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Nicole Penn April 14, 2020

China's one child policy: Chinese identity across cultures

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Abstract

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A broad overview of the multifaceted political, cultural, and social contexts associated with China's cornerstone family planning policy, the one child policy, is outlined in this research. This background provides historic grounding for the study of Chinese identity formation among three distinct groups of present day Chinese millennials, the group of greatest academic interest being Chinese adoptees due to their displacement from China during the decades that the one child policy was in place. This study further examines the relationship between Chinese millennials' self-perceived ethnic and cultural identities and their self-reported degree of ethno-cultural identity conflict. Chinese adoptees (n=48), American born Chinese (n=21), and Chinese international students (n=18) all completed measures of ethno-cultural identity conflict and demographic information generated through a single setting online survey. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed a significant difference in ethno-cultural identity conflict scores reported by the respective groups. This analysis supported the hypothesized score differences by reflecting the Chinese adoptee group as displaying the greatest degree of ethno-cultural conflict and the Chinese international students as displaying the smallest degree of conflict. A chi-square test was run to determine that all three groups displayed ethnicity-culture identity statuses that were significantly different. Finally, various comparisons of ethnic and cultural identity between Chinese adoptees, American born Chinese, and Chinese international students with respect to family members, friends, and significant others were made to capture the distinct ethnic and cultural similarities and differences unique to the personal relationships made by members within each respective group.

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Chapter One: Background on China's one child policy, intercountry adoption, and Chinese identity beyond the border

Synthesis of China's one child policy and intercountry adoption

It is socially accepted that family can be created beyond the bounds of heredity, most notably through the process of adoption. However, the question remains as to whether culture can concurrently be preserved beyond the bounds of heredity. More precisely, does the formation of cohesive or conflicting ethnic and cultural identity *saliencies* relate to the formation of ethnic and cultural identity *conflict* within a child who is adopted into a country outside of her origin? A primary historical lens through which to explore this relationship exists as the phenomenon of Chinese international adoption. Throughout the late 1970s and into the early 1990s, China underwent monumental policy reform, primarily spearheaded by the political figurehead, Deng Xiaoping. The crux of China's Reform Era centered around counteracting the widespread over population and collectivized economy characteristic of the Mao Era, which came to a halt upon the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 (Lowenthal, 1983). The punctuated population control tactics imposed by the Chinese government during this time frame, such as the family planning policies, inadvertently resulted in millions of Chinese infants being unwanted or unclaimed by their biological families due to the families' desire to not be found in violation of the family planning policies. Thousands of these infants saturated institutions across China, which eventually led to China opening its door to international adoption as an attempt to remedy the population of institutionalized infants escalating within China.

One of the longest lasting and furthest reaching policies implemented during the Reform Era in China was the one child policy, a specific policy restricting Chinese families from bearing more than one child, as a measure to achieve ambitious population control quotas. In the

aftermath of this one child policy and amid an ancient societal as well as economic preference for males, millions of Chinese couples were faced with the legal, financial, and social consequences of bearing more than one child. Considering the circumstances of limited resources and exorbitant fines if caught in violation of the one child policy, many families chose to give away their children of higher order births, most commonly females, in hopes of a subsequent male birth (Zhang, 2006). Even though families who continued to have subsequent births actively violated the one child policy, many of these families continued to take this risk because the benefits of producing a male often outweighed the consequences risked from discarding a subsequent female birth. Undoubtedly, this prevalent pattern of violating the one child policy to maximize the opportunities of conceiving a male child contributed to the growing numbers of female infants institutionalized across China.

Beginning in 1988, China launched its first intercountry adoption program to absorb the burgeoning numbers of institutionalized female infants (Gates, 1999). However, it was not until China's 1992 Adoption Law that intercountry adoption became widely accessible to potential adoptive families from Western countries, primarily the United States. Moreover, the introduction of international adoption as a temporary remedy for the influx of undocumented female births in China during the Reform Era lay the foundation for research analyzing the evolution of Chinese cultural identity among primarily female infants who were internationally adopted from China. The research herein analyzes this relationship among Chinese, predominantly female, infants who were adopted from China between the years of 1992 and 2001 and raised in the United States by primarily Caucasian identifying adoptive parents.

Introduction of intercountry adoption to the West

International adoption within the Western context experienced its most notable contemporary upsurge during the late 1980's (Morison, Ames, and Chisholm, 1995). During this time, international adoption from Romania was galvanized as a mechanism to outpour the massive buildup of institutionalized children throughout the country. Under the reigning Romanian Communist regime of that era, which was led by Nicolae Ceaușescu, contraceptives were outlawed as an attempt to increase the country's population. This in turn was intended to increase the overall vote count and ensure popular support for the current government into the next generation (Sullivan, 2014). However, the lack of access to contraceptives as well as healthcare for impregnated women collectively contributed to a rapid swell of unwanted births in Romania. Lacking adequate resources to care for the influx of children who were born during this time, many mothers relinquished their infants to the Romanian government who consequently placed the infants into institutionalized facilities. Thus, many scholars cite the fall of the Romanian Communist government in 1989 as the gateway that brought international adoption into the mainstream throughout the West.

Broadly speaking, the most pronounced ethnic composition of nuclear families who raise children via international adoption exists as parents who identify with the majority ethnicity of the receiving country, that ethnicity most commonly being Caucasian within the Western context, and children who are visibly identified with the ethnic identity of the sending country, whose majority ethnicity most commonly is not Caucasian. Under these circumstances, the internationally adopted children are commonly raised from the age of adoption through maturity in a country whose majority culture *and* ethnicity coincide with their adoptive parents' identity yet not with the children's personal identity. This dichotomy poses a social and developmental

impasse for internationally adopted children as seen by these children's experiential lack or limited exposure to environmental cohesion between the ethnic and cultural identity of the majority in comparison to themselves.

Political overview of China's Reform Era and family planning campaigns

Another prominent country that faced its own unyielding upsurge of institutionalized children during the 1980's was none other than the People's Republic of China, hence forth referred to as China. In contrast to the Romanian regime that faced an influx in institutionalized children due to the government's exclusive focus on *increasing* its population growth, the Chinese government of this time, led by Deng Xiaoping from 1978 to 1992, placed direct emphasis on *decreasing* its population growth as an effort to achieve economic stability and international prominence (Chang, 2015). In 1980 China's population sat at 1,000,089,228 (Population Pyramid, 2019). However, by 1985, its population increased to 1,075,589,363, and by 1990 the population reached an unprecedented total of 1,176,883,681. Thus, Deng Xiaoping set his agenda around implementing strategic policies intended to slow the country's exponentially increasing population. A primary way in which his administration focused its efforts on curbing population growth was by implementing a series of draconian policies focused on family planning (Short and Zhai, 1998).

In an effort to disseminate its policy nationwide, the Chinese government focused its initial family planning public initiative, commonly referred to as a family planning campaign, around the national policy known as the one child policy (*yihai zhengce*). The primary facet of this policy stipulated that each family living in China was limited to bearing no more than one child (Zhang, 2017). This policy set forth several specific protocols and penalties imposed upon

families who bore additional children. The Chinese government believed that limiting the total number of children each family was legally able to bear would collectively decrease the total population over the next generation and in turn conserve the country's resources for the current citizens (Chang, 2015). The Chinese government strictly enforced this policy by appointing government cadres to oversee local villages across the country and monitored the families residing in the respective villages (Zhang, 2017). These local officials were instructed to conduct regular checks of the houses within their respective villages. When the local officials found a family in violation of the one child policy, the officials demanded upfront payment of violation fines or threatened imprisonment of the violators (Johnson, 2017). Under extreme circumstances, these local officials held the authority to forcibly remove children from households that were found in violation of the one child policy (Wang and Zhang, 2019).

The aftermath of multiple births

However, due to limited access to contraceptives as well as an engrained societal preference for males, many Chinese families were faced with the reality of giving birth to more than one child. This reality placed these families in the perilous situation of either keeping the additional child and facing the economic and social consequences of being caught in violation of the one child policy or relinquishing the additional child to potentially avoid these said consequences (Johnson, 2017). It was common for families who opted for the latter option to construct a placement plan for the additional child in hopes that the child would ultimately be located and retrieved by another family or individual.

Placement plans often involved placing a child in a public location to maximize the likelihood of a passerby noticing and retrieving the child. The two prerogatives of maintaining

anonymity of the birth family and erasing all identifying factors connecting the infant with the birth family lay the foundation for such plans. Families who chose to enact a placement plan knowingly undertook heightened personal risks of government detection. These heightened risks took the form of potentially being reported by neighbors, family members, or local officials, all of whom could have potentially gained knowledge of the placement plan through word of mouth, eye witness observation, or direct reporting. For those reasons, it was common for families to travel long distances to neighboring villages during the early morning hours well before sunrise so that they could place the infant in a public market or transportation station before foot traffic began that day (Wang and Zhang, 2019). Placing families were known to pass by or near the location of placement multiple times to monitor whether the child had been retrieved by a passerby. Nonetheless, the risk associated with enacting a placement plan was unavoidable. Consequently, these risk factors contributed to the gaining prominence of infanticide as an alternative solution to evading violation penalties.

Even though meticulous planning often went into the actualization of placement plans from the perspective of the placing family, the success of the plan, the infant being retrieved by a passerby, depended largely on actions outside the control of the placing family. Thus, the incentives of the passerby were universally unknown to the placing families. As the placement of unwanted infants in public locations throughout China became more common as the decades unfolded, retrieval of these infants evolved into a lucrative opportunity for many individuals who naturally frequented these public locations. During the beginning years of the one child policy, it was uncommon for orphanages in China to offer monetary rewards to individuals who brought infants to institutional facilities. However, by the early 1990's, institutions began to compensate individuals who brought infants to their facilities to encourage the retrieval of infants from public

locations such as open air markets. The direct deposit of infants to institutions was seldom implemented by members of the birth family due to fear of government detection (Wang and Zhang, 2019).

Once China broadly opened its doors to intercountry adoption in 1992, Chinese institutions accrued an increase in capital supplied by foreigners, as seen in the form of international adoption fees, which they used to increase the compensation to locals who brought infants to their facilities. This increase in compensation heightened the incentive to bring infants to orphanages, which gradually grew into a profit driven industry (Wang and Zhang, 2019). By the end of the 1990's, trash collectors, gas cylinder delivery drivers, motorcycle taxi drivers, and bus drivers purposefully and repeatedly traveled predetermined routes in search of unwanted infants whom they then brought to institutions in return for personal compensation. Thus, the act of families placing infants in public locations for retrieval coupled with the monetary incentive associated with delivering infants to institutions circumstantially fueled a cycle of institutionalizing infants. However, this retrieval method only applied to a subset of Chinese infants who were institutionalized, and it is equally important to recognize that infants were brought into institutionalized care through a multitude of means, the extent and specifics of individual placement yet to be fully uncovered.

Moreover, regardless of placement circumstances, Chinese infants who were raised outside of their country of origin, specifically in the United States, as the byproduct of international adoption faced a complicated lifelong relationship with their own Chinese identity. This complication often resulted from being raised as an ethnically Chinese minority in a culturally American society. These multifaceted ethnic and cultural identity complications continue to shape the evolution of Chinese identity as it takes roots in the West. For these

purposes, this research analyzes the self-assessment of ethnic and cultural identity continuities as well as differences among Chinese adoptees living in the United States. These self-assessments by Chinese adoptees living in the United States are compared with the self-assessments of American born Chinese individuals and Chinese international students to learn more about how Chinese identity manifests itself with respect to the contemporary American context.

Chapter Two: China's one child policy- context, evolution, and consequences

Context of China's one child policy

Amid divided factions scrambling for political power following the death of Mao Zedong coupled with the insurmountable economic turmoil and population swells left in the wake of the Mao era, China faced immense political pressure to rapidly curb population growth during the late 1970's. This pressure took the form of punctuated efforts to direct China onto the path of economic reform and globalization throughout the Reform Era. During the three decades preceding the fall of the Maoist regime, China underwent radical political and structural transformations in a drive to propel industrial production, collectivize agriculture, and expunge archaic values from Chinese society (White, 1994). A large aspect of all three decades of the Mao Era rested on the promotion of boundless population growth to strengthen the ideological campaigns that were being pushed during the respective phases of Mao's multi-decade reign. However, the reality of this uncharted growth rose to immediate political concern when the instability of the country's overall population overload surfaced upon the death of Mao Zedong (White, 1990). Undoubtedly, the leadership of China following Mao's death greatly impacted the approach and expediency taken in tackling the crisis of population growth and depletion of resources. Family planning campaigns, mass efforts nationally implemented to achieve population control, holistically tackled issues of curbing population growth, reshaping classical values on family size, and reinventing government messaging to appeal to the vastly different rural and urban populations throughout China.

Even though China's government broke from the past in many regards during the Reform Era, one remnant of the Mao Era that did translate into this new era of market and social reform

was the concept of "mass mobilization campaigns" (*qunzhong yundong)* (White, 1990). These campaigns existed as specific, flamboyant, and galvanizing political rhetoric geared towards promoting a specific national policy. During the Mao Era, these campaigns served three functions which entailed recruiting and leading mass participation, correcting bureaucratic abuse, and activating populist revolution. Thus, this strategic premise sustained importance during the post-Mao period due to its flexibility in application, particularly regarding the promotion of the one child policy.

Historian Gordon Bennet (1976) supplied a working definition of China's mass campaign concept that read, "a government-sponsored effort to storm and eventually overwhelm strong but vulnerable barriers to the progress of active personal commitment". This working definition could be coupled with scholar Charles Cell's (1977) working definition of the term which read, "organized mobilization of collective action aimed at transforming thought patterns, class/power relationships, and/or economic institutions and productivity". Both scholars noted that even if a movement did not originate as a campaign, it still held the potential to amass into a campaign over its lifetime. This conceptualization can be applied to the one child policy because both the initial policy implantation efforts and subsequent mobilization campaigns that were galvanized throughout China promote the said policy captured the collective measures of a mass campaign which were identified by the said scholars. Both scholars also identified two primary defining factors of mobilization. These two factors were cited as maintaining a centralized goal of targeting a specific obstacle or promoting a specific ideal. These working definitions hold relevance to this research due to the widespread utilization of mass mobilization as a primary vehicle to implement family planning initiatives throughout China.

The first attempt at creating a population growth rate target emerged in 1970 under China's fourth Five Year Plan (Kane and Choi, 1999). During this legislative session, parameters pertaining to the population growth rate of 1980 were solidified. These parameters instructed each administrative unit to create an individualized target as well as tangible strategies to control the population's fertility behavior. This shift in responsibility from the national government to the provincial government signaled a shift in autonomy granting the provincial level officials more purpose and power than they were allocated in the past. However, operating under the current "later, longer, fewer" campaign, a political rhetoric promoting smaller family sizes but not imposing specific quantitative limitations, the ambitious 1980 target coupled with the goal of zero-growth rate by the year 2000 remained unattainable (Kane and Choi, 1999). The impracticality of these goals became even more evident as the latter half of 1980's emerged.

Under the overarching political influence of Deng Xiaoping, political focus was shifted onto the detrimental effects of unplanned births and population influx, which collectively impeded socioeconomic modernization. Leading from a position of pragmatism, Deng Xiaoping vocalized the structural pitfalls that permeated the standard of living and economic stability on the national level. One of the primary matters of concern regarding population influx was the depletion of resources. The national production of resources, such as grain, were unable to meet the needs of China's population during the 1970's, which resulted in widespread food shortages and curbed resource allocation (Landman, 1981). This inability to support the population's resource needs offered a tangible rationale for implementing population curtailing measures at the national level.

Another prominent push factor for establishing national population reduction measures revolved around the argument that fewer children in the home would enable women to more

actively participate in the workforce, thus allowing women to contribute to the country's overall production yield (White, 1990). This perspective supported the political focus embodied by Deng Xiaoping because it promoted a tangible path to long term economic growth. Thus, Deng Xiaoping focused his reforms around achieving long term economic growth by decentralizing economic management and reducing individual family size. One of the most notable avenues in which he pursued the first aspect of this multifaceted effort was by abolishing the commune system, collective farming in rural China, and replacing it with an individually allocated production and profit system. To tackle population growth specifically, Deng Xiaoping supported the implementation of China's one child policy, a paramount family planning policy that restricted Chinese families to one child her household. Deng Xiaoping publicly endorsed the policy during its initial unveiling in 1979 (Potts, 2006). Deng Xiaoping furthered the promotion of this policy by announcing if the country did not undertake a massive birth rate decline, "we [the Chinese people] will not be able to develop our economy and raise the living standards for our people" (Potts, 2006).

Among the initial post-Mao population control rhetoric emerged political leader Zhou Enlai's national slogan, "One is best, two is okay, and three is too many" (Landman, 1981). This national slogan evolved during the decades of the one child policy due to its ability to concisely capture the government's preference for families who chose to have only one child as opposed to multiple children. This slogan evolved into a political platform that swiftly amassed nationwide attention when its ideals were incorporated into the first one child policy legislation proposed to the People's Congress in Beijing during 1979. The then current form of this legislation, also promoted heavily by Hua Guofeng, existed as a policy launched by the Chinese State Council (Potts, 2006). The rationale behind this policy was summarized by the Chinese State Council

when they announced that this policy was implemented "so the rate of population growth may be brought under control as soon as possible" (Potts, 2006). It called for a lofty two stage reduction in the rate of natural population increase. This reduction timeline called for a decrease to five per 1,000 Chinese population growth by 1985 and zero growth by the year 2000 (Landman, 1981). The overall goal of this endeavor was to slow growth so much so that the population would remain under 1.2 billion by the 21st century. This aim was predicted to be actualized by the elimination of all third and higher order births as well as the reduction of second order births by 30% among childbearing couples (Kane and Choi, 1999).

