THE EFFECTS OF LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND LEVEL OF ACCULTURATION ON THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS FILIAL PIETY AMONG CHINESE STUDENTS STUDYING IN THE UNITED STATES

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree Master of Social Work in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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ABSTRACT

In Chinese society, filial piety, which is the practice of honoring, obeying and caring for older generations serves as one of the most fundamental rules of moral criteria upon which intergenerational relationships are based. Recently, the social foundation for filial piety in China is changing. Studies indicate that although there may not be a wholesale erosion of filial obligation among Chinese, certain specific aspects of filial piety might be more dominant or less important than their original shapes. The purpose of this study is to examine attitudes toward filial piety among young Chinese students in the United States. 63 (25 female and 38 male) Chinese students were interviewed. Results indicate that a strong endorsement for filial piety obligation is demonstrated by young Chinese. Consistent with literature, respect old parents is consistently rated as the number one filial piety practice while obeying them is the least favorable practice. Particular to this group of Chinese people, psychological and emotional support are recognized as important supplements for material assistance in fulfilling the obligation by the young participants. Their short period of residence and lower level of acculturation to American culture seem to have little impact on their attitudes towards filial piety. However, a majority of participants do not expect to rely on their children for care in their old age. This reveals an expectation that future change may be anticipated.
Dedicated to my parents
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people who deserve my thanks for helping me, both directly and indirectly, in finishing this thesis. I first wish to thank Dr. Lee Ann Mjelde-Mossey, my supervisor who directed me in each stage of conducting the research and writing the thesis. Under her supervision, I was able to finish this thesis smoothly. I also wish to thank Dr. Holly Dabelko and Dr. Denise Bronson, who provided me invaluable assistance and suggestions to my thesis.

This thesis has gained a lot of support from many Chinese students studying at the Ohio State University. Without their great contribution, the research cannot be done successfully. I thank them particularly.

Finally, I want to specially acknowledge the consistent support from my parents and my boyfriend. I gain a lot of energy and spirit from their love.
VITA

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Social Work
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Confucianism provides Chinese society a moral framework to organize pairs of relationship among people in a hierarchical order, which are called the Five Cardinal Relations (Wu Lun). These relationships are identified in traditional China as existing between kings and subjects, fathers and sons, husbands and wives, among brothers, and between friends. It is important to note, among these relationships, the most fundamental pair is between parents and children, known as filial piety (Chow, 1992). Filial piety (Xiao) is far more than an attitude. It is one of the most fundamental rules of conduct and moral criteria on which the structure of Chinese society is based (Gabrenya & Hwang, 1996). In China, the rise of filial piety is largely attributed to the philosophical and moral orientation. The lack of filial piety is considered as one of the worst unpardonable evil-doings. It has also been reinforced by each government administration in history. In the traditional Chinese society, no government agencies maintained the income of their senior citizens. Even after the birth of the People’s Republic of China and the establishment of social welfare systems, families are still required by law to support their older parents (Constitution of the People’s Republic
of China, 1982, Chapter 2, Article 49). The Marriage Law prescribes that sons and daughters have an obligation to support their parents. In the Law of Inheritance and the Criminal Law (1979, Article 183), one can find provisions on taking care of and safeguarding the rights of the elderly, making it an offense for adult children to refuse to offer proper support to the old family members, which is a coercive measure to enforce adult children's filial obligations (Leung, 1997). In today's Chinese society, financially supporting the elderly is still a taken-for-granted family business, rather than a social welfare responsibility (Ng, Loong, Liu and Weatherall, 2000).

In the literature, there are quite a lot of theoretical analyses explaining why and how filial piety happens (Bengtson & Schrader, 1982; Lan, 2002). Kosberg (1994) argues that the influence of historical tradition is extremely important in establishing the responsibility of caring for the elderly. Based on cultural norms, for instance the Confucianism in China, children come to feel obligated to their parents and seek to repay them by providing the care and assistance in their old age. This normative standpoint is further explained by the social exchange theory. According to the social exchange theory, the intergenerational relationship serves as a channel for different generations to exchange resources and power (Pyke, 1999). Filial piety, therefore, is a reciprocal result from the relationship between parents and children. There is an implicit moral contract between older parents and their adult children. Parents invest
economic, social and emotional costs to rear children with a hope of being paid back after their children grow up. In return, adult children, in particular sons, are expected and obligated to take the responsibility of providing necessary and favorable care for their parents at advanced ages. This interpretation believes that children have internalized a norm of filial obligation in response to social pressure. Young Chinese people are educated to love and respect elders during the process of socialization (Blieszner & Hamon, 1992).

Some studies stress that affection or positive sentiment is one of the most important motivations for provision of social support to aging parents. Typically, people’s willingness to become a caregiver stems from the affection one has toward his/her parents (Finley, 1989). Cicirelli (1983) further argues that the children’s commitment is based on past relationships and experiences with the parents and it lasts throughout life. Another important aspect that may predispose children to provide care to older parents is the degree of interaction (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991). It is important to consider the availability of supportive individuals or the concept of proximity (McChesney & Mangen, 1988). Geographical distance reduces the incidence of all types of help between generations (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).
Construct of Filial Piety

Filial piety is a complicated concept with multiple dimensions. Liu (1996) identifies three forms of Confucianism: a spiritual Confucianism with deep ethics and values, a politicized Confucianism of ideology and power, as well as a popular Confucianism of traditional values and social customs. In studying common Chinese people, we are more likely to understand filial piety based on popular Confucianism because we are more interested in the tradition transportation through an informal channel. In this situation, we regard filial piety more as an attitude than others. Sung (1990) makes a detailed analysis on the multiple dimensions of filial piety and differentiates the concept into three aspects: value commitments, service commitments, and emotional commitments. They are represented by religious beliefs, responsibility for elderly, and concerns and desire to repay parental debts, respectively. Based on this, Sung further found a two-factor structure for filial piety: both behavioral and emotional orientations (1995). Although this distinction seems plausible, it is still not clear whether filial piety is the affect, the behavior, or the value that governs affect and behavior.

