domains in Asian ethnic groups. Furthermore, the findings suggest the need to reduce intergenerational conflict and internalization of racial/ethnic discrimination while increasing *qin* and social support for youths' career identity development. Despite the limitations mentioned, the findings imply that interventions using an acculturation framework might be beneficial for immigrant families.

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APPENDIX A

Acculturation (Parent & Youth)

Language Competence

Not at all (1) Not so well (2) Average level (3) Quite well (4) Very well like native (5)

1) How well do you understand English?
2) How well do you speak English?
3) How well do you understand Korean/Tagalog language?
4) How well do you speak Korean/Tagalog?

Identity

How much does the following statement apply to you?

Not at all (1) Not much (2) Somewhat (3) Much (4) Very much (5)

1) I feel that I am part of American culture.
2) I think of myself as being American.
3) I feel good about being American.
4) If someone criticizes Americans, I feel they are criticizing me.
5) I am proud of being American.
6) I feel that I am part of Korean/Filipino culture.
7) I think of myself as being Korean/Filipino.
8) I feel good about being Korean/Filipino.
9) If someone criticizes Koreans/Filipinos, I feel they are criticizing me.
10) I am proud of being Korean/Filipino.

Cultural Practices

How often do you usually do each of the following activities?

Never (1) Rarely (2) Sometimes (3) Often (4) Always (5)

1) Read American books, websites, newspapers, or magazines
2) Listen to American songs
3) Watch American dramas, movies (on TV, VCR/DVD, web, etc.)
4) Attend American social gatherings
5) Hang out with American friends
6) Read Korean/Filipino books, websites, newspapers, or magazines
7) Listen to Korean/Filipino songs
8) Watch Korean/Filipino dramas, movies (on TV, VCR/DVD, web etc.)
9) Attend Korean/Filipino social gatherings
10) Hang out with Korean/Filipino friends

Career Identity

How do you feel about your future goals and career pathways?

Very slightly or not at all (1) A little (2) Moderately (3) Quite a bit (4) Extremely (5)

1) I have a definite career in mind for the future.
2) I would oppose my parents if they pressure me to pursue a major against my will.
3) I have a general sense of the future lifestyle I want to lead.
4) I have a definite idea of what majors I would like to pursue in college.
5) To lead an independent life, it is important to choose a career pathway for yourself.
6) I have a field that I am currently interested in as well as a distinct reason why.
7) I always knew what I wanted to do from when I was very young.
8) I can speak confidently to others about my future plans.

Intergenerational Cultural Conflict

Think about whether and how you and your parents have disagreements on things. How often do the following situations occur in your family?

Never (1) Rarely (2) Sometimes (3) Often (4) Always (5)

1) Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions.
2) Your parents tell you that a social life is not important at your age, but you think that it is.
3) You have done well in school, but your parent's academic expectations always exceed your performance.
4) Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family, but you feel this is unfair.
5) Your parents always compare you to others, but you want them to accept you for being yourself.
6) Your parents argue that they show you love by housing, feeding, and educating you, but you wish they would show more physical and verbal signs of affection.
7) Your parents don't want you to bring shame upon the family, but you feel that your parents are too concerned with saving face.
8) Your parents expect you to behave like a proper Filipino/Korean male or female, but you feel your parents are being too traditional.
9) You want to state your opinion, but your parents consider it to be disrespectful to talk back.
10) Your parents demand that you always show respect for elders, but you believe in showing respect only if they deserve it.

Dual Cultural Management Difficulty

How often do you feel this way about being Filipino/Korean or American?

Never (1) Rarely (2) Sometimes (3) Often (4) Always (5)

1) It is difficult to balance two cultures (Filipino/Korean and American cultures).
2) I don't like having to choose between being Filipino/Korean and being American.
3) It's difficult to know when I need to be more Filipino/Korean or American in a certain situation.
4) It is hard to juggle between Filipino/Korean and American values.
5) Having to select between the Filipino/Korean and American way of doing things is not easy.
6) The American way of thinking contradicts the Filipino/Korean way of thinking.

Perceived Racial Discrimination

How often do the following occur to you?

Never (1) Rarely (2) Sometimes (3) Often (4) Always (5)

1) I have felt discriminated by whites.
2) I have felt discriminated by other Asians.
3) I have felt discriminated by racial/ethnic minorities like Black or Hispanic.
4) My teacher(s) treat me unfairly because I am Korean/Filipino.
5) Kids at school treat me unfairly because I am Korean/Filipino.