Tangible action steps taken to implement this policy throughout the country in large part were spearheaded by provincial officials. Mobilization meetings and telephone conferences were organized to circulate campaign rhetoric and empower lower level cadres to contribute to distributing campaign messaging (White, 1990). Medical and propaganda units were sent to the countryside to promote birth control. These government employed medical teams facilitated *voluntary sterilizations* of many women at once to set a good example of selfless citizenship for the masses. By 1983, abortions, sterilizations, and IUD insertions were made mandatory for most women of child-bearing age (Short and Zhai, 1998). Articles profiling model citizens as well as educational editorials detailing the benefits of compliance filled the national and local newspapers alike. The initiatives and targets captured by the one child policy were translated to the local cadre level via the family planning responsibility system. Under this system, national officials trained and mentored local cadres on their role in bringing the goals of the one child policy to fruition. Another tactic used to establish public adherence to and support for the policy was the issuing of one-child certificates. These certificates were issued to couples who signed a pledge signifying their intent to only have one child (Wang and Zhang, 2019). Those who signed

this document, and upheld its parameters, received a red plate which the couples hung on their front doors. A gold star underneath the "one-child policy" inscription on the red plate denoted the couples' good standing with the government in this regard.

The crux of the initial one child policy legislation emphasized couples of childbearing-age to only bear a single child (Kane and Choi, 1999). Adherence to this policy was promoted through financial as well as status incentives offered by the national government to those found in compliance (White, 1990). Financial incentives often took the form of annual pensions and cash rewards, and status incentives took the form of public recognition at glorification meetings as well as preferential access to schools, health services, and housing. Additional forms of incentives included the allocation of infant and child subsidies, extra plots of land, preferential health care, better housing options, and other material rewards given to one-child couples. By 1992, the median annual subsidy allocation given to families in compliance with the one child policy leveled out to approximately 48 to 60 yuan, an equivalent of $7-11 USD, across urban and rural households (Short and Zhai, 1998). However, urban communities were three times more likely to receive these incentives than rural communities due to limitations in funds and distribution capacity applicable in rural communities. Additionally, the availability of these rewards waned across the board by 1984, as the policy evolved into a fundamental national policy.

Disincentives in the form of fines and sanctions were imposed upon individuals who were found in violation of the one child policy. Financial disincentives often took the form of financial levies placed upon each additional child (Kane and Choi, 1999). From 1989 to 1993 these fines ranged from 1,000 to 2,800 yuan, $268-482 USD, which represented an amount as much as 50 times greater than the cash subsidies offered to those found in compliance with the

policy (Short and Zhai, 1998). Status disincentives often entailed being isolated and criticized as negative models of citizenry as well as facing diminished career advancement for those employed by the government (Kane and Choi, 1999). Denouncement of those who failed to comply with the policy often entailed men being stripped from village business activities. This punishment imposed havoc due to people's dependence on village approval for permits and loans to maintain private investment activities (White, 1994). The women found in violation of this policy were commonly forced to attend numerous government meetings without pay as well as be subjected to propaganda and harassment in the home due to their direct association with giving birth. Finally, as established by the language of the policy itself, specific measures were determined by provincial leadership, as opposed to being imposed nationally, and minorities were in large part excepted from this policy (Kane and Choi, 1999). An unintended incentive for financial sanctions to be levied was local officials' access to the revenue amassed from fine collections. Local leaders often faced underfunding from the national government so the influx of cash from the fine collections was absorbed into the personal compensations that were not supplied elsewhere. The term "coercion and commandism" (*qiangpo mingling*) became associated with the mismanagement of the family planning system on the local level (White, 1990).

Throughout the 1980s and 90s, the Chinese government readily publicized the predicted successes of family planning campaigns in general as well as idolized individuals whom the government deemed as exemplary models of Chinese values (Wang and Zhang, 2019). Such individuals awarded by the Chinese government for their model citizenship regarding adherence to the various family planning initiatives included but were not limited to family planning propaganda officials, local village chiefs, female family planning officials, and local midwives.

One such female family planning official who achieved notable prominence for her professional work promoting the various family planning government initiatives was Shuqin Jiang. Over the multiple decades of her service to the government in the family planning sector, Shuqin Jiang won national awards such as the National Distinguished Worker Award, Excellent Labor Award, Model Worker Certificate, National Model Worker Award, Most Admirable Person of the New Era Award, National Outstanding Worker for Children's Affairs, and numerous others.

Beginning her career as a local worker in the family planning sector of her village, Shuqin Jiang rose to provincial and then national prominence for her unyielding devotion to promoting the various iterations of her national government's one child policy. Shuqin Jiang's story of model citizenship was documented by the national government in a propaganda video that aired in 1988 for the general Chinese populace. The transcript of the introductory statements in this video read:

"The one child policy [is] essential. Since its implementation in the early 1970s, our country has prevented 338 million births and saved $130 million worth of resources. Our family planning officials made this possible. [Shuqin] Jiang is an excellent model among them," (Wang and Zhang, 2019).

The video proceeded to explain the specific contributions Shuqin Jiang made despite her personal challenges in furthering the efforts of the Chinese government. The climactic undertone of the government's message focused on the expectation of individuals to fuel the success of this government initiative by not only upholding the standards of the family planning legislation, but also only having the allowed number of children for the individual's respective demographic.

The implication of the government's message also publicly encouraged individuals to display their personal adherence to the national standards, which in turn would promote a model lifestyle of which fellow community members would be socially expected to follow suit. Model citizens such as Shuqin Jiang most often credited their allegiance to the policies based upon their intrinsic desire to contribute to the collective efforts spearheaded by revered political leaders. When interviewed by Wang and Zhang (2019), Shuqin Jiang reflected upon her motives and reasoning for her continued allegiance to furthering the family planning policies set forth by the Chinese government. An excerpt of her rationale reads as follows:

"If I could go back in time, I would do this work again. Looking back, the policy was absolutely correct. Our leaders were prophetic. If not for this policy, our country would have perished. I was only nineteen when I started working in the family planning. I initially thought that forcing abortions was an atrocity. I wanted to quit several times. But the leader said to me, 'It is a national policy, and as a party member, the more challenging the job, the more determined you should be to take it on'." I had to put the national interest above my personal feelings. It was like fighting a war. Death is inevitable. It really was like that. We were fighting a population war."

The self-acknowledgement of the conflict between Shuqin Jiang's internal drive to contribute to the party juxtaposed with her initial yearning to uphold her moral values illustrated the ultimate allegiance that many workers displayed to furthering the agendas of the nation. Despite the personal qualms Shuqin Jiang experienced on the job, she chose to sacrifice her

personal beliefs for the good of the nation. This self-sacrifice resonated among countless government workers throughout the national, provincial, and local levels alike.

Evolution of China's one child policy

In 1980 China's one child policy was altered yet again as seen by the release of the first "Open Letter" by the Communist Youth League and Central Committee collectively (White, 1990). As reported in an article published on September 25, 1980 in the *Renmin Ribao*, the "Open Letter" conveyed the government's encouragement for individuals to personally further the family planning policy by "tak[ing] the lead" and only having one child. This standpoint was also reiterated five years later as China neared the end of its Sixth Five Year Plan. Overall, the implementation of this family planning campaign took hold most successfully in the urban areas where surveillance could be applied to women in neighborhoods and the workplace. However, enforcement in rural areas did not meet the same success.

Many of the implementation obstacles faced in the countryside were consequential to the radical structural changes underway in these locales. From 1980 to 1983 the Maoist commune system and collectivized agriculture were replaced with household farming, individual income, economic management, and individualized freedom to sell crop yields on the free market (White, 1990). This individualization loosened the government's grip on daily life in the countryside by decreasing the individual's sole dependence on the government for resource allocation. This in turn granted the masses more autonomy from the government than they had ever experienced before. As families began receiving income on the free market from sources outside the central government's direct control and became accustomed to the higher dividends sourced from external providers, governmental fines imposed on rural locals found in violation of the one child

policy paled in comparison to the income earned on the free market. Thus, penalties imposed by the local law enforcement became stripped of the overbearing influence they held in rural communities prior to the dismantlement of the rural commune system.

Despite these structural changes, sporadic sterilization campaigns during 1982 through 1984 were still launched throughout the countryside. These campaigns were aimed at couples under the age of forty who already possessed two or more children. The rural campaigns emerged as a desperate measure to mandate rural compliance of the family planning policies. By early 1983, "birth control operations" reached 1.6 times the total operations performed over the entirety of the previous year (White, 1990). This number stood at roughly nine million nationally by February of 1983. The success reached in these years despite the structural upheaval faced in the countryside propelled the national government to issue a new document on family planning.

In 1984, Central Document 7 was issued. This document provided an exception to the one child policy that applied to approximately five percent of all couples of child-bearing age who identified with the Han population, the majority ethnic identity in mainland China (White, 1990). The central tenet of this document stated that rural families with a female first born child would now be permitted to have a second child if they waited a minimum of four years to conceive again. To enforce this update version of the one child policy, local birth planning cadres imposed sanctions on violators as well as conducted randomized village wide checks (Short and Zhai, 1998). Another tactic used to enforce the multi-year spacing out of births was disallowing the violating families to register their subsequent births if the births took place before the four-year moratorium lapsed. This punishment was particularly impactful because an inability to register the subsequent births resulted in the births legally being classified as "out of

plan". The "out of plan" status automatically disqualified the higher birth order children from receiving government benefits throughout their lifetime.

Additional modifications to the one child policy that emerged in this time frame included parameters that considered factors such as whether a couple's first child was disabled, both parents were only children, or whether the birth parents had special occupations in government (Short and Feng, 1998). However, even though these editions relaxed the policy, the policy was perpetually breached, especially in rural areas. It remained common for village leaders to assist relatives in concealing "excess" births from higher authorities. Overall, implementation of Central Document 7 entailed vast regional variability, limited application periods, and extensive propaganda usage. The application periods of mobilization were cyclical and fell in the summer and winter in coordination with crop rotation seasons as well as Chinese New Year. Some scholars believed that this laxity contributed to the stricter enforcement policy during the early 1990's. Even though Central Document 7 did not necessarily succeed in its rural implementation, the document did elevate family planning to the fundamental state policy level, which provided substantial funding that was not allocated previously (White, 1990).

One example of regional variation put in effect in Zhejiang province was publicized through an article written in the September 27, 1987 issue of the *Zhejiang Ribao*, a provincial Chinese news source, which dubbed the provincial family planning efforts as a "family planning publicity and technical service campaign". This province specific campaign urged areas of the province which were deemed as "lagging behind" to "strive for marked improvements during the campaign" (*Zhejiang Ribao*, 1987). Thus, the province imposed its own reiterations of the overarching government policy. Additionally, the application of the one child policy became more professionalized after the amendments were made in Central Document 7. For the first

time, policy makers included sociologists, demographers, along with other social scientists to collaborate in policy implementation. Full time family planning workers were trained and placed at the local level to streamline quality of services provided. Finally, more meetings were scheduled to regularly assess provincial work quality.

Then yet another iteration of the family planning campaign took form in 1988. The focus of this updated campaign centered around the orchestration of shock family planning drives (White, 1990). These drives intended to provide regularly organized campaign initiatives that cohesively gathered provincial and local level cadres around a common goal of achieving practical results. Full time family planning and health workers were planted at the township, previously commune, level. However, many townships did not have the funds to pay the salary of these employees, and the national government was reluctant to place these employees on the federal payroll. This consequently resulted in decentralized and de-regularized application of the campaigns. The task of enforcing local birth quotas fell largely upon untrained representatives of the Women's Association within each village. Additionally, the exception for parents who were only children to have two children of their own was rolled back during this timeframe so much so that by 1993, approximately 45 percent of couples who fit this demographic in both rural and urban areas were denied this privilege (Short and Feng, 1998). In this way, rural and urban areas finally leveled proportional adherence to the policy due to the gradual and unintentional evolution of provincial policy during the late 1980's and throughout the 1990's.

Despite the numerous reiterations of the one child policy and family planning campaigns at large, China still faced steady population growth rates of 1.4 percent throughout the years 1987 through 1989 (White, 1990). These rates were higher than anticipated, but did remain within the governmentally determined acceptable range. However, a survey conducted by the

State Family Planning Commission revealed that population growth rate was as high as 1.6 percent. The head of this commission, Peng Pei, also disclosed the findings of a 30% gap between the statistics on the official report compared to those found on the survey reports. Additionally, the State Statistical Bureau reported that third order and higher unreported births made up upwards of seventeen percent of all annual births. In years associated with lenient family planning policy implementation, such as 1986, as high as fifty percent of couples were estimated to be eligible for the second birth exception. (Short and Feng, 1998). However, the family planning population growth rate targets were repeatedly failing to be met. Nonetheless, public officials continued to applaud the success of the one child policy even in the face of statistical defeat. In 1988 the *China Daily*, a national news source, released an article that read,

"The policy that allows rural couples with only one daughter to have one more child after a certain period has proved reasonable and is not the reason for the rapid growth of China's population in recent years, it was agreed at a national meeting of the State Family Planning Commission" (China Daily, April 19, 1998).

This unwavering backing of the family planning campaigns was countered slightly with an article from *Renmin Ribao*, another national news source, that urged the government to take the aging population into consideration before backing additional lofty population growth goals (Canping and Yajun, 1988). Further backlash against the feasibility and success of the law surfaced in a *Jingji Ribao* article by Xie Zhenjiang that asked, "how many centuries must it take before people can be awakened" (Xie, 1989). The article referenced the decades of family planning law that yielded limited reduction in population growth. However, this policy was

successful in averting a reported estimate of 300 million births (Greenhalgh, 2003). These population control initiatives did bridge a more structured network between the national and provincial governments than had been in existence previously. The policy played an integral role in shaping Deng Xiaoping's socialist modernization goals into reality. However, the decentralized implementation, ever evolving amendments, and sporadic resource allocation were ultimately unable to yield the lofty population reduction quotas initially proposed by the Chinese government in 1979, the year the original one child policy was introduced. Although it is of importance to note that the measures entailed by this policy *did* contribute to the overall reduction in China's population as it entered the twenty-first century.

Consequences of China's one child policy

The one child policy along with its various reiterations throughout the closing decades of the twentieth century contributed to the achievement of reduced population growth rate goals, but this policy also imposed substantial longitudinal consequences on the macro-societal level, such as the influx of undocumented births throughout the migrant worker populations, the strengthening of the male preference throughout Chinese contemporary society, reabsorption of undocumented births into the rural Chinese population, and international adoption of institutionalized Chinese infants. One such consequence surfaced as the upshot in internal migration. In response to the industrialization of China's major cities during Deng Xiaoping's economic reform and urbanization drives, upwards of 150 million Chinese adults, mostly in their 20's and 30's, traveled in mass to the large urban cities and hopped from job to job earning cash wages for the construction and manual labor service they provided (Kane and Choi, 1999). This migratory population became known as China's *floating population*. The undocumented and

unregulated births that this population amassed became known as the "excess birth guerrilla corps," or "excessive birth floating villages" among family planning officials (White, 1990).

The second major consequence that emerged in the wake of the one child policy was the unintended perpetuation and strengthening of the male preference and gender ratio imbalance. The concept of son preference was defined as "the subjective motivation of parents to want male children" (Chen, Ebenstein, Edlund, and Li, 2015). Dating back to ancient Chinese Confucian values, male preference was promoted through universal teachings such as the one that reads, "There are three ways in which one may be unfilial, of which the worst is to have no [male] heir" (Zhang, 2006). This engrained social preference for sons over daughters manifested in contemporary times seen by the tendency of Chinese families to continue to produce children until they successfully birthed a son. The continuation of giving birth until a family gave birth to a son greatly impacted the bourgeoning population growth that the Chinese government of the 1980's and 90's so desperately wanted to subside. Throughout this period, the period in which the one child policy and its various iterations were in effect, the birth of females continued to be twice to two thirds as likely to go unreported as the birth of males (Kane and Choi, 1999). These unreported female births were collectively referred to as "out of plan" or "surplus" births (Chen, Ebenstein, Edlund, and Li, 2015). The individual females characterized by this status were interchangeably referred to as *surplus*, *missing*, or *lost girls*.

The elevated likelihood of female births being unreported contributed to the rising gender ratio imbalance. In 1979, the year the initial one child policy was introduced, the national gender ratio of live births in China stood at 106 male births to every 100 female births (Chen, Ebenstein, Edlund, and Li, 2015). However, this number grew to 111 male births to every 100 female births by 1988, and climbed even higher to a rate of 117 male births to every 100 female births by

2001. The unreported female births were often absorbed into society by the means of care by distant relatives, public abandonment, infanticide, and eventually intercountry adoption. Thus, the governmentally imposed limitation to one child per family structurally inadvertently perpetuated gender discrimination in China during the late twentieth century. Many scholars remarked on the one child policy's societal impact of further demoting the Chinese female. This status reduction too often subjected females to second class lives and exacerbated the strife faced by rural Chinese women especially. In the modern day, China holds one of the highest suicide rates among women of reproduction age throughout the world (Chen, Ebenstein, Edlund, and Li, 2015). These collective factors underline the marginalization of Chinese women, a country home to one fifth of the world's population. The ramifications of this modern-day marginalization stretch far beyond the borders of China as demonstrated by the internalized identity conflict of China's lost girls who were adopted into families around the globe.

However, contrary to the century old male preference, females have gradually and inadvertently become more valued in Chinese society out of the long-term material benefit a female brings to the home, such as her ability to care for the paternal parents in old age and her ability to give birth to subsequent sons during her childbearing years (Chen, Ebenstein, Edlund, and Li, 2015). Chinese sons who remain unmarried were socially stigmatized by their derogatory identity as "bare branches", denoting that they are unable to uphold their duty of passing on the family linage into the next generation. Thus, this derogatory pitfall was remedied in Imperial times by the phenomenon of Chinese single-son families domestically adopting female infants and raising them in the patriarchal home upon the expectation of marriage between the biological son and adopted daughter. A female who was adopted into a patriarchal family and expected to eventually supply marriage to the biological son was referred to as a "little-daughter-in-law"

(*tang yang xi*). Even though this practice was outlawed with the Marriage Act of 1950, the concept of seeking marriage insurance, which thus served as one example of placing societal value on females, endured into the late twentieth century and onwards.