Great efforts have been made by several researchers aiming at establishing a conceptualized framework of filial piety. Significant progress was achieved by Gallois et al. (1999), who attempted at conceptualizing filial piety in studying
intergenerational communication. They identified four attitudinal and interactional elements of Confucian filial piety in addition to finance and care-giving. The six most important filial piety aspects of Chinese are specified as “looking after the elderly”, “financial support”, “respect them”, “listen to the elderly”, “please them” and “contact with them” (Gallois et al. 1999). This approach is successful at conceptualizing the dynamics of filial piety practice in a general population. It is necessary to note that the more unique Chinese aspects of filial piety, such as ancestor worship or continuing the family line (de Groot, 1910; Hsu, 1971), are not addressed in this construct.

Social Environment for Filial Piety

Remarkable changes have taken place since Confucius first established the philosophy of filial piety to direct personal as well as social development for Chinese people. Starting from the beginning of the last century, China experienced a lot of social turmoil and changes such as foreign invasion, civil war, and internal immigration, etc. (Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000). In particular, since the end of the 1970s, when China began to adopt the policy of opening to the outside world, the process of industrialization, urbanization and modernization, intertwining with the increase of women in the work force, changing structure of population and families, increased geographic mobility, and differences of lifestyles between generations, has
progressed at a significantly increasing speed. In middle of this process, non-Confucian, non-Chinese values and ideas entered this society. In contrast to Confucianism, western philosophies tend to hold a liberalism and individualism orientation (Kim, 1994). Individuals in that culture behave more autonomously and equally. Thus obedience to the elderly is not promoted in those cultures. Also there are different perceptions of the elderly, sometimes, are negative and stigmatized, naturally attached to the western cultures. The gradual recognition and acceptance of some of these ideas, norms and philosophies from western nations by Chinese make the social foundation for filial piety changed and complicated. Under such a multi-oriented social condition, previous social foundations safeguarding filial piety have been significantly undermined in modern Chinese society. The macro-level forces have exerted influences on individual interactions (Kim & Yamaguchi, 1994). For instance, the strict gender distinction that was featured traditional Chinese society has given way to more gender-neutral prescriptions for relationships between parents and children (Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000). Meanwhile, people’s life-style and values of family are changing. Being economically independent and awakening of a sense of selfhood among the general public aroused by higher education and the cultural influence from western industrialized countries, the adult children no longer rely upon the older parents nor do they want to live in the way as expected by them.
Generational disparities in way of thinking, life-style, ethics, interests and hobbies are continuously growing. Thus, the traditional Chinese families which serve as the basic unit for filial piety are increasingly fragmented. Older parents have less contact with their adult children both physically and emotionally. A simple and obvious example is the distance between an adult child’s residence and his/her parents’ residence.

Research findings suggest that living closer to parents’ residence increases the effect of obligation on providing various services to elderly parents. (Ishii-Kuntz, 1997; Du, 1998). But the emerging “empty nest” families in China in current days are signals to be paid attention to. A survey result indicates children striving for their personal and career development far away from their parents usually gave the answer of “don’t know yet” to the question of “plan of caring for their parents” (Du, 1998). All these phenomena listed above have provided a new agenda of research about the impact of changing forces on young Chinese filial obligation which is currently unknown.

**Dynamics of Filial Piety Obligation among Chinese**

The prediction of filial piety evolution among Chinese people due to social environment changes is not an easy one. Empirical experiences do not provide a clear picture. There are studies indicating a declined adherence to filial piety beliefs among young Chinese people in Hong Kong and Taiwan (Chui, 1989; Chuang & Yang, 1990).
The study conducted among New Zealand Chinese, however, shows a still high overall level of filial obligations (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 1998). A recent study in Beijing (Yue & Ng, 1999), aiming at examining the new nature of Chinese filial piety under changing social context, suggests that along with a strong endorsement of filial obligation among young participants, particular aspects of filial piety, such as obedience or obey them, receive the lowest obligation rating while the respect element receives the highest score. These empirical studies lead us to think of some issues: the changing route of filial piety among Chinese may not be expressed in a unique format; and the force of changing external social environment may not be able to induce a wholesale erosion of filial obligations and expectations (Yue and Ng, 1999). Rather, certain specific aspects of filial piety might be more dominant or less important than their original shapes.

Contributing to the complexity of filial obligation has been the recent influx of Chinese people into non-Chinese cultures. Recently an increasing number of emigrants move to other countries. The action of emigration is accompanied with significant social and cultural environmental changes. Overseas Chinese are facing two cultures whose interpretations for filial piety are quite different. Will filial piety native to these Chinese be gradually replaced by western values and ideals as their process of relocation, acculturation and assimilation takes place? Existing studies
among New Zealand Chinese and American Chinese provide negative answers to the question (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000; Ng, Loong, Liu & Weatherall, 2000; Lan, 2002). Scholars (Berry, Kim, & Boski, 1987) explain that, although assimilation is a coping strategy of cross-cultural adaptation, a certain number of immigrants may take effort to hold on to their traditions while taking on some aspects of the host culture. However, the notion that Chinese elders have nothing to worry because young Chinese always care for them might be a misconception as well (Barrow, 1992). Young Chinese may become well acculturated to western social and cultural values regarding the way of taking care of the elderly. Therefore, the strength of filial obligation commitment among general overseas young Chinese population is unclear yet. Their obligation and commitment can be influential to the well-being of the elderly. Therefore, more empirical findings on Chinese population in different countries are needed to be explored.

Presently, some preliminary studies on filial piety and acculturation have been built into psychological literatures (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000). Empirical evidence indicates that acculturation to a host society is a multidimensional picture. On one side, many immigrants strive for and succeed in holding on to their ethnic identity and cultural traditions (Berry, 1984). On the other side, immigrants are exposed to different norms and values, as well as a new language. They adapt to new
ways of life in their new cultural and social environment (Aday & Kano, 2000). It is a matter of fact that there are traditional and cultural losses due to emigration. Given the less supportive link between western values and filial piety, one might expect a weaker endorsement of filial piety with the longer residence in a non-Chinese culture. In particular, young people may find demands imposed by survival in a host country difficult to sustain their traditional roles. Adherence to such roles may be viewed as inappropriate or unnecessary (Gefland, 1989). Therefore, it would be no surprise that transgenerational continuity in filial obligation becomes an issue among immigrants. Overseas Chinese are facing this problem. A study among Asian Americans shows that without statistically significant differences between second and third generations, later generation Asian Americans have a slightly less degree of filial obligation (Ishii-Kuntz, 1997).

