

ABSTRACT

Social Bonding Theory, Model Minority Stereotype, and Differences in Drug Use between Whites and Asians

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Although the concept of Asian Americans being “model minorities” has been referenced in relation to racial/ethnic differences in educational and socioeconomic achievement, criminologists have not explored whether the stereotype is relevant to the explanation of differences in delinquency and drug use between Asian and non-Asian adolescents. The model minority stereotype would have us expect Asian American adolescents to be “model” in their family relations and educational attainment in the way that whites are. However, continuing covert marginalization of Asians Americans questions the extent to which these “model” characteristics explain delinquency, such as substance use, between Asians and whites. Applying this to Hirschi’s social bonding theory, I hypothesize that bonding variables of attachment, specifically, affection towards and communication with parents, are less likely to explain drug use among Asian American adolescents than the other bonding elements, that is, commitment to school, compared to their white peers. To test these hypotheses, I analyze the first two waves of restricted data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health.

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Social Bonding Theory, Model Minority Stereotype, and Differences in Drug Use
between Whites and Asians

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Though studies regarding Asian American delinquency have increased over the past decade, it is still a relatively under-researched topic, mainly focusing on minority groups who are considered to be more at risk for delinquent influences due to their overall lower-than-average socioeconomic standing. The model minority myth has often been a reason to ignore Asian American deviance due to the assumption that they are expected to have lower rates of crime. By analyzing the application of Hirschi's social bonding theory in determining drug use among different races, we can make inferences about how certain factors affect delinquency and its implications on the model minority myth.

Theoretical Background and Literature Review

When studying race differences in general, criminological studies tend to focus on minorities who have the most prevalent criminal records. (Fomby 2010, Galvan 2003) With respect to juvenile delinquency, criminology theories such as Hirschi's social bonding theory, Sutherland's differential association theory, and Agnew's general strain theory, attempt to determine the characteristics that best explain why juveniles participate in delinquent behavior. Whites are often used as a control group because they are understood to possess certain characteristics that promote prosocial behavior and deter

them from committing delinquent acts. Asian Americans are assumed to possess these same qualities which are used to explain their generally low levels of delinquent behavior and high social standing. (Chou 2008) Perceptions of Asian culture related to the model minority myth have been systematically reinforced throughout American history. Because of this, Asian Americans have also generally been understudied compared to other minorities.

While research on Asian American delinquency has been scarce until recently, it has become a growing topic of interest. Research on factors that affect delinquency among a group that maintains low levels of deviant behavior may provide new insight into preexisting theories. The recognition of where Asian Americans are placed within a white-dominated racial structure and the applicability of conventional explanations for delinquency reveal to what extent social structures are racially based. Empirical findings also support the need for a clear acknowledgement of the uniqueness that can often provide problems for current theories.

Du Bois and “Double Consciousness”

W.E.B. Du Bois is known for his critical sociological analysis of African American experience throughout American history and his sociological explanations of conflicts between whites and blacks based on the observation of significant events in American history. Du Bois firmly believed that the problems of the twentieth century stemmed from racial inequality and the formation of the “color line”. (Du Bois 1903) He argues that despite ideals of the “melting pot” and a “color-blind society”, whites have

remained the clear majority in the United States, not only in color but also in establishment of cultural norms. African Americans have had to conform to this lifestyle, despite possessing characteristics that may distinguish them from the dominant culture. As a result, the minority is afflicted with a prevailing internal conflict in portraying themselves in a way that conforms to the predominantly white culture despite their primary cultural allegiances. This is what Du Bois refers to as “double consciousness”, where “this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.” (Du Bois 1903) In this way, blacks are forced not only to observe their world through their own social context, but also through the social context of the dominant whites.

Du Bois’s theoretical framework regarding the effect of systematic oppression on the psychology of the African American can be extended to the experiences of other races including Asian Americans. The ideals that whites have set, he argues, is only beneficial to themselves, warning, “A true and worthy ideal frees and uplifts a people; a false ideal imprisons and lowers.” (Du Bois, 1920) Without critically analyzing the social frameworks that whites have set, racial minorities will continue to be oppressed, while methods of oppression, whether they be overt or covert, may change over time.

Racial Hierarchical Structures

Studies of interactions between members of different races have provided several theories on how American society is structured racially. While not the explicit racism of pre-Civil Rights Movement America, race differences still exist based on the continuing

existence of a more subtle, yet institutionalized, racial hierarchical structure. Despite varying structure types, group social position is generally based on relation to whites or white standards.

Bonilla-Silva (2004) describes a new emerging racial structure based on the call for a more “color-blind” society. This changes the basis for racial inequality from color-based to merit-based, based on conventional achievements as perceived by whites. This then transforms the biracial dichotomy of whites and non-whites to a “tri-racial” structure, introducing a third category which Bonilla-Silva describes as “honorary whites”. This category is comprised of those who have similar socioeconomic characteristics as whites, but are placed in a different category to account for a characteristic that has not allowed them to be fully accepted by the white community as one of their own. This third group also acts as a buffer in conflicts between the polar opposites of “whites” and “collective blacks”, as they still have characteristics that are not in alignment with white conventional values, yet continue to adopt and conform to the norms of white Americans. By regrouping several different races into these new categories, Bonilla-Silva warns that this movement towards a “color-blind” society ignores the racial struggles of minorities, explaining any inequality among races as the fault of the values of a race rather than a fault in the system.

Analysis of historical events such as the Red Apple Boycott in New York has also shed light on the emergence of a third racial category. Following this event, the common rationalization was that the racial inequality suffered by blacks led them to commit violence against those who they considered responsible for their continued oppression. Rather than direct their efforts towards whites directly, they settle to vent their

frustrations on a buffering racial group, namely Asian-Americans, due to their status as “honorary whites”. Kim (2003) rethought the event, offering an alternative to the “racial scapegoating” explanation that had become so prevalent among media outlets regarding this incident. Similar to the L.A. riots, which involved a large amount of black violence directed toward Korean business owners, sociologists tended to delegitimize the significance of this redirected violence. Rather than address their significant role in the racial conflict, whites attempted to focus solely on the conflict between whites and blacks, assuming a “color blind” stance. Whites played the two races against one another while remaining relatively invisible to the media. Kim argues that this is an indication of the existence of a racial power, “the systematic tendency of the racial status quo to reproduce itself.” (2003) By having whites portrayed as a neutral and invisible racial entity, they are able to systematically reinforce the existing racial hierarchy despite the introduction of new racial groups into American society.

Kim’s analysis also provides a new categorization of races. Rather than organizing races along a single-scale hierarchy, she places the four major race/ethnic groups in a field structure created with two axes: superiority vs. inferiority and insider vs. foreigner. Placement within this field is based on the perspective of the white American. For Asian Americans specifically, alignment with values of whites places them in the socially superior area, while their inherent foreignness separates them from being in the same category as whites. This creates a paradox where Asians are praised by whites for their values while simultaneously rejected due to their foreignness.

These racial structures provide a setting in which the achievements of Asian Americans are measured solely by their educational or economic value, giving many the

impression that Asian Americans are not a group of much concern. However, Portraying Asian Americans as perpetually foreign ignores the discrimination and racist activity that continues to occur. It minimizes anti-Asian discrimination as a characteristic of immigration experiences, resulting in scapegoating. This puts Asians in a situation where they are ignored if they have problems, due to their supposed “advantage”, and when they are accused of wrongdoing the behavior is generalized and stereotyped. This concept of foreignness is important when studying delinquency because of the policy implications, where Asians may be discriminated. Sociological theories explaining differences between races are then potentially incomplete in their analyses and can be considered a means by which whites reinforce a certain racial structure.