This pattern of unofficial reabsorption of surplus female births into rural families who often faced a greater need for the long term economic benefits offered by a female stretched into the contemporary time-period. Not only did females continue to provide the benefit of domestic labor, but they also provided support for the parents of the husband when they reached old age (Chen, Ebenstein, Edlund, and Li, 2015). Under this context, females were often kept as daughters to ensure the existence of an heir, but they simultaneously faced the risk of being abandoned during early childhood or elementary school years when the chances of the family bearing a subsequent male child increased. However, over the past half century, the social desire for creating the "perfect family" made up of one male and one female child has gained acceptance nationwide (Chen, Ebenstein, Edlund, and Li, 2015). This modern age perfect family both ensures the lineage of the family name, through the presence of the male child, and provides old age support of the parents, through the presence of the female child. This contemporary shift in social preference has impacted the rate of domestic adoption of female infants *within* China.

Another factor that contributed to the reabsorption of excess female births back into the Chinese population throughout the contemporary years of the family planning campaigns was the desire to shield family members from the financial and social consequences of violating the family planning policies applicable to their specific demographic group (Chen, Ebenstein, Edlund, and Li, 2015). As the family planning policies solidified over the years, there emerged an overarching social acceptance in rural China of raising family members' excess children to help fellow family members evade punishment by the local authorities for violating the family

planning policies. This “circulation of girls”, the displacement of female births from the homes of their biological families and reabsorption into the Chinese population, became common practice in rural communities where resources and government surveillance were limited (Zhang, 2006). This continual widespread violation of family planning regulations as seen by the reabsorption of out-of-quota births back into Chinese rural communities, set China apart from its Asian counterparts, such as South Korea and India, in that China was able, albeit illegally, to secure domestic placements for children without becoming disproportionately reliant on intercountry adoption to absorb its institutionalized children until the 1990’s and 2000’s.

Finally, the third consequence of China’s one child policy which lays at the heart of this research is the diaspora of Chinese females by the means of intercountry adoption. Despite the natural and unofficial reabsorption of surplus births back into the rural Chinese population, hundreds of thousands of infants continued to saturate institutions across the country. These numbers continued to grow from the late 1980’s and into the early 2000’s. To absorb the growing rate of institutionalized children throughout China, the Chinese national government finally turned to intercountry adoption as an effort to remedy the steady influx of institutionalized children. Intercountry adoption has been defined as “the adoption of a child born in one nation by adoptive parents who are citizens of another nation” (Romano, 1994). By 1999, China produced more infants for intercountry adoption than any other sending nation in the world (Van Leeuwen, 1999). This growing supply of Chinese infants complemented the growing demand of American parents seeking to adopt. In 1998, two million families in the United States were interested in expanding their family through adoption (Gates, 1999). Beginning in 1988, China opened its doors to foreigners to facilitate intercountry adoption (WuDunn, 1992). However, only foreigners who were either of Chinese heritage, long-term foreign residents of

China, or non-Chinese foreigners with strong ties to China were eligible to adopt during this time. These stringent parameters greatly limited those eligible to adopt. The strict limitations pushed many interested families to adopt from more accessible countries as well as contributed to the increase in illegal adoptions within China, which involved bribes and payoffs.

In response to these adverse side effects, China passed its Adoption Law of 1992, which opened China to foreigners of all ethnic and cultural backgrounds wishing to pursue intercountry adoption (Gates, 1999). China's Adoption Law of 1992 expanded intercountry adoption to all foreigners, either single or married, who were over the age of thirty-five and childless. The Chinese government deemed these individuals eligible to adopt children who did not present any pre-existing medical conditions. Married couples as well as single prospective parents who were under the age of thirty-five and already had children in the home were eligible to adopt children who presented physical or medical disabilities. However, in 1993 China faced another influx in illegal adoption, which led to a ten-month moratorium on intercountry adoption from China. Following the moratorium came the establishment of the China Adoption Organization (CAO), which functioned as a body of Chinese officials specifically tasked with overseeing the intercountry adoption process. Demographics of the potential adoptive parents gathered by the CAO included marital status, proof of age, financial status, police record, and health status, thus streamlining the intercountry adoption process for all foreigners wishing to adopt from China.

In 1999 China once again enacted an amendment to the 1992 Adoption Law which allowed all prospective adoptive parents, both single and married, to adopt children from China even if biological or adopted children already lived in the home (Gates, 1999). Additionally, this amendment lowered the parental age requirement to thirty and over. Thus, lowering the restrictions on intercountry adoption from China ultimately increased the number of intercountry

adoptions from China facilitated legally. China's gradual progression from micro-restriction to guided regulation of intercountry adoption set China apart from other Asian countries experiencing high rates of intercountry adoption, such as South Korea. This distinction was made due to China's success in curbing illegal adoption and promotion of intercountry adoption to ameliorate the growing rate of institutionalized children (Gates, 1999).

This favoring of loose over strict intercountry adoption policy requirements eased foreign access to intercountry adoption from China and in turn contributed to the desirability, attainability, and affordability of adopting Chinese infants as opposed to infants institutionalized in other Asian countries. Throughout this timeframe, the primary receiving country of intercountry adoptions from China was the United States. By 1998, a total of 4,206 Chinese adoptees, most of whom were female infants, arrived from China to the United States to live out their lives in America with their, most often, Caucasian parents (Gates, 1999). This ethnic and cultural disparity between the Chinese adoptee and her Caucasian adoptive family within the American context has unfolded into the adoptees' internal need to build cohesion between the two competing identities. Among Chinese adoptees, this cohesion has often been met by the adoptees' rejection of their Chinese identities, either ethnic or cultural but sometimes both, in favor of assuming an all-around American identity.

Moreover, even though there did not exist a single one-child policy consistently and uniformly imposed upon the Chinese populace, the consequences that the numerous family planning campaigns imposed upon society both locally and globally were abundant. The consistent encouragement by the central government to adapt the national family planning policy on the provincial level as the provincial officials saw best fit perpetuated the individualized impact experienced across the nation. Scholars deemed the one child policy as having "the most

momentous and far-reaching implications for China's population and economic development" (Short and Zhai, 1998). This paper analyzes the impact that the ramifications of this policy may have imposed upon Chinese females who were raised outside their country of origin due to being adopted internationally. This segment of Chinese females is of special interest to scholars due to its punctuated cohort creation from 1992, the year that China opened its doors to intercountry adoption, and into the 2000's coupled with the propensity for individuals of this cohort to face Chinese identity conflicts throughout their development.

Chapter Three: Ethnic identity development within a multi-cultural context

Foundations of ethnic identity formation

Ethnic identity has been defined by Kim, Suyemoto, and Turner (2010) as being a "socially constructed categorization focusing on patterns shared by an identifiable group, often involving a common national or geographical origin". Thus, ethnic identity can be summarized as the individual's psychological affinity to a shared heritage with other identifying group members. This characterization was reiterated by Hu, Zhou and Lee (2017) through their emphasis on an individual's identification with a specific ethnic group over numerous social contexts when forming individual ethnic identity. Therefore, experiences of belonging as well as exclusion from communities whose group members share a common ethnic background greatly impact ethnic identity formation. Additionally, ethnic identity has been defined by Phinney (1992) as "one's sense of self as a member of an ethnic group and the feelings that accompany such membership". Collectively, these characterizations of ethnic identity place emphasis on self -perception of group membership mediated by hereditary origin.

Ethnic identity development is thought to be created through exposure to ethnic socialization. *Ethnic socialization* can take the form of messages, practices, and beliefs that capture ethnic heritage as well as promote pride and commitment to the ethnic identity of interest (Hu, Zhou, and Lee, 2017). However, it is important to note that these socialization efforts manifest in different capacities over time and shift to reflect the developmental needs experienced during the respective stages of life. Even though parents serve as the primary agents of ethnic socialization during their children's early childhood years, peers gain increasing prominence in facilitating this role during the child's adolescent and young adult years. It has

been found that among Asian adolescents, those who maintain friendships with peers of a similar ethnic identity manifest a higher Asian ethnic identity themselves.

Even though research suggests that family acknowledgement of the uniqueness of both adoptive and Chinese identities is imperative to identity formation among Chinese adoptees, adoptees at large have been identified as a vulnerable population at higher risk of developing identity problems during late adolescence and young adulthood compared to the regular population (Sorosky, Baran, and Pannor, 1975). It is relevant to acknowledge that many American parents who adopt children from China self-identify with the predominant Caucasian ethnic majority of the United States and thus may often lack the personal experiences of racism and identity confusion that are paramount to many Chinese adoptees' experiences growing up as an ethnic-minority. Even though these adoptive parents can likely empathize with their Chinese adopted children when made privy to encounters with racism experienced by their children, these parents cannot console from a place of personal experience due to their lack of personal experience identifying as a minority. Thus, if parents of Chinese adoptees do not have experiences to draw from in which they have been confronted with Chinese identity in their own lives, Chinese adoptees are at a disadvantage for being able to successfully solidify their own Chinese ethnic identity due to their parents' limited repertoire of experiences to draw from when attempting to offer support to their ethnically diverse children.

Under this context, Chinese adoptees are often at a disadvantage in terms of accessing organically occurring ethnic socialization opportunities. This disadvantage commonly takes the form of lacking a parental figure who possesses the same Chinese ethnic identity as the child. It has been cited that Caucasian parents who adopt make fewer attempts to address racial bias and remain less likely to recognize the common occurrence of micro aggressions encountered by

their adopted children than parents who identify as ethnically Chinese (Morgan and Langrehr, 2019). This common disregard to ethnic based prejudice by non-Chinese identifying adoptive parents adversely impacts the Chinese adoptees' successful formation of ethnic identity.

Conversely, for American born Chinese individuals, both the individual's parents and family members most often share a similar perceived heritage and ethnicity with the American born Chinese individual. These parents' personal experiences of navigating a society as an individual who identifies as an ethnic-minority equips these biologically related parents with lived personal experiences that are applicable to the struggles faced by their ethnically similar children. Put together, the American born Chinese individuals are more likely to solidify their Chinese ethnic identity on a deeper level than Chinese adoptees ever attain due to the American born Chinese individuals having access to ethnically similar role models, such as parental figures, which the Chinese adoptees lack.

Foundations of cultural identity formation

Another type of identity relevant to this research is *cultural identity*. This type of identity has been described as an individual's self-perceived understanding of and participation in specific lifestyles or celebrations characteristic to an environment comprised of individuals of like backgrounds (Basow, Liley, Bookwala, and McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 2008). The most heavily cited avenue taken to solidify cultural identity is the participation in cultural socialization. *Cultural socialization* is represented as an individual's exposure to as well as embodiment of cultural expectations and norms of both the individual's birth culture and current society. However, some literature divides cultural socialization into the categories of proximity and intent (Chen, Lamborn, and Lu, 2017). Under this division, cultural socialization based upon *proximity*

is defined by the natural interaction with an individual's immediate cultural environment. Conversely, cultural socialization based upon *intent* is defined as intentionally and somewhat artificially seeking out exposure to a desired cultural environment which exists outside the individual's naturally occurring and immediate environment. The importance of this distinction lies at the heart of the cultural socialization of Chinese adoptees due to the adoptees' immersion into societies whose ethnic and cultural majority do not align with that of their personal origin.

Since 1990, China has sent the highest percentage of international adoptees (25%) into the United States of all Asian and European sending countries (The Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2008). However, these Chinese adoptees are faced with the challenge of cultivating not only an adoption identity but also an ethnic identity and cultural identity as well. The ethnic and cultural aspects of adoptees' identity formation are complicated due to the adoptees' entrance into a society whose majority culture commonly differs from their personal culture of origin. This dichotomy is compounded due to the adoptees' outward appearance being different from both their immediate families' outward appearances and the outward appearance of American society at large. Even though both Chinese adoptees and American born Chinese individuals share comparable experiences of growing up in the United States as members of the Chinese ethnic minority, the cultural experiences of these groups differ because American born Chinese individuals are on whole granted enhanced cultural socialization opportunities compared to those available to many Chinese adoptees.

This cultural distinction is articulated by the fact that American born Chinese individuals possess more opportunities to be exposed to Chinese culture via the direct transmission of parental cultural values and potential inclusion in a Chinese ethnic and cultural minority society of which Chinese adoptees on whole do not have the same degree of access. The *cultural*

competence of adoptive parents who identify as an ethnicity different than that used to identify their adoptive children, parents of Chinese adoptees included, is identified as the parents' ability to facilitate culturally appropriate socialization opportunities pertaining to the heritage culture of their adoptive children (Chen, Lamborn, and Lu, 2017). This concept has been cited as an integral component of successful cultural identity formation amongst intercountry adoptees. However, previous literature analyzing the cultural impact experienced by Chinese adoptees in comparison to their American born Chinese counterparts revealed that Chinese American mothers, mothers of ethnically Chinese descent who raised their biologically related children in the United States, scored higher on measures of identification with Chinese culture than mothers of Chinese adoptees (Camras, Chen, Bakeman, Norris, and Cain, 2006). Thus, the lack of Chinese identity experienced by parents of Chinese adoptees hinders the degree of cultural competence that these parents are on whole predicted to provide. These findings taken all together further highlight the impact that cultural exposure cultivated by family environment plays upon the cultural identity development of Chinese individuals. Additionally, these complexities contribute to the diverging factors which distinguish the identity formations of Chinese adoptees from the identity formation of their fellow American born Chinese counterparts.

Convergence of ethnic and cultural identity formation

Personal connection with both ethnic and cultural Chinese communities has been found to serve as an important element of identity formation. However, many Chinese adoptees have identified these two diverging heritages, the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of their adoptive parents' in relation to that of their own, as conflicting identities that are difficult to embrace

simultaneously (Chen, Lamborn, and Lu, 2017). It was also found common for Chinese adoptees to resolve the tension experienced navigating these multiple ethnic and cultural identities by bringing focus to the Caucasian American identity while mitigating the Chinese ethnic and cultural identity. The mitigation and often rejection of Chinese ethnic and cultural identity among adoptees was reported to have become even more pronounced as these individuals approached adolescence. Therefore, this research serves importance in analyzing the overarching identity saliency among not only Chinese adoptees, but also among American born Chinese individuals in contrast to Chinese international students. Gathering an understanding of Chinese identity saliency among Chinese international students will provide a control group through which a baseline Chinese identity can be established. The establishment of this baseline will enable a more meaningful understanding of the Chinese identity saliency represented by the Chinese adoptees and American born Chinese individuals respectively. Thus, analysis of ethnic and cultural identity formation among all three groups will offer greater knowledge regarding the similarities and differences in identity formation among these three groups with respect to environmental factors.

Emergence of ethnic and cultural identity conflict

Acknowledging the potential for conflict to arise within an individual which pits her ethnic and cultural identities against one another remains a focal point of identity formation literature. Conflict can emerge between ethnicity and culture as experienced by the individual when the individual is placed in an environment of which her heritage culture contradicts the demands of the larger society in which she lives (Berry, 1980). Individuals living in culturally pluralistic societies, particularly those who identify as ethnic minorities within the given

environmental context, are susceptible to experiencing identity conflict pressures that can surface in the individual's public and private life.

This ethnic and cultural conflict is most reasonably predicted to arise among people living outside their country of origin, a central characteristic of two demographic groups featured in this research. Drawing from the initial research on conflict and identity, Baumeister, Shapiro, and Tice (1985) defined identity conflict as "the problem of the multiply defined self whose definitions have become incompatible". These researchers claimed that identity conflict can surface at any point during development. Additionally, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) defined cultural conflict as "feeling torn between one's two cultural identities". The convergence of these two definitions illustrates the interconnected impact that living in a culturally pluralistic society potentially imposes upon an individual's conflict between her ethnic and cultural identities.

Cultural conflict is reported to arise when the individual is unable to reconcile the competing demands of her heritage culture and larger society. The likelihood of this conflict emerging is heightened when the individual holds strong attachment to multiple identities, demonstrated through her beliefs, behaviors, and values. In fact, ethno-cultural identity conflict has further been defined as "the interpersonal perception of incompatible ethnic and cultural dimensions of the self" (Baumeister, Shapiro, and Tice, 1985). This conceptualization captures both the psychological and sociocultural assimilation difficulties at play for individuals facing ethno-cultural identity conflict struggles. The measurement used to assess ethno-cultural identity conflict in this study is the Ward, Stuart, and Kus (2011) Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale. This ethno-cultural identity conflict scale consists of twenty rating scale questions used to assess an individual's self-perceived conflict between her ethnic and cultural identities.

Chapter Four: Methodology, data, and results

Methodology- overview

Central to the research herein is the analysis of the relationship between self-reported ethnic and cultural identity congruity and degree of ethno-cultural identity conflict as seen among three distinct groups of Chinese millennials currently living in the United States. The three groups featured in this study included Chinese adoptees, American born Chinese individuals, and Chinese international students. These participants were living in the United States when the survey was taken. The online survey consisted of unique questions along with one pre-established and variable specific scale measuring ethno-cultural identity conflict. This survey was digitally disseminated to participants via email. The survey results were derived from self-reports that reflected ethno-cultural conflict and ethnic and cultural identity identification of the participant as well as identification information pertaining to the participant's parents, siblings, romantic partners, and close friendships.

Methodology- participants

Eighty-nine (89) participants, seventy-five (75) females, twelve (12) males, two (2) unidentified, between the ages of eighteen (18) and twenty-eight (28) participated in this research by completing the online survey. Forty-nine (49) of these participants self-identified as a Chinese adoptee, twenty-two (22) self-identified as an American born Chinese, and eighteen (18) self-identified as a Chinese international student. The responses of three participants, two in the Chinese adoptee sample, and one in the American born Chinese sample, were removed from analysis when the data was cleaned due to these participants failing to provide complete

responses to at least one of the survey questions used to measure the key variables of interest, Ethno-Cultural Conflict and ethnicity-culture match status. No participant received compensation for participating in this study. The participants recruited for the Chinese adoptee sample were solely gathered via their inclusion on a private list of individuals adopted from Jiande, Zhejiang, China. Due to the researcher's personal inclusion on this list as an adoptee from Jiande herself, potential Chinese adoptee participants were ensured of the legitimacy of the study through association with the Chinese adoptee community and thus were inadvertently motivated to participate.