Closely related to acculturation is the issue of language (Coupland, Coupland, & Giles, 1991; Giles & Powesland, 1975). Proficiency in Chinese language tends to diminish with length of residence in the English-speaking countries, and the increase in English language fluency is associated with increase in host culture identification (Dion & Dion, 1996). Hence, the tendency of moving language preference from Chinese to English will have some effects on the preservation of traditional Chinese cultures. In particular, for the future young generations, it may be difficult to maintain
filial piety obligations towards older family members, even given good intentions, because they are unable to communicate effectively with them using the elderly preferred language (Ng. 1998).

Furthermore, it is important to notice that the overseas Chinese is not a homogenous population. The nature of their residence and the level of assimilation are various too. Currently, abundant empirical findings about the changing patterns of filial piety are mostly based on the emigrants or the second and third generations, whose residence in the host countries are permanent. It is important to note that there are a large number of young Chinese populations who go abroad with the primary goal to study in some relatively developed countries. According to a rough estimation, there are more than 160,000 Chinese students residing overseas (Lu, 1997). The number is growing dramatically over years. The nature of their residency is largely different from current Chinese emigrants in that their association with the local community, in most cases the universities, is often a transitional or temporary one. Until now, little has been reported about their filial piety beliefs and practices in the middle of transition from China to another country. We would assume there must be both similarities and disparities between this group and Chinese immigrants.

This study, thus, is carried out to explore some aspects surrounding the issue of filial piety among Chinese students who are currently studying in the United States.
We incorporate Gallois et al's construct of filial piety to understand the issue. The core research questions are:

- What are the attitudes of Chinese students studying in the US toward filial obligation?
- Is there an association between Chinese students’ filial obligation and length of residence or level of acculturation? If so, in which direction does this association go?
- What factors predict Chinese students’ filial obligation?

Correspondent with the research questions, we have three basic hypotheses to be tested:

1. Length of residence and higher levels of acculturation will be negatively related to attitudes toward filial piety;
2. Length of residence and higher levels of acculturation will predict the expectation that their generation will not teach filial piety to their own children;
3. Length of residence and higher levels of acculturation will predict the expectation that their generation will not rely on children to care for them in old age.
CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Sample

The target population of this study is young Chinese students studying in the United States. For operational convenience, participants are recruited from the Ohio State University (OSU) in the United States, where the study is conducted. A total of 63 students (38 male, 25 female) aged between 18 to 40 coming from mainland China participated in the study.

Voluntary participants are recruited through Chinese Students and Scholars Society (CSSS) at OSU by sending soliciting emails to their listserv, so that each registered member receives the soliciting letter. Interested people contacted the researcher voluntarily to have the interview. Meanwhile, snowball sampling is used through referral from some participants who have done the interviews. Only current OSU students are interviewed. Interviews are conducted in English. The study is conducted using face-to-face, one-to-one interviews with each participant with a pre-formulated questionnaire.
Measures

The questionnaire is consisted of 40 close-ended questions, which include four major themes: demographics, acculturation, filial piety obligation and intergenerational relationship.

Demographics: The first part of the questionnaire contains questions asking demographic and status questions on gender, age, marital status, length of residence, student status, and sibling and birth order. Marital status is coded as: single, married, widowed, and separated. Length of residence refers to the time period (month) that participants have been in US. Student status is categorized according to participants’ official enrollment in the school, which includes undergraduate program, master program, PhD program and others. If participants are not the only child in their families, they are asked to provide birth order of all their siblings (include themselves) in the family.

Acculturation: The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identify Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA) (1987) is used to measure level of acculturation of the participants. The SL-ASIA is a validated instrument measuring cognitive, behavioral, and attitudinal components of acculturation. The scores (mean score) can be classified as acculturation typologies such as integrated, separated, assimilated, and marginalized. The scale uses a scoring scheme from 1 to 5. A score of 5 reflects high acculturation while a score of 1
represents a low acculturation. And those who are bicultural represent the middle score of 3 (Ponterotto, 1998). The SL-ASIA's internal consistency is tested using the coefficient alpha procedure. The split-half (.91) reliability has been tested quite acceptable. It also has been found to have construct validity (.73) (Ponterotto, 1998).

Filial Piety: Measures for filial piety obligation are adopted from the framework of filial piety established by Gallois et al. (1999). Two set of statements concerning attitudes towards looking after parents, financially supporting parents, respect and listen to parents, please and make parents happy, and maintain contact with parents are answered on a five-point likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The two set of questions are the same but asked in two different ways, in order to examine young people's felt obligations and their perceived expectations from elderly family members.

Intergenerational Relationship: International relationship is measured by asking questions such as where their live parents live; means and frequency of contacting with parents (by phone, letter, email or others; daily, weekly, monthly, occasionally or seldom); financial support for education from parents (yes or no); the willing to teach filial piety to their children and the expectation to rely on their children in old age (yes or no).
Analysis

Data is stored, processed, and analyzed using SPSS. Descriptive statistics provide information about the demographics. Independent t test and ANOVA are applied to describe the general picture of filial piety attitude among young Chinese participants (research question 1 and hypothesis 1). Correlation and multiple regression analyses are applied to determine the relationship between length of residence and the level of acculturation and the filial obligation of young Chinese students, as well as significant factors that explain the variance of filial obligation among participants (research question 2 and 3 and hypothesis 1). Finally, logistic regression is used to test the transportability and continuity of filial piety across generations (hypothesis 2 and 3).
CHAPTER 3