Edward Said and “Orientalism”

In *Orientalism*, Said argues that the dominance of the Western world in establishing mainstream culture has resulted in the representation (and often misrepresentation) of the Eastern world through the use of stereotypes. The East is understood by Western culture using Western interpretations of symbols and other stereotypes, some of which the East continues to adopt as fact to this day. This becomes especially problematic with the Asian immigration to Western countries such as the United States. Like Du Bois stated, these stereotypical assumptions about a minority constructs boundaries that are designed by a dominant culture. In this case, whites can “objectively” dictate the criteria for separation from “foreigners”, as defined by their own definitions of norms. “In other words”, Said states, “this universal practice of designating

in one's mind a familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar space beyond 'ours,' which is 'theirs,' is a way of making geographical distinctions that *can be* arbitrary.” (Said 1978) The arbitrary nature of these distinctions creates a social (and in this case, racial) structure that can change only by those of the dominant class. In racial terms, because the Western world has had the most influence in shaping the definitions of mainstream culture, whites have maintained the power to determine who is fully accepted into society and who remains foreign.

This idea of “Eastern culture” is seen through the continuing stereotyping of Asians that have immigrated to the United States and other Western countries, some of whom have resided for several generations. While explicitly negative effects of this stereotyping have become less visible within the past several decades, it still has a powerful effect in shaping the perception of Asian Americans in America. While Asian Americans are now generally seen in a positive light due to their economic and educational success, Said's observations suggest that despite these accomplishments, they will still be considered foreign and therefore cannot fully assimilate into American society.

One prominent example of this is the model minority stereotype and its prevalence in the United States as a legitimate way of accepting Asian Americans. Said explains how racial structures created by those in power can influence not only other Americans' perceptions of Eastern culture, but can even influence other Asian Americans to accept this way of thinking as fact. While the effects of the model minority stereotype seem harmless, further analysis of the creation and perpetuation of racial structures mask the negative effects they may have on Asian American individuals.

Model Minority Stereotype

Sociologists analyze interactions between different race groups and note how important the role of racial identity is to the possession of social power. The social position that is determined by one's race creates a stratification model referred to by some as a racial hierarchy. The model minority stereotype refers to the labeling of Asian Americans as characteristic as whites within the racial hierarchy. Their placement within the racial hierarchy is established based on their social standing and their educational and occupational achievement, which the stereotype attributes to certain cultural characteristics that enable them to become more successful. Their label as "honorary whites" has legitimized this stereotype, which is a primary reason why Asian Americans are an understudied population in criminology. The model minority stereotype portrays Asian Americans as "model" in terms of their social characteristics, such as higher socioeconomic status. This in turn forces Asian Americans to conform to white norms in order to continue being considered "model". While these norms appear to give Asian Americans a higher status among other race groups, they tend to mask the hierarchical racial structure that is actively being implemented within American society. This stereotype exemplifies Kim's (2003) theory, where the racial hierarchical structure would continue to label Asians as foreign, never allowing them true acceptance among the dominant white culture.

Not until recently has there been an increasing interest in determining how the model minority stereotype is truly affecting Asian Americans. Because the model minority stereotype attributes the socioeconomic and educational success of Asian Americans is due to their similarities to white values, these values are expected to

increase the success of an individual within American society *and decrease instances of anti-social behavior*. (Chou 2008) However, their reputation as foreigners leads many whites to separate themselves from Asian Americans as true equals. This creates an unattainable standard that Asian Americans are expected to meet in order to achieve true social equality with whites, exemplifying the racial hierarchy model that Kim (2003) introduced.

Chou and Feagin (2008) provide evidence to suggest that the idea that the model minority stereotype serves a beneficial purpose for Asian Americans is indeed a myth. Many accounts of Asian Americans suggest that attempting to conform to white norms, including high educational attainment, is a strategy used to avoid anti-Asian discrimination. They point out that at times, the stress of achieving higher than other minorities becomes so overwhelming that many turn to self-destructive behaviors such as alcohol and drug usage as well as suicide. The imposed expectations on Asian-Americans, while beneficial in appearance, can lead to an identity crisis for those who must distinguish their personal identities from the acceptable norms of a white society. Chou and Feagin extend this not only to the educational and socioeconomic attainment that distinguishes Asian Americans as a minority, but also towards creating assumptions about other aspects of their lives, including family and peers associations. The model minority stereotype would assume that comparable family and peer relations between whites and Asians would contribute to lower levels of delinquency. These assumptions about the family and peer associations of Asian Americans often equate them to whites when considering social implications, including how social institutions affect an individual's chances of committing delinquent acts.

Hirschi's Social Bonding Theory

To test how the effect of certain aspects of Asian American life on delinquent behaviors differs from whites, we can use theories that address these dimensions of social control. Social control theories involve many dimensions that address areas of differences and similarities between different social groups. Hirschi's (1969) social bonding theory has been used as a valid explanation for the reason certain individuals are deterred from participating in delinquent behaviors by studying their bond of affection with certain social entities, such as family, school, and peers. Unlike theories such as Agnew's General Strain Theory, which attempts to answer what factors cause certain people to be prone to deviance, control theories, such as Hirschi's, attempt to answer what causes people to conform. In other words, control theories are more concerned with the social factors that prevent crime, not cause it. Breaking this bond would then be the cause for an individual to pursue delinquency. Hirschi's social bonding theory has been studied by criminologists to determine which forms of bonding have been the most significant in deterring delinquency. Hirschi (1969) specifies four different bonding types in *Causes of Delinquency*: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. For the purposes of this study, emphasis is given mainly to the observance of attachment and commitment variables, specifically towards family and school, respectively.

Attachment refers to developing a strong, affectionate bond to conventional types of social institutions. When considering the social entities that are the most significant objects of attachment, family is often the first to emerge. Attachment to parents is therefore one of the central variables in social control theory and Hirschi's social bonding theory. Prior theories suggested that merely stronger affection of the child with his/her

parents produced the necessary connection required to effectively transmit moral values from parent to child and therefore explained the difference between delinquency rates of lower and higher social classes. This would explain why non-delinquents were closer to their parents than delinquents and why children from broken and unstable families were more likely to commit delinquent acts than those whose families were intact. Hirschi specifies the importance of distinguishing whether or not values and norms of society are successfully transmitted, and not simply affection, that determines a child's likelihood of conforming to either conventional or delinquent behavior. Whether or not a parent effectively communicates to the child certain conventional norms and ideas is a better predictor a child's delinquency than closeness or attachment alone. For example, a parent that actually communicates and educates their child on certain values is a better means of enforcing conformity than just having a warm, loving relationship.

Peer attachment is also considered within Hirschi's social bonding theory. Attachment to peers is expected to be directly related to an individual's delinquency. While some theorized that strong attachment to peers was actually an indication that peer influence took precedence over the influence of the parent, Hirschi finds that those who indicated more favorable attitudes toward the approval of their friends actually had less favorable attitudes toward their parents. The opposite, children who prefer the influence of their parents over their peers, did not result in significant changes in attitudes towards the influence of their peers. Hirschi also notes that in the case of how delinquent peers affect an individual's own delinquency, those who have a higher stake in conformity to conventional achievement, or commitment to socially conventional goals are much less

likely to participate in similar delinquent behaviors than those who have little or no stake in conformity.

Commitment refers to the “stakes in conformity that are built up by pursuit of, and by a desire to achieve, conventional goals.” (p. 162) This is then a measure of a bond with the investment an individual makes with respect to their achievements, emphasizing that these achievements are within conventional norms. Again, contrary to strain theory, this examines the deterring factor of conformity. For purposes of this study, I focus on commitment to education, specifically, educational aspiration and actual educational performance (i.e. grades). The effect of educational aspirations on delinquency has a weaker effect than actual academic performance because the individual’s efforts toward delayed gratification has a weaker effect than a variable with an immediate payoff. Aspirations for future goals such as college and occupation do not have the same influence that an individual may receive from his/her efforts on an immediate task. Also, Hirschi notes that aspirations may be severely hindered by factors such as perceived racism. In Hirschi’s research, he found that blacks who expected racial discrimination to prevent them from achieving their occupational goals were more likely to be involved in delinquency. Observing the effect of commitment to education is therefore especially important because of its high value within American society, a value that is seen as a key similarity between Asian Americans and whites.