Methodology- participant survey administration

Participants took part in this study remotely over a secured internet database. Each participant completed all portions of the study independently. Participants were informed via direct email communication that the study analyzed the formation of cultural identity and consisted of a fifty-six-question survey. The participants were encouraged to complete the survey in a single setting. The recruitment email instructed them to click on a link that digitally routed them to the survey site. The survey itself was powered by PsyToolkit and required each participant to read through the informed consent and data disclosure prior to beginning the survey. This consent included information regarding the length, research purpose, and contact information. The participants documented their consent by checking a box located on the home page of the online survey. Checking this box indicated that each participant read the informed consent and gave personal consent to participate in the study. The informed consent and data disclosure can be found in Appendix E.

The survey itself consisted of questions focusing on two areas of interest. These areas captured ethnic and cultural demographics of the participant's family and self-perception of the participant's personal ethnic and cultural identity conflict within the context of childhood environment and present exposure. The first fifty-six questions in the survey consisted of original questions not pulled from any existing question bank. In addition, an established, validated scale measuring ethnic and identity conflict was incorporated into this survey. This incorporated scale was drawn from the Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale (Ward, Stuart, and Kus, 2011). This scale was included in its entirety in the survey given to participants of this research. The survey was geared toward capturing the participants' ethno-cultural identity, an individual's self-perceived ethnic and cultural identity with respect to potential environmental cross-cultural incongruity.

The entire survey was estimated on average to take fifteen minutes for participants to complete. Once each participant completed the survey, an individualized confirmation number was generated and displayed on the completion screen. Each participant was encouraged to communicate her personalized confirmation number to the researcher via the original mode of communication.

Methodology- participant survey layout

The unique questions on the survey addressed demographic information relating to adoption status, years lived in United States, knowledge of Chinese culture and Mandarin language, experiences of living or vacationing in China, perceived ethnic and cultural identity of family members, family adversity, and measures of ethnic and cultural alignment of self and society. Additionally, the unique questions assessed whether the adoptees held memories of their

experiences prior to adoption as well as whether the adoptees harbored knowledge of their Chinese name or interest in conducting a birth family search. The entirety of this survey can be found in Appendix A.

The Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale created by Ward, Stuart, and Kus (2011) was incorporated into the full survey used in this research to measure the degree of ethnic and cultural conflict experienced among participants. This ethno-cultural identity conflict scale consisted of twenty questions assessing the self-perceived experience of ethnic and cultural conflict. The participants were instructed to use the five-point Likert scale that ranged from agree to disagree to illustrate their perception of each question. The total possible scores for the Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale ranged from twenty to one hundred, with higher scores indicating a greater degree of ethno-cultural identity. The Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale created by Ward, Stuart, and Kus (2011) and used in this research can be found in Appendix B.

Data- demographic data

The survey response data was automatically collected via the PsyToolkit database. After the survey ran for one month, the survey was taken offline. The survey response data was then downloaded. This download appeared in a zip drive which contained a csv file. Microsoft Excel was then used to generate the statistical output. Demographic data pertaining to age, gender, years lived in China, and years lived in the United States are featured in Table 1. Demographic data detailing country of birth, sibling status, and the countries in which participants attended high school and college/ university are presented below in Table 2.

Table 1: Demographics by Sample

Samples	Age	Years Lived in China	Years Lived in the United States	Gender Identification
Chinese adoptees	*M*=21.5 *S.D.*=0.707	*M*=1.041 *S.D.*=0.648	*M*=21.472 *S.D.*=2.763	Female: 45 participants Male: 2 participants
American born Chinese	*M*=20.5 *S.D.*=0.707	*M*=1 *S.D.*=1.414	*M*=16.503 *S.D.*=2.121	Female: 15 participants Male: 5 participants Other: 1 participant
Chinese international students	*M*=20.8 *S.D.*=2.121	*M*=11.5 *S.D.*=9.192	*M*=4.324 *S.D.*=1.414	Female: 13 participants Male: 4 participants Prefer not to say: 1 participant
Overall	*M*= 20.5 *S.D.*=0.707	*M*=3.997 *S.D.*=3.123	*M*=16.7 *S.D.*=8.662	Female: 73 participants (85%) Male: 11 participants (13%) Prefer not to say: 1 participant (1%) Other: 1 participant (1%)

Table 2: Country Affiliations by Sample

Samples	Country of Birth	Raised with siblings	Country attended high school	Country attended college/ university
Chinese adoptees	China: 49 (100%) United States: 0 Neither: 0	Siblings: 32 (67%) No siblings: 16 (33%)	China: 0 United States: 45 (92%) Both: 1 (2%) Neither: 3 (6%)	China: 0 United States: 42 (93%) Both: 1 (2%) Neither: 2 (5%)
American born Chinese	China: 5 (23%) United States: 16 (73%) Neither: 1 (4%)	Siblings: 15 (68%) No siblings: 7 (32%)	China: 2 (9%) United States: 19 (86%) Both: 0 Neither: 1 (5%)	China: 0 United States: 22 (100%) Both: 0 Neither: 0
Chinese international students	China: 15 (83%) United States: 2 (11%) Neither: 1 (6%)	Siblings: 6 (33%) No siblings: 12 (67%)	China: 11 (61%) United States: 6 (33%) Both:1 (6%) Neither: 0	China: 1 (6%) United States: 17 (94%) Both: 0 Neither: 0

Table 3: Ethnic Identity by Sample

Samples	Participant's Self-Perceived Ethnic Identity	Ethnic Identity of Primary Parent	Ethnic Identity of Secondary Parent
Chinese adoptees	Chinese: 40 (83%) East Asian: 0 White/Caucasian: 2 (4%) Mix: 6 (12%)	Chinese: 1 (3%) East Asian: 0 White/Caucasian: 45 (93%) Mix: 2 (4%)	Chinese: 0 East Asian:0 White/Caucasian: 36 (75%) Mix: 0 NA: 12 (25%)
American born Chinese	Chinese: 19 (86%) East Asian: 1 (4%) White/Caucasian:0 Mix: 2 (9%)	Chinese: 21 (95%) East Asian: 1 (4%) White/Caucasian:0 Mix: 0	Chinese: 19 (86%) East Asian: 1 (4%) White/Caucasian:0 Mix: 0 NA: 2 (9%)
Chinese international students	Chinese: 17 (94%) East Asian: 0 White/Caucasian:0 Mix: 1 (5%)	Chinese: 18 (94%) East Asian: 0 White/Caucasian: 1 (5%) Mix: 0	Chinese: 15 (78%) East Asian: 0 White/Caucasian: 1 (5%) Mix: 0 NA: 3 (15%)

As illustrated in Table 2, the majority of Chinese adoptees as well as American born Chinese individuals have lived most of their lives in the United States, whereas the majority of Chinese international students have lived most of their lives in China. This distinction set the Chinese international students apart from the other two samples due to the Chinese international students' prolonged exposure to both Chinese ethnic majority and Chinese culture experienced in China. A distinction that set the Chinese adoptee demographic apart from the other two samples was the overwhelming classification of their primary and secondary parents as being ethnically "White/ Caucasian", which can be seen in Table 3.

Table 4: Ethnic Identity Congruence (EIC) by Sample

Samples	Participant and Parent	Participant and Close Friends	Participant and Significant Other
Chinese adoptees	Match with both: 2 (4%) Match with only one: 1 (2%) Mismatch with only one: 14 (28%) Mismatch with both: 33 (66%)	Match: 5 (11%) Mismatch: 42 (89%)	Match: 4 (11%) Mismatch: 31 (89%)
American born Chinese	Match with both: 18 (81%) Match with only one: 2 (9%) Mismatch with only one: 0 Mismatch with both: 2 (9%)	Match: 9 (41%) Mismatch: 13 (59%)	Match: 7 (7%) Mismatch: 3 (30%)
Chinese international students	Match with both: 14 (73%) Match with only one: 3 (15%) Mismatch with only one: 0 Mismatch with both: 2 (10%)	Match: 10 (77%) Mismatch: 3 (23%)	Match: 7 (58%) Mismatch: 5 (42%)

Figure 1: Participant and Sibling Ethnic Congruence

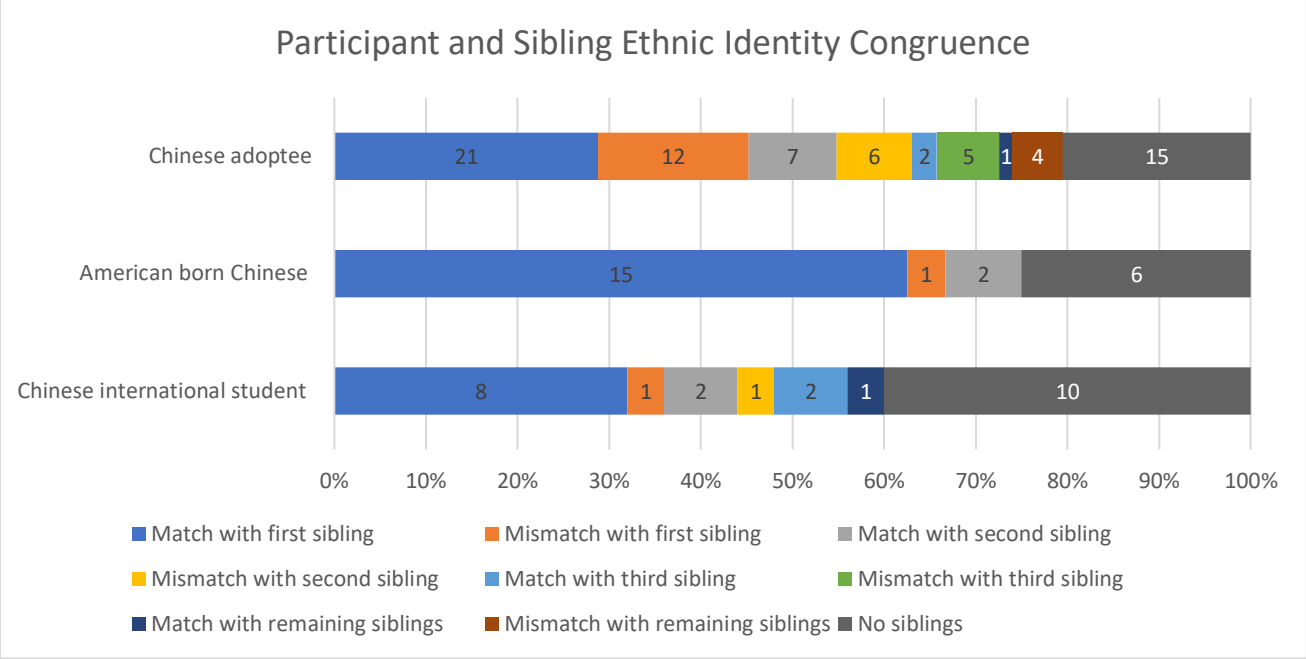


Table 4 and Figure 1 show that Chinese adoptees mismatched with ethnic identities of their parents, close friends, significant others, and siblings to a noticeably greater degree than the American born Chinese and Chinese international students mismatched with the respective people. This distinction between samples highlights the differences in social choices made by individuals of the respective groups. Thus, it is of relevance to note that the majority of both Chinese adoptees and American born Chinese socially choose close friends and significant others of whom they identify as being ethnically different from themselves, whereas the Chinese international students do not make these social choices to the same degree. A matched ethnic and cultural identity status was achieved when the participant's self-perceived ethnic identity matched with the identity used to identify her family members and friends. Conversely, a mismatched ethnic identity status was signified when the participant self-identified with a different ethnic identity than the one used to identify the respective people. It can be noted that

American born Chinese as well as Chinese international students primarily matched with the ethnic identity used to describe both of their parents, whereas the Chinese adoptees did not.

Figure 2: Chinese Adoptee Ethnic Similarity with Family and Friends

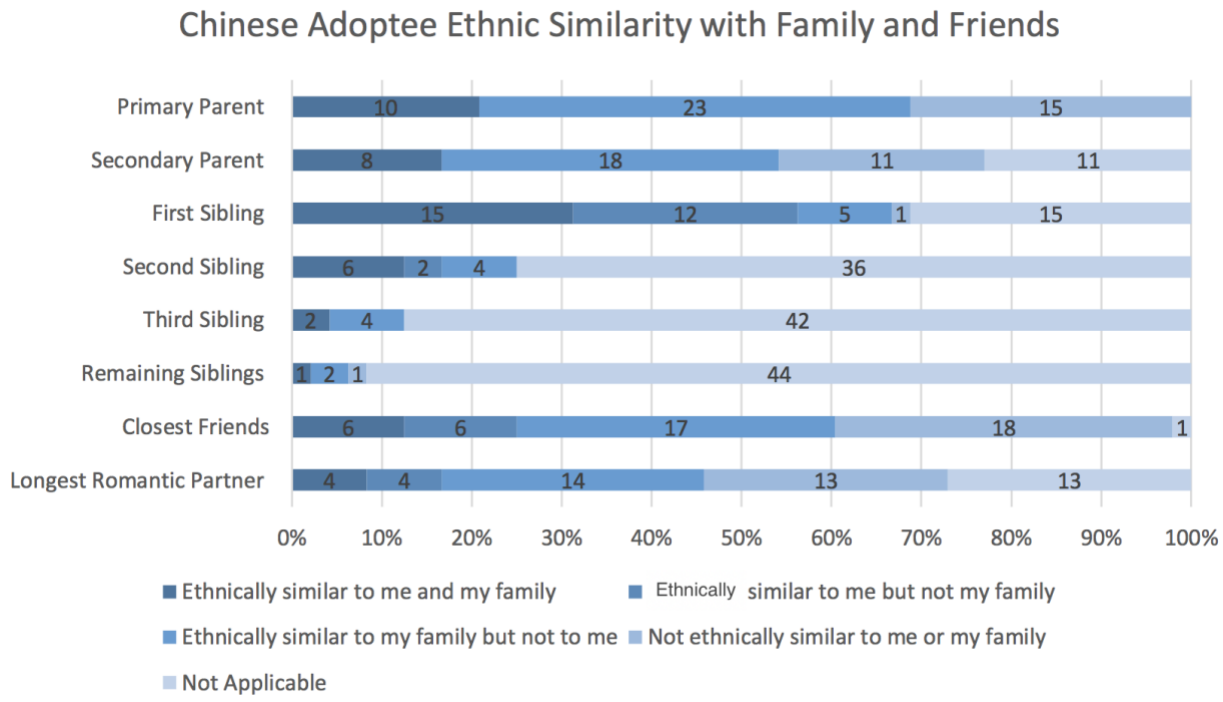


Figure 3: American Born Chinese Ethnic Similarity with Family and Friends

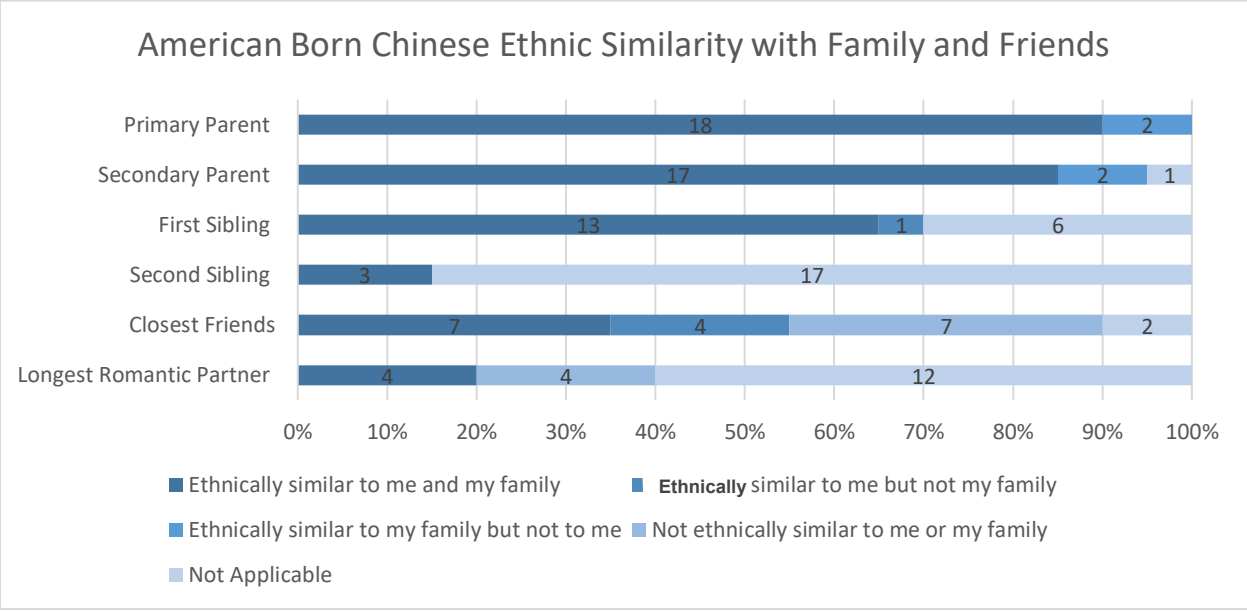
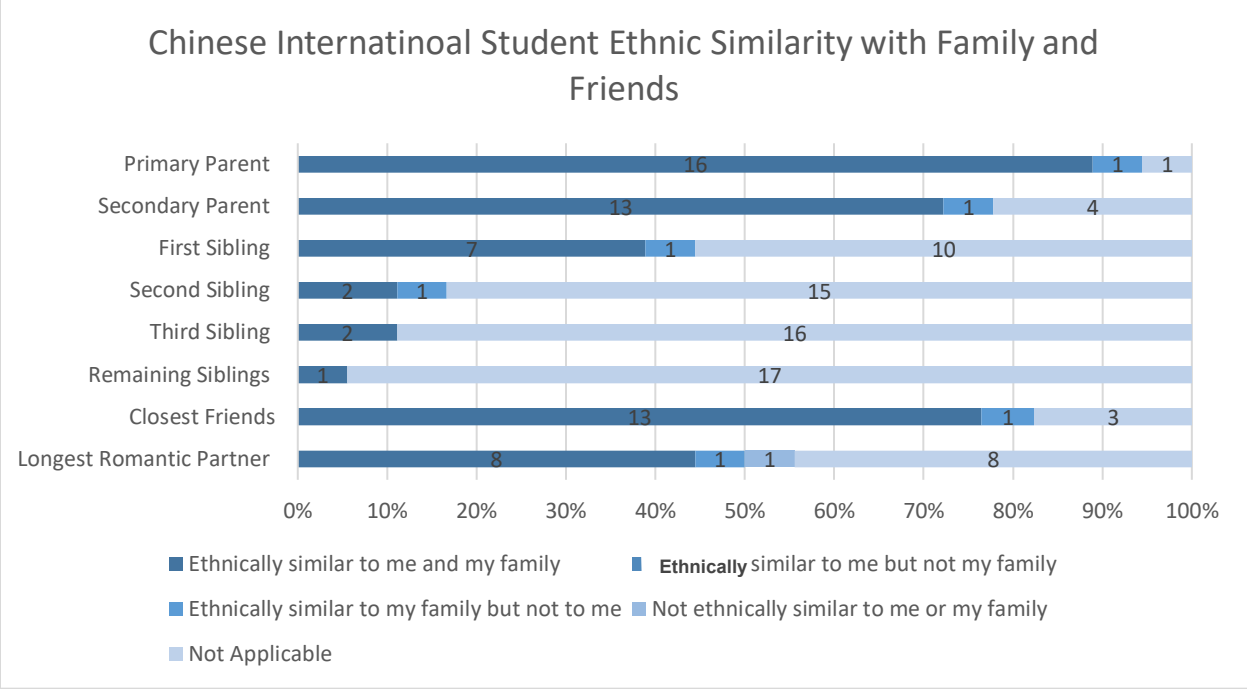


Figure 4: Chinese International Students Ethnic Similarity with Family and Friends



As demonstrated in Figures 2 through 4, most American born Chinese and Chinese international students reported both their primary and secondary parent as being "Ethnically similar to [them] and [their] family", but this was not the case for Chinese adoptees. Additionally, the classification of "Ethnically similar to my family but not to me" was disproportionately used to describe the ethnic similarity to friends and family by the Chinese adoptees, but this classification was sparsely used to describe the ethnic similarity to friends and family reported by the other two samples.