FINDINGS AND RESULTS

Demographics

There are 63 students participating this study. There are slightly more male (38) than female (25) participants. The average age of the participants is 26 (SD=3.78). Less than one-third of them are married (27%); the rest of them are all single (73%). About half of them (n=31, 49.2%) are the only child in their families. The length of residence among the 63 students varies from 2 months to 84 months with an average of 22 months. 52.4% of them have lived in the United States less than one year. All of them have living parents. But all parents are currently living in China. Therefore, these young Chinese are practicing filial obligation under a situation where a long distance is existing between older parents and adult children (see details in Table 3.1).
Table 3.1: Demographics of the sample

Attitude toward Filial Piety Obligation by Young Chinese Students

Gallois et al’s filial piety measure (1996) examines young people’s felt obligations and their perceived expectations from elderly family members. This allows
comparison between internal standards and perceived external expectations. It is a Likert-type scale with 5 presenting “strongly agree”. The average scores for each element given by the participants in the sample are presented in Table 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Young people have the obligation to</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look after their old parents</td>
<td>4.6349</td>
<td>.65504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist them financially</td>
<td>4.5397</td>
<td>.75830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect them</td>
<td>4.7460</td>
<td>.62135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obey them</td>
<td>3.4127</td>
<td>.96110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>please them and make them happy</td>
<td>4.4286</td>
<td>.73428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retain contact with them</td>
<td>4.7302</td>
<td>.65270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Do old people expect their children to</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look after their old parents</td>
<td>4.1905</td>
<td>.83968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist the financially</td>
<td>3.8095</td>
<td>.85868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect them</td>
<td>4.6667</td>
<td>.67202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obey them</td>
<td>3.6667</td>
<td>.95038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>please them and make them happy</td>
<td>4.1746</td>
<td>.73044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retain contact with them</td>
<td>4.6667</td>
<td>.69561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * young people's felt obligations

** young people's perceived expectations

Table 3.2: Perception of filial obligations and expectations of young Chinese
As one can see, there is a largely strong endorsement for filial piety obligation among Chinese students. Most of the means are above 4 points. Among all items, *respect them* (mean=4.746 and 4.6667) and *retain contact with them* (mean=4.7302 and 4.6667) are rated the first and second highest in both participants’ felt obligation and perceived expectation. By contrast, *obey them* (mean=3.4127 and 3.6667) receives lowest scores in the two categories. Interestingly, for young participants, their felt obligations exceeds their perceived expectations on all aspects except for *obey them*. The biggest discrepancy happens to the item of *assist them financially* (mean= 4.5397 and 3.8095) in two general categories. Young people rank much higher for this item in their felt obligation than their perceived expectation. Among all perceived expectation aspects, *assist them financially* ranks the second lowest followed by *obey them*.

**Differences in Filial Obligation Among Young Chinese Students**

Table 3.3 and table 3.4 show some further pictures to understand young Chinese students’ filial piety attitudes by breaking down the whole sample into subgroups. From table 3.3, no significant gender differences are found in their felt obligations and perceived expectations. It indicates that these young Chinese students, males and females alike, have basically similar attitudes towards filial piety obligation. This result seems to
be inconsistent with the son-preference in taking care of old parents in traditional Chinese society.

Table 3.4 displays a comparison between participants who are the only child in their families and who are not. Interestingly, no significant differences are found on all items either, suggesting that participants have a same level of filial obligation towards their older parents no matter whether they have other siblings to share the responsibilities or not. Meanwhile, their perceived expectations of their parents are the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Filial Piety Responsibilities</th>
<th>Male (n=38)</th>
<th>Female (n=25)</th>
<th>Sig.(2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people have the obligation to</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look after their old parents</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>4.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist them financially</td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>4.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect them</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obey them</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>please them and make them happy</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>4.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retain contact with them</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>4.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Do old people expect their children to | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | t-value | |
| look after their old parents | 4.13 | 0.93 | 4.28 | 0.68 | 0.683 | 0.497 |
| assist them financially | 3.76 | 0.91 | 3.88 | 0.78 | 0.525 | 0.601 |
| respect them | 4.74 | 0.72 | 4.56 | 0.58 | -1.022 | 0.311 |
| obey them | 3.82 | 0.95 | 3.44 | 0.92 | -1.553 | 0.126 |
| please them and make them happy | 4.26 | 0.69 | 4.04 | 0.79 | -1.19 | 0.239 |
| retain contact with them | 4.71 | 0.77 | 4.6 | 0.58 | -0.614 | 0.542 |

Table 3.3: Gender difference in filial piety attitudes among young Chinese students
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Filial Piety</th>
<th>Only Child (n=31)</th>
<th>Not Only Child (n=32)</th>
<th>Sig.(2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people have the obligation to</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look after their old parents</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist them financially</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>4.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect them</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>4.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obey them</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>please them and make them happy</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retain contact with them</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>4.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do old people expect their children to</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look after their old parents</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>4.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assist the financially</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>3.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect them</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>4.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obey them</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>please them and make them happy</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retain contact with them</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

**Table 3.4: Difference in filial piety attitudes among only child and non-only child Chinese students**

It seems this is quite a homogeneous sample without too many variances. But we do find a significant difference within this group. Using the same independent-sample t-test, we have found that students who are receiving financial support from their parents for their education feel more obliged to assist their parents’ financially (p=0.009<0.05).
But the significant difference does not happen to their perceived expectation from their parents in terms of financial assistance.

**Length of Residence, Acculturation, and Filial Piety**

In this study, the sample demonstrates a rather low acculturation level determined by the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identify Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA). The range of mean acculturation scores of these participants is from 1.73 to 2.69. This means, all the participants have a fairly low level of acculturation to the American culture.

Intimately related with the level of acculturation is the length of residence. For this particular sample, the length of residence ranges from 2 months to 84 months, or less than 1 year to 7 years. While more than half of the participants had stayed in the United States for less than a year by the time when the study was conducted. Only 19% of them have lived here for more than 3 years. This situation may be one of the important reasons to explain the rather low level of acculturation among this sample.

