

Journal of Adolescent Research

<http://jar.sagepub.com>

Being "Good" or Being "Popular": Gender and Ethnic Identity Negotiations of Chinese Immigrant Adolescents

Desiree Baolian Qin

Journal of Adolescent Research 2009; 24; 37

DOI: 10.1177/0743558408326912

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://jar.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/24/1/37>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

Additional services and information for *Journal of Adolescent Research* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://jar.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://jar.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations <http://jar.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/24/1/37>

Being “Good” or Being “Popular”

Gender and Ethnic Identity Negotiations of Chinese Immigrant Adolescents

Desiree Baolian Qin

Michigan State University, East Lansing

In the last two decades, a corpus of research has been conducted to understand immigrant adolescent ethnic identity formation. However, few studies have examined the intersection of gender and ethnic identity. In this paper, drawing on mainly qualitative data collected on 72 Chinese immigrant adolescents, I present findings on the gendered expectations at home and school for Chinese immigrant adolescents and how they negotiated these expectations in constructing their identity. Findings suggest that while both Chinese immigrant girls and boys faced conflicting expectations at home and school, how they negotiated these differences differed. By examining issues related to gender, ethnicity, and identity, this paper also sheds light on the gendered pattern of educational outcomes of the new second generation.

Keywords: *Ethnic identity; Gender identity; Chinese immigrants; Adolescent development*

Migration presents a variety of challenges to the psychosocial development of adolescents. In the process of adaptation, immigrant adolescents have to adjust to new environments and new role relations both at school and at home (Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Qin, 2006). The task of forming an identity can be particularly challenging for them due to the multiple cultural worlds they traverse and the often conflicted expectations they face in daily life. Many are torn between the attachment to their parents' culture, the lure of the adolescent peer culture, and aspirations to join

Author's Note: Please address correspondence to Desiree Baolian Qin, Department of Family and Child Ecology, Michigan State University, 103E Human Ecology Building, East Lansing, MI 48824; e-mail: dqin@msu.edu.

the American mainstream culture (Tsou, 2002). In the last two decades, much research has been conducted to understand the ethnic identity formation in immigrant adolescents (e.g., Phinney, 1990; Yeh, 2003). However, relatively few studies have examined the intersection of gender and ethnic identity.

As one of the most fundamental constituents of a society's symbolic system (Prieur, 2002) as well as of an individual's self (Dion & Dion, 2001), gender offers an important conceptual lens for examining the continuities and discontinuities of cultural norms and values in different developmental contexts for immigrant adolescents. Values and conditions in the receiving society may challenge parental expectations of gender-related roles, resulting in the renegotiation of these roles (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Furthermore, for an immigrant adolescent, ethnic identity is often linked to gender identity (Espiritu, 2001). Femininity and masculinity are culturally constructed (Gilligan, 1982; Kimmel, 1997). However, researchers usually examine ethnic and gender identities as separate entities.

This article draws on mainly qualitative data to explore the experiences of one of the largest Asian groups, Chinese immigrant adolescents, and examine how they negotiate gendered expectations at home and at school and construct their ethnic and gender identities. Cultural differences around gender role expectations in traditional Chinese culture and the U.S. culture provide an interesting case to explore how potential conflicts are manifested in the adaptation of these adolescents. Findings from the study demonstrate the important but often ignored role gender plays in immigrant adolescents' identity formation and adaptation. More specifically, it teases out the role of gender in immigrant minority child development by examining the intersection of gender and ethnic identity formation. Examining this intersection may enhance our understanding of how identity is constructed by immigrant adolescents in their lived experiences. Understanding what conflicts immigrant adolescents face in different adaptation contexts and how they negotiate these conflicts can also help researchers and practitioners better support their development.

Gender Role Expectation and Adolescent Identity Development

The process of adaptation for immigrant adolescents is a process of "search for belonging" (Altman, 1993). Identity formation continues to be an important area of inquiry in understanding the adaptation of immigrant adolescents, because it has important implications for their educational and psychosocial adaptation (Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Studies of identity have generally focused on the structure, content, and developmental process of

identity formation (Kroger, 1997). Structure refers to the “intrapyschic organization each identity status reflects as well as the style or mode of approach to identity-defining issues each status represents”; content refers to “key issues or domains in which identity-defining decisions are made”; developmental process is “both the timing and the pathways of change over time that identity status movements can follow” (Kroger, 1997, p. 748).

Adolescence is a period of increased gender role differentiation triggered by changes in physical appearance and role expectations (Hill & Lynch, 1983). The role of gender in adolescent identity formation has been contested in developmental psychology. In his cornerstone identity theory, Erikson (1968) postulated that males and females go through similar processes of identity development characterized by increasing separation and individuation. However, Gilligan (1982), Miller (1991), and other scholars highlighted gender differences in adolescent and adult psychosocial development. In contrast to Erikson, they believed that girls identify with the same-sex caregiver and develop a sense of emotional connection during adolescence. For boys, on the other hand, the development of the self is a process of psychological separation from others. During adolescence, boys tend to focus on an independent identity more than girls, whose sense of self is based more on important relations. Furthermore, the process of identity formation may be longer for females than for males due to the multiple demands they face in different domains (e.g., home and work; Marcia, 1987).

However, empirical studies have yielded mixed results. Most studies have found few gender differences in identity development. Kroger (1997), for example, reviewed empirical studies published between 1966 and 1995 and found few gender differences in terms of structure, content, or developmental process of identity formation based on Marcia's (1987) theory of identity status. The domain of sexuality and family roles, however, were found to be of greater salience for females than for males. Some studies found gender differences but not necessarily in the direction hypothesized. For example, Lacombe and Gay (1998) conducted an empirical study using 20 scenarios of identity/intimacy dilemmas to test gender differences in the structure and content of identity of 120 high school students (60 males and 60 females). They found that contrary to theories previously proposed by relational psychologists like Gilligan (1982), male participants chose more intimacy resolutions (relationship-oriented) than did females and females chose more identity resolutions (autonomy-oriented) than did males. However, other studies (e.g., Cramer, 2000) found that although males and females may not necessarily differ in achieved identity status, the ways in which an achieved identity manifests are different as proposed by relational

psychologists: females cite more importance of social relations while males stress more autonomous strivings.

Research on the role of gender in ethnic identity formation of minority adolescents suggests that minority adolescent girls are more likely to develop strong ties to their ethnic culture and community than are boys, who are more likely to develop an awareness of obstacles in seeking equality with the dominant society (Chae, 2002; Phinney, 1990). Spencer, Cunningham, and Swanson (1995), for example, found that ethnic minority boys, particularly African Americans, may develop a compensatory sense of exaggerated “hypermasculinity” to overcome the discrimination and inequality they perceive in the dominant society.

Multiple Worlds, Gender, and Immigrant Adolescent Development

For immigrant adolescent girls and boys, the adolescent task of identity formation is particularly complex when it must be carried out in a new cultural context (Goodenow & Espin, 1994; Sapru, 2006). They are constantly exposed to two sets of norms—those of the country of origin and those of the receiving society. Zavala-Martinez (1994) used the word “*entremundos*” (“between worlds”) to describe immigrant adolescents straddling the two worlds. What is particularly challenging for these adolescents is that the expectations of the different worlds often conflict (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). For example, the messages children received in school that include the importance of personal freedom and independence are likely to conflict with the hierarchical relations that often characterize parent-child relations in many immigrant families (Sung, 1987).