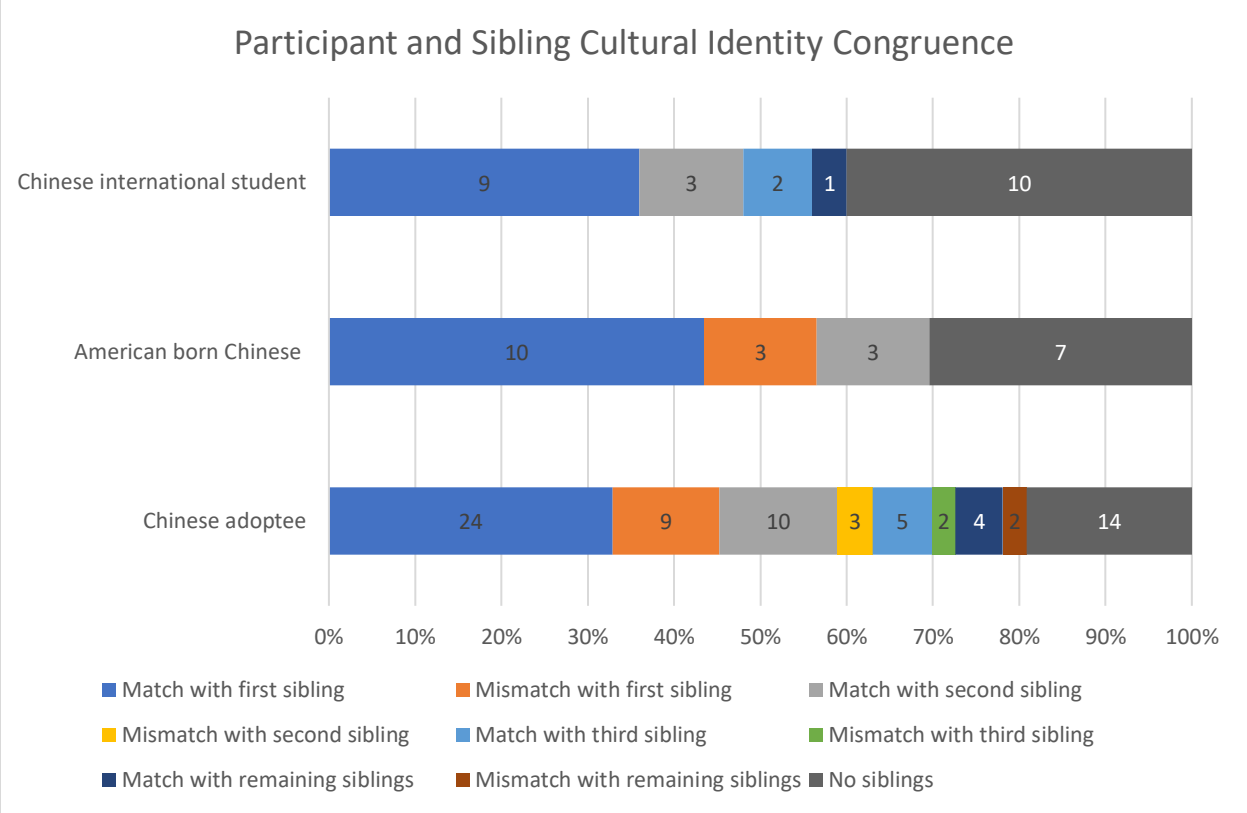
Table 5: Cultural Identity by Sample

Sample	Participant's Self-Perceived Cultural Identity	Cultural Identity of Primary Parent	Cultural Identity of Secondary Parent
Chinese adoptees	Chinese: 0 American: 16 (33%) Chinese-American: 9 (19%) American-Chinese: 17 (35%) Mix: 3 (6%) None: 3 (6%)	Chinese: 0 American: 40 (83%) Chinese-American: 0 American-Chinese: 4 (8%) Mix: 1 (2%) None: 3 (65)	Chinese: 0 American: 30 (63%) Chinese-American: 0 American-Chinese: 3 (6%) Mix: 0 None: 3 (6%) NA: 12 (25%)
American born Chinese	Chinese: 1 (5%) American: 0 Chinese-American: 4 (20%) American-Chinese: 14 (70%) Mix: 1 (5%) None: 0	Chinese: 14 (70%) American: 0 Chinese-American: 4 (20%) American-Chinese: 1 (5%) Mix: 1 (5%) None: 0	Chinese: 13 (65%) American: 0 Chinese-American: 4 (20%) American-Chinese: 1 (5%) Mix: 1 (5%) None: 0 NA:1 (5%)
Chinese international students	Chinese: 15 (83%) American: 0 Chinese-American: 1 (5%) American-Chinese: 0 Mix: 1 (5%) None: 1 (5%)	Chinese: 17 (89%) American: 1 (5%) Chinese-American: 0 American-Chinese: 0 Mix: 1 (5%) None: 0	Chinese: 15 (79%) American: 1 (5%) Chinese-American: 0 American-Chinese: 0 Mix: 1 (5%) None: 0 NA: 2 (10%)

Table 6: Cultural Identity Congruence (CIC) by Sample

Sample	Participant and Parent	Participant and Close Friends	Participant and Significant Other
Chinese adoptees	Match with both: 16 (43%) Match with only one: 6 (13%) Mismatch with only one: 7 (15%) Mismatch with both: 18% (38%)	Match: 21 (44%) Mismatch: 27 (56%)	Match: 19 (50%) Mismatch: 19 (50%)
American born Chinese	Match with both: 3 (16%) Match with only one: 0 Mismatch with only one: 0 Mismatch with both:16 (84%)	Match: 8 (40%) Mismatch: 12 (60%)	Match: 3 (33%) Mismatch: 6 (66%)
Chinese international students	Match with both: 15 (70%) Match with only one: 2 (10%) Mismatch with only one: 2 (10%) Mismatch with both: 2 (10%)	Match: 12 (63%) Mismatch: 7 (37%)	Match: 8 (73%) Mismatch: 3 (27%)

Figure 5: Participant and Sibling Cultural Identity Congruence



Tables 5 demonstrates that American born Chinese predominantly favored the cultural classification of "American-Chinese", but the Chinese adoptees were somewhat evenly split between culturally identifying themselves as purely "American" and "American-Chinese". This distinction is notable because the Chinese adoptees mostly classified their primary and secondary parents as being culturally "American", but the American born Chinese individuals overwhelmingly classified their primary and secondary parents as being culturally "Chinese". Most Chinese international students classified themselves as well as their primary and secondary parents as being culturally "Chinese". This dichotomy of "American" versus "Chinese" translated into the mismatched cultural identity status reported by Chinese adoptees and American born Chinese with respect to their family members and friends, but no such mismatch

for the Chinese international students surfaced to the same degree. The latter findings can be seen in Table 6 as well as Figure 5.

Figure 6: Chinese Adoptee Cultural Similarity with Friends and Family

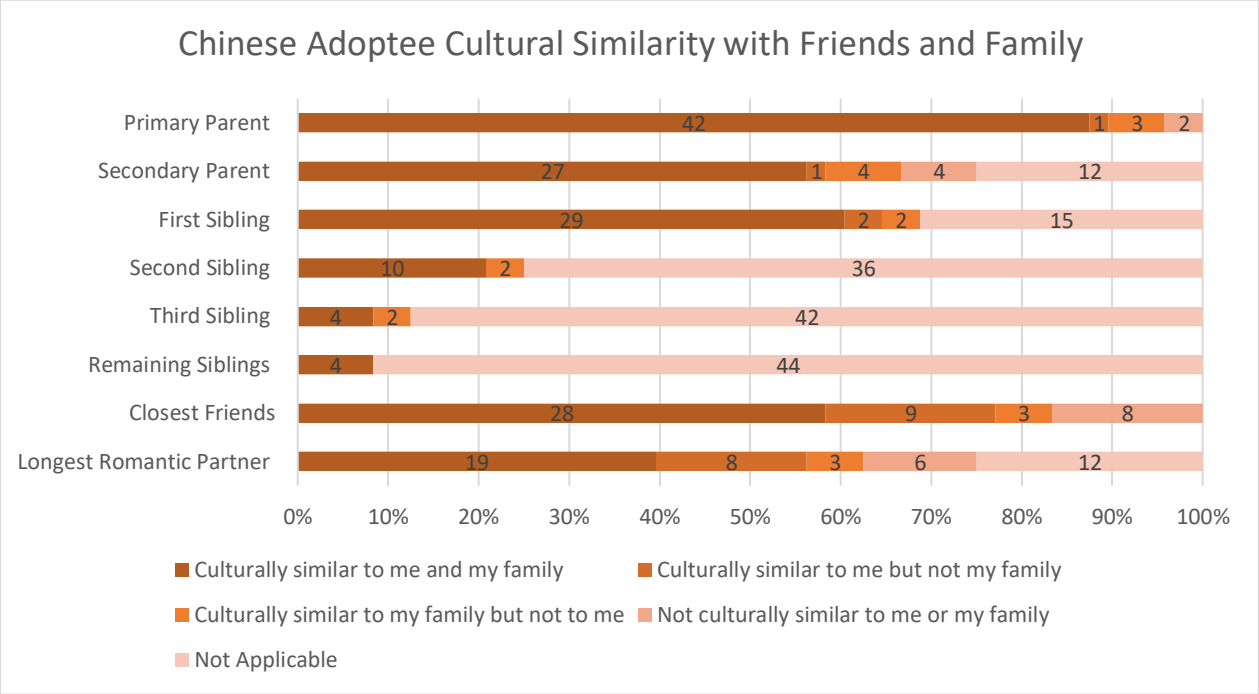


Figure 7: American Born Chinese Cultural Similarity with Friends and Family

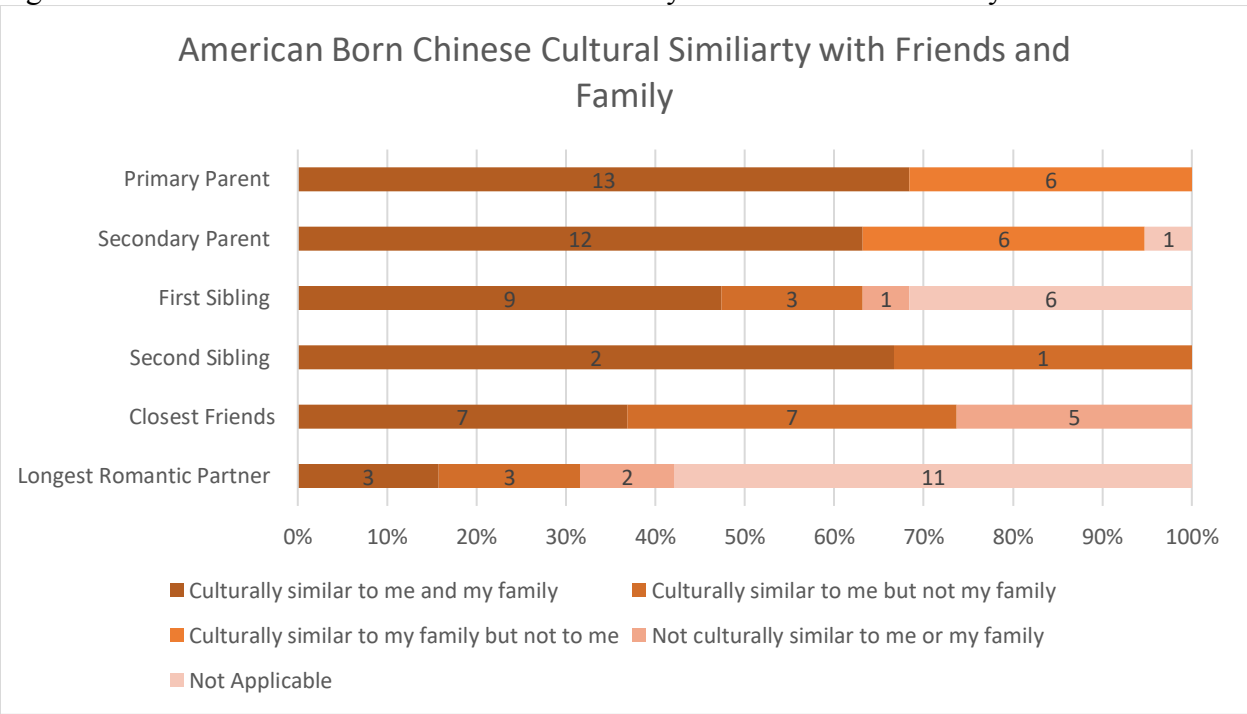


Figure 8: Chinese International Student Cultural Similarity with Friends and Family

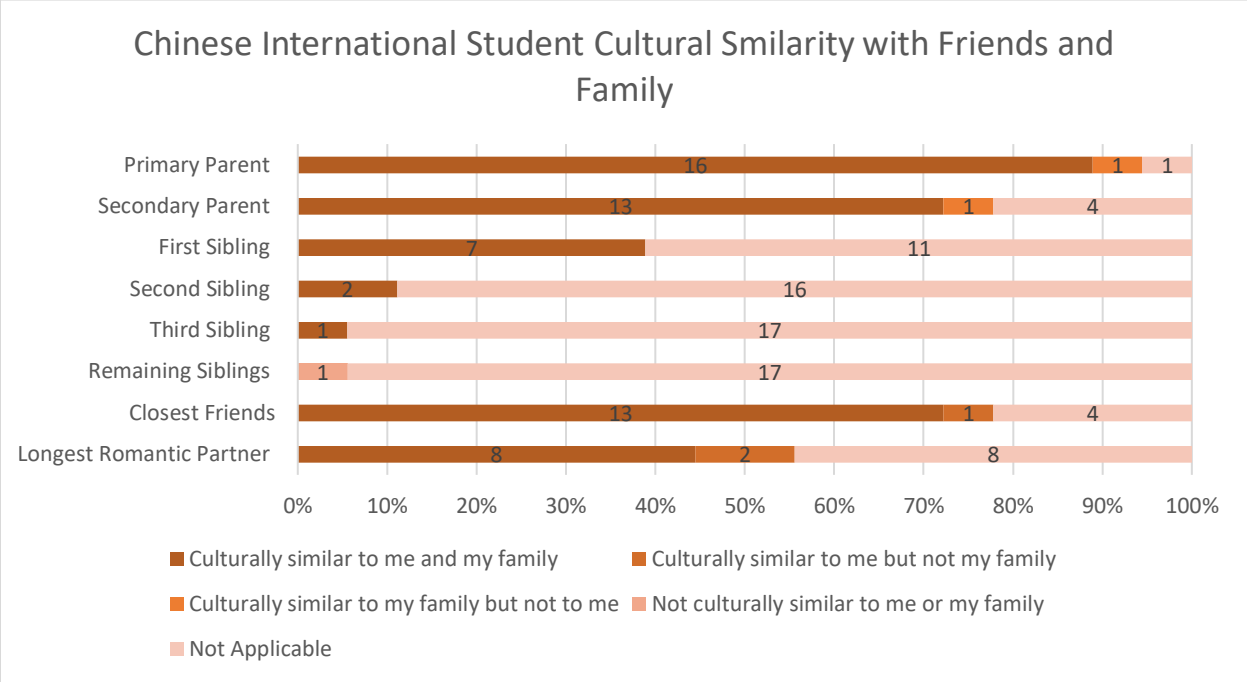


Figure 6 shows that Chinese adoptees classified their primary and secondary parents, siblings, and close friends as being “Culturally similar to [them] and [their] family”. Additionally, slightly less than half of the Chinese adoptees classified their longest romantic partner as such. Figure 7 demonstrates that American born Chinese individuals on whole classified their primary and secondary parents and siblings as being “Culturally similar to [them] and [their] family”. However, a noticeably larger percentage of American born Chinese individuals reported their primary and secondary parents as being “Culturally similar to [their] family but not to [them]”. The Chinese adoptee and Chinese international students did not in large part report this classification for their primary and secondary parents. Finally, Figure 8 revels that Chinese international students overwhelmingly identified their primary and secondary parents, siblings, and closest friends as being “Culturally similar to [them] and [their] family”. The similarities demonstrated across all three samples contribute to the understanding that these individuals are surrounded by both peers and family members with whom they predominantly

identify as being culturally similar. However, it is important to note that cultural classification with respect to the individual participant differs both within and between samples alike.