We use the correlation analysis to see if there is any correlation between length of residence and overall level of acculturation with filial piety measures: felt filial obligation and perceived expectation. Table 3.5 summarizes the result. From the numbers, it is easy to learn that the correlation between these variable are very weak.
Table 3.5: Correlations between length of residence, acculturation and filial piety obligation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Felt Filial Piety Obligation</th>
<th>Perceived Filial Piety Expectation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of Residence</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>0.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>-0.057</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, it is important to notice that the acculturation, felt filial obligation and perceived filial piety expectation are collective concepts which are composed of a lot of sub-variables. The above analyses only present a non-significant correlation among these collective concepts. However, it is still too early to conclude that no interrelationship between them. Even if the whole level of acculturation might not be able exert influence on the general filial piety attitudes, particular factors of acculturation might be more relevant than others to specific elements of filial piety. In order to disentangle the complex web of interrelations between acculturation factors and filial piety, it is necessary to examine the correlations among the detailed factors in both variables.

Correlation analysis is employed to identify significantly relevant acculturation factors to both felt filial piety obligation and perceived filial piety expectations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Felt Filial Piety Obligation</th>
<th>Perceived Filial Piety Expectation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>music preference</td>
<td>-0.102</td>
<td>-0.314*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movie preference</td>
<td>-0.043</td>
<td>-0.267*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the place where participants were raised</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>0.31*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English proficiency (reading)</td>
<td>0.268*</td>
<td>0.137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English proficiency (writing)</td>
<td>0.255*</td>
<td>0.137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation in Asian holiday, occasions, traditions, etc.</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.256*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed)

**Table 3.6: Correlations between Filial Piety with Significant Acculturation Variables**

From table 3.6, it seems that some acculturation factors are more likely to correlate with the perceived filial piety expectation than on the participants’ self-felt filial piety obligation. The above identified relevant acculturation variables, along with the length of residence factor, being as independent variables, are entered the regression equations with the measures of filial piety as dependent variables, using a stepwise method. For all seven variables (six acculturation variables listed in table 3.6 and length of residence variable), only three regressions are significant to explain the variance of perceived filial piety expectation, which include participation in Asian holidays, occasions and traditions, etc, the place where participants were raised, and English
proficiency (reading) (table 3.7). None of the independent variables are significantly accountable for the felt filial piety obligation by young Chinese students in the sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>participation in Asian holiday, occasions, traditions, etc.</td>
<td>0.2455</td>
<td>0.1242</td>
<td>0.2238</td>
<td>1.9760</td>
<td>0.0528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the place where participants were raised</td>
<td>-0.9292</td>
<td>0.2848</td>
<td>-0.3665</td>
<td>-3.2624</td>
<td>0.0018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English proficiency (reading)</td>
<td>-0.2180</td>
<td>0.0755</td>
<td>-0.3331</td>
<td>-2.8864</td>
<td>0.0054</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Summary</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Regression Analysis Involving Filial Piety and Acculturation and Length of Residence for Young Chinese Students

Standardized beta show the weights that independent variables serve as predictors of the perceived filial piety expectation by participants in this sample. The negative symbol (-) indicates the direction to which independent variables exert influence upon dependent variables. The above model tells us that: (1) the more frequent participation in Chinese holidays, occasions and traditions, etc., the stronger endorsement for filial piety
obligation developed by young Chinese students; (2) the original culture and tradition in which young people were raised have significant impacts on their current attitudes towards filial piety perceptions. Since most of they were raised in China, their current endorsement for filial piety obligation is strong; (3) a higher level of preference for English language can predict a lower level of perceived filial obligation expectations. Taken together, 29% of the variances in perceived filial obligation expectation can be explained by these three variables in this sample. Table 3.8 shows that the independent variables are not significantly correlated with each other, which further safeguards the strength of this model.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English proficiency (reading)</th>
<th>The place where participants were raised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English proficiency (reading)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The place where participants were raised</td>
<td>0.194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc</td>
<td>-0.231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: Correlations Between Acculturation Variables Associated With Filial Piety
Similarly, each filial piety item is entered into the regression equation being as dependent variables with the acculturation variables and length of residence being as independent variables. One significant model is resulted as displayed in Table 3.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>participation in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc</td>
<td>0.3493</td>
<td>0.1738</td>
<td>0.2492</td>
<td>2.0096</td>
<td>0.0489</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Model Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
<td>0.2492</td>
<td>0.0621</td>
<td>0.0467</td>
<td>0.6792</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.9: Regression Analysis Involving Acculturation Factor and Remain Contact with Older Parents

Table 3.9 tells us that the more frequent and active participation in traditional holidays by young Chinese people explains a strong support for retaining contact with older parents.

Finally, we are looking at the filial piety continuity and transportability. Two questions were asked in the interview to see whether current young
generation will teach filial piety to their children and whether they expect to rely on their children in the future. A majority of participants (95%) express their willingness to teach filial piety to their own children. Surprisingly, less than one-third (27%) of the same population expect to rely on their children to care for them in old age. Logistic regression only reports the variable of length of residence with marginal significance ($p=.039$).
CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

It is very obvious that a strong backing for filial piety obligation exists among young Chinese students who are living and studying in the United States in the sample (almost all items are rated greater than 4 on a 5-point scale). This finding is consistent with previous studies' results in China, New Zealand and America among young Chinese (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 1998; Yue & Ng, 1999). It indicates that filial piety, as one of the important and long lasting Chinese traditions, has a dramatic influence on the attitudes and behaviors of young Chinese, although the social foundation for it has been significantly changed. This somehow contradicts to the Hypothesis 1, which predicts the negative relationship between the length of residence and levels of acculturation and the attitudes toward filial piety. Here, from this result, filial piety obligations and expectations are still strongly endorsed by young Chinese people residing in the United States. Looking further at the picture presented in this study, the dynamics in the issue of filial piety among young Chinese generation living in the United States are more interesting to learn. Some of the dynamics are consistent with previous studies, but some are unique to this sample.
In recent literature, obeying the older parents has always been rated the lowest among all filial obligation elements (Yue & Ng, 1999; Liu et al., 2000). The finding in this study duplicates this point. A remarkable situation is that obeying their old parents becomes less valued by young people although it used to be one of the most important principles of Chinese traditions. It reinforces that obeying the elderly is the one aspect of filial piety obligations which declines the most from its original shape. As most participants suggested, “we always respect them (old parents), but that does not mean we have to obey them all the time.” This situation is not surprising at all with the prevailing values in the mainstream society shifting from collective orientation to individual orientation as well as changes taking place in life style, and family structures. Overseas young Chinese become much freer to do things at their will which has loosen the bond between adult children and their parents, in particular the reliance upon their parents. Meanwhile, participants perceive the same lower expectation for obedience from their parents in the study. Although we do not include a comparable parents group in this study, previous research including old parents on filial piety found out that current Chinese parents did expect less for obedience from their own children (Yue & Ng, 1999). It indicates that the less appreciation for obedience becomes a widely acceptable norm among Chinese people, regardless of adult children or old parents.