Developmental research has shown that congruence in adolescents’ developmental contexts tends to be associated with positive developmental outcomes (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). For immigrant adolescents, whose lives are often filled with incongruence, how they negotiate these incongruent expectations plays an important role in their development. Phelan, Davidson, and Yu (1993), for example, developed a framework of multiple worlds to understand how immigrant students’ negotiation of conflicts in different worlds is related to their educational outcomes. Phelan et al. found that when there are more similarities across different worlds or when students manage smooth transitions in crossing the boundaries, they tend to do well in school. However, when their different worlds collide with each other, and when it is difficult to cross the boundaries, students tend to do poorly in school.

Although this research helps us understand immigrant students' development as a result of different expectations in various contexts, it does not address gender differences. In the domain of immigrant adolescent development, gender represents an important structure and organizing principle invested with different social and cultural meanings and is a powerful force shaping experiences at home and at school (Pessar, 2003; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Gender also influences an immigrant adolescent's identity formation, both in a process of labeling from the outside and in the construction of a subjective identity (Espiritu, 2001; Prieur, 2002). Researchers have documented some gender differences in immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development (Lee, 2002; Qin-Hilliard, 2003; Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002). For example, a number of studies show that immigrant girls tend to be the designated carriers of tradition and tend to be monitored more strictly than boys by their parents during adolescence (see Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006, for a review). As a result, immigrant girls tend to be influenced more by their ethnic culture and heritage in their identity formation (Phinney, 1990).

Chinese Immigrant Adolescents, Gender, and Identity

Research on Chinese immigrant adolescents is consistent with research on other immigrants regarding gender differences in ethnic identity formation. Yip and Fuligni's (2002) study found that Chinese immigrant girls were more likely to have a strong sense of ethnic identity than do their male counterparts. Similarly, in their research with Chinese immigrant adolescents in Canada (2001) found that stricter parental control and socialization of daughters to carry on the parental values may also have positive effect on their sense of ethnic identity development in immigrant girls, more than in immigrant boys. Most of this research, however, draws on quantitative data to document gender differences in immigrant adolescents' identity formation. Few studies have used qualitative data to illustrate the processes of immigrant adolescents' gender role negotiations across various sociocultural contexts.

For Chinese immigrant adolescents, the inherent differences between the American and the Chinese cultures can induce cultural conflicts, which make the process of identity formation more challenging for both girls and boys (Chan & Leong, 1994; Florsheim, 1997). Negotiation of gender roles can be particularly challenging. In the Confucian Chinese culture, dictation of gender roles is a salient theme. The traditional Chinese family governed by Confucianism is highly patriarchal (Abbot et al., 1992; Chan & Leong, 1994). Females are traditionally relegated to a more subordinate position

(Cheung, 1996; Wong, 1988). In the last century, China has gone through dramatic political and economic transformations that herald cultural and social changes, including gender roles (Fong, 2002). In contemporary Chinese society, women's increased earning power leads to elevated social status (Sheng, 2005; Song, 2004). However, discrimination against women remains.

In contemporary China, a girl who has a boyfriend in middle or high school is often labeled as bad. Chinese parents often teach their daughters that interest in the other gender is "highly distracting" and "improper" (Sung, 1987). Typically, a girl is taught not to associate too much with boys, because it is bad for her reputation and brings shame to the family. Sexuality remains a taboo topic for Chinese immigrant girls at home. In America, however, things are quite different. As Fine (1988) pointed out, sexuality is "ubiquitous" in American high schools.

For boys, as they enter adolescence, masculinity becomes a salient issue in their development. However, cultural codes of masculinity do not always agree with each other. Traditional Confucian culture, for example, places education, morality, self-cultivation, and gentleness in men as highly valued qualities. In the Chinese culture, physical strength is often negatively contrasted with mental or intellectual capacities. The Chinese idiom "strong limbs, simple mind" clearly shows the bias against physical strength. The soldier or the man who resorts to physical strength and violence was traditionally at the bottom of the social ladder. The sage or gentleman used his wits, not his fists, thus a Chinese boy is taught not to fight. Sports are another area where this conflict comes across for boys. As Sung (1987) pointed out, "in the traditional Chinese way of thinking, development of the mental faculties is more important than development of the physique" (p. 114). In U.S. schools, however, proving one's masculinity through activities involving physical strength such as sports is usually considered an important part of male identity development. Asian male adolescents have often been stereotyped to be unmasculine (Chua & Fujino, 1999). Their physical attributes such as being small and short contribute to their being perceived as weak (Eng, 2001; Lei, 2003) and their being more likely to be target for verbal or physical racial harassment.

The main goal of this article is to understand how Chinese immigrant girls and boys discuss different expectations related to gender, ethnicity, and identity they face at home and school. If there are conflicts in expectations for girls and boys, this article explores how they negotiate these differences.

Method

Participants

This research is embedded in the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation (LISA) study. The LISA study, originated in the fall of 1997, was a 5-year longitudinal, mixed-method study of 400 immigrant students from China, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Central America. The 72 Chinese students included in this current study, recruited from the Boston area, are a subset of the whole LISA sample. Among the 72 Chinese students, there are 44 girls (62%) and 28 boys (38%). On average, the students immigrated to the United States when they were 9 years old; at the time of Year 1 interviews, the average age of the students was 12 years. By Year 5 (4 years later), the average age was 16 years and students had spent about 7 years in the United States. There were no significant gender differences in terms of time of immigration, age, or length of residence in the United States (see Table 1). The great majority of the students, about 80%, were from Mainland China; the rest were mainly from Hong Kong (a few students were from Macau). In terms of socioeconomic status, as measured by parents' level of education, more than 60% of the parents had less than a high-school education. The majority of our participants (more than three-fourths) attended urban schools with bilingual Chinese programs, thus with a substantial Chinese student population. However, by the time of the fifth-year interview, the percentage of students attending urban schools with a concentrated Chinese student population had dropped. More than half of the students at this point attended schools, either urban or suburban, magnet or general high school, with diverse student populations, without substantial concentration of Chinese student populations. There were no significant gender differences in these demographic variables.

Procedure

The LISA study took an interdisciplinary, longitudinal, and comparative approach, employing a variety of data collection strategies including ethnographic observations, structured interviews of students, parents, school personnel, psychosocial measures, and standardized achievement assessments. Parental consent was obtained in the first year of the study for all participants. Data for this study come mainly from the structured student interviews conducted in the final year with each participant. The larger

Table 1
Age, Years in the United States, Place of Origin, and
Parental Education of the Chinese Sample (N = 72)^a

	Boys (n = 28)	Girls (n = 44)
Age arrived in the United States (Y1)	9.54	9.56
Age (Y5)	16.21	15.77
Total years in the United States (Y5)	7.00	6.91
Grade (Y5)	10.18	9.90
Place of origin (Year 1)		
China	81%	77%
Hong Kong	16%	21%
Macau	3%	2%
Area of origin		
Major urban	44%	37%
Other urban	31%	33%
Rural	25%	29%
Mother's education		
High school and beyond	56%	45%
Below high school	44%	55%
Father's Education		
High school and beyond	40%	35%
Below high school	60%	65%

a. There are no gender differences in any of the demographic variables.

interview focused on students' adaptation experiences, including experiences at home, at school, with peers, and students' identity formation. Interviews lasted from 1 hour 30 minutes to 2 hours 30 minutes. In the final year interview, students were asked a series of questions related to gender, ethnic identity, and various expectations they face at home and school. The interviews were conducted by mostly female, all Chinese research assistants. The longitudinal design allowed for continuity in most of the interviewer-participant relationship and facilitated comfort in sharing personal information related to these topics.