Results

The first variable of interest, matched versus mismatched ethnic and cultural identity status, exists as a discrete, nominal, dichotomous variable. Thus, the variable was dummy-coded as follows: the value "0" was assigned to individuals who presented a mismatched status, and the value "1" was assigned to individuals who presented a matched status. These values represented status labels rather than real numbers. The second variable of interest, Ethno-cultural Identity Conflict Scale score, was measured using a Likert, five-point rating scale. This type of rating scale is classified as a continuous, interval variable, indicating that there exists an equal distance between all the numbers featured on the rating scale. Therefore, equal degree intervals on this rating scale are used to gauge the participants' responses to the characteristic being measured.

The Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale score and ethnicity-culture identity match status were measured among participants in all three samples, Chinese adoptees, American born Chinese, and Chinese international students. These sample groups were mutually exclusive, indicating different participants were featured in each of the three groups. Thus, variance across groups was compared to determine whether levels of Ethno-Cultural Conflict Scale score as well as ethnicity-culture identity match status differed between sample groups. Specifically, one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used to determine whether the three sample groups differed in terms of Ethno-Cultural Conflict and/ or ethnicity-culture match status. A single-factor ANOVA was run to measure the variance in the Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale score and ethnicity-culture identity match status for the respective samples, see Tables 6 and 7, respectively.

Figure 9: Mean Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale Score

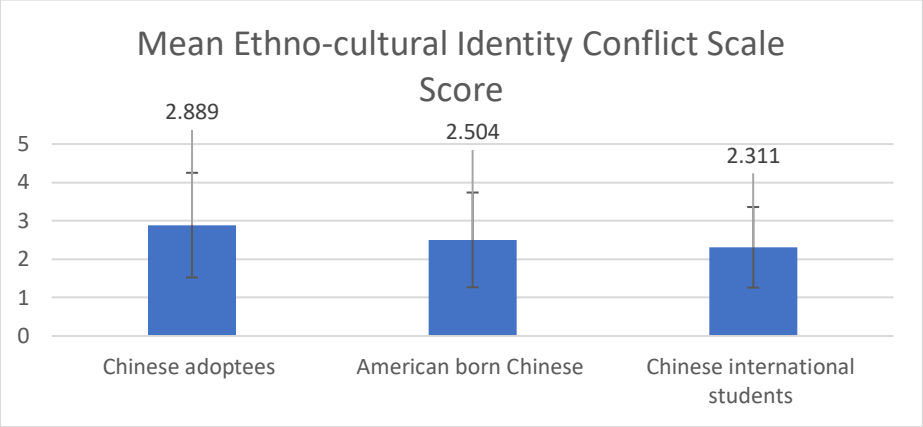


Table 6: ANOVA Single Factor- Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale Score

ANOVA: Single Factor

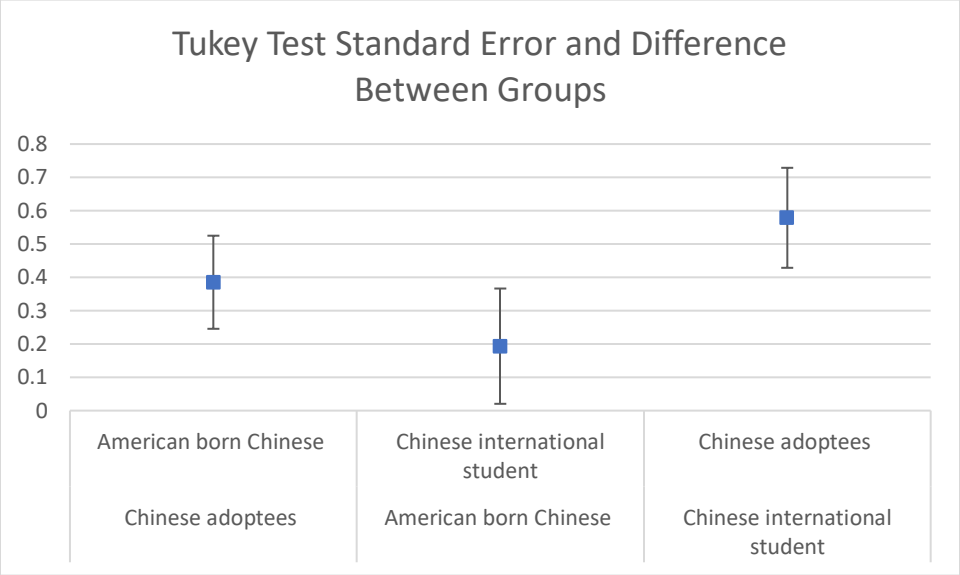
SUMMARY

Groups	*Count*	*Sum*	*Average*	*Variance*
Chinese adoptees	49	141.6	2.889795918	0.693018707
American born Chinese	22	55.1	2.504545455	0.518073593
Chinese international students	18	41.6	2.311111111	0.401928105

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	5.282834988	2	2.641417494	4.456145298	0.014406811	3.102552079
Within Groups	50.97722119	86	0.592758386			
Total	56.26005618	88				

Figure 10: Tukey Test for Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale Scores



The hypotheses for the first variable of interest, Ethno-cultural Identity Conflict Scale score, read as follows:

H_0: There does not exist a difference in the means of the Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale score for the three sample groups.

H_a: There does exist a difference in the means of the Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale score for the three sample groups.

The p-value captured in Table 6 is $p<0.05$, which signifies that there exists a less than five percent chance that the results found were created by profound error. Therefore, the means of Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale scores among the three sample groups were significantly different. The error variance, represented by the sum of squares within-groups, SS_{wg} =50.977, captured the variability that was not due to the presence of the variable of interest. The average of this within group variance is represented by the mean square within-groups, MS_{wg} ,

which is 0.593 for this data set. This value reflects the systematic differences among means of the sample groups. The Tukey Test was run to serve as a post hoc analysis test, which further determined which groups demonstrated greatest difference in means. As captured in Figure10, the Tukey Test revealed that the difference in means for Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale scores between the Chinese adoptee sample and Chinese international student sample was significant. This was determined due to the q value associated with the Chinese international student and Chinese adoptee cross-group pairing of q= 3.857 being the only derived q value exceeding the q critical value for the respective groups, three, and degrees of freedom for within groups, 86, associated with the parameters of this research design. The associated q critical value for this design was q=3.4. The q values of the Chinese adoptee and American born Chinese cross-group paring and the American born Chinese and Chinese international student cross-group pairing were q=2.757 and q=1.118, respectively. Thus, the latter two mentioned groups did not display statistical significance whereas the former group did.

To test whether the between group variance is large enough to find a significant effect of the variable of interest, the F statistic is analyzed. The F statistic of this data set is F=4.456 with a corresponding F critical value, F_{crit} = 3.103, which was calculated by analyzing the alpha level of 0.05, and the degrees of freedom, *df*, for between and within groups. As Table 6 shows above, $F=4.456 > F_{crit} = 3.103$, which indicates that at least one of the sample means differed from the others, indicating that an effect can be detected. Therefore, the null hypothesis regarding Ethno-Cultural Conflict Scale scores among the three sample groups can be rejected.

Figure 11: Participant Self-Perceived Ethnic and Cultural Identity Congruence

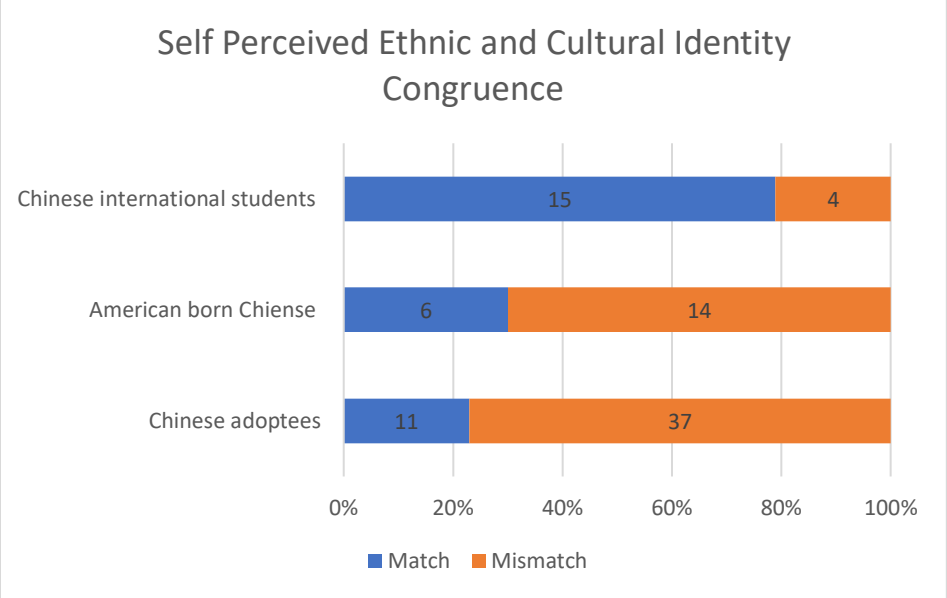


Table 7: Chi Square for Ethnicity-Culture Match Status

Chi-square

Groups	*X^2*	*Observed*	*Expected*	*Test statistic*	*P-value*	*Critical Value*
Chinese adoptees	0.275281	48	44.5	26.174157	2.072E-06	5.991465
American born Chinese	12.41011	21	44.5			
Chinese international students	13.48876	20	44.5			

Table 8: Adjusted Residuals for Ethnicity-Culture Match Status

Adjusted Res

Groups	*Matched*	*Mismatched*	*Significance*	*Numbers of tests*	*Adjusted Significance*	*Z Critical Value*
Chinese adoptees	3.107009	23.4339224	0.05	6	0.0083333	-2.63825
American born Chinese	2.112853	7.31896759				
Chinese international students	11.23924	-2.4638062				

The hypotheses for the second variable of interest, ethnicity-culture identity match status, read as follows:

H_0: There does not exist a difference in the means of the ethnicity-culture identity match status for the three sample groups.

H_a: There does exist a difference in the means of the ethnicity-culture identity match status for the three sample groups.

The chi-square test was run to analyze the match versus mismatch ethnicity-culture identity statuses of the three identified samples. As displayed in Table 7, the chi-square test statistic of 24.174 exceeded the chi-square critical value of 5.991, which was calculated with respect to the parameters of the featured design. This relationship coupled with the associated p-value being less than 0.05 collectively indicate that there does exist a significant difference between the matched versus mismatched ethnicity-culture identity statuses of the three respective groups. As illustrated in Figure 8, an adjusted residuals post hoc test was subsequently run to determine which matched or mismatched ethnicity-culture identity statuses associated with the

three featured groups demonstrated statistical significance. The derived z critical value of -2.638 for the adjusted residuals analysis indicated that any matched or mismatched value either less than -2.638 or greater than 2.638 could be classified as significant. Thus, the match as well as mismatched statuses of all groups expect the match status of American born Chinese and mismatch status of Chinese international students were greater than the absolute value of the z critical value, 2.638, which indicates that all groups expect the two mentioned were found to be statistically significant. These groups demonstrating statistical significance captured the observation of more members of the respective groups identifying with the respective statuses than originally expected. Moreover, the null hypothesis regarding match status of ethnic and cultural identity among the three sample groups can be rejected.

Chapter Five: Discussion, limitations, and future implications

Discussion

This research expanded upon the relationship between ethno-cultural identity and conflict as seen among Chinese millennials residing in the United States. A distinctive element of this research was the classifications made between the various Chinese individuals featured in the respective samples. This classification was demonstrated by the three, mutually exclusive group identities, Chinese adoptees, American born Chinese, and Chinese international students, with which each participant self-identified. The first group, Chinese adoptees, captured individuals who identified with a Chinese ethnicity but who were adopted from China into predominantly Caucasian families and resided in the United States from early childhood onward. The second group, American born Chinese individuals, consisted of individuals who identified with a Chinese ethnicity, were born in the United States, and were raised in the United States by their biologically related and ethnically similar parents. The third group, Chinese international students, consisted of individuals who grew up in China, were raised by biologically related and ethnically similar parents, and are currently living in the United States to attend college or university.

By asking focused questions directed at evaluating identity development as experienced by members of each group, this research underlined the similarities and differences in environmental factors distinctive to the respective groups. Thus, the analysis of ethno-cultural identity trends between and within the three respective groups illustrated the impact that culturally distinct home environments, such as growing up ethnically Chinese in a Caucasian family versus growing up ethnically Chinese in an ethnically Chinese family, imposed upon

individuals of the same Chinese ethnic background. Moreover, this study captured the differences in cultural experiences of Chinese adoptees verses the experiences of American born Chinese individuals who were raised by their biologically related parents. The analysis of Chinese international students was incorporated as a basis of comparison to capture the formation of ethno-cultural identity solely constructed from Chinese centric experiences. Previous psychologists such as Hu, Zhou, and Lee (2017) focused on the parent driven aspects of ethnic and cultural socialization made available to Chinese identifying children. However, this research incorporated survey questions pertaining to the self-perceived cultural and ethnic identity of parents, siblings, close friends, and significant others from the participants' perspectives to capture the impact that both parents and peers impose upon the ethnic and cultural socialization, the framework for identity development, experienced by Chinese millennials. Therefore, the focus of this research specifically analyzed the implications of family culture and ethnicity on the formation of Chinese identity among Chinese millennials living in the United States.

Internationally adopted children, Chinese adoptees included, have been found to often be accepted into the adoptive family's culture at home, which often coincides with the American majority culture, but rejected from the majority culture in public (Lee, 2003). These competing identities and circumstantial dilemmas between acceptance and rejection from the majority culture serve as factors that uniquely impact the identity development of Chinese adoptees. Some Chinese adoptees mitigate their competing identities by placing stronger focus on their identity salience with the American majority identity, accessed by extension of their adoptive families' most often Caucasian heritage, and drawing less attention to their own Chinese identity (Chen, Lamborn, and Lu, 2017). For these purposes, holistic self-reporting regarding overall ethnic and

cultural exposure in the home and in the larger society was incorporated into this research in the form of specific survey questions. This incorporation was featured to understand the impact of childhood ethnic and cultural socialization opportunities as they pertained to personal identity development. Overall, the differing cultural family environments of Chinese adoptees versus American born Chinese individuals contributed to the differences in identity development among individuals of the same ethnicity. The acknowledgement and emphasis on the diverging environmental and social contexts experienced by members of these three distinct Chinese groups collectively expanded the knowledge about the ways in which an individual's perceptions of her own ethnicity and culture holistically impact her formation of personal identity. Moreover, the research herein captured the intersection of multiple environmental backgrounds when crafting a narrative of a Chinese individual's identity in the United States.

The tension between minority Chinese ethnic and mainstream Caucasian ethnic identities served as a focal point of this research. The complex environmental backgrounds experienced by Chinese adoptees in comparison to their American born Chinese counterparts also illustrated the cultural incongruity experienced by the respective groups when developing identity saliency. Selman (2012) found that 84% of all international adoptions involved adoptive parents who identified with a different ethnic background than the one represented by their adoptive child. For this reason, Chinese adoptees were hypothesized to self-report a mismatched ethnic identity with at least one parent. Due to both Chinese adoptees and American born Chinese individuals' propensity to identify as an ethnic minority in a predominantly Caucasian and Americanized society, the self-identified *ethnicity* of Chinese adoptees as well as American born Chinese individuals was hypothesized to differ from the self-identified *culture* of the respective groups, highlighting a hypothesized ethnicity-culture mismatch among Chinese adoptees as well as

American born Chinese. No difference was hypothesized regarding the Chinese international students because of the consistency in the majority ethnicity and culture of mainland China. However, drawing upon the expected mismatched ethnic and cultural identity of the Chinese adoptee group specifically, a chi-square test was run to determine that the ethnicity-culture matched versus mismatched statuses of the three groups different significantly. Thus, this research intentionally investigated the relationship between ethno-cultural identity and conflict as seen among Chinese millennials of distinct experiential backgrounds to capture the multifaceted complexities influenced by both ethnicity and culture.

Limitations

A primary limitation of this research involved the sampling nature and limited time frame allotted to collecting data. The participant samples associated with this research was skewed by its self-selected nature, small sample size, and disproportional representation of gender. The participants representing the Chinese adoptee sample were recruited primarily from the Jiande Adoptive Families Directory, a privately distributed list of individuals adopted from Jiande, Zhejiang, China between the years 1994 and 2001. Sole dependence on this list to complete data collection for the Chinese adoptee group limited the findings because this data source was not all encompassing of all Chinese adoptees living in the United States, the demographic characteristic of interest.

Additionally, the data collection method used to recruit the participants representing the American born Chinese sample presented further limitations to the findings because these individuals were primarily contacted based upon their inclusion in the Emory University Asian Pacific Islander Desi American Activism (APIDAA) student organization. My access to the

Emory University APIDAA Listserv enabled me to contact each of the featured members individually by email. Thus, this data collection method did not allow me to contact individuals identifying with this demographic who were not included in this organization. Collectively, these sampling approaches used to recruit participants for both the Chinese adoptee and the American born Chinese samples were applied out of convenience and thus limited the generalizability of the findings herein.