Culture effect is well demonstrated through the predominate support for respecting old parents. But the item of financial assistance demonstrates itself as a
relatively less supported element by the participants, while it used to be highly emphasized in practicing filial piety. In particular, from the big discrepancy between felt obligation (mean=4.5397) and perceived expectation (mean=3.8095) in terms of financial assistance, we can sense that young participants expect less financial request from their parents, although they still regard it an important responsibility in carrying out filial piety to their parents.

In contrast, retain contact with them (old parents) emerges as one of the top priorities redeemed by these young Chinese students. This somehow intriguing finding calls for our attention to this particular population. Due to the residence proximity between adult children and their parents, the maintenance of filial piety obligation is more likely to shift from material assistance to attitudinal or psychological support. For young people out of Chinese culture, they tend to keep themselves attached to cultural values (i.e. filial piety) by frequently participating traditional holidays and events. But looking at the difference between felt obligation and perceived expectation in terms of financial assistance, the average score of the former is still higher than that of the latter. This indicates that young people are trying to tell us that they should support parents financially even though the parents do not expect too much from them. Analysis tells us a story about paying back to parents’ financial investment. Furthermore, there is a significant difference between young people who are receiving financial support from their parents and who are not. The former obviously feel more obliged to provide
financial assistance to their parents than the latter. This result reflects a social exchange theory in explaining the intergenerational relationship.

Interestingly to see, all filial piety elements in the young people’s felt obligation are scored higher than their counterparts in their perceived expectations. This indicates that young people have a much stronger obligation to fulfill their duties even if they are not strongly expected to do so. It is a nice thing to learn that young people have a strong obligation in taking the responsibility of caring the elderly.

There is no significant gender difference in attitude toward filial piety in this sample, coinciding with several other studies (Ota, et al., 1996; Sung, 1995). But the absence of gender effect on the care of old parents somehow contradicts the findings in literature that women are the primary care-givers (Brody, 1990; Lopata, 1994). A possible reason suggested is the discrepancy between felt obligation and actual behavior (Sanborn & Bould, 1991; Ng et al, 2000). It is hard to predict in which direction the felt obligation can be translated into actual action and how, based on current data. A piece of supplemental information to understand this issue would be the different attitudes between only child and non-only child participants. It turns out that no significant difference existing to these two groups either. Taking these two pieces of findings together, with the enforcement of one-child policy in China, the only child, son and daughter alike, is supposed to take the full responsibility of taking care of their old parents. The son-preference tradition is inevitably out of dated.
Surprisingly, neither length of residence in the US or the level of acculturation is significant predictor of filial piety obligation for the sample as a whole. But when we look into particular acculturation factors, participation in Asian holidays, the place where participants were raised and English proficiency (reading) emerge as significant and independent predictors of perceived filial piety expectation. The variable of original grow-up place of young people reflects, again, the cultural effect in shaping the filial piety attitude and obligation. Almost all participants are adult children when they came to the US, which means their major and important education and socialization processes had finished within the Chinese culture dominated society. Thus, filial piety has become an inherent and strongly respected value or philosophy in their mind. Although their encounter with American society has changed the social foundation for filial piety value to a certain degree, their relatively short resident period and lower level of assimilation to the host nation’s mainstream culture cannot enforce a significant change on their original attitudes and perceptions.

Participation in traditional holidays and occasions is one of the factors reflecting the level of acculturation and assimilation to the host culture. Most participants present a high level of attachment to their traditional events even if residing in the host culture. Such a tendency is also a predictor to one of the perceived filial piety expectations among participants, retaining contact with parents. These results reinforce the picture that overseas young Chinese students try to maintain filial piety values and fulfill their
obligations through ritual and psychological means more than other materials methods due to the proximity between their parents and themselves.

Consistent with the strong endorsement for filial obligation, there is no surprise to see that all the participants will teach this value to their children. The cultural continuity and transportability over generations are obvious among these people. But the situation might be shifted over the time while they expose to a culture where filial piety is not particularly emphasized. Length of residence is a significant factor to predict it. We can expect such a trend. Contrasts to the above question, all participants give an opposite answer to the question of relying on their own children in old age. They answer “No” simultaneously. Combing these two questions together, we have found out an intriguing picture. They will definitely teach the filial piety values to their children. However, they do not expect the filial piety behaviors to be practiced by their children. This sounds somehow like a contradiction. Why young people themselves have such a low expectation for the cultural continuity and transportability which they are making efforts to preserve right now? The changing social environment, gradual lost of attachment to original culture, and the impact of acculturation and assimilation to another culture over time are all influential factors that young people may perceive.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study has made an important step in presenting the picture of filial piety obligation among young Chinese students living and studying in the United States. Several features of filial piety held by this particular group are identified. In brief, a strong endorsement for filial piety obligation is commonly demonstrated by young Chinese. In particular, respect old parents is consistently rated as number one filial piety practice by participants. While, obey them is consistently rated as the least favorable practice. Unique to this sample, financial assistance has lost its predominate place among filial piety aspects demonstrated in other studies. Retain contact with them, instead, emerges as the second top priority regarded by this sample. This trivial but unique change provides us a clue to understand filial piety practiced by adult children who are physically far away from their parents. Psychological and emotional supports become important supplements for material assistance in fulfilling the obligation. However, financial assistance is still an intriguing issue to be noticed. In the current sample, about one-third of the participants are still receiving financial support from their parents for education. From one side, this makes the young people feel more obliged to pay back to their
parents. From another side, young people might tend to overlook the financial independence and capacity of their parents. Hence, they may feel a less need for financial support from their parents. "Looking after the older but not so much financially" has been tested as a newly emerged protocol for fulfilling obligations for the young Chinese facing the 21st century (Yue & Ng, 1999).