The interview questions used in this article were developed by the core research team, including the author. The first set of questions was about parental expectations regarding gender roles at home for Chinese immigrant students. For example, students were asked, "In [country of origin] how would most people describe a good girl/boy? How close do you think you come in meeting this expectation?" "What are your parents' expectations of you? Do you think these expectations would be different if you were of the other gender? Do you think Chinese parents are different from American

parents? If so, how?" Students were also asked about parental supervision and parental worries. These questions were included to understand students' perceived gender role expectations at home from parents.

The second set of questions aimed to understand expectations related to gender in the United States, particularly among peers at school. For example, students were asked, "How would most Americans describe a good girl/boy? How important is it for you to meet this expectation?" "Imagine a cousin your age had just arrived from China and was about to start school here. If she were a girl, what would you tell her she needs to know to be accepted by the kids in school? What would you tell him if he were a boy?" Students were also asked how their peer relations at school were like, including discrimination. These questions were included to discern perceptions of gender role expectations among peers in school and potential conflicts from parental expectations at home.

The third set of questions explored various aspects of the students' lives that have implications for ethnic and gender identities, what Stacey Lee (1996) termed "identity markers." For example, students were asked about language use across media (e.g., TV, music, and magazines), perceived competence in native language and English, and places they feel most at home. Students were also asked to comment on their relations with their parents and peers. These questions were included to understand negotiations of different expectations Chinese immigrant girls and boys might go through in their adaptation and identity formation.

Data Analysis

Most of the data reported in the article were qualitative data from open-ended questions in the student interviews. Qualitative data analysis was guided by grounded theory, which pays attention to the complexities of the participants' lived experiences embedded in unique social contexts (Fassinger, 2005). After all the responses to open-ended questions related to ethnic and gender identities were transcribed, they were entered by student ID and arranged by question number and topic in two word documents (one for girls and one for boys), largely following the three lines of questions listed above. I first read through all the transcribed data and wrote memos on the main themes noted. Next, data were uploaded onto Atlas-Ti, a qualitative data analysis software and a process of "open coding" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was used to generate themes from the data. The purpose of coding is to "fracture" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) the data, to rearrange it into categories that facilitate the comparison of data within and between

these categories, and that aid in the development of theoretical concepts (Maxwell, 1996). The codes were developed primarily inductively from existing theories and by the researcher during analysis, e.g., *importance of education at home for girls*, *importance of appearance at school for girls* (Maxwell, 1996). In coding, all the data, regardless of the questions asked, were compiled and coded openly.

Next, “axial coding” was conducted, that is, grouping the codes and concepts into higher level conceptual categories, which deepens the theoretical framework underpinning the analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For example, codes such as *importance of education at home* and *modesty in appearance at home* were grouped into the category of *parental expectations*. Next, selected categories, codes, and linked quotations were indexed into a number of matrices arranged by theme and gender—*expectation at home for girls*, *expectations at school for girls*, *girls’ negotiations*, *expectations at home for boys*, *expectations at school for boys*, and *boys’ negotiations*. This indexing served the dual function of reducing the data and displaying the analyses in a format that facilitates the organization of the results section, which presented these themes by the same order.

To monitor researcher bias and check for reliability of the codes and categories, a trained qualitative researcher helped code about one fourth of the data using Atlas-Ti independently. The codes were cross-checked against those developed by the author. Discrepancies were discussed in a follow-up meeting, which helped redefine the codes and categories. The qualitative data presented in the article was also supplemented by quantitative data analyzed using the SAS computer program. Univariate analyses were conducted on questions related to gender role expectations across cultures. To discern potential gender differences in various aspects of students’ identity formation, standard *t* tests and chi-square tests were conducted to compare the responses of girls and boys.

Results

In the following section, I illustrate how Chinese immigrant girls and boys faced sometimes conflicting expectations at home and school and describe the gendered processes in which students negotiated these expectations across various contexts.

Gendered Expectations and Negotiations: Girls' Experiences

Gendered expectations at home. Analyses of the series of questions on gender expectations indicated that, to be a good Chinese girl, doing well in school was the most important criterion for students from all socioeconomic and school backgrounds: 80% of the all the students interviewed considered it important for a “good Chinese girl.” During the interview, 12-year-old Linda¹ said “we (Chinese kids) have to study more. Other students (American kids) can play Play Station but we can’t. We have to go to bed early and get up early. We cannot go out to play all the time.” High expectations around studying were keenly felt by the students. Sarra, whose parents are both engineers, talked about her parents,

Chinese parents have very high expectations. They expect their children to succeed in everything. Sometimes they’re a little unrealistic. They think you have to academically be successful if you want to be successful in life. They tend to want more than what you can give them. They are good at making nerds.

It was clear for the majority of girls like Linda and Sarra that doing well in school was the single most important thing they were expected to do.

Another expectation parents had of their daughters was to stay at home. More than 35% of students reported that staying at home was important for a good Chinese girl. According to the students, parents often discouraged girls from going out to party or just hang around with friends. A good Chinese girl, according to Lian, who attended an urban school with many Chinese peers, was one who “does not go out; stays home all the time; reads a book all the time . . . [and gets] good grades.” Another girl, 15-year-old Tina, who attended a suburban school with few Chinese peers, talked about the more “traditional” and “stricter” Chinese parenting around partying and dating,

People here like to attend parties . . . Parents from China are more traditional. They require their children to go home by a certain time . . . Chinese parents are stricter than American parents when it comes to disciplining their children. Also, Chinese parents are not very open-minded, for example, things like boyfriends and girlfriends . . . they will say, “You are currently at the schooling stage and should not be dating.”

Student interviews show that more than 70% of students reported that Chinese parents worried most about their children becoming wild. For girls, it was almost always related to dating and sex—becoming wild was often

equated as becoming *loose, casual, Americanized*, or as *going astray, having too much fun, not listening to parents, or having fun with boys*. Interestingly, according to the students, Chinese parents also tended to equate being *Americanized* as being *wild* and bad.

Mainly because of concerns with dating and sexual activities, parents tended to supervise their daughters much more strictly than their sons. In the student interviews, more than half of girls reported that their parents demanded that they come home immediately after school. More than 40% of girls reported that their parents would not allow them to spend time at their friends' home. More than a third of the Chinese girls also mentioned that their experiences would have been different if they were boys. For example, 15-year-old Lili, who attended a school with few Chinese peers, said,

[If I were a boy] I can stay out late at night . . . they would not be as strict to me as they are now if I were a boy. They do not care too much about my elder brother. Also, they would not be as nosy if I were a boy. They always want to know about me and my things . . . If I were a boy, I probably would have more freedom.

Interestingly, definitions of becoming wild for girls also entailed wearing clothing that was *too exposing* or dying their hair, which presumably will draw more male attention. For example, 16-year-old Cathy said that Chinese parents worried most "that their daughters will be too wild and the clothes they wear will be too exposing and stuff." Dying her hair can also be a symbol of a wild or bad girl. Sisi, who attended a school with many Chinese peers, complained about her mom mistaking her as one of the *bad girls*,

My mom will think that I'll go out all the time because she always sees people going out on the street. Over Christmas time, I went to the mall a lot because of sales but she thought I was one of those "bad girls" dating in middle school and dying their hair.

In contrast, a good Chinese girl, then, is a girl who "only does school-work. She has a very thick pair of glasses. She reads like all the time and does not go out." Or as 15-year-old Tian described, a good Chinese girl is someone who "likes to study; does not like to go shopping; does not care about beauty; does not put on makeup, nice clothes."