Qin

How well does each of the following statements describe your parents?

Not at all (1) Not so well (2) Moderately well (3) Quite well (4) Very well (5)

My parents…

1) Invest all that they have for my education.
2) Teach me morals and values.
3) Insist on taking care of me even when they don't feel well or are tired.
4) Are very thoughtful in recognizing and caring for my needs.
5) Know all my possible needs before I am aware of them.
6) Understand my difficulties even though they don't say anything.
7) Tell me what they think is best for me.
8) Explain to me what they expect from me.
9) Watch how I behave before giving me more responsibility.

Social Support from School, Peers, and Community

Think about someone important to you and on whom you can rely. How much do you agree with the following?

Strongly disagree (1) Disagree (2) Neutral (3) Agree (4) Strongly agree (5) N/A (6)

1) There is at least one teacher or another adult at school that I can talk to if I have a problem.
2) There is at least one adult in community or neighborhood that I can talk to if I have a problem.
3) My teacher helps me when I need it.
4) Other students in my class help me do my best.

APPENDIX B

Figure 7

Conceptual Model

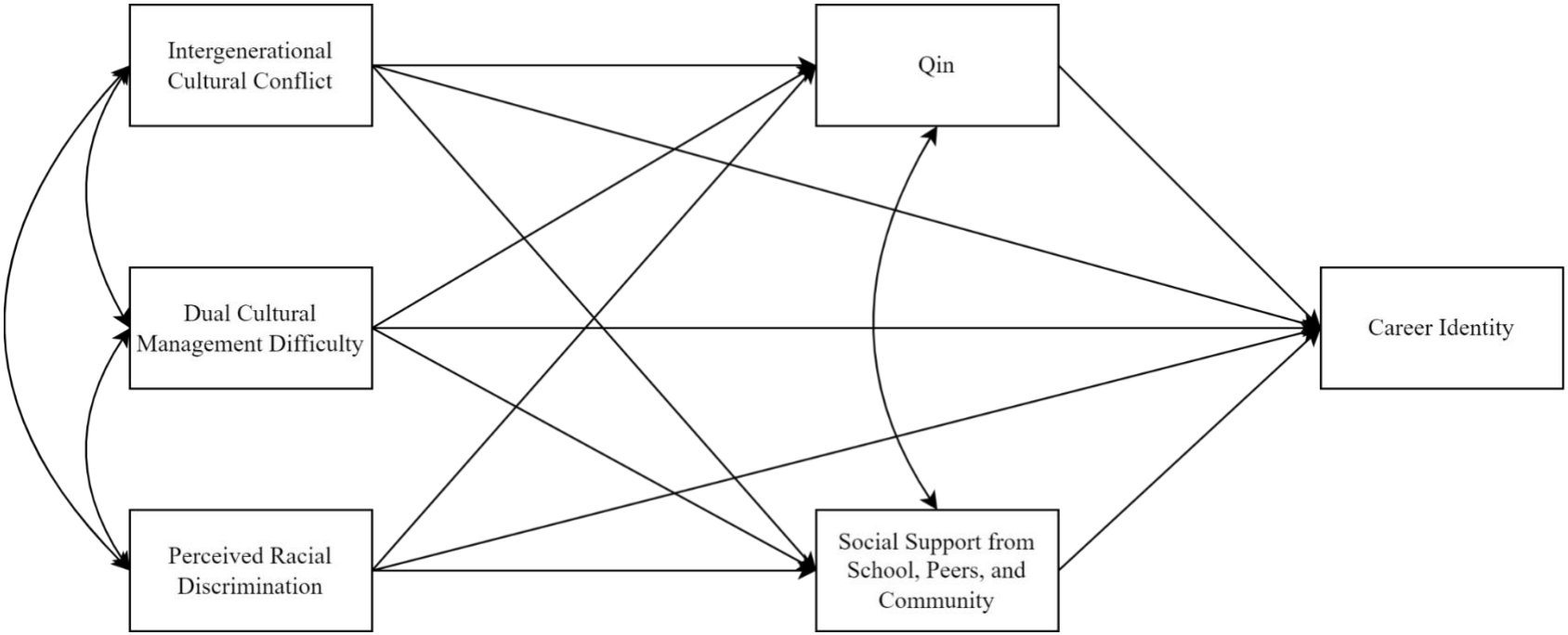

Table 7

Correlation Matrix, Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of the Study Variables for Filipino Americans