While the bonding elements of involvement and belief were discussed in detail within Hirschi’s theoretical framework, this study focuses on the effects of parental attachment and educational commitment. Researching the relationships found in the data concerning attachment as well as the effects of educational attainment on drug use

provide a better focus on the topic of how stereotyped Asian American characteristics compare to those of their white peers. Observing whether or not these characteristics are unique in explaining white behavior will help to establish the generalizability of the theory or determine its role in the implementation of the white racial frame.

Social Bonding Elements and Drug Use

While many studies have been conducted addressing race and drug use, not until recently has there been research done on Asian American juvenile delinquency. Studies tend to focus on verifying preexisting theories related to social control measures that affect delinquency among adolescents. (Chang 2005, Fomby 2010) According to Hirschi's social bonding theory, we should expect a significantly negative correlation between elements of social control, such as attachment and commitment, and drug use. We see the validity of this theory especially when observing the risk behaviors of Whites as well as other non-Asian minorities. (Caetano 1998, Fomby et al. 2010, Galvin 2003) Research also indicates that like whites, Asian American adolescents are most significantly influenced by peers, regardless of cultural values. (Kim 2000)

A different study conducted by Kim (2010) observes the elements of social control theory within a non-Western environment to see if expected results (according to theories of social control) remained, and found that there was negligible difference between parental and peer influence on substance use. By viewing an Eastern culture through a Western-constructed system, Kim is able to identify any discrepancy in the universality of the theory. Other studies with similar results show a discrepancy in

conventional theories being applied to Asian Americans. Chang and Le (2005) find that parental factors are not significant in mediating the relationship between peer delinquency and academic achievement. Lee and Rotherum-Borus (2009) found that while Asian Americans had lower rates of risk behaviors, they are becoming increasingly more at risk, perhaps indicating their assimilation into what they perceive as more (white) mainstream behavior. Cultural differences begin to emerge between Asian American adolescents and their parents due to a generational divide that becomes more evident as adolescents become more acculturated to mainstream culture, usually through their peers. This makes it difficult for the parents to create a close bond despite passing down certain values accepted by both as necessary to succeed, such as educational achievement.

Jang (2002) observed elements of social bonding theory and their effect on adolescent school delinquency. While taking into account differences among various Asian ethnicities, he found that “American adolescents of all racial/ethnic backgrounds are likely to engage in deviant behavior when they (1) fail to have their basic needs for proper socialization and adequate social control met within their families for some reason like family disruption or poverty; (2) are neither encouraged to do nor supported for doing their best at school, so that they have few ‘stakes in conformity’; (3) associate with friends who see little relevance of education for their lives; and (4) believe that it is acceptable to violate social norms.” (p. 672) These conclusions suggest that social bonding theory is applicable for certain delinquent behaviors among Asian Americans. Also, as observed in other studies, family, peer and educational variables continue to attract the most attention from researchers. For this reason, we can hypothesize that these

factors will also be the most significant for the delinquent behavior addressed in this study.

Hypotheses

Many conventional theories that explain juvenile delinquency are based on norms that have been established by studies consisting of samples from the dominant racial group in the US. Using these conventional theories to explain juvenile delinquency becomes problematic when including people of minority race and cultures. My hypotheses are derived from my understandings of the model minority stereotype, racial hierarchical structures, and social bonding theory. (I) I hypothesize that according to the model minority stereotype, Asian Americans will exhibit less delinquent activity through substance use than their white counterparts. (II) I hypothesize that differences in substance use among Asian Americans and whites are explained by differences in the elements of attachment and commitment as defined by Hirschi's social bonding theory. Specifically, (III) while commitment to school will have a significantly negative effect on substance use, variables related to attachment to parents, will be non-significant for Asians, contrary to the expectations of Hirschi's social bonding theory. Finally, (IV) peers will have a significant positive effect on substance use for whites and Asians, as seen in prior research. (Kim 2000) For Asians specifically, cultural tendencies such as rejecting peers who are potentially detrimental to the individual's stake in conformity are more likely to be rejected by Asians, resulting in less delinquency.

CHAPTER TWO

Methods

Data Set: Add Health

Data used in this study comes from the National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (Add Health). The data focused on exploring the health of adolescents as well as social influences and contexts that affect certain health related outcomes. Respondents answered questions about sensitive topics such as substance use during the in-home interviews, where questions were answered using laptop computers. For sensitive topics (such as drug use), the questions were asked through headphones after which the respondent would mark the appropriate response on the computer. The nationally representative study currently consists of four waves of data, with the first wave containing data from 1994-1995 and the most recent wave (IV) containing data from 2007-2008. For the purposes of this study, respondents who responded to both Waves I and II (N=13,568) were used in order to focus on data obtained during the respondents' adolescent years, specifically respondents who were in grades 7-12. Data for Waves I and II were collected during 1994-1995 and 1996, respectively. Add Health data was collected using cluster sampling with unequal probability. Surveys were distributed to students from 132 selected schools across the nation, with unequal probability of selection in order to include schools of different sizes and backgrounds. This type of sampling requires special care in analyzing, as the sampling method leads to

certain complications that result in data containing “observations [that] are no longer independent and identically distributed.” (Chantala, 2010) Measures were taken using certain statistical software provided by Add Health in order to account for any of these complications. Before analysis, the data set was weighted using the appropriate weighting variable (GSTW2).

In addition to the publically available data from the Add Health survey, this study includes data from the more extensive restricted-use data. This data was made accessible for this research through a faculty member of Baylor University who had already completed a contractual agreement committing him to maintain limited access as well as initiate and secure methods for handling and storing the sensitive data. Both I and the faculty member signed a contract agreeing to the IRB-approved security plan and agreeing to keep the data confidential. Data were provided as separate SAS files. This restricted-use data provided more extensive information from in-home interviews for the first two waves, which were used in this study.

Independent Variables

Race/Ethnicity

Data analysis was conducted focusing on two different racially categorized groups: white non-Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Islander. To address the first part of the hypothesis, a conventional categorization of race was used. Respondents were asked to

indicate their race according to five different categories: white, black or African American, American Indian or Native American, Asian or Pacific Islander, or Other. For this study, only respondents who were categorized as “white” or “Asian or Pacific Islander” were used to better compare the two races involved in the model minority stereotype. Dummy variables were created for both “white” and “Asian or Pacific Islander” respondents. Non-white and non-Asian respondents were removed from the sample.

Dimensions of Hirschi’s Social Bonding Theory

This study focuses on two major components of Hirschi’s social bonding theory: attachment and commitment. Specifically, this study focuses on the adolescents’ attachment to parents and commitment to school in order to examine variables that are characteristic in defining the model minority stereotype.

Several scales were created in order to obtain a well-rounded approach to measuring attachment to parents. A standardized Cronbach’s α was calculated for scales containing three or more variables. This was done in order to measure reliability of measures and ensure that variables were related enough to be included and combined into one measure. Higher scores indicate better reliability. While many of these questions aim to address both the mother and father separately, questions with comparable response scales were recoded to form one question directed at the “parent”. For example, a variable regarding closeness to the mother and a separate variable addressing closeness to the father were combined. The mean of the response related to mother and response of

the same question related to the father was calculated to identify the respondent's closeness to parents. For example, if a respondent was asked to rate the closeness they felt to their mother and father and the respondent answered "3" and "5", respectively, the responses would be combined to form a value for closeness to parent ("4").