Gendered expectations at school. At school, girls reported finding themselves facing a very different set of expectations from peers, where wearing fashionable clothing and being social were very important. While a good Chinese girl did not pay much attention to anything besides studying, to be

accepted at school by peers, Lian reported it was important to “not wear unfashionable clothes” or risk being called “a girl from the country.” Although education was the most important thing at home, students indicated that it was important to not let their peers know that at school. Sarra, who attended a suburban school of mostly White students, stated that for a new Chinese student at school,

You need to not act like a nerd. Dress according to the way others dress and do your best job to speak fluent English. Don't act like you save money. Spend money. When people ask you to go out, go. And don't say grades are most important to you.

Frugality, like education, was encouraged by parents. However, as Sarra noted, it was important to let go of some things that students were taught at home in order to fit in with peers at school.

Sometimes girls considered their native culture “old fashioned.” To be accepted at school, girls sometimes felt it was important to abandon the “old fashioned” way. Jane, who attended a large urban magnet school with substantial Chinese peers, noted that it was important to avoid being “old-fashioned” both in clothing and in manners,

to be accepted in school, do not wear unfashionable clothes. Do not be old-fashioned. An example of being “old-fashioned” is when people touch you and you feel bashful and try to run away. When you see friends, you hug them and all of you huddle together. If they see you walk away and fear to touch them, that's very “old-fashioned.” You have to be sociable.

To be accepted does not require too many changes. On the other hand, to be popular at school requires behaviors that are even further away from parental socialization and expectations. In interviews, students described popular girls as those who were fashionable, wealthy, and successful in getting attention, particularly male attention. Appearance was central to the image of a popular girl. In giving advice to a female cousin coming to the United States, Tim said, “If you want to be in the ‘popular group’ then you'll probably go to Abercrombie and start buying \$100 pants.” Another boy gave a similar advice: “To be popular you have to talk and hang out with the popular girls; dress better.” Similarly, 15-year-old Sharon, who attended a large diverse magnet school, said, “A popular girl [has] nice clothing, fashionable clothing, hangs out a lot with a group of people, has tons of boyfriends.” Thus, having male attention was clearly considered an important attribute of being popular for girls at school.

Sexuality is a taboo for Chinese adolescent girls in nearly all the families. Student interviews indicate that parents did not discuss issues related to dating or sexuality with their children other than forbidding their daughters from going out or getting anywhere close to boys. However, at school Chinese girls see other girls vying for boys' attention, girls and boys holding hands, hugging, and kissing in the hallway or on campus. For many girls, this can generate much internal conflict.

At school, the pressure from peers to conform to certain codes of behaviors can be quite strong. In interviews, a number of students talked about the lack of peer acceptance as a result of following parental expectations. For example, Lilian, a 13-year-old girl attending a large urban magnet school with many Chinese peers, commented on her peers at school,

Sometimes people in my school do not consider me as their friend. They sometimes say things that hurt my feelings but they are not aware of it. For example, when I asked them what they were talking about, they said, "none of your business." Later on, when they did not understand the homework, they came to ask me. Maybe I am of a different race . . . or maybe I am more hard working than them. They always say I study too much.

Lilian felt ignored by her peers because she was hard-working and did not participate in the teenage girl scene. While academically she felt validated because other girls would come to her to get support, socially she felt isolated and shunned by her fellow peers.

Girls' negotiations. It was not uncommon for girls to find themselves caught in a double bind: at home, they wanted to please their parents and study hard to get good grades and not pay attention to appearance or things unrelated to academics; however, at school, in order to be accepted by peers, they had to show more interest in appearance and boys, and were discouraged from focusing too much on their studies. So how did girls negotiate these different cultural expectations around appearance, sexuality, and education? My analyses show that overall girls tended to maintain a strong Chinese cultural orientation. In negotiating gender identities, they tended to internalize and conform to parental expectations.

At the time of the fifth-year interviews, the students had been living in the United States for an average of 7 years. However, the majority of the girls maintained the Chinese language and culture. For example, 79% of girls reported listening mostly to Asian pop music and 79% of girls reported reading Asian-language magazines. Of the girls 64% reported that China felt

more like home than the United States and 30% of girls consider that they read and wrote in Chinese better than in English. Overall, most of the girls expressed affinity for China. For example, 15-year old Nora who attended a diverse, urban high school said, "China felt more home like to me, because I share the same language, culture, and race as the people in China . . . also because I was born in China." Sally, who attended a suburban school with few Chinese students, also said China felt more like home because,

I have a family in China. I prefer to use Chinese as a language. I know a lot about China from culture to history, etc. I lived in China for 10 years. Everything in China heavily influenced me. It feels more like home to me, because of how things are and because most of my interests are Chinese.

Both Nora and Sally mentioned the importance of the Chinese language and Chinese culture.

Interestingly, in constructing gender and ethnic identities, most of the girls internalized Chinese cultural expectations, reaffirmed the importance of "being yourself," and expressed disapproval of "the popular girl" image in school. For example, when asked what parents worry most about raising a girl in the United States, Linda, who attended a diverse suburban school with a substantial Chinese student population, said,

coming home late at night, having a bunch of inappropriately-behaved male friends . . . and female friends too . . . because a person who is closer to good people will become good; a person who is close to bad people will become bad. If your friends were not good, they would often pressure you to do something that you would not want to do.

Linda clearly internalized her parents' expectations and socialization. In Chinese, there is a phrase, "when one is close to red ink, one becomes red; when one is close to black ink, one becomes black," indicating the importance of having friends who will be a good influence on a person. Linda clearly internalized this Chinese notion, most likely through her parents, and disapproved behaviors that contradict parental expectations.

In constructing their own gender identities, most of the girls interviewed tended to do so in contrast to the image of a "popular girl" at school. This is evident when 14-year-old Ada from a large, urban school talked about another girl from Hong Kong with clear disapproval,

Say, like, I do not get along with a friend. She likes to hang out with boys, and she doesn't like hanging out with girls that much. That is why she is

very . . . she likes to beautify herself. She likes to wear tops with narrow shoulder stripes. Like those, very short sleeves, like almost sleeveless . . . skinny shoulder strips, low-cut; she likes things like that. We like to wear those things like T-shirt, common ones. In addition, she [was] always with the boys. She got many boyfriends when she was in Hong Kong. We don't really like to play with people like these, because [we] feel that she is like, someone who is fooling around.

For Ada, she clearly drew the line between herself and this other girl from Hong Kong; she used the pronoun “we” when she talked about girls like herself and “people like these” for girls like her fashionable, popular friend. Ada seemed to construct her identity as a girl in opposition to the girl she described: while the other girl wore “sleeveless” “tops with narrow shoulder stripes,” that is, sexy and revealing clothing, the good girls that Ada identified with tended to wear “common T-shirts.”

Similarly, 14-year-old Sally recounted an exchange she had with her mother about being popular. Her mother told Sally and her sister that she herself used to be very popular in school—doing well in school and having many friends—and asked them, “Don't you want to be popular in school as well?” Sally responded,

“The concept of being popular is different in China and in America. In America, a very popular girl isn't much different from a female gangster. Do you want us to become female gangster?” Instead, Sally aspired to be a good girl who is “[S]mart, capable, well educated . . . conservative—not going around the street in tank top and not having a bazillion boyfriends—being appropriate and obedient.”

Thus, similar to Ada, Sally constructed her identity in contrast to the image of a popular girl.

While some Chinese girls became interested in fashion and vied for male attention (like the girl from Hong Kong Ada described), the majority of the Chinese girls in the sample indicated disapproval of these behaviors. They tended to internalize Chinese expectations related to being good and constructed identities that contrasted with their perception of what being popular at school required in the U.S. context. Furthermore, being interested in boys and being fashionable were considered distracting to educational success. Instead of wanting to be popular, most girls preferred to keeping their focus on studying to become a “well-educated person.” In many ways, the resistance against becoming a “popular girl” reinforced their focus on school by screening out the bad influence of paying attention to sex and other nonacademic pursuits.