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Career Identity	--																					
2. Intergenerational Cultural Conflict	0.05	--																				
3. Dual Cultural Management Difficulty	.18**	0.52	--																			
4. Perceived Racial Discrimination	-.25**	.32**	0.1	--																		
5. *Qin*	.23**	-.20**	-0.07	-.40**	--																	
6. Social Support	-0.07	-.35**	-.34**	-.24**	.26**	--																
7. English Competence (Youth)	-0.01	-.34**	-.46**	-.39**	.32**	.55**	--															
8. Ethnic Language (Youth)	0.11	.42**	.44**	.17**	-0.05	-.31**	-.45**	--														
9. Host Identity (Youth)	-0.07	-.21**	-.33**	-0.04	0.08	.27**	.39**	-.45**	--													
10. Ethnic Identity (Youth)	.17**	-.19**	-0.06	-.22**	.27**	.40**	.40**	0.05	0.04	--												
11. Host Cultural Practices (Youth)	.26**	0.03	0.04	-.23**	.15*	-0.02	.16**	-.12*	.34**	-0.09	--											
12. Ethnic Cultural Practices (Youth)	-0.1	.34**	.30**	.46**	-.17**	-.29**	-.43**	.54**	-.28**	0.06	-.25**	--										
13. English Competence (Parent)	-0.01	-.26**	-.31**	-.31**	.13*	.37**	.55**	-.47**	.42**	.16**	.28**	-.42**	--									
14. Ethnic Language (Parent)	.18**	.17**	.26**	-.19**	.15*	0.12	0.02	.31**	-.26**	.27**	-0.03	.13*	-0.08	--								
15. Host Identity (Parent)	-0.05	0.07	0.02	0.04	-.16**	-.19**	-.11*	-.16**	.26**	-.29**	.23**	-0.08	.13*	-.36**	--							
16. Ethnic Identity (Parent)	-.15**	-.16**	-.15*	-.13*	.20**	.29**	.30**	-.18**	0.08	.35**	-.14**	-0.01	.19**	.24**	-.19**	--						
17. Host Cultural Practices (Parent)	0.13	0.04	-0.08	-.14*	0.07	-.14*	-0.08	-.17**	.15**	-0.09	.22**	-.23**	.13*	-.19**	.39**	-.12*	--					
18. Ethnic Cultural Practices (Parent)	-0.06	.31**	.32**	.23**	-.13*	-.13*	-.23**	.38**	-.25**	0	-.15**	.46**	-.29**	.39**	-.22**	.28**	-.19**	--				
19. Income	.14*	-0.09	-0.04	0.02	0.08	0	0.08	-.24**	.11*	0	0.05	-0.09	.13*	-.11*	.16**	-0.08	.21**	-.22**	--			
20. Gender	0.02	0.07	0.08	.25**	-.24**	-0.03	-.13*	.24**	-0.08	0.09	0.07	.25**	-.15**	0	0	-0.07	-0.09	0.02	-0.02	--		
21. Youth Age	.34**	-0.01	0.1	-.31**	.25**	0.11	0.26	-0.02	-0.06	.31**	.13*	-.21**	.15**	.27**	-0.06	.21**	-.13*	0.03	.14**	-.31**	--	
22. Parent's Age	.17**	-.14**	0	-.36**	.22**	.13*	.19**	-.17**	0.05	.22**	0.05	-.28**	.17**	.21**	-0.06	.31**	-0.04	0.01	.12*	.74**	-.43**	--
Mean	3.5	2.75	2.4	1.73	3.8	3.75	4.55	2.79	3.82	4.24	4.21	2.94	4.24	4.32	3.47	4.35	3.93	3.32	3.93	0.63	15.28	46.21
SD	0.97	1.09	1.08	1.01	0.94	1.12	0.88	1.31	0.92	0.82	0.77	0.98	0.9	1.07	1.1	0.86	0.86	0.89	1.55	0.68	1.89	5.79
Range	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	3.8	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	18.92	61.59
N	296	276	294	277	278	276	359	367	373	375	374	376	372	371	362	362	360	359	352	366	372	368

Table 8

Correlation Matrix, Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of the Study Variables for Korean Americans