Multiple questions were combined to create the scale called "Parental Affection/Communication" (Standardized Cronbach's $\alpha=0.728$). This dimension includes questions dealing with the respondents' attitudes about how close they feel to their parents and how they perceived that closeness and affection. To address closeness to parents, questions involving how much the respondent feels the parents care for him or her and if the respondent feels the parent is generally warm and loving were included. These items were measured using a 5-point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree.

In addition, this measure includes questions related to how closely the parents are attached to the respondent in terms of communication. Questions addressed how often the parents spoke to the respondents about issues such as dating, personal problems, school work, and other school-related things. The first set of questions that addressed whether or not the mother or father talked to the respondent about certain issues (dating, problems, grades, "other school related things") were coded dichotomously (1=yes and 0=no). The remaining questions asking the respondent about their satisfaction or perceptions about their communication with their parents were measured using a 5-point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree. Because these responses used different scales, rather than take the sum of the response values, responses were standardized into a uniform z-score scale. By standardizing the

scores, questions with different scales can be combined to form a single measure (close communication).

Several questions were used to create the “Perceived Parental Expectation” measure. The respondent was asked a question about their perception of how their parents’ would react if the respondent were to fail a certain achievement. Respondents were asked how disappointed they thought their parents would be if the respondent failed out of high school or college, using a 5-point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 1=low to 5=high. This dimension not only further measures attachment to parents, but also provides insight into the connection between parental attachment and commitment to school.

Commitment to school was measured using a composite score of the adolescents’ grades in four major subject areas (English, Math, Social Studies/History, and Science) and a measure of aspiration for higher education. Responses were recoded from their original coding to emulate a scale similar to a school grade point average. Responses ranged from 1=“D’ or lower” to 4 = “A”. In addition, respondents were asked about their college aspirations. These responses ranged from 1=low to 5=high. Since these two measures were combined using different scales, the final commitment to school variable was measured using a standardized z-score (similar to the parent attachment and communication measure).

Peer Drug Use

To address social learning elements that have been shown to significantly affect adolescent delinquency, three measures were used to identify peer drug use (Standardized Cronbach's $\alpha=0.758$). Respondents were asked to identify out of their three best friends how many: smoked at least 1 cigarette a day, drink alcohol at least once a month, and use marijuana at least once a month. Responses ranged from 0 to 3 friends.

Immigrant Status

To avoid the effects of acculturation in the response set, responses were filtered based on immigrant status. Respondents were asked how long they had lived in their current residence. Those who did not respond "lived here since birth" were asked if they were born in the United States, to which they responded "0" for no and "1" for yes. Respondents who answered the first question with "lived here since birth" were recoded as "1" for the second question. The final sample size after the reduction to just non-immigrant white and Asian respondents was 11,973.

Dependent Variable: Respondent Drug Use

Respondent substance use was measured using three different variables, one variable per substance. Wave II responses were used in order to more accurately observe a short longitudinal effect of the independent variables on the drug use of the respondent. Questions addressed frequency of usage during a given time period. The respondent was

asked how often they smoked cigarettes within the past 30 days, how many days within the past 12 months they drank alcohol, and how many times they used marijuana during the past 30 days. Responses ranged from 1-30 for cigarettes and 1-900 for marijuana. A 7-point Likert scale was used to calculate frequency of drinking alcohol. A significant number of the responses for these categories were coded missing as “legitimate skip” due to a preceding question indicating a skip. For example, if a question asked if respondents had ever smoked cigarettes and some answered “no”, they may be asked to skip to the next set of questions, skipping over more detailed questions related to frequency of the substance use. However, especially for this study, questions related to frequency that were skipped should then have “legitimate skip” respondents coded as respondents who used “0” times, since they indicated earlier that they never used cigarettes. In order to retain as many responses as possible, these responses were properly recoded as “0” (uses).

Results^{*}

Means of substance use reveal clear differences between whites and Asians (see Figures 1-3). For smoking, whites smoke almost twice as much as Asians. While differences decrease in strength for alcohol and marijuana, whites maintain higher drug use over Asians. As seen in Table 1, t-tests measuring race differences in each type of drug use indicate a significant difference between whites and Asians across all types of drug use. Figures 1-3 show a comparison of means between white and Asian subsamples for each type of substance use. Figure 1 is measured by number of days during a 30 day

^{*} All figures and tables are located in the Appendix section.

period. Figure 2 shows the frequency of drinking during the past year on an ordinal scale measured from never to more than once a week. Figure 3 shows the number of times a respondent used marijuana during a 30 day period. Whites smoke about 3 days more in a 30 day period than Asians and smoke marijuana about 1-2 more times than Asians in the same time frame (as seen in figures 1 and 3). Using the ordinal scale of the drinking measure, alcohol use is slightly more frequent for whites than Asians. Because these differences are all statistically significant between subsamples, we can assume that since the model minority stereotype entails lower incidence of delinquent behavior, it can be considered at least partially valid.

Analysis

The study uses OLS regression in order to identify the impact of each theoretical variable on each component of adolescent drug use. Changes in the coefficient of the dummy race variable were noted based on the effects of introducing different theoretical variables. The baseline regression model (Model 1) consisted of the dependent variable and basic sociodemographic variables (sex, age, and parent education). With each subsequent model, measures of Hirschi's social bonding theory as well as racial identification were introduced. This was repeated for each respondent drug use measure.

Models 2-5 introduce each dimension of parental attachment (affection/communication and expectation), commitment to school, and the social learning variable (peer drug use). Each model included each dimension individually in order to observe the isolated effect of each variable. Model 6 contains both of the

parental attachment variables, while Model 7 adds commitment to school to make a model containing all social bonding variables used. The final model, Model 8, adds the final independent variable (peer drug use) to make a model containing all independent variables.

In addition to the combined sample, OLS regressions were performed separately for white and Asian subsamples. This was done for each type of substance use in order to more closely observe specific differences between the effects of the theoretical variables for whites and Asians.

Predictors of Adolescent Smoking

Full Sample. Table 2 shows the coefficient and standard error of each model for adolescent smokers. The dummy race coefficient for smoking was statistically significant ($b = 3.683$). This indicates that white adolescent respondents were significantly more likely to smoke than Asian respondents. In Models 2-5, each of the individually introduced variables decreases the racial coefficient slightly, but do not eliminate its significance. This remains true except the final model (Model 8), where the white racial identification is no longer significant. The inclusion of peer drug use into the model causes the significant racial difference in smoking behavior to disappear. This shows that while certain aspects of parental attachment accounted for some of the difference between white and Asian adolescent smoking, whites were still significantly

more likely to smoke than Asians. However, social learning variables, in particular, peer drug use, may be more significant in explaining racial differences in smoking.

Interestingly, the coefficient for race increases with the introduction of parental affection and communication. This indicates that one of the variables is acting as a suppressor, which in this case is the Asian sample. This indicates that the effect of parental affection and communication is actually insignificant in predicting smoking for Asians whereas it is significant in predicting smoking for whites. As predicted, there seems to be a difference in the effect of parental affection and communication for Asians compared to whites, implying an inconsistency with the model minority stereotype.

Disaggregated predictors of White and Asian American Adolescent Smoking.

Tables 2a and 2b contain the regressions for both race groups individually. Many interesting differences were observed between the white and Asian subsamples, particularly those variables involving sociodemographic characteristics. While gender and parent education was insignificant in accounting for substance use for whites, they were significant variables for the Asian subsample. Also, while age became insignificant for whites in the final model, it remained a significant for Asians. Measures of parental attachment were non-significant in the final model for both white and Asian subsamples. Both subsamples had only two significant theoretical variables in the final model: commitment to school and peer drug use. While the significance and direction of commitment to school and peer drug use remained the same for whites and Asians,

commitment to school was a stronger predictor for Asian smoking whereas peer drug use was the stronger predictor for white smoking.