However, the sampling of the Chinese international students served as the most holistic and representative sampling attempt featured in this research. Recruitment for this demographic sample was disseminated to all Emory University undergraduate Chinese international students via the template recruitment email which was sent by the Associate Director of Emory Undergraduate Education for International Students, Dr. Frank Gaertner. Through this avenue, every F-1 international student from China currently enrolled at Emory University as an undergraduate student was given access to the survey associated with this research. Thus, the sampling of the Chinese international students for this research achieved the most random sampling of all groups sampled. Unfortunately, the overall representativeness of this sample was low due to its representation of the lowest response rate of all three samples.

Yet another factor that contributed to the skewed data was the fact that participants from all three samples were pre-disposed to have dealt with identity issues, a primary variable of interest. The current ethnic minority status created as a consequence of living as an ethnically Chinese individual in a Caucasian and Americanized majority society and culture could be considered a factor faced by individuals of all three groups that contributes to issues in identity formation. This propensity set all featured participants apart from the general population which surfaced as a limitation to this research. It is also relevant to note that the survey for this research

included questions classifying the participants as “Chinese or Taiwanese”. With this distinguishing wording, Chinese international students who were raised in mainland China were reluctant to complete the form due to its distinction of Taiwan as a separate entity. Thus, this distinguishing classification hampered the response rate by unintentionally emphasizing the geopolitical divide regarding the legitimacy of the two entities as distinct countries.

Overall this research captured a restrictive sample due to its internet base and demographic representation. Thus, this study limited the scope of participants to exclusively those who possessed internet access. Additionally, the age range, eighteen to thirty-five, analyzed in this study was limited. Young children and adolescents were not featured in this study. If further research is dedicated to this topic, it will be beneficial to focus such research on analyzing the impacts that the factors identified in this study impose upon young children as well as adolescents who represent the three demographics of interest.

Additionally, the mode of data collection and incorporated samples presented further limitations. The online survey was based upon the participants’ self-reporting of experiential encounters and overall interpretations of attachment and ethno-cultural identity demonstrated through their answers of online survey questions. If more time and resources had been available for this research, facilitation of in person interviews might have been able to more organically gauge the participants’ trends in the respective fields. Additional grounding analysis could have also been established if the parents of the participating Chinese millennials were simultaneously surveyed or interviewed. Another relevant demographic that was not featured in the current research was Chinese adoptees living in China and being raised by ethnically Chinese adoptive parents. These additional analyses would have enhanced the quality and broadened the scope of this research.

Finally, the small sample size and limited measures impacted the overall quality of this research. The relatively small sample sizes of all three demographic groups surveyed contributed to the limited generalizability of the research herein. The correlational aspect of the survey measure led the directionality of the findings to be indeterminate. The measure used was a survey which solely captured the self-reported assessment of ethno-cultural formation. Thus, a longitudinal study would have provided more expansive and continual data. Lastly, the measures used to gauge ethno-cultural identity were developed for Western samples. If more targeted measures that were developed to specifically measure Chinese attitudes for the variables of interest had been incorporated, such as the Asian American Cultural Identity Scale by Westhues and Cohen (1998), this research would have offered more definitive projections of Chinese identity among the three specified demographics. Overall, the findings herein remain to be confirmed in future research.

Future implications

The focus of this research expanded upon the impact of ethno-cultural identity among Chinese millennials living in the United States. The findings suggested that environmental opportunities as well as parental and peer acceptance of multiple facets of ethnic and cultural identity equipped Chinese adoptees, American born Chinese individuals, and Chinese international students alike to resolve conflicting cultural and ethnic identity saliencies. This research distinguished the cultural socialization experiences characteristic of each group in question and remarked on the impact these cultural socialization experiences imposed upon the ethnic and cultural identity development of the respective groups. Considering the life-long impact of ethnic and cultural identity formation, future research should focus on the experiences

of the entire family as well as socialization factors that may contribute to the overall integration of both ethnic and cultural aspects of Chinese identity. For Chinese adoptees, this includes investigating further ways adoptive parents can validate adoptees' Chinese heritages both in the home and in their children's immediate environments.

The findings of this research serve the Chinese millennial community who is living in the United States by providing data that illustrates the impact of environmental exposure on Chinese ethnic and cultural affinity. Thus, this research encourages purposeful experiential exposure during childhood as well as young adulthood, such as residing in a Chinese or multi-ethnic identifying neighborhood for American born Chinese or attending Chinese culture camps for Chinese adoptees, to strengthen the development of Chinese ethnic and cultural identity among Chinese millennials. In turn, this research supports previous literature that highlighted the developmental impact attained when adoptive parents provided a variety of diverse ethnic and cultural socialization experiences, such as living in a diverse neighborhood or facilitating exposure to diverse ethnic and cultural groups, for their adopted Chinese children. This purposeful socialization grants Chinese adoptees ethnic and cultural exposures that resemble those organically granted to American born Chinese individuals as well as Chinese international students to a varying degree. These experiences, no matter how they were cultivated, ultimately increase Chinese adoptees' access to their Chinese identity.

The implications of this study may be used to aid in the creation of workshops, resources, and services offered through American adoption agencies or adoption centers in China that help support internationally adoptive parents more clearly understand the impact of Chinese identity on the lives of their Chinese adopted children. Moreover, this research underscores the importance of supporting Chinese millennials by socially validating their experiences based on

ethnicity and culture. Future studies should investigate further tangible approaches to dissolving identity dissonance by means of re-integrating the cohesion of both American and Chinese identities in the twenty-first century American context. To accomplish these goals, future research should be directed at investigating the potential longitudinal implications of interethnic and multicultural friendships as well a parental influence with respect to Chinese ethnic and cultural identity formation. However, more refined measures are needed to thoroughly capture the impacts of socialization experiences on ethnic and cultural identity formation among the three demographic groups, Chinese adoptees, American born Chinese individuals, and Chinese international students, respectively.

A final addition that could be incorporated into future research involves integrating a fourth and fifth group of Chinese individuals living in the United States into the current study of Chinese identity formation. The first of these groups could be individuals currently in their forties to sixties who immigrated to the United States on average twenty to thirty years prior, thus marking approximately half of their lifetime spent living in China and the latter half spent living in the United States. This naturally occurring division could be utilized to better understand the ethnic and cultural affinities these older individuals attribute to their Chinese versus American identities. The second group that could be incorporated into the current study is Taiwanese individuals of various age groups.

As experienced in the survey distribution featured in this study, Chinese individuals demonstrated the lowest completion rate among all featured groups in part due to the distinction of "Chinese *or* Taiwanese" found in the wording of many survey questions. This hesitancy demonstrated by the Chinese participants signifies the overarching mainland Chinese political and social perspective that Taiwan is encompassed within China as opposed to existing as its

own entity. However, intentionally recruiting solely Taiwanese individuals to represent a fifth group in this study and creating questions directed at Chinese identity formation from the Taiwanese perspective would allow future researchers to analyze ethnic and cultural identity formation among Taiwanese individuals as well as evaluate how they interpret the Chinese aspect of their own identity if even considered at all. One specific measure that could be used to gauge Taiwanese individuals' Chinese versus Taiwanese identity saliences would be the incorporation a survey question regarding how the Taiwanese individuals chose to complete their 2020 United States Census reports. Specifically, the survey question could analyze whether the Taiwanese participates self-reported to have reported their ethnicity on the census as "Chinese", a standardized featured option, or if they chose to report their ethnicity as "Other" and then manually entered "Taiwanese". This distinction serves as one avenue through which researchers could concretely interpret Taiwanese individuals' ethnic identity saliency and further investigate Chinese identity formation in the American context.

Moving forward, this research comments on the cultural and ethnic longevity of Chinese identity as it evolves in the American context. This analysis is achieved by focusing on the impact of Chinese ethnic-cultural transmission in the United States. Emphasis is placed on the impact imposed upon the evolution of Chinese identity saliency in the wake of an increasingly growing number of Chinese millennials being raised outside of their country of origin due to the distinctive immigration reasons outlined herein. This phenomenon particularly highlights the pivotal role of Chinese adoptees, who are mostly female, to collectively transform as well as maintain Chinese identity in this generation of Chinese young adults. If Chinese adoptees mitigate their ethno-cultural identity conflict, experienced due to being an ethnically Chinese individual growing up in a Caucasian ethnic majority and American cultural majority, by

mitigating their degree of Chinese identity saliency, then Chinese identity as it is embodied by the Chinese adoptee might be at greater risk for dilution than Chinese identity among Chinese millennials who were raised by their biologically related and ethnically Chinese parents. For these reasons, Chinese adoptees continue to serve as a critical group to study. With over 180,000 Chinese adoptees being raised across the world today, the degree of Chinese adoptees' Chinese identity saliency in large part dictates the evolution of Chinese identity globally and generationally (Johnson, Banghan, and Liyao, 1998). At this moment in time, Chinese identity is being molded into the American cultural context in ways novel to both society and scholars. Thus, this research serves as an attempt to gauge the impact that the present day cultural and ethnic identities manifested by Chinese millennials, Chinese adoptees included, leave on the longevity of Chinese identity as the twenty-first century continues to unfold.

Appendix A: Participant Survey

1. **With which group do you most closely identify? [If none of these identities apply to you, please exit the survey now.]**
   a. Chinese OR Taiwanese adoptee
   b. American Born Chinese OR Taiwanese raised by biological parents
   c. Chinese OR Taiwanese international college/ university student

2. **Please state your LAST name.**
   Last name:

3. **Please state your FULL name.**
   Full Name:

4. **Please state your email.**
   Email:

5. **How old are you?**
   Answer (age in numerical years):

6. **What is your gender identity?**
   a. Woman
   b. Man
   c. Genderqueer or non-binary
   d. Agender (not identifying with any gender)
   e. Other (Not specified above)
   f. Prefer Not to Say
   g. None of the Above

7. **Are you currently living in the United States?**
   a. Yes
   b. No

8. **How old was your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian) when he/she/they either adopted or gave birth to you?**
   Answer (age in years of Parent 1):

9. **How old was your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian) when he/she/they either adopted or gave birth to you? [Type "NA" if not applicable.]**
   Answer (age in years of Parent 2):

10. **Did the parents who raised you divorce during your lifetime?**
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Not Applicable

11. **Did your immediate family who raised you experience a significant trauma such as a death of a close relative, abuse, or victimization of a violent crime during your lifetime?**
    a. Yes
    b. No

12. **Did you grow up living with siblings?**
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Siblings living in a different household

13. **Where were the following people born?**
    Options:
    - *China OR Taiwan*
    - *United States*
    - *None of the Above*
    - *Not Applicable*
    a. Yourself
    b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
    c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
    d. Your first sibling
    e. Your second sibling
    f. Your third sibling
    g. Remaining siblings
    h. Your closest friends

i. Your longest romantic partner

14. Please type the city, province/ state/ territory, and COUNTRY of the place where you were born.

Answer (full name of city, province/ state/ territory, and country):

15. Please type the full name of the city, province/state/ territory, and COUNTRY of your current residence.

Answer (full name of city, province/ state/ territory, and country):

16. Where did you attend high school?

a. China OR Taiwan
b. United States
c. Some high school in China OR Taiwan and some in the United States
d. Some high school in China OR Taiwan and some in another country
e. Some high school in the United States and some in another country
f. None of the Above
g. Not Applicable

17. Please enter the full name of the city, province/ state/ territory, and COUNTRY of where you attended high school.

Answer (full name of city, province/ state/ territory, and country):

18. Where did/ are you attend/ attending college or university?

a. China OR Taiwan
b. United States
c. Some college/ university in China OR Taiwan and some in the United States
d. Some college/ university in China OR Taiwan and some in another country
e. Some college/ university in the United States and some in another country
f. None of the Above
g. Not Applicable

19. Please state the full name of the city, province/ state/ territory, and COUNTRY in which you attended the majority of college/ university. [Type "NA" if this does not apply.]

Answer: (full name of the city, province/ state/ territory, and country):

20. If you grew up in the United States, did you attend college/ university in a different United States city, state, or territory than the one in which you lived the majority of your life?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not Applicable

21. Please state the total number of years, months, etc. you have lived (long term or permanent residence NOT including vacation) in CHINA or TAIWAN over your lifetime. [Type "NA" if this does not apply.]

Answer (your total time lived in China OR Taiwan):

22. Please state the total number of years, months, etc. you have lived (long term or permanent residence NOT including vacation) in the UNITED STATES over your lifetime. [Type "NA" if this does not apply.]

Answer (your total time lived in the United States):

23. Please answer the following questions as you feel best describes yourself.

Options

- *Strongly Disagree*
- *Moderately Disagree*
- *Neutral*
- *Moderately Agree*
- *Strongly Agree*

a. No matter what the circumstances are, I have a clear sense of who I am.

b. I have difficulties fitting into the wider society because of my cultural background.

c. In general, I do not think that people from my ethnic group know the real me.

d. I sometimes do not know where I belong.

e. I am an outsider in both my own ethnic group and the wider society.

f. Because of my cultural heritage, I sometimes wonder who I really am.

g. I experience conflict over my identity.

h. I find it impossible to be part of both my cultural group and the wider society.

i. I am uncertain about my values and belief.

j. I have serious concerns about my identity.

k. People tend to see me as I see myself.

l. I do not know which culture I belong to.
m. I find it hard to maintain my cultural values in everyday life.
n. I sometimes question my cultural identity.
o. I am confused about the different demands placed on me by family and other people.
p. Sometimes I do not know myself.
q. I find it easy to maintain my traditional culture and to be part of the larger society.
r. I feel confident moving between cultures.
s. I have difficulties fitting in with members of my ethnic group.
t. I am sometimes confused about who I really am.

24. The following questions concern how you generally feel in important close relationships in your life. Think about your past and present relationships with people who have been especially important to you, such as family members, romantic partners, and close friends. Respond to each statement in terms of how you generally feel in these relationships.

Options
- *Not at all characteristic of me*
- *Somewhat not characteristic of me*
- *Neutral*
- *Somewhat characteristic of me*
- *Very characteristic of me*

a. I find it relatively easy to get close to people.
b. I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on others.
c. I often worry that other people don't really love me.
d. I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like.
e. I am comfortable depending on others.
f. I don’t worry about people getting too close to me.
g. I find that people are never there when you need them.
h. I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others.
i. I often worry that other people won’t want to stay with me.
j. When I show my feelings for others, I'm afraid they will not feel the same about me.
k. I often wonder whether other people really care about me.
l. I am comfortable developing close relationships with others.
m. I am uncomfortable when anyone gets too emotionally close to me.
n. I know that people will be there when I need them.
o. I want to get close to people, but I worry about being hurt.

p. I find it difficult to trust others completely.

q. People often want me to be emotionally closer than I feel comfortable being.

r. I am not sure that I can always depend on people to be there when I need them.

25. How do you perceive the ETHNIC identity of the following people?

Options

- *Chinese OR Taiwanese*
- *East Asian (Not Chinese or Taiwanese)*
- *Pacific Islander*
- *South Asian*
- *Southeast Asian*
- *White/ Caucasian*
- *Mix of multiple options*
- *None of the above*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Yourself

b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)

c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)

d. Your first sibling

e. Your second sibling

f. Your third sibling

g. Remaining siblings

h. Your closest friends

i. Your longest romantic partner

26. How do you perceive the ETHNIC identity of the following people and places?

Options

- *Chinese OR Taiwanese*
- *East Asian (Not Chinese or Taiwanese)*
- *Pacific Islander*
- *South Asian*
- *Southeast Asian*
- *White/ Caucasian*
- *Mix of multiple options*
- *None of the above*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Your current neighborhood
b. Your current household
c. The student body of your most recent academic institution
d. The faculty and staff of your most recent academic institution
e. The co-workers at your most recent employment
f. The leadership at your most recent employment

27. How do you perceive the CULTURAL identity of the following people?

Options
-Chinese OR Taiwanese
- American
- Chinese OR Taiwanese with an American background
- American with a Chinese OR Taiwanese background
- Mix of multiple options
- None of the above
- Not Applicable
a. Yourself
b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
d. Your first sibling
e. Your second sibling
f. Your third sibling
g. Remaining siblings
h. Your closest friends
i. Your longest romantic partner

28. How do you perceive the CULTURAL identity of the following people and places?

Options
- Chinese OR Taiwanese
- American
- Chinese OR Taiwanese with an American background
- American with a Chinese OR Taiwanese background
- Mix of multiple options
- None of the above
- Not Applicable
a. Your current neighborhood

b. Your current household
c. The student body of your most recent academic institution
d. The faculty and staff of your most recent academic institution
e. The co-workers at your most recent employment
f. The leadership at your most recent employment

29. How would you best describe the ETHNIC identity of the following people?

Options
- *Ethnically similar to me and my family*
- *Ethnically similar to me but not to my family*
- *Ethnically similar to my family but not to me*
- *Not ethnically similar to me or my family*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
b. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
c. Your first sibling
d. Your second sibling
e. Your third sibling
f. Remaining siblings
g. Your closest friends
h. Your longest romantic partner

30. How would you best describe the ETHNIC identity of the following people and places?

Options
- *Ethnically similar to me and my family*
- *Ethnically similar to me but not to my family*
- *Ethnically similar to my family but not to me*
- *Not ethnically similar to me or my family*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Your current neighborhood
b. Your current household
c. The student body of your most recent academic institution
d. The faculty and staff of your most recent academic institution
e. The co-workers at your most recent employment
f. The leadership at your most recent employment

31. How would you best describe your ETHNIC identity in relation to the immediate family who raised you?

a. I am ethnically similar to my immediate family

b. I am not ethnically similar to my immediate family

32. How would you best describe the CULTURAL identity of the following people?

Options

- *Culturally similar to me and my family*
- *Culturally similar to me but not to my family*
- *Culturally similar to my family but not to me*
- *Not culturally similar to me or my family*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)

b. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)

c. Your first sibling

d. Your second sibling

e. Your third sibling

f. Remaining siblings

g. Your closest friends

h. Your longest romantic partner

33. How would you best describe the CULTURAL identity of the following people and places?

Options

- *Culturally similar to me and my family*
- *Culturally similar to me but not to my family*
- *Culturally similar to my family but not to me*
- *Not culturally similar to me or my family*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Your current neighborhood

b. Your current household

c. The student body of your most recent academic institution

d. The faculty and staff of your most recent academic institution

e. The co-workers at your most recent employment

f. The leadership at your most recent employment

34. How would you best describe your CULTURAL identity in relation to the immediate family who raised you?

a. I am culturally similar to my immediate family

b. I am not culturally similar to my immediate family

35. Please rate the following people's knowledge of Mandarin (Chinese) LANGUAGE.

Options

- *No knowledge*
- *Extremely limited knowledge*
- *Moderately limited knowledge*
- *Functional knowledge*
- *Moderately advanced knowledge*
- *Extremely advanced knowledge*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Yourself

b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)

c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)

d. Your first sibling

e. Your second sibling

f. Your third sibling

g. Remaining siblings

h. Your closest friends

i. Your longest romantic partner

36. Please rate the following people's knowledge of Chinese or Taiwanese CULTURE.

Options

- *No knowledge*
- *Extremely limited knowledge*
- *Moderately limited knowledge*
- *Functional knowledge*
- *Moderately advanced knowledge*
- *Extremely advanced knowledge*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Yourself

b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)

c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
d. Your first sibling
e. Your second sibling
f. Your third sibling
g. Remaining siblings
h. Your closest friends
i. Your longest romantic partner

37. If you were given a Chinese or Taiwanese name, do the following people know that name?

Options
- *Yes*
- *No*
- *Do Not Know*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Yourself
b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
d. Your first sibling
e. Your second sibling
f. Your third sibling
g. Remaining siblings
h. Your closest friends
i. Your longest romantic partner

38. What was your first language to speak fluently?

a. Mandarin (Chinese)
b. English
c. Both
d. Other

39. What language(s) did you grow up speaking at home?

Answer:

40. Were you adopted from China or Taiwan?

a. Yes

b. No

41. If adopted, how old were you when you were adopted? [Type "NA" if this does not apply.]

Answer (numerical age (i.e. 10 months old)):

42. If adopted, do you have any memories of life before you were adopted?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not Applicable

43. If you were adopted and have memories of life before you were adopted, please briefly describe them below. [Type "NA" if this does not apply.]