Gendered Expectations and Negotiations: Boys' Experiences

Parental expectations. Analyses of the series of questions on gender expectations indicated that, to be a good boy in China, doing well in school was the overwhelming most important criterion just as it was for girls: more than 80% of the students interviewed considered it important for a "good Chinese boy." For example, Carl said, a good Chinese boy "reviews, studies, studies diligently, gets a good job; doesn't go out all the time; and doesn't hang out with the wrong crowd." Similarly, Qi, who attended a large magnet school with a diverse student population, said during interviews,

I think parents in general want you to succeed in life. You know it's like one of those Chinese phrases, *wang zi cheng long* (expecting son to become a dragon). They want you to be like this great person. So they're constantly pushing you to get like 1600 on your SAT and everything . . . [my mom] mentions the word "college" literally a million times a month, and they just cannot stop talking and they're constantly worried about it.

Many boys like Qi definitely felt the academic pressure from home. The burden of "becoming a dragon" can be quite heavy for boys.

Student interviews show that as they did for girls, more than 70% reported that what parents worried most in raising a boy was that he would "become wild." Unlike for girls, where "becoming wild" was often associated with having a boyfriend, for Chinese boys, "becoming wild" was most often related to risky behaviors. In interviews, boys talked about becoming wild interchangeably as *becoming bad, joining gangs, fighting, doing drugs, doing bad things, speaking foul language, smoking, cutting classes, and having fun.*

Interesting, while parents had high expectations for boys to do well in school and were worried about them becoming "wild," they tended to supervise the boys' daily activities much more leniently, particularly when compared with girls. Under a third of the boys reported that they had to get home immediately after school and more than 70% of boys reported that according to their parents, it was okay for them to spend time at their friends' homes.

Conflicting gendered expectations at school. Chinese boys in this sample were well aware of peer expectations related to masculinity at school. In some ways, the peer pressure for boys seemed stronger than for girls. For example, 16-year-old Li, who attended a large, ethnically mixed magnet high school, said,

[If I were a girl] I wouldn't feel as many pressures from other people from the same gender—boys are more likely to single out and make fun of those who do not fit those perceptions of "coolness." Say there's a school dance, [it is] socially acceptable for a girl to go by herself. However, if a boy went alone, other boys would call him gay. It happens everywhere.

Li's comments reflect the pressure he felt from his peers to abide to certain expectations.

While demonstrating not being gay by showing interest in girls was important particularly for older boys, participating in sports was considered by more than a quarter of the students to be important for boys regardless of age. When asked what a good American boy is like, 14-year-old Will, who attended a large suburban school with a concentrated Chinese student population, said, "very engaged and good at sport;" Another boy Nan from a suburban school with relatively few Chinese peers, said, "Doesn't cause trouble; education will be less important; well rounded life with sports, friends and school balancing." Thus at school, sports take on new significance.

Education, however, was a thorny issue for many boys. In fact, one main concern some Chinese boys had at school was being perceived as a "nerd." For example, when asked what advice he would give to a cousin who is immigrating to the United States, Tommy, a 14-year-old boy attending a suburban, mostly White high school, said,

Expect what you wouldn't expect. Everything is different—the way people here do things, the way school is, so consider things before doing them, the effects, etc. For example, most Chinese kids are very smart and raise hands all the time. People think you are a nerd and you are showing off. It's not a good reputation to have.

For Tommy, showing that one is smart at school negatively impacted social relations and "is not a good reputation to have."

For many Chinese boys, the image of a "nerd" who does well in school is in sharp contrast to the requirements for being popular in school, which often hinges on nonacademic activities like sports and sometimes video games. The lack of emphasis on masculinity on the part of Chinese boys, or rather the emphasis of other forms of masculinity, sometimes leads to teasing, ostracism, and harassment from peers. Feng a 14-year-old from a large diverse school, for example, commented on discrimination, "You talk to your Asians friends about it . . . People from different ethnic groups discriminate against you. They feel that you are a stranger. You are different from them." In student interviews, more than half of the boys reported that

they had experienced peer bullying or harassment. One boy, Carl from Hong Kong, for example, complained during the interview,

The most difficult thing is being bullied by both Blacks and Whites. They bully Chinese and Vietnamese students. They walk by and push you deliberately. They use expletives . . . In Hong Kong, no one treats me like that.

While peer harassment might happen for a variety of reasons, one reason that some boys talked about was that they were often perceived as *small, weak, skinny, nerdy*, and thus easy target for bullying.

Boys' negotiations. So how do boys negotiate these conflicts in their identity formation? My analyses show that boys leaned toward U.S. cultural orientation and peer expectations were quite salient in their adaptation and negotiation of identities. In interviews, 36% of boys reported reading Asian-language magazines. Only 14% of boys reported that they read and wrote in Chinese better than in English. What's more, tellingly, more than 60% of boys reported that United States felt more like home than China. Most of the boys who said they felt more at home in the United States attributed this to the fact that they had lived in the United States long enough to feel accustomed to life here. For example, 13-year-old Henry said, "U.S. feel more like home to me. It's more fun here. Things are very simple and not hard. Everyday life is very simple. In China, it's very hard to travel around by myself." Tommy, a 14-year-old, also indicated that United States felt more like home,

Because I lived in China for 8 years, but I don't remember a lot of things; but in the U.S, I have developed a lot of really good friends. I have a comfortable position at school. I know who everyone is. I know how everything works. I know how things are here. [I'm] just more comfortable here.

Influence from parents was also not as salient for the boys. During interviews, more than half of the boys reported that they experienced difficulty communicating with their parents, who tended to be more traditional. One boy, John, for example, who lived with his single mother, complained that he did not tell her things because,

First, I don't think she would understand. Second, sometimes like they lived in difficult times and have different expectations of life. It doesn't matter where they are in the world, their expectations of certain things would be different. They expect you to behave in ways that they are used to.

In negotiating their identities, boys, as for girls, also expressed the importance of “being yourself.” However, boys appeared less influenced by their parents than their peers. In order *not* to be perceived as a “nerd” and harassed by peers, many Chinese boys emphasized the importance of nonacademic activities for peer acceptance. For example, Tommy said, in order for a Chinese boy to be accepted by peers, it was important to “join a sports team. Be good at video games.” Jiang, from a large urban school with a concentrated Chinese student population, recommended, “[p]articipate in some after-school activities, e.g., football team, basketball team or other sports-related activities.” Ming a 15-year-old from a suburban, mostly White school, summed it up nicely:

A good boy in China may not be as active in sports. Not as wild. I don't know how to say it but, for example, a good Chinese boy wouldn't be going out all the time. It's not like this in the U.S.

Ming's comments illustrate the struggles that boys often had trying to negotiate their identities across two sets of cultural expectations. He also emphasized the importance of changing one's behaviors in the new cultural context. He and many other boys in the study tried to actively resist the stereotype of a Chinese boy as “nerdy” and “bookish” by devoting time to nonacademic pursuits.

A number of Chinese boys were also tempted by the lure of the gangs at school as a way to protect themselves from bullies and demonstrate their masculinity. This is the case for 15-year-old Carl. With his fashionable metal framed glasses, and gelled hair combed up, Carl appeared to be as “cool” as any Hong Kong teenage boy can be. Shortly after Carl migrated to the United States, he began to interact with gang members through his cousin who lived downstairs. The cousin dyed his hair, smoked, cursed, wore hip-hop clothing, and beat up people. A student at a large magnet school, the cousin was the “big brother” at that school. He introduced Carl to his friends, who were high school dropouts and leaders of gangs. Carl was scared when he first met these gang members. Nevertheless, during his first year in an urban, diverse American school, when Carl witnessed some American students bullying Chinese students, he began to feel that uniting the Chinese students into a gang might provide protection for him and others like him. He organized a gang-like group called “Wicked Kids,” who according to Carl, were “people from the same ethnic group who do not want to be bullied.” The group did not last very long. However, Carl's engagement in school suffered during this time.