Predictors of Adolescent Drinking

Full Sample. Table 3 shows the analysis for adolescent alcohol consumption. Model 1 shows that the dummy race coefficient is much lower than the coefficient for smoking, but is still positive and statistically significant ($b = 0.391$). This indicates that white adolescent respondents are significantly more likely to drink than their Asian peers, similar to the trend found in smoking. Between the two parental attachment variables, only parental affection/communication was significant across all models. Introduction of each individual theoretical variable in Models 2-5 shows slight changes from the baseline model. Also similar to the smoking variable, peer drug use was the most significant factor of the social bonding and learning variables. However, inclusion of all variables did not change the significance of the race variable.

Similar to smoking the effect of certain social bonding variables differed between whites and Asians. Again, the coefficient for the race variable increased with the introduction of parental attachment and communication, although to a lesser extent than smoking. This again implies that there is a difference in the way that social bonding variables predict white and Asian American substance use.

Disaggregated predictors of White and Asian American Adolescent Drinking.

Tables 3a and 3b again show regressions for the separate subsamples. Differences in sociodemographic variables still remain between white and Asian subsamples for drinking. Similar to smoking, gender and parent education remain significant for whites but not Asians and age was non-significant for whites but significant for Asians. For social bonding variables, in the final model, we see a significant effect from parental affection/communication and commitment to school for Asians but not whites. Both subsamples have peer drug use as a significant factor in determining drug use when controlling for all other variables.

Predictors of Adolescent Marijuana Use

Full Sample. Finally, Table 4 shows the analysis for marijuana use. Unlike smoking and drinking, there was no significant difference between whites and Asians in terms of marijuana smoking, which allows for little analysis on the effects of the social bonding measures on any differences. This sample also continues to show the diminishing effect of social bonding variables, as both parental attachment variables were non-significant across all models. However, commitment to school remained significant, but only until the social learning variable, peer drug use, was included in the final model. Peer drug use remained significant across all models.

Disaggregated predictors of White and Asian American Adolescent Marijuana

Use. Tables 4a and 4b show the regressions for separate subsamples for marijuana use. The trends become diminished and much less apparent for the marijuana usage models than for the previous two substances. For sociodemographic variables, gender remains significant for whites across all models, but remains insignificant for Asians. Parent education remains insignificant for both subsamples. Age is significant until the inclusion of peer drug use (Models 5 and 8). Like drinking, parental attachment variables seem to have no effect on marijuana use. The only social bonding variable to become significant is commitment to school for both subsamples. However, when peer drug use is included in the model, all other theoretical variables lose their significance. This implies the growing significance of social learning for both race groups. Table 5 summarizes these results by showing which variables were significant and in what direction for each sample.

CHAPTER THREE

Discussion of Results

While the main hypothesis predicted that the racial difference would disappear with the introduction of social bonding variables, the effect of the variables was lessened with each subsequent analysis. Social bonding differences were seen more clearly in the smoking analyses, while becoming insignificant in the marijuana analyses. Whites were more likely to report partaking in most of the different types of substance use. The only substance use in which racial differences were not present was in marijuana use. The only significant coefficient change was in the models predicting smoking behavior among whites and Asians. Even in this case, however, the social learning measure proved to be the significant variable in causing the change rather than any of the social bonding variables. This indicates that adolescents are more affected by the behavior of their peers as opposed to parental attachment or commitment to school. When considering the effects of theoretical variables in general, illicit drug use such as marijuana use appears to be less related to race or social bonding/learning variables than status offenses (behavior that is only considered illegal because the participant is underage), such as smoking and drinking. Since most minor status offenses are not detrimental to an individual's stake in conformity, whites, who have more knowledge of this, may take advantage of certain delinquent opportunities, while Asians refrain from them completely due to having their awareness of having a masked social disadvantage.

Further research should examine why the racial difference implied by the model minority stereotype exists for certain types of deviance and not others.

The hypothesis related to specific social bonding variables was only partially supported in the smoking sample. The final model of the smoking sample reveals that the significance of race in determining drug use disappears when including peer drug use. The introduction of peer drug use also made certain social bonding variables, specifically, the parental attachment variables, non-significant. In fact, for all measures of substance use, parental attachment variables became insignificant, except for drinking, where parental affection/communication remained slightly significant ($b = -.009$). The only variable that remained significant across all models of all substances was peer drug use, the social learning variable. Peers, especially during adolescent years, seem to have a much greater influence than other social variables. This influence also seems to be equal between whites and Asians. In this way, we see a challenge to the model minority myth, where presumed Asian American non-delinquency does not explain differences in certain behaviors among adolescents such as substance use, but rather a pressure that is more universal. The model minority myth presumes that Asian American performance might be associated with cultural traits, such as resisting peer pressure that might keep them from becoming delinquent. My analyses suggest that peer pressure works the same for both white and Asian teenagers with respect to smoking and marijuana behavior. Future research should continue to examine the effect of social learning on Asian American adolescent drug use.

Several interesting findings emerge when analyzing the full sample. One interesting finding was how race had no significance in determining marijuana use, even

in the baseline model. None of the theoretical variables could predict marijuana use except peer drug use. This demonstrates the strength of social learning in predicting substance use, especially for illicit drug use that is not considered a status offense. More importantly, however, was that race remained a significant variable to predict differences between drinking behaviors of adolescents, whereas the significance of race disappeared for smoking and was non-existent for marijuana use. For whites the primary explanation for substance use was peer drug use. However, only Asians had a parental attachment measure be a significant factor in predicting substance use (drinking).

Conducting separate regressions for both races also revealed better insight into differences between the two subsamples. For models predicting use of any of the three substances, gender was a significant factor for whites (more likely for females to smoke and more likely for men to drink and use marijuana), but non-significant in all substance categories for Asians. This may imply white socialization concerning drug use. For whites, females may be socialized to allow for more minor offenses such as the various status offenses, while males are socialized to become prone to committing more serious offenses. This may reflect another way of compensating for a different type of social inequality from gender. One explanation may be that females will have more to lose in taking part in more serious delinquency, whereas males have more social opportunity despite participation in more deviant activity. It would seem more intuitive that gender roles should be more pronounced for Asian Americans, due to their general patriarchic family structure. (Jang 2002) However, this may show that parents of Asian Americans are concerned with the educational attainment and success of their children, regardless of gender. For smoking and drinking, parent education was also significant for whites but

not Asians. Interestingly, in the overall and white-only samples, parental education decreased smoking but increased drinking. This seems to indicate a difference in smoking and drinking possibly linked to social class, where it is less acceptable to smoke for upper class whites but more socially acceptable to drink. For Asians, this effect remains non-significant for reasons similar to gender, showing a possible distinction in cultural norms from whites in the role that parent education plays in affecting an individual's behavior. Regardless of social class, parents may raise children in a way that keeps overall substance use low. While these primarily served as control variables, the differences in their effects indicate some distinction between whites and Asians in terms of their basic sociodemographic characteristics. The significance of gender and parental education for whites but not Asians may imply that Asian parents may raise their children in the same way, ignoring gender roles or social class.

In terms of differences in the effects of the theoretical variables on substance use, while peer drug use was a significant factor in determining all types of substance use, other variables differed in their effects. For whites, the only significant social bonding variable was commitment to school, which only significantly reduced smoking. For Asians, however, parental affection/communication was significant for drinking while commitment to school was significant for both smoking and drinking. The different effects within each racial sub-analysis suggest that there are racialized differences in the way that parents and teen aspirations affect delinquent drug use. The model minority stereotype implies that Asians' delinquency rates are equal to if not less than whites because they identify and internalize white values. However, differences in the effects of values related to school and family on substance use challenges that assumption of the

model minority stereotype, since the model minority stereotype implies that while we can expect greater deterrence for Asian Americans, both Asians and whites should be deterred from delinquency for the same reasons.