Your Answer:

44. If adopted, to your knowledge, how many placements did you experience prior to being adopted?

a. One orphanage

b. One foster home

c. 2-3 placements before adoption

d. 4 or more placements before adoption

e. Do Not Know

f. Not Applicable

45. If adopted, did your adoptive family maintain contact with your country of origin, such as through communication with the orphanage or individuals involved in your adoption process, i.e. adoption groups?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not Applicable

46. If adopted, have you or your immediate family who raised you engaged in a birth land tour/ visited your province of origin?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not Applicable

47. If adopted, have you or your immediate family who raised you conducted a birth family search?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not Applicable

48. If you were adopted and have not conducted a birth family search, are you interested in conducting a birth family search?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not Applicable

49. If you were adopted and conducted or are interested in conducting a birth family search, what motivated/s you to do so? [Type "NA" if this does not apply.]

Your Answer:

50. If you were adopted and conducted/ are interested in conducting a birth family search, would the parents who raised you support you in this effort?

a. Yes, the parent(s) who raised me would support me

b. Yes, one parent who raised me would support me, BUT the other parent would not support me

c. No, neither parent(s) who raised me would support me

d. Do Not Know

e. Not Applicable

51. Did your family who raised you immigrate from China or Taiwan to the United States during your lifetime?

a. Yes, my family immigrated from China OR Taiwan to the United States with me

b. No, I was the only person in my family to immigrate to the United States for the purpose of attending school

c. No, my family immigrated from China OR Taiwan to the United States before I was born
d. Do Not Know the immigration history of my family
e. Not Applicable, my family has never lived in China OR Taiwan
f. Not Applicable, I was adopted

52. If you identify as a Chinese or Taiwanese international student, how old were you when you immigrated from China or Taiwan to the United States to attend school? [Type "NA" if this does not apply.]
Answer (your age in years at time of your immigration to U.S.):

53. If the parents who raised you immigrated from China or Taiwan to the United States during your lifetime, how old were you when this happened? [Type "NA" if this does not apply.]
Answer (your age in years at time of family's immigration to U.S.):

54. If any of the following people grew up in the United States, have they ever vacationed to China or Taiwan?
Options
- *Yes*
- *No*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Yourself
b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
d. Your first sibling
e. Your second sibling
f. Your third sibling
g. Remaining siblings
h. Your closest friends
i. Your longest romantic partner

55. If the following people have NEVER VACATIONED to China or Taiwan before, please rate their interest in doing so.
Options
- *No Interest*

- *Low Interest*
- *Neutral*
- *Moderate Interest*
- *High Interest*
- *Do Not Know*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Yourself
b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
d. Your first sibling
e. Your second sibling
f. Your third sibling
g. Remaining siblings
h. Your closest friends
i. Your longest romantic partner

56. If the following people have NEVER LIVED in China or Taiwan (after being adopted for adoptees, as is for others), please rate their interest in doing so.

Options

- *No Interest*
- *Low Interest*
- *Neutral*
- *Moderate Interest*
- *High Interest*
- *Do Not Know*
- *Not Applicable*

a. Yourself
b. Your primary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
c. Your secondary parent (e.g. mother, father, legal guardian who raised you)
d. Your first sibling
e. Your second sibling
f. Your third sibling
g. Remaining siblings
h. Your closest friends
i. Your longest romantic partner

Appendix B: Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale (Ward, Stuart, Kus, 2011)

Test Format: This 20-item measure utilizes a 5-point agree–disagree format. The final scale is scored by reversing Items 1, 11, 17, and 18 and summing these with the remaining 16 items to calculate a total score (range = 20–100), which is then divided by 20 to reflect the mean item score (1–5). Higher scores indicate greater ethno-cultural identity.

Ethno-Cultural Identity Conflict Scale EICS

Items

1. No matter what the circumstances are, I have a clear sense of who I am. (R)
2. I have difficulties fitting into the wider society because of my cultural background.
3. In general, I do not think that people from my ethnic group know the real me.
4. I sometimes do not know where I belong.
5. I am an outsider in both my own ethnic group and the wider society.
6. Because of my cultural heritage, I sometimes wonder who I really am.
7. I experience conflict over my identity.
8. I find it impossible to be part of both my cultural group and the wider society.
9. I am uncertain about my values and beliefs.
10. I have serious concerns about my identity.
11. People tend to see me as I see myself. (R)
12. I do not know which culture I belong to.
13. I find it hard to maintain my cultural values in everyday life.
14. I sometimes question my cultural identity.
15. I am confused about the different demands placed on me by family and other people.
16. Sometimes I do not know myself.
17. I find it easy to maintain my traditional culture and to be part of the larger society. (R)
18. I feel confident moving between cultures. (R)
19. I have difficulties fitting in with members of my ethnic group.
20. I am sometimes confused about who I really am.

Note. (R) = reverse scored. The measure utilizes a 5-point agree–disagree format.

Appendix C: Participant Recruitment Email Template- First Attempt at Contact

Dear [insert name of potential participant],

I am an undergraduate at Emory University conducting my senior honors thesis through the Emory Chinese Department. My research analyzes the relationship between attachment and identity among Chinese millennials who are currently living in the United States. I am particularly interested in how this relationship surfaces among Chinese adoptees, Chinese individuals who grew up in the United States, and Chinese individuals who grew up in China but are currently living in the United States.

I am reaching out to you because you potentially fall within one of the three categories of interest. If you do self-identify with one of the three categories, you are eligible to take part in this study. If you would like to participate, please feel free to complete the fifteen-minute survey that can be accessed through the link below. Your participation is completely optional and will not impact you in any way.

If you would like to take this research survey, please open the following link using a desktop or laptop. The research survey link is as follows: https://forms.gle/W6MU83KEKEqumiC19

Thank you for your time and consideration regarding your contribution to this social psychological and Chinese cultural research.

Best,
Nicole Penn
Emory University| Class of 2020
Chinese Studies Honors Thesis Candidate

Appendix D: Participant Recruitment Email Template- Second Attempt at Contact

Dear [insert name of potential participant],

I am following up on your interest in participating in this Chinese studies research opportunity. If you are interested, please refer to the survey link at the bottom of this email to be directed to the fifteen- minute one time survey. The survey asks questions regarding attachment to parents as well as ethnic and cultural identity.

If you would like to take this research survey, please open the following link using a desktop or laptop. The research survey link is as follows: https://forms.gle/W6MU83KEKEqumiC19

Thank you for your time and consideration regarding your contribution to this social psychological and Chinese cultural research.

Best,
Nicole Penn
Emory University| Class of 2020

Appendix E: Informed Consent

Emory University Online Consent for a Research Study

Study Title: China's One Child Policy: Attachment and Identity Across Cultures **Principal Investigator:** Cheng, Hsu Te, PhD, Emory University Chinese Studies Department, under Russian East Asian Language and Culture (REALC) Department

Introduction and Study Overview

Thank you for your interest in our China's One Child Policy: Attachment and Identity Across Cultures research study. We would like to tell you everything you need to think about before you decide whether or not to join the study. It is entirely your choice. If you decide to take part, you can change your mind later on and withdraw from the research study.

The purpose of this study is to analyze attachment and cultural identity patterns among Chinese millennials currently living in the United States. We have an interest in analyzing these patterns among Chinese identifying individuals who are currently living in the United States and attending college, grew up in the United States, are Chinese adoptees, or identify as all of the above. Participation in this study solely consists of completing a one-time fifteen-minute online survey. This one-time survey will take about fifteen minutes to complete.

If you decided to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a one-time online survey. This online survey is estimated to take you 15 minutes to complete. To access this online survey, you will click on the link enclosed in the direct email sending address nicole.penn@emory.edu.

Once you click the link contained in the email, you will be directed to a Google Form where you will be asked to provide your name and email. After you do so, you will be prompted to open a new tab in your browser and copy/paste the research survey link into the new tab. The survey link is featured in the header of the Google Form. You will then be able to access the research survey itself. This survey mostly contains multiple choice questions and a few short answer questions. The questions themselves address the topics of attachment, ethnic, and cultural identity as they relate to your lived experiences.

The potential discomforts of participating in this survey include the emotional experience of reflecting upon personal experiences of cultural and ethnic social inclusion/ exclusion. The questions contained in the survey do not ask you to reveal explicit personal detail, but they do touch on the topics regarding any lived experiences involving adversity derived from cultural

and ethnic status. However, the likelihood for experiencing more than minimal overall discomfort is low.

The benefits of participating in this study include gaining personal insight upon the close relationships in your life and the ways in which ethnicity and culture have impacted these relationships. Even though this study is not intended to tangibly benefit you directly, but we hope this research will benefit people in the future by providing more academic knowledge regarding Chinese American lived cultural experiences.

Study records can be opened by court order. They also may be provided in response to a subpoena or a request for the production of documents. Certain offices and people other than the researchers may look at study records. Government agencies and Emory employees overseeing proper study conduct may look at your study records. These offices include the Emory University Chinese Studies Department, the Emory Institutional Review Board, and the Emory

Office of Research Compliance. Emory will keep any research records we create private to the extent we are required to do so by law. A study number rather than your name will be used on study records wherever possible. Your name and other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results.

We will disclose your information when required to do so by law in the case of reporting child abuse or elder abuse, in the addition to subpoenas or court orders.

De-identified data from this study (data that has been stripped of all information that can identify you), may be placed into public databases where, in addition to having no direct identifiers, researchers will need to sign data use agreements before accessing the data. We will remove or code any personal information that could identify you before your information is shared. This will ensure that, by current scientific standards and known methods, it is extremely unlikely that anyone would be able to identify you from the information we share. Despite these measures, we cannot guarantee anonymity of your personal data.

Your data from this study may be useful for other research being done by investigators at Emory or elsewhere. To help further science, we may provide your de-identified data to other researchers. If we do, we will not include any information that could identify you. If your data are labeled with your study ID, we will not allow the other investigators to link that ID to your identifiable information.

We will use your data only for research. We will not sell your survey data results. Additionally, we will not give you any individual results from our analysis of the online survey answers you give us. We will not send you results from this study.

Contact Information

If you have questions about this study, your part in it, your rights as a research participant, or if you have questions, concerns or complaints about the research you may contact the following:

Nicole Penn, undergraduate research student at Emory University: 501-270-0490 or by email at nicole.penn@emory.edu Emory Institutional Review Board: 404-712-0720 or toll-free at 877-503-9797 or by email at irb@emory.edu.

Consent

Do you have any questions about anything you just read? Were there any parts that seemed unclear?

Do you agree to take part in the study?

Participant agrees to participate: Yes No

If Yes, please check the checkbox below to indicate you have read the Online Consent herein and give your consent to participate in this study.

[Insert online checkbox here]

Appendix F: Citi Certification Completion Certificate

CITI PROGRAM

Completion Date 20-Feb-2019
Expiration Date 19-Feb-2022
Record ID 30614805

This is to certify that:

J F L Penn

Has completed the following CITI Program course:

Basic/Refresher Course Human Subjects Protection (Curriculum Group)
Group 2. Social/Behavioral Focus (Course Learner Group)
1 - Basic Course (Stage)

Under requirements set by:

Emory University

CITI
Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

Verify at www.citiprogram.org/verify/?wf52ccb94-ef99-4934-a6d0-6552c7856cc7-30614805

Appendix G: CITI Certification Completion Report

COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM)

COMPLETION REPORT - PART 1 OF 2
COURSEWORK REQUIREMENTS*

* NOTE: Scores on this Requirements Report reflect quiz completions at the time all requirements for the course were met. See list below for details. See separate Transcript Report for more recent quiz scores, including those on optional (supplemental) course elements.

- **Name:** J F L Penn (ID: 7916722)
- **Institution Affiliation:** Emory University (ID: 317)
- **Institution Email:** nicole.penn@emory.edu

- **Curriculum Group:** Basic/Refresher Course Human Subjects Protection
- **Course Learner Group:** Group 2. Social/Behavioral Focus
- **Stage:** Stage 1 - Basic Course
- **Description:** This course is suitable for Investigators and staff conducting SOCIAL / HUMANISTIC / BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH with human subjects. Social/Humanist/Behavioral research includes observational and survey research, population and/or epidemiological studies.

- **Record ID:** 30614805
- **Completion Date:** 20-Feb-2019
- **Expiration Date:** 19-Feb-2022
- **Minimum Passing:** 80
- **Reported Score*:** 88

REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE MODULES ONLY	DATE COMPLETED	SCORE
Conflicts of Interest in Human Subjects Research (ID: 17464)	16-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Students in Research (ID: 1321)	16-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
History and Ethical Principles - SBE (ID: 490)	16-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBE (ID: 491)	16-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
The Federal Regulations - SBE (ID: 502)	17-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Assessing Risk - SBE (ID: 503)	17-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Informed Consent - SBE (ID: 504)	17-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBE (ID: 505)	18-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
Records-Based Research (ID: 5)	18-Feb-2019	3/3 (100%)
Research with Prisoners - SBE (ID: 506)	18-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Research with Children - SBE (ID: 507)	18-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Research in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools - SBE (ID: 508)	18-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
International Research - SBE (ID: 509)	18-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Internet-Based Research - SBE (ID: 510)	18-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
Research and HIPAA Privacy Protections (ID: 14)	20-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Vulnerable Subjects - Research Involving Workers/Employees (ID: 483)	20-Feb-2019	4/4 (100%)

For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution identified above or have been a paid Independent Learner.

Verify at: www.citiprogram.org/verify/?kab5f0bcb-da29-47ec-b919-48cceda7a6ff-30614805

Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI Program)
Email: support@citiprogram.org
Phone: 888-529-5929
Web: https://www.citiprogram.org

COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM)

COMPLETION REPORT - PART 2 OF 2
COURSEWORK TRANSCRIPT**

** NOTE: Scores on this Transcript Report reflect the most current quiz completions, including quizzes on optional (supplemental) elements of the course. See list below for details. See separate Requirements Report for the reported scores at the time all requirements for the course were met.

- **Name:** J F L Penn (ID: 7916722)
- **Institution Affiliation:** Emory University (ID: 317)
- **Institution Email:** nicole.penn@emory.edu

- **Curriculum Group:** Basic/Refresher Course Human Subjects Protection
- **Course Learner Group:** Group 2. Social/Behavioral Focus
- **Stage:** Stage 1 - Basic Course
- **Description:** This course is suitable for Investigators and staff conducting SOCIAL / HUMANISTIC / BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH with human subjects. Social/Humanist/Behavioral research includes observational and survey research, population and/or epidemiological studies.

- **Record ID:** 30614805
- **Report Date:** 15-Jan-2020
- **Current Score**:** 88

REQUIRED, ELECTIVE, AND SUPPLEMENTAL MODULES	MOST RECENT	SCORE
Students in Research (ID: 1321)	16-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBE (ID: 491)	16-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
The Federal Regulations - SBE (ID: 502)	17-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Assessing Risk - SBE (ID: 503)	17-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Records-Based Research (ID: 5)	18-Feb-2019	3/3 (100%)
Informed Consent - SBE (ID: 504)	17-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBE (ID: 505)	18-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
Research with Prisoners - SBE (ID: 506)	18-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Research with Children - SBE (ID: 507)	18-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Research in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools - SBE (ID: 508)	18-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
International Research - SBE (ID: 509)	18-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Research and HIPAA Privacy Protections (ID: 14)	20-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Internet-Based Research - SBE (ID: 510)	18-Feb-2019	5/5 (100%)
History and Ethical Principles - SBE (ID: 490)	16-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)
Vulnerable Subjects - Research Involving Workers/Employees (ID: 483)	20-Feb-2019	4/4 (100%)
Conflicts of Interest in Human Subjects Research (ID: 17464)	16-Feb-2019	4/5 (80%)

For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution identified above or have been a paid Independent Learner.

Verify at: www.citiprogram.org/verify/?kab5f0bcb-da29-47ec-b919-48cceda7a6ff-30614805

Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI Program)
Email: support@citiprogram.org
Phone: 888-529-5929
Web: https://www.citiprogram.org

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