Overall, my analyses show that both Chinese immigrant girls and boys in the sample experienced conflicts related to gender roles at home and at school. At home, doing well in school was the most important thing both for being a good Chinese girl and for being a good Chinese boy. Students reported that their parents worried most about them becoming wild, which was true for both girls and boys (although the specific connotations varied somewhat for girls and for boys). At school, both girls and boys faced peer pressure to present themselves somewhat differently. For girls, not being perceived as “traditional” or “old-fashioned,” paying attention to appearance and vying for male attention were important for peer acceptance or admiration. For boys, the pressure to demonstrate their masculinity through involvement in sports, video games, or other nonacademic related things was quite strong. The perceived nerdy image of Chinese boys often led to peer bullying and harassment.

Parents appeared to have a stronger influence on the girls than the boys. The girls reported being supervised more closely by the parents. Half of girls reported that they had to get home immediately after school compared with a third of the boys ($\chi^2 = 4.53, p < .05$). More than 55% of girls (vs. 70% of boys) reported that their parents allowed them to spend time at their friends' homes ($\chi^2 = 4.46, p < .05$). My analyses also showed that indeed Chinese boys spent slightly more time every day with their friends than girls did. On average, Chinese boys reported spending 2 hours every day with friends while girls reported spending one hour and a half after school with friends ($t = 1.81, p < .1$).

In negotiating these conflicted expectations and forming their ethnic and gender identities, the majority of both girls and boys indicated that it was important to be “yourself.” In terms of ethnic identity, 75% of girls and 59% of boys reported a Chinese origin identity in the final year student interviews; 25% of girls and 41% of boys reported a hyphenated identity (either Chinese American or Asian American). However, the differences were not statistically significant.

Nonetheless, the “identity markers” data showed that girls and boys differed somewhat in their cultural orientations. Boys appeared less likely than girls to maintain the Chinese language and affinity for their native culture. Compared with girls, boys used less Chinese in their daily life and maintained their Chinese language skills at a lower level than the girls. Of the boys 36% percent reported reading Asian-language magazines (compared with 79% of girls, $\chi^2 = 8.36, p < .05$). A bit more than half of Chinese boys reported listening to Asian music compared with 80% of girls ($\chi^2 = 7.82, p < .05$). Boys (14%) were less likely than girls (30%) to consider that they

read and wrote in Chinese better than in English ($\chi^2 = 4.58, p < .05$). More tellingly, more than 60% of boys reported that United States felt more like home than China (vs. 36% girls, $\chi^2 = 7.03, p < .05$).

In their negotiations of identities, girls also tended to internalize the traditional Chinese notion of being a “good Chinese girl” and the great majority resisted the image of being a “popular girl” at school. In contrast, boys were more likely to feel more pressured from peers to construct identities against a “nerdy Chinese boy” stereotype and aimed to conform to “popular boy” images by participating in nonacademic activities such as sports and videogames.

Discussion

This article contributes to the literature by using qualitative data to highlight important, conflicting expectations facing Chinese immigrant girls and boys across different social contexts and their experiences of trying to negotiate these expectations and forming a sense of self. Through focusing on the various cultural contexts in these adolescents’ development, this article reinforces Arnett’s (2005) notion that “adolescent development can only be understood in the context of culture” (p. 5). This is also one of the few articles that focus on the intersection of what García-Coll et al. (1996) call “social position factors” like gender and ethnic identity in immigrant minority adolescent development (for other work, see Espiritu, 2001; Lopez, 2003; Toto, 2002). Examining this intersection can enhance our understanding of the lived experiences of these adolescents because it is one place where their realities, conflicts, and negotiations are best demonstrated (García-Coll et al., 1996).

My findings confirm previous research findings on gender and ethnic identity formation of Chinese and other immigrant adolescents (Dion & Dion, 2001; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). The Chinese girls in my sample were more securely rooted in their Chinese ethnic identity in negotiating the different expectations they face at home and at school. Examining the issue of immigrant adolescent identity negotiations is important because of the implications it has on their adaptation outcomes. Research in the last few decades has consistently shown that preserving one’s ethnic identity is associated with lower levels of psychosocial risks (including higher levels of self-esteem) and higher educational achievement in minority youth (Phinney, 1990; Portes & Zhou, 1993). For immigrant adolescents, a strong sense of ethnic identity may serve to anchor and buffer them against risk

factors such as discrimination as they try to negotiate different expectations they face at home and school (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Examining how immigrant girls and boys may differ in the process of identity formation may also shed some light on the well-documented gender gap favoring girls in immigrant students' education (Lopez, 2003; also see Suarez-Orzoco & Qin, 2006, for a review).

My analyses show that gender is an important segmenting factor in students' identity formation and adaptation process. Girls were more likely to maintain their Chinese language and ethnic identity, and to resist gender expectations in U.S. schools and maintain their focus on school. Chinese boys, however, faced more peer pressure to develop a masculine identity through downplaying education and emphasizing nonacademic activities like sports. This gendered process of adaptation may contribute to different levels of educational engagement at school.

So, why were Chinese immigrant girls in the sample more rooted in their ethnic identity than were the boys? There are two likely reasons. First, immigrant adolescent girls and boys are often socialized in different contexts. Girls, because of strict parental monitoring (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006), often spend more time at home and are thus influenced more by their parents, the most direct conduit of their native culture and language. Often immigrant parents equate becoming assimilated into the American culture as being the same as "bad," "sexually promiscuous" (Espin, 1999) and "against the traditional . . . culture" (Dasgupta, 1998). For second-generation females, the pressure for socialization is particularly strong when parents perceive that the host society poses a threat to the values of their native culture. Even though they may resist overly strict parental control (Espiritu, 2001), immigrant girls often internalize more parental values and their native culture than boys. For boys, who receive less parental monitoring and spend more time with their peers outside of the home, for example, on the street or in video arcades, peers play a more significant role. Thus, it is not surprising that they would be more susceptible to peer perceptions in their ethnic and gender identity formation. Boys who spend time outside the home also have more opportunities than girls to be exposed to and assimilate into the American culture. Although acculturating and learning English can be adaptive, isolating the child from his original culture may negatively affect his educational and psychosocial adaptation.

Second, the degree of "identity threat" (Steel, 1987) is different for Chinese immigrant girls and boys. For many Chinese boys in this study, the stereotype of a good Chinese boy is something they want to break away from because it challenges their masculinity—being a nerd is not a path to

popularity for boys in this culture. Girls, on the other hand, face less threat to their identity—the perception of them as nerdy good Chinese girls does not challenge their femininity. Although this article has focused mainly on the school and peer context, it is important to acknowledge the important influence of the gendered stereotypes from the mainstream society that adolescents inevitably picked up through the media and other forms of “social mirroring” (Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Feminist scholars have long argued that Asian females have been depicted as the exotic, submissive other, for example, “sexy Suzy Wong” or the “mail order bride” (Espiritu, 1997). However, the model minority stereotype of Asian Americans, which is problematic Qin, Way, & Mukherjee (2008), may counterbalance these stereotypes of Asian women as submissive and weak.