Conclusions and Future Research

In my research, the validity of Hirschi's social bonding theory has been shown to have its strongest effect on adolescents who commit less serious crimes. My analysis indicates a difference in social bonding's effects on status offenses such as underage smoking and drinking and illicit drug use such as smoking marijuana. While previous research identifies attachment and commitment as the most empirically significant measures of social bonding, it seems to actually affect Asians more than whites. This suggests that there is some validity to the model minority stereotype. Because of strong significant racial differences in substance use, specifically ones categorized as status offenses (smoking and drinking), the analyses seem to imply some cultural explanation for drug use that is unrelated to social bonding or social learning. If smoking or drinking is a method of coping with the stress of Asian parents' high parental expectations (due to pressures from the model minority stereotype), over-commitment to school may actually be derived from these expectations. In terms of its implications on the model minority stereotype, high parental pressure and dysfunctional coping may play significant roles in promoting this "image" of over-commitment to school.

Another result of attempting to maintain this image that could explain drug use patterns is the cultural idea of shame. While more public forms of substance use may

show differences between Asians and whites, an explanation for this may result from a tendency of Asian Americans to hide their deviant behavior out of shame. We can see this in the marijuana analysis, where there was no significant racial impact on marijuana use. Other forms of delinquency may result from the stress that Asian Americans are subjected to but are too ashamed to commit in public. Studying the comparisons between race groups and their involvement in less visible types of deviance could provide new explanations for delinquency among Asian Americans.

Several complications from this study may require further investigation. Because only whites and Asians were studied, further studies should examine how well the dimensions of social bonding explain drug use for other races and compare them to whites and Asians. Because this study helped partially identify the problems of applying a specific model of criminal behavior the same way for whites and Asians, future research should identify whether or not these differences exist for other races and whether or not these differences apply to the same theoretical variables that were used in this study.

Another component to the model minority myth that was not addressed in this analysis was the idea that all Asian ethnicities can be culturally associated into one broad group of “Asian Americans”. Future research should also examine the application of these theories to the diverse ethnicities that make up the Asian American population. By identifying certain differences between whites and the whole Asian sample, further study into the differences among Asian ethnicities may offer a more complete analysis of how they fit into the model minority stereotype.

Nagasawa et al. (2000), collected an extensive amount of data on Asian American drug use patterns. They also found that age, gender, and family control variables did not have a significant impact on Asian American adolescent drug use, whereas peer influence (especially those who also used drugs) and attitude toward school were significant. Among Asian Americans, drug use tends to differ significantly depending on ethnicity. For certain ethnicities, specifically, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Pacific Islanders, Nagasawa found that social control variables (families, friends, teachers, etc.) had a negligible effect on drug use, whereas for Chinese Americans and Asian Indian Americans, family variables were significant. While the majority of respondents in my analyses were heavily Chinese or Filipino, further research may help confirm whether or not this difference exists among other ethnicities. Rather than just analyzing all ethnic groups into a single racialized minority, future research may pursue a more comprehensive analysis of all ethnicities.

The applications of this study extend beyond just verifying the claims of the model minority stereotype. Wu (2011) notes the importance of identifying cultural differences in the treatment of adolescents who take part in drug use, emphasizing cultural sensitivity as one of the key factors in rehabilitation. Policies related to criminology require an understanding of the factors that affect deviant tendencies. Basic crime models attempt to address this by identifying certain social tendencies generalized to the population. However, this may ignore certain differences that may prevent all people from being generalized to fit a specific model of criminal behavior. Ignoring these differences can lead to inappropriate conclusions that may not be effective in addressing crime. Rather than neglecting Asian American crime as a minor issue,

criminologists can reexamine what causes crime for this complex demographic. Giving more attention to the effects of commitment to school and peer drug use for both race groups while examining the difference in the effect of parental attachment on Asian Americans as opposed to whites may offer insight into lowering levels of delinquency. These oversimplifications that potentially affect policy extend beyond crime and deviance, affecting education as well as health policies. Correctly identifying the causes of these inequalities can help reshape our understanding of different people and provide a more accurate view with which to base decisions on how to deal with social problems.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Table 1. T-test for difference of means for substance use (white vs. Asian subsamples), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=11,149)

	Coefficient	Std. Error	t
Smoking	4.180	.521	8.020*
Drinking	.574	.082	6.980*
Marijuana	1.756	.406	4.320*

* $p < .05$

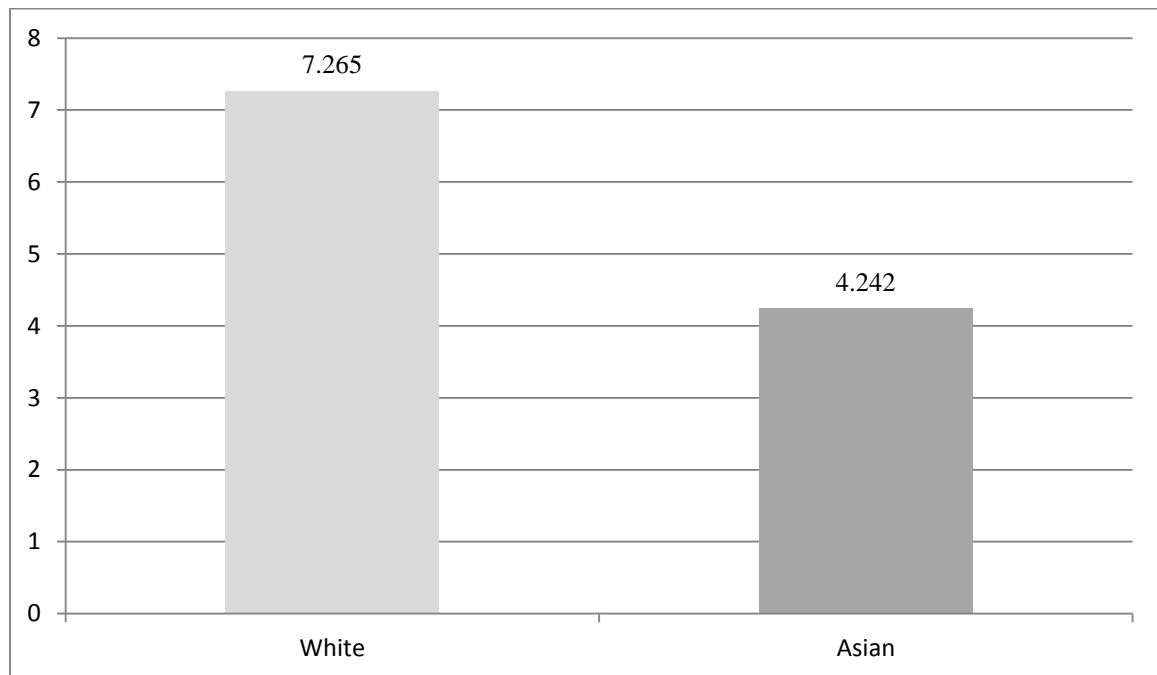


Figure 1. Average Number of Days Smoking in Past 30 Days, 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=8,012)