Influenced by the One-child Policy in modern China, gender differences in fulfilling filial obligation among the new generations of Chinese appear to be blurry. There are not significant differences between male and female Chinese participants in their felt obligation and perceived expectations from their parents. This new situation may have substantial impacts on traditional son-preference value as well as daughters being as primary caregivers.

The model built to explain the link between length of residence, acculturation and filial piety obligation provides us a lot of good insights. Grow-up place and participation in traditional events reflect a strong cultural effect in shaping filial piety obligation among young Chinese. Participation in traditional events also re-emphasizes the emotional and psychological attachment to Chinese culture. The issue of language preference reflects some previous discussions in literature. It indicates a significant link between the English preference and diminishing filial piety obligation, although the diminishing tendency of the latter is not seriously strong in this sample. But, it might become a factor we need to worry as the tradition is transferred from one generation to
the next, when the English language proficiency will increase dramatically. Language, as a media to convey culture and tradition, must have influences on the cultural transportation and continuation.

Putting all the results and evidence together, we are developing some important ideas which may exert impacts on policies. In particular, policy makers in China will benefit from this study due to the characteristics of this population and their strong connection to China. Social policy that aims at securing well-being of the elderly in China may be able to identify some meaningful points from this study. Firstly, since family care is still strongly encouraged in Chinese society and supported among Chinese people, appropriate education on filial piety obligation is necessary. Education should be adjusted and highlighted to the new social foundation and environment. Both young people and the elderly will be educated to understand the dynamics of this issue. Young people, in particular, learn to understand the needs of the elderly thus balance their personal development and obligation for their parents. Education and socialization within families are still important and viable channels to preserve culture and traditions. Secondly, targeting at older people from “empty nest” families, social policy have to fill in some needs gap. Szinovacz and Ekerdt’ (1996) suggest that social policy can play a useful role by helping the elderly to maintain themselves in good health and financial independence. A comprehensive retirement pension system is one solution to it. The community care and formal care systems are helpful for fragile parents and parents from
rural areas, when they do not have adult children nearby. Policy makers should consider the limitation faced by adult children who are far away from their parents. Appropriate policies and services are expected to fill the gap. Thirdly, this study teaches us an important lesson on emotional obligation and support for older parents. As also suggested by Szinovacz and Ekerdt’ (1996), voluntary emotional bonds, rather than material duty, can tie older people with their adults children and grandchildren. Therefore, this is another issue needs to be translated into action by social policy in order to improve the well-being of the elderly.

Meanwhile, the policy makers can benefit from this study by listening to the expectations of the future old people. The young participants here express a strong will to be independent from their children in their old age. In this situation, a single-tired family-centered caring system might not be appropriate for the future old population. Instead, methods and strategies to keep the elderly as independent as possible are the needs to be fulfilled by the policies and services.

Finally, it is necessary to point out the limitations of the present study. All the discussions and conclusions are based on a relatively biased sample due to the selection of participants, and small sample size. Their average stay in the United States is relatively short. This might create a big issue when we conclude the little impact of length of residence and level of acculturation on filial piety attitudes. For the rather positive response on self-felt filial piety obligation from young Chinese participants, we may be
aware of the internal validity of the methodology. There could be some subjective factors, such as social desirability or self-serving biases, which would lead a tendency of evaluating self above external expectations in the study. Or we can understand this as young people’s social motive to define self positively by evaluating self as having fulfilled the fundamental cultural expectation. Concerning the self-image, participants may provide less accurate information by exaggerating some aspects, which leads to a general higher felt filial obligation than perceived expectation, for instance.

Meanwhile, this study does not incorporate a sample of older parents to be compared with. In literature, a couple of previous studies have done this already when examining overseas Chinese population. It would be better to compare young people’s perceived filial piety expectation and the older parents’ perception. In such a situation, we can easily identify the gap between the demands from older people and the potential actions by young people. Policy makers may feel more confident in formulating the policy to make them match together or fill the gap. Therefore, further study may consider incorporate a sample of older people or introduce family-level analyses if possible.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE
THE EFFECTS OF LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND LEVEL OF ACCULTURATION ON THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS FILIAL PIETY AMONG CHINESE STUDENTS STUDYING IN THE UNITED STATES (Questionnaire)

I. Individual Information:

1. Gender: ____

2. Age: ____

3. How long have you been in US: ______

4. Are you the only living child in your family? a. Yes___ b. No____

If no, please give the birth order of living siblings:

Child number 1: boy_______ girl_______ self_______

Child number 2: boy_______ girl_______ self_______

Child number 3: boy_______ girl_______ self_______

Child number 4: boy_______ girl_______ self_______

Child number 5: boy_______ girl_______ self_______

Child number 6: boy_______ girl_______ self_______

5. Marital status:___


6. Program enrolled at OSU:______
a. Undergraduate
b. Master
c. Phd
d. Others _______

II. Acculturation:

7. What language can you speak?
   - 1. Asian only (for example, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Sinhalese, Malayalam, etc.)
   - 2. Mostly Asian, some English
   - 3. Asian and English about equally well (bilingual)
   - 4. Mostly English, some Asian
   - 5. Only English

8. What language do you prefer?
   - 1. Asian only (for example, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Sinhalese, Malayalam, etc.)
   - 2. Mostly Asian, some English
   - 3. Asian and English about equally well (bilingual)
4. Mostly English, some Asian

5. Only English

9. How do you identify yourself?

1. Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi, Nepali, etc.

2. Asian

3. Asian-American

4. Indian-American, Pakistani-American, etc.

5. American

10. Which identification does (did) your mother use?

1. Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi, Nepali, etc.

2. Asian

3. Asian-American

4. Indian-American, Pakistani-American, etc.

5. American
11. Which identification does (did) your father use?

☐ 1. Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Bangladeshi, Nepali, etc.