For Asian men, however, the stereotypical depiction of them as being nerdy and unmasculine remains prevalent in the media. Their physical attributes such as being small and short contribute to their being perceived as weak, feminine, and easy targets for verbal and physical attacks (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Eng, 2001; Ling, 1997; Sung, 1987). Thus, the model minority image for boys may enhance their image as nerdy and unmasculine. Viewed this way, it is not surprising that boys want to break away from the perception of being a good Chinese boy. They want to demonstrate their masculinity in order to avoid being harassed (Lei, 2003).

It is important to note that many of the challenges and conflicting messages and expectations reported in this article are not unique to Chinese immigrant girls and boys. It is common for girls and boys, regardless of ethnicity, to face different expectations during adolescence across different domains. For example, relational psychologist Carol Gilligan found that Caucasian girls often go through psychological difficulties due to the pressure to conform to feminine ideals (Gilligan, 1996). Pollack (1998) found that adolescent boys learn to wear the “masculine straightjacket” very early on and peers often act as a “gender police” among boys (Kimmel, 1997).

For minority adolescent girls and boys from different ethnic backgrounds, they have to fight additional gender-related stereotypes that are often intersected with their ethnicity and minority status. For example, Latino and African immigrant boys are often stereotyped by popular media to be gang members and dangerous and delinquent youth (Lopez, 2003). Importantly, in the process of negotiating identity, minority adolescent girls and boys often challenge and resist stereotypes like these. For example, Alvarez et al.’s (2002) study found that Latina girls, though facing low expectations at home and at school, resisted the “domesticated Latina” image and showed others that they had dreams for professional career.

Espiritu's (2001) study showed that Filipina girls actively resisted the sexual norms of their American counterparts and chose to maintain their more traditional ethnic and gender identity. This is similar to the Chinese girls' attitudes presented in my study. It is also important to note that immigrant's ethnic cultural influence is not necessarily always positive. For example, strict and overly restrictive parental control documented among many immigrant communities including the Chinese may be detrimental to girls' development in terms of limiting their exploration of age-appropriate social relations with peers outside the domain of home. These social relations can be important in a girls' development of identity and self-esteem during adolescence.

In addition, although I highlighted the gender differences in the process of negotiations, it is important to note that there are also similarities and commonalities across boys' and girls' experiences. Both girls and boys tried to actively resist the stereotype from the mainstream culture and peer groups at school against them. The Chinese immigrant girls fought against the stereotype of them as bookish, and old-fashioned Chinese girls by asserting the value of the Chinese culture in their identity formation. Boys made efforts to actively change the image of them as nerdy and weak by participating in other activities like sports. As cultural psychologist Carola Suárez-Orzoco (2000) documented, immigrant students faced a lot of "negative social mirroring" (negative stereotypes from the mainstream society). It is important for future research to examine ways that these students exert their agency in resisting the negative social mirroring and negotiating their identities in the new land.

The findings presented in this article are limited by several methodological constraints. First, the sample was neither random nor representative. The participants were all recently-arrived first generation immigrant adolescents who may experience more conflicts in expectations at home and at school than their U.S.-born counterparts. For second and third generation adolescents, whose parents have been in the United States for longer period of time or are born here themselves, they may face fewer traditionally Chinese gender role expectations from their parents. For these adolescents, the gap between parental expectations and peer expectations may be smaller and the negotiation processes may be less different across gender groups than for recently arrived first generation adolescents. For example, for U.S.-born adolescent girls, they may internalize fewer traditionally Chinese gender role expectations like being modest in clothing; as a result, their construction of a gender identity may be more similar to their male counterparts.'

Furthermore, all participants attended schools in the urban areas in a northeastern city. It is particularly noteworthy that school context plays an important role in the identity formation of these immigrant adolescents. Most of the participants in this study were attending large, diverse, urban schools. These students may be more influenced by the gender role expectations of peers, which are likely to be different from those of their parents, than students who attend schools with mainly Chinese peers. The students' peer circle, for example, who they choose to socialize with, may also be important. It is important for future research to continue examining these issues.

Second, the sample size, particularly that of the boys, was quite small. Overall, although the findings presented may contribute to our understanding of how certain groups of Chinese immigrant adolescents negotiate the varied expectations they face in the process of acculturation, they should not be generalized to all Chinese American adolescents.

Today in the United States, one out of every five children less than the age of 18 years is a child from an immigrant family (Reardon-Anderson, Capps, & Fix, 2002). Understanding their adaptation and development has become increasingly important for researchers and practitioners in the field of child development. It is important for future research to continue examining the social position factors (e.g., gender, ethnicity, and social class) and how the intersection and interactions of these factors affect immigrant children's adaptation and development.

Note

1. All names are pseudonyms to protect confidentiality.

References

- Abbott, D. A., Ming, Z. F., & Meredith, W. H. (1992). An evolving redefinition of the fatherhood role in the People's Republic of China. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 22, 45-54.
- Altman, L. J. (1993). *Amelia's Road*. New York: Lee & Low.
- Archer, S. L. (1989). Gender differences in identity development: Issues of process, domain and timing. *Journal of Adolescence*, 12, 117-138.
- Archer, S. L. (1993). Multiple group identities: Differentiation, conflict, and integration. In J. Kroger (Ed), *Discussion on ego identity* (pp. 75-99). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Arnett, J. J. (2005). The vitality criterion: A new standard of publication for journal of adolescent research. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 20, 3-7.