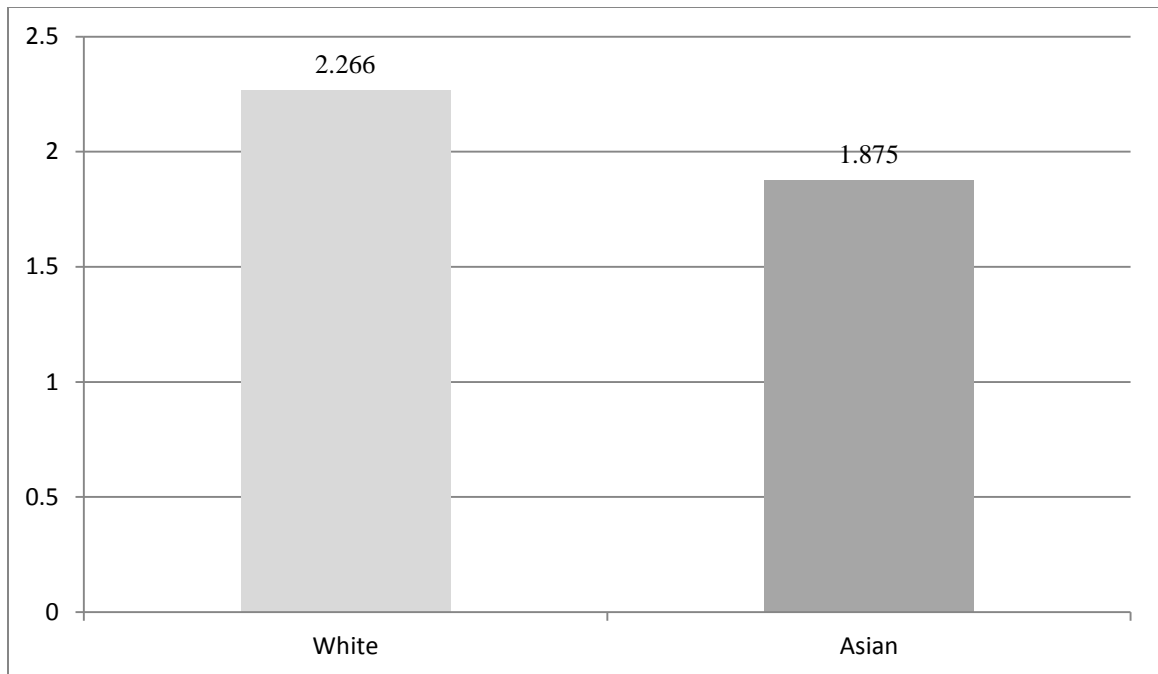


Figure 2. Alcohol Use over past 12 months, 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=8,043)

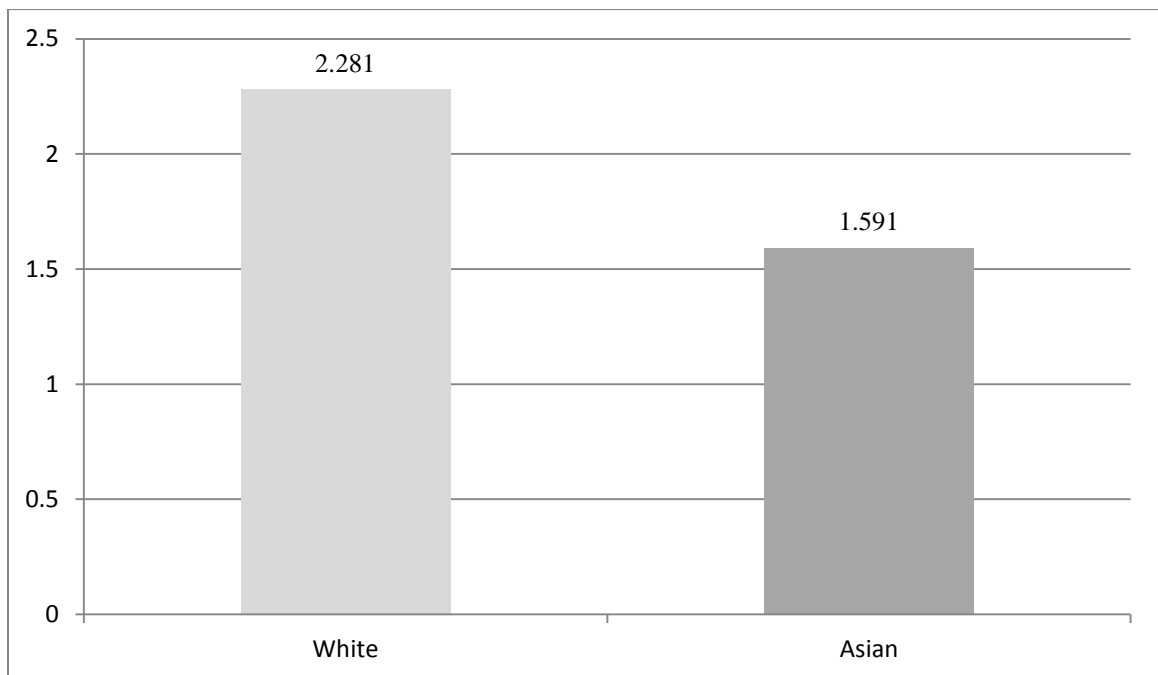


Figure 3. Average Marijuana Use in Past 30 Days, 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=7,923)

Table 2: OLS Regression for Smoking, 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=6722)

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6		M7		M8	
	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.
Male	-.851*	.369	-.774*	.355	-.849*	.361	-1.685*	.381	-.896*	.322	-.778*	.354	-1.602*	.376	-1.265*	.330
Age	1.450*	.120	1.377*	.118	1.403*	.117	1.151*	.125	.242*	.112	1.360*	.119	1.116*	.126	.150	.111
Parent Education	-.569*	.082	-.542*	.081	-.528*	.075	-.158*	.091	-.363*	.072	-.505*	.076	-.175*	.089	-.161*	.083
White	1.497*	.618	1.707*	.584	1.351*	.621	1.036*	.559	.907*	.531	1.633*	.582	1.291*	.511	.813	.491
Parental Affection/Communication			-.278*	.050							-.265*	.050	-.153*	.049	-.042	.047
Parental Expectation					-.403*	.154					-.324*	.134	.114	.117	.012	.091
Commitment to School							-1.838*	.154					-1.773*	.139	-.886*	.131
Peer Drug Use									2.183*	.080					2.014*	.086

* $p < 0.05$

Table 2a: OLS Regression for Smoking (White Subsample), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=6334)

	M1			M2			M3			M4			M5			M6			M7			M8		
	b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.	
Male	-.868*	.376		-.817*	.360		-.873*	.368		-1.686*	.390		-.916*	1.296		-.824*	.359		-1.626	.383		-1.289*	.335	
Age	1.452*	.123		1.381*	.121		1.404*	.120		1.157*	.127		.239*	.282		1.365*	.122		1.126*	.127		.148	.113	
Parent Education	-.564*	.0823		-.544*	.081		-.527*	.076		-.160*	.093		-.351*	.303		-.512*	.077		-.188*	.091		-.161*	.084	
Parental Affection/Communication				-.280*	.050											-.268*	.050		-.157*	.049		-.042	.047	
Parental Expectation							-.373*	.155								-.293*	.136		.144	.117		-.047	.090	
Commitment to School										-1.803*	.157								-1.745*	.140		-.872*	.131	
Peer Drug Use													2.194*	.081								2.033*	.087	

* $p < 0.05$

Table 2b: OLS Regression for Smoking (Asian Subsample), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=452)

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6		M7		M8	
	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.
Male	-1.745	.1745	-1.205	.1713	-1.766	.1754	-2.173	.1713	-1.022	.1296	-1.312	.1698	-1.802	.1647	-1.285	.1263
Age	1.570*	.293	1.377*	.245	1.597*	.309	1.424*	.297	.592*	.282	1.401*	.257	1.270*	.255	.554*	.264
Parent Education	-.226	.309	-.079	.283	-.134	.272	.076	.316	-.321	.303	.002	.250	.251	.277	-.106	.290
Parental Affection/Communication			-.085	.088					-.049	.076			-.028	.094	-.013	.103
Parental Expectation					-.898*	.437					-.750*	.424	-.442	.417	-.686	.459
Commitment to School							-2.214*	.439					-2.040*	.431	-1.598*	.402
Peer Drug Use									1.668*	.276					1.377*	.280