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Career Identity	--																					
2. Intergenerational Cultural Conflict	0.07	--																				
3. Dual Cultural Management Difficulty	.15**	.39**	--																			
4. Perceived Racial Discrimination	-.16**	.34**	.24**	--																		
5. *Qin*	.23**	-.15**	-0.04	-0.11	--																	
6. Social Support	0.06	-.33**	-.28**	-.23**	.25**	--																
7. English Competence (Youth)	0.05	-.25**	-.34**	-.25**	.13*	.24**	--															
8. Ethnic Language (Youth)	.13*	0.05	.18**	-0.02	0.02	-0.07	-.20**	--														
9. Host Identity (Youth)	0	-0.03	-.14*	-.18**	0.09	.11*	.35**	-0.09	--													
10. Ethnic Identity (Youth)	-0.06	-.24**	-.24**	-0.09	.20**	.28**	.24**	.21**	.21**	--												
11. Host Cultural Practices (Youth)	0.06	-0.02	0.05	-.21**	0.11	0.02	.20**	-0.03	.44**	0.05	--											
12. Ethnic Cultural Practices (Youth)	-0.1	0.07	0.1	.27**	-.13*	-0.09	-.29**	.47**	-0.05	.28**	-.15**	--										
13. English Competence (Parent)	-0.08	0	-0.06	-0.02	0	0.05	.15**	-.16**	.22**	-0.02	.23**	-0.03	--									
14. Ethnic Language (Parent)	0.04	-.31**	-.22**	-.34**	.23**	.37**	.44**	0.02	0.05	.36**	-0.01	-.13*	-.16**	--								
15. Host Identity (Parent)	0.08	.29**	.28**	.16**	-0.06	-.37**	-.34**	-0.02	0.08	-.26**	.10*	0.07	.31**	-.57**	--							
16. Ethnic Identity (Parent)	-0.05	-.24**	-.27**	-.14*	0.07	.36**	.39**	-.16**	0.02	.29**	-0.08	-0.08	-0.05	.58**	-.55**	--						
17. Host Cultural Practices (Parent)	0	.16**	0.09	.17**	0	-.16**	-.27**	0.09	-0.03	-0.09	0.05	0.07	.38**	-.38**	.54**	-.38**	--					
18. Ethnic Cultural Practices (Parent)	0.05	-0.01	-0.09	-0.06	0.02	.17**	.21**	-0.06	.10*	.12*	-0.05	-0.01	-.23**	.38**	-.29**	.43**	-.40**	--				
19. Income	0.06	0.04	-0.01	-0.04	0.09	0.04	.12*	-0.01	.15**	0.09	0.07	-0.08	.29**	0.03	0.06	0.08	.25**	0.00	--			
20. Gender	0	.14*	.13*	.17**	-0.09	-.27**	-0.1	.16**	-0.06	-0.09	-0.04	.18**	-0.01	-.22**	.17**	-.20**	0.08	-.12*	0.00	--		
21. Youth Age	0.11	-.21**	-0.09	-.14*	0.04	.30**	.34**	-0.06	0.02	.16**	0.04	-0.08	-0.04	.34**	-.28**	.24**	-.14**	.15**	-0.04	-.53**	--	
22. Parent's Age	-0.07	-.21**	-.16**	-.23**	0.06	.31**	.32**	-0.04	.16**	.30**	.11*	-0.01	.098*	.35**	-.29**	.29**	-.12*	0.09	-.01	-.62**	.80**	--
Mean	3.29	2.41	2.67	1.77	3.78	3.55	4.35	3.40	3.49	4.11	3.87	3.08	2.90	4.52	2.44	3.93	2.91	3.54	3.20	0.57	14.25	43.85
SD	0.93	0.99	0.99	0.89	0.8	1.06	0.97	1.01	0.89	0.76	0.85	0.90	0.88	0.87	1.10	0.80	0.92	0.80	1.40	0.77	3.28	7.77
Range	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	6.00	19.05	55.76
N	338	328	339	327	328	327	402	401	405	410	409	410	410	410	409	408	404	404	386	404	407	406

VITA

Fatin Asnan was born and raised in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, by loving parents, Asnan Jonit and Noor Haidzan Abu Bakar. Her childhood was full of memory growing up alongside her chaotic yet affectionate five siblings. At the age of 20, she migrated to the United States in pursuit of higher education. Fatin graduated with her B.A. in Psychology at the University of Missouri in 2016. She then attained her M.Ed. in Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis with a concentration in Student Affairs at the same institution in 2018. She is currently a PhD candidate in Human Development and Family Science with collateral in Communication. Her research focuses on youth development, particularly the impact of parent-child relationships, culture, and contextual correlates on youth's career outcomes.