- Chan, S., & Leong, C. W. (1994). Chinese families in transition: Cultural conflicts and adjustment problems. *Journal of social distress & The homeless*, 3, 263-281.
- Cheung, K. M. (1996). Cultural adjustment and differential acculturation among Chinese new immigrant families in the United States. In S. Lau (Ed.), *Growing up the Chinese way: Chinese child and adolescent development* (pp. 321-356). Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
- Costigan, C. L. & Dokis, D. P. (2006). The relations between parent-child acculturation differences and adjustment within immigrant Chinese families. *Child Development*, 77, 1252-1267.
- Chua, P., & Fujino, D. C. (1999). Negotiating new Asian-American masculinities: Attitudes and gender expectations. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 7, 391-413.
- Cramer, P. (2000). Development of identity: Gender makes a difference. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 34, 42-72.
- Dasgupta, S. (1998). Gender roles and cultural continuity in the Asian Indian immigrant community in the U.S. *Sex Roles*, 38, 953-974.
- Dion, K. K., & Dion, K. L. (2001). Gender and cultural adaptation in immigrant families. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 511-521.
- Eng, D. L. (2001). *Racial castration: Managing masculinity in Asian American*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Espin, L. M. (1999). *Women crossing boundaries: A psychology of immigration and transformations of sexuality*. New York: Routledge.
- Espiritu, Y. L. (1997). *Asian American women and men*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Espiritu, Y. L. (2001). We don't sleep around like white girls do: Family, culture, and gender in Filipina American lives. *Signs*, 26, 414-440.
- Fassinger, R. E. (2005). Paradigms, praxis, problems, and promise: Grounded theory in counseling psychology research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 156-166.
- Fine, M. (1988). Sexuality, schooling, and adolescent females: The missing discourse of desire. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58, 29-53.
- Florsheim, P. (1997). Chinese adolescent immigrants: Factors related to psychosocial adjustment., 26 (2), 143-163. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 26, 143-163.
- Fong, V. L. (2002). China's one-child policy and the empowerment of urban daughters. *American Anthropologist*, 104, 1098-1109
- Fulgini, A. J., & Yoshikawa, H. (2004). Investments in children among immigrant families. In A. Kalil & T. DeLeire (Eds.), *Family investments in children's potential* (pp. 139-162). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Fine, M. (1988). Sexuality, schooling, and adolescent females: The missing discourse of desire. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58, 29-53.
- García-Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H., & McAdoo, H. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competence in minority children. *Child Development*, 67, 1891-1914.
- García-Coll, C., & Magnuson, K. (1997). The psychological experience of immigration: A developmental perspective. In A. Booth, A. C. Crouter, & N. Landale (Eds.), *Immigration and the Family* (pp. 91-131). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gilligan, C. (1996). The centrality of relationship in human development: A puzzle, some evidence, and a theory. In G. Noam and K. Fischer (Eds). *Development and Vulnerability in Close Relationships* (pp. 237-262). Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goodenow, C., & Espin, O. (1993). Identity choices in immigrant adolescent females. *Adolescence*, 28, 173-184.
- Harris, A. C. (1994). Ethnicity as a determinant of sex role identity: A replication study of item selection for the Bem Sex Role Inventory. *Sex Roles*, 31, 241-273
- Hill, J., & Lynch, M. (1983). The intensification of gender-related role expectations during early adolescence. In J. Brooks-Gunn & A. Peterson (Eds.), *Girls at puberty: Biological and psychosocial perspectives* (pp. 201-228). New York: Plenum.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (Ed). (2003). *Gender and U.S. immigration: Contemporary trends*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kimmel, M. (1997), Masculinity as homophobia. In M. Gergen & S. Davis (Eds), *Toward a new psychology of gender* (pp. 223-244). New York: Routledge.
- Kroger, J. (1988). A longitudinal study of ego identity status interview domains. *Journal of Adolescence*, 11, 49-64.
- Kroger, J. (1997). Gender and identity: The intersection of structure, content, and context. *Sex Roles*, 36, 747-770.
- Lacombe, A. C., & Gay, J. (1998). The role of gender in adolescent identity and intimacy decisions. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 27, 795-802.
- Lee, S. (1996). *Unraveling the "Model Minority" stereotype*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Lee, S. S. (2002). Racial and Ethnic Identities of Second-Generation Korean Immigrants in New York City. Dissertation Abstracts International, 63, 1575-A-1576-A.
- Lei, J. L. (2003). (Un)Necessary toughness?: Those "loud Black girls" and those "quiet Asian boys." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 34, 158-181.
- Ling, J. (1997). *Identity crisis and gender politics: Reappropriating Asian American masculinity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lopez, N. (2003). *Hopeful girls, troubled boys: Race and gender disparity in urban education*. New York: Routledge.
- Louie, V. (2001). Parents' aspirations and investment: The role of social class in the educational experiences of 1.5 and second-generation Chinese Americans. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71, 438-474.
- Maccoby, E. E. (1992). The role of parents in the socialization of children: A historical overview. *Developmental Psychology*, 28, 1006-1017.
- Marcia, J. (1987). The identity status approach to the study of ego identity development. In K. Yardley & T. Honess (Eds.), *Self and identity: Perspectives across the lifespan* (pp. 161-171). New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Maxwell, J. (1996). *Qualitative research design*. London: Sage Publications.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Miller, J. B. (1991). The development of women's sense of self. In J. V. Jordan, A. G. Kaplan, J. B. Miller, I. P. Stiver, & J. L. Surrey (Eds.), *Women's growth in connection: Writings from the stone center* (pp. 11-26). New York: Guilford Press.
- Pessar, P. (2003). Engendering migration studies. In P. Hondagneu-Sotelo (Ed.), *Gender and U.S. immigration: Contemporary trends* (pp. 22-42). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Phelan, P., Davidson, A. L., & Yu, H. C. (1993). Students' multiple worlds: Navigating the borders of family, peer, and social cultures. In P. Phelan & A. L. Davidson (Ed.), *Renegotiating cultural diversity in American schools* (pp. 52-88). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499-514.

- Phinney, J. S., & Chavira, V. (1995). Parental ethnic socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 5*, 31-53.
- Pollack, W. (1998). *Real boys: Rescuing our sons from the myths of boyhood*. New York: Holt.
- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science, 530*, 74-96.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the second generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Prieur, A. (2002). Gender remix: On gender constructions among children of immigrants in Norway. *Ethnicities, 2*, 53-77.
- Qin, D. B., Way, N., & Mukherjee, P. (2008). The other side of the model minority story: The familial and peer challenges faced by Chinese American Adolescents. *Youth and Society, 39*, 480-506.
- Qin-Hilliard, D. B. (2003). Gendered expectations and gendered experiences: Immigrant students' adaptation in schools. *New Directions for Youth Development, 100*, 91-110.
- Reardon-Anderson, J., Capps, R., & Fix, M. (2002). The health and wellbeing of children of children in immigrant families (The Urban Institute Report, Series B, no. 52). Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Sapru, S. (2006). Parenting and adolescent identity: A study of Indian families in New Delhi and Geneva. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 21*, 484-513.
- Schwartz, S. J. and M. J. Montgomery (2002). Similarities or Differences in Identity Development? The Impact of Acculturation and Gender on Identity Process and Outcome. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence 31*, 359-372.
- Sheng, X. (2005). Chinese Families. In: B.N. Adams & J. Trost (Eds.), *Handbook of World Families* (pp. 99-128). London: Sage Publications.
- Spencer, M., Cunningham, M., & Swanson, D. (1995). Identity as coping. In H. Harris, H. Blue, & E. Griffith (Eds.), *Racial and ethnic identity Psychological development and creative expression* (pp. 31-52). New York: Taylor & Francis/Routledge.
- Steele, C. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist, 52*, 613-629.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. London: Sage Publications.
- Suárez-Orozco, C. (2000). Identities under siege: Immigration stress and social mirroring among the children of immigrants. In A. Robben & M. Suárez-Orozco (Eds.), *Cultures under siege* (pp. 194-226). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Qin, D. B. (2006) Gendered perspectives in Psychology: Immigrant origin youth. *International Migration Review, 40*, 165-198.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Todorova, I., & Qin, D. B. (2006) The well-being of immigrant adolescents. In F. Villarruel & T. Luster (Eds.), *The crisis in youth mental health: Disorders in adolescence* (pp. 53-84). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Sung, B. L. (1987). *The adjustment experience of Chinese immigrant children in New York City*. New York: Center for Migration Studies.
- Tsou, A. Y.-M. (2002). Understanding the influence of ethnic identity and acculturation on psychological adjustment among Chinese American adolescents. Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: the Sciences & Engineering, 62, 9-B.
- Williams, L. S., S. Alvarez, D., & Hauck, K. S. (2002). My Name Is Not Maria: Young Latinas Seeking Home in the Heartland. *Social Problems 49*, 563-584.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1*, 125-151.

- Wong, M. G. (1988). The Chinese American family. In C. H. Mindel & R. W. Habenstein & J. R. Wright (Eds.), *Ethnic families in America: Patterns and variations* (pp. 278-302). New York: Elsevier.
- Yeh, C. J. (2003). Age, acculturation, cultural adjustment, and mental health symptoms of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrant youths. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 9, 34-48.
- Yip, T., & Fuligni, A. (2002). Daily variation in ethnic identity, ethnic behaviors, and psychological wellbeing among American adolescents of Chinese descent. *Child Development*, 73, 1557-1572.
- Zavala-Martinez, I. (1994). Entremundos: The psychological dialectics of Puerto Rican migration and its implications for health. In G. Lamberty & C. C. Garcia (Eds.), *Puerto Rican women and children* (pp. 29-38). New York: Plenum.

Desiree Baolian Qin is an Assistant Professor of Human Development at Michigan State University. The main question underlying her work has been to understand how immigration, culture, gender, and ecological contexts (e.g., family, school, and peer environments) impact adolescent development.