* $p < 0.05$

Table 3: OLS Regression for Drinking, 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=6749)

	M1			M2			M3			M4			M5			M6			M7			M8		
	b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.	
Male	.093*	.055		.100*	.054		.084	.055		.041	.056		.090*	.050		.097*	.053		.057	.055		.101*	.051	
Age	.246*	.014		.238*	.015		.243*	.015		.236*	.015		.116*	.014		.238*	.015		.229*	.015		.114*	.014	
Parent Education	.019	.013		.019	.014		.020	.013		.031*	.012		.044*	.013		.019	.013		.026*	.012		.030*	.012	
White	.391*	.094		.402*	.088		.378*	.092		.366*	.092		.329*	.077		.401*	.088		.387*	.089		.330*	.079	
Parental Affection/Communication				-.026*	.005								-.025*	.005		-.023*	.005					-.009*	.005	
Parental Expectation							-.019	.017								-.016	.016		.007	.015		-.006	.013	
Commitment to School										-.081*	.018								-.071*	.019		.032	.018	
Peer Drug Use													.236*	.012								.240*	.013	

* $p < 0.05$

Table 3a: OLS Regression for Drinking (White Subsample), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=6360)

	M1			M2			M3			M4			M5			M6			M7			M8		
	b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.		b	Std. err.	
Male	-.101*	.557		.106*	.054		.091	.056		.051*	.056		.098*	.051		.103*	.054		.064	.055		.109*	.052	
Age	.246*	.014		.239*	.015		.243*	.015		.237*	.016		.116*	.014		.239*	.015		.229*	.016		.114	.015	
Parent Education	.020	.014		.019	.014		.020	.013		.030*	.013		.045*	.013		.019	.013		.025*	.013		.030*	.013	
Parental Affection/Communication				-.025*	.005											-.025*	.005		-.022*	.005		-.008	.005	
Parental Expectation							-.017	.018								-.009	.016		.009	.015		-.004	.013	
Commitment to School										-.077*	.018								-.068*	.019		.033	.018	
Peer Drug Use													.236*	.012								.241*	.013	

* $p < 0.05$

Table 3b: OLS Regression for Drinking (Asian Subsample), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=453)

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6		M7		M8	
	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.
Male	-.065	.141	-.031	.146	-.048	.144	-.099	.132	-.019	.131	-.019	.144	-.062	.129	-.005	.119
Age	.208*	.043	.196*	.043	.213*	.044	.205*	.049	.100*	.100*	.193*	.045	.188*	.052	.104*	.049
Parent Education	-.045	.041	-.043	.042	-.055	.039	-.027	.034	-.057	.041	-.053	.041	-.036	.035	-.052	.038
Parental Affection/Communication			-.032*	.015							-.037*	.015	-.037*	.015	-.031*	.015
Parental Expectation					.066	.062					.089	.060	.110*	.587	.082	.063
Commitment to School							-.134*	.062					-.145*	.053	-.090*	.050
Peer Drug Use									.019*	.019					.162*	.024

* $p < 0.05$

Table 4: OLS Regression for Marijuana, 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=6654)

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6		M7		M8	
	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.
Male	.2166*	.678	1.825*	.596	1.729*	.588	1.467*	.561	2.193*	.680	1.793*	.595	1.485*	.574	1.760*	.597
Age	.846*	.303	.545*	.133	.543*	.137	.447*	.124	-.012	.260	.529*	.132	.416*	.121	-.257	.176
Parent Education	-.069	.095	-.040	.086	-.049	.096	.073	.111	.087	.083	-.045	.092	.044	.117	.056	.117
White	.853	.535	.789	.590	.681	.570	.596	.564	.470	.524	.778	.597	.695	.591	.385	.546
Parental Affection/Communication			-.137	.093							-.135	.096	-.117	.099	-.305	.090
Parental Expectation					-.013	.095					-.005	.110	.146	.112	.084	.112
Commitment to School							-.500*	.131					-.468*	.141	.132	.203
Peer Drug Use									1.527*	.291					1.387*	.275

* $p < 0.05$

Table 4a: OLS Regression for Marijuana (White Subsample), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=6273)

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6		M7		M8	
	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.
Male	2.204*	.688	1.849*	.602	1.758*	.596	1.500*	.568	2.233*	.689	1.816*	.601	1.514*	.579	1.792*	.603
Age	.861*	.310	.555*	.137	.551*	.140	.456*	.127	-.006	.265	.538*	.136	.425*	.124	-.257	.179
Parent Education	-.058	.097	-.031	.088	-.038	.098	.082	.113	.105	.085	-.036	.094	-.052	.119	.074	.119
Parental Affection/Communication			-.136	.094							-.134	.098	-.116	.101	-.027	.091
Parental Expectation											.004	.112	.144	.114	.085	.114
Commitment to School																
Peer Drug Use									1.547*	.297					1.404*	.280

* $p < 0.05$

Table 4b: OLS Regression for Marijuana (Asian Subsample), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=445)

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6		M7		M8	
	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.
Male	-.017	1.06	.066	1.070	.013	1.094	-.080	1.121	.267	.771	.083	1.086	.005	1.134	.211	.851
Age	.370*	.128	.331*	.137	.381*	.134	.355*	.138	-.049	.177	.328*	.128	.309*	.126	-.048	.184
Parent Education	-.163	.164	-.145	.175	-.187	.184	-.121	.189	-.206	.154	-.168	.192	-.128	.211	-.194	.201
Parental Affection/Communication			-.081	.085							-.092	.096	-.092	.104	-.070	.098
Parental Expectation					.158	.253					.206	.281	.266	.285	.162	.265
Commitment to School							-.318*	.191					-.353*	.174	-.141	.141
Peer Drug Use									.704*	.285					.678*	.292

* $p < 0.05$

Table 4b: OLS Regression for Marijuana (Asian Subsample), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=445)

	M1		M2		M3		M4		M5		M6		M7		M8	
	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.	b	Std. err.
Male	-.017	.106	.066	1.070	.013	1.094	-.080	1.121	.267	.771	.083	1.086	.005	1.134	.211	.851
Age	.370*	.128	.331*	.137	.381*	.134	.355*	.138	-.049	.177	.328*	.128	.309*	.126	-.048	.184
Parent Education	-.163	.164	-.145	.175	-.187	.184	-.121	.189	-.206	.154	-.168	.192	-.128	.211	-.194	.201
Parental Affection/Communication			-.081	.085							-.092	.096	-.092	.104	-.070	.098
Parental Expectation					.158	.253					.206	.281	.266	.285	.162	.265
Commitment to School							-.318*	.191					-.353*	.174	-.141	.141
Peer Drug Use									.704*	.285					.678*	.292

* $p < 0.05$

Table 5: Summary of Significance in Final Model (8), 1994-95, 1996, National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent Health (N=11,149)

	Overall				White				Asian			
	Smoking	Drinking	Marijuana		Smoking	Drinking	Marijuana		Smoking	Drinking	Marijuana	
Male	-	+	+		-	+	+		0	0	0	
Age	0	+	0		0	0	0		+	+	0	
Parent Education	-	+	0		-	+	0		0	0	0	
White	0	+	0									
Parental Affection/Communication	0	-	0		0	0	0		0	-	0	
Parental Expectation	0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0	
Commitment to School	-	+	0		-	0	0		-	-	0	
Peer Drug Use	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	

(+)=significantly positive, (-)=significantly negative, (0)=no significance

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