☐ 2. Asian

☐ 3. Asian-American

☐ 4. Indian-American, Pakistani-American, etc.

☐ 5. American

12. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child up to age 6?

☐ 1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian Americans

☐ 2. Mostly Asians, Asian Americans

☐ 3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups

☐ 4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

☐ 5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

13. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child from 6 to 18?

☐ 1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian Americans

☐ 2. Mostly Asians, Asian Americans
3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups

4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

14. Whom do you now associate with in the community?

1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian Americans

2. Mostly Asians, Asian Americans

3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups

4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

15. If you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate with in the community?

1. Almost exclusively Asians, Asian Americans

2. Mostly Asians, Asian Americans

3. About equally Asian groups and Anglo groups

4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, Hispanics, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
16. What is your music preference?

☐ 1. Only Asian music (for example, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam, Sinhalese, etc.)

☐ 2. Mostly Asian

☐ 3. Equally Asian and English

☐ 4. Mostly English

☐ 5. English only

17. What is your movie preference?

☐ 1. Only Asian-language movies

☐ 2. Mostly Asian-language movies

☐ 3. Equally Asian/English English-language movies

☐ 4. Mostly English-language movies only

☐ 5. English-language movies only

18. What generation are you? (Check the generation that best applies to you:)

☐ 1st Generation = I was born in Asia or country outside the U.S.

☐ 2nd Generation = I was born in U.S., either parent was born in Asia or country
outside the U.S.

3rd Generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S, and all grandparents born in Asia or country outside the U.S.

4th Generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S, and at least one grandparent born in Asia or country outside the U.S. and one grandparent born in U.S.

5th Generation = I was born in U.S., both parents were born in U.S., and all grandparents also born in U.S.

Don't know what generation best fits since I lack some information.

19. Where were you raised?

1. In Asia only

2. Mostly in Asia, some in U.S.

3. Equally in Asia and U.S.

4. Mostly in U.S., some in Asia

5. In U.S. only

20. What contact have you had with Asia?

1. Raised one year or more in Asia
2. Lived for less than one year in Asia

3. Occasional visits to Asia

4. Occasional communications (letters, phone calls, etc.) with people in Asia

5. No exposure or communications with people in Asia

21. What is your food preference at home?

1. Exclusively Asian food

2. Mostly Asian food, some American

3. About equally Asian and American

4. Mostly American food

5. Exclusively American food

22. What is your food preference in restaurants?

1. Exclusively Asian food

2. Mostly Asian food, some American

3. About equally Asian and American
4. Mostly American food

5. Exclusively American food

23. Do you

1. Read only an Asian language

2. Read an Asian language better than English

3. Read both Asian and English equally well

4. Read English better than an Asian language

5. Read only English

24. Do you

1. Write only an Asian language

2. Write an Asian language better than English

3. Write both Asian and English equally well

4. Write English better than an Asian language

5. Write only English
25. If you consider yourself a member of the Asian group (Asian, Asian American, Indian American, etc., whatever term you prefer), how much pride do you have in this group?

☐ 1. Extremely proud
☐ 2. Moderately proud
☐ 3. Little pride
☐ 4. No pride but do not feel negative toward group
☐ 5. No pride but do feel negative toward group

26. How would you rate yourself?

☐ 1. Very Asian (Indian, Pakistani etc.)
☐ 2. Mostly Asian
☐ 3. Bicultural
☐ 4. Mostly Westernized
☐ 5. Very Westernized

27. Do you participate in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc.?

☐ 1. Nearly all
28. Rate yourself on how much you believe in Asian (Indian, Pakistani etc.) values (e.g., about marriage, families, education, work):

   do not believe <-- 1 2 3 4 5 --> strongly believe in Asian values

29. Rate yourself on how much you believe in American (Western) values:

   do not believe <-- 1 2 3 4 5 --> strongly believe in American (Western) values

30. Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Asians of the same ethnicity:

   do not fit <-- 1 2 3 4 5 --> fit very well

31. Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Americans who are non-Asian (Westerners):

   do not fit <-- 1 2 3 4 5 --> fit very well
32. There are many different ways in which people think of themselves.

Which ONE of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?

☐ 1. I consider myself basically an Asian person (e.g., Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, Etc.). Even though I live and work in America, I still view myself basically as an Asian person.

☐ 2. I consider myself basically as an American. Even though I have an Asian background and characteristics, I still view myself basically as an American.

☐ 3. I consider myself as an Asian American, although deep down I always know I am an Asian.

☐ 4. I consider myself as an Asian American, although deep down, I view myself as an American first.

☐ 5. I consider myself as an Asian American. I have both Asian and American characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.

III. **Filial Obligation:**

33. How much do you agree with these statements below regarding young Chinese people's filial obligation to their old parents in general:
Young people have the obligation to strongly agree strongly disagree

e. look after their old parents 5 4 3 2 1
f. assist them financially 5 4 3 2 1
g. respect them 5 4 3 2 1
h. obey them 5 4 3 2 1
i. please them and make them happy 5 4 3 2 1
j. retain contact with them 5 4 3 2 1

34. How much do you agree with the statements regarding old Chinese people’s filial expectation of young people in general:

Do old people expect their children to strongly agree strongly disagree

k. look after their old parents 5 4 3 2 1
l. assist them financially 5 4 3 2 1
m. respect them 5 4 3 2 1
n. obey them 5 4 3 2 1
o. please them and make them happy 5 4 3 2 1
p. retain contact with them 5 4 3 2 1

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IV. Intergenerational Relations:

35. Are your parents alive? Yes ______ No ______

Where do they live _______.

If your parents live in the U.S., do they live with you? Yes ______ No ______

36. If your parents do not live with you, how do you contact them: _______

a. by phone
b. by letter
c. by email
d. others _____

37. How often do you contact them?

a. daily
b. weekly
c. monthly
d. occasionally when it comes to special days
e. seldom

38. Are your parents helping to finance your education? Yes ______ No ______

39. Do you expect your generation to teach filial piety to their own children?

Yes ______ No ______

40. Do you expect your generation to rely on children to care for them in old age?

Yes ______ No ______

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