

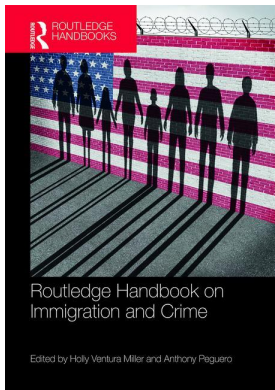
This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

On: 06 Dec 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



Routledge Handbook on Immigration and Crime

Holly Ventura Miller, Anthony Peguero

Crime and Delinquency Among Asian Immigrants in the United States

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781317211563-12>

Sujung Cho, Jeoung Min Lee, Anh Prisner, Jun Sung Hong

Published online on: 01 Feb 2018

How to cite :- Sujung Cho, Jeoung Min Lee, Anh Prisner, Jun Sung Hong. 01 Feb 2018, *Crime and Delinquency Among Asian Immigrants in the United States* from: Routledge Handbook on Immigration and Crime Routledge

Accessed on: 06 Dec 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781317211563-12>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY AMONG ASIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

*Sujung Cho, Jeoung Min Lee, Anh Prisner and
Jun Sung Hong*

In the last decade, the rate of Asians immigrating to the United States has increased due to educational, employment, and/or investment opportunities (Pew Research Center, 2012). According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2012), the total population of Asian immigrants was 18.2 million in 2011, which comprised 5.8% of the total U.S. population that year. In 2014, the number of Asian immigrants represented about 30% of the nation's 42.4 million immigrants. The top five countries of origin of Asian immigrants are India, China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and South Korea (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Asian immigrants constitute the largest group of immigrants to the United States, surpassing Hispanics for the first time since 1965 (Pew Research Center, 2012).

Asian immigrants have been underrepresented in the juvenile and criminal justice systems. Although many Asian immigrants face unfavorable living and social conditions, they still maintain lower crime rates than their U.S.-born counterparts (Martínez & Lee, 2000). In addition, the rate of delinquency is also lowest among Asian Americans (Eadie & Morley, 2003). However, crime and delinquency among Asian immigrants appear to be higher in certain locations in the United States with large percentages of Asian immigrants, such as California, Texas, and New York, which have reported gang activities, thefts, property damage, and violence involving Asian Americans (Le & Wallen, 2006).

Types of Crime and Delinquency among Asian Immigrants

Child Maltreatment

Many Asian immigrants come from societies that perceive corporal punishment as an acceptable form of discipline, which in the United States may be considered child maltreatment. Federal laws provide guidance to states by identifying acts or behavior that define child abuse and neglect. According to the Federal Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, *child maltreatment* is defined as an act or failure to act on the part of a caregiver resulting in serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation, or death of a child (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). Past research suggests a low rate of substantiated child maltreatment in Asian American communities (Futa, Hsu, & Hansen, 2001). Also, a nationwide study by Child Trends (2015) indicated that in 2013, reporting of maltreatment is the lowest among Asian American and Asian immigrant children (1.7%) compared to

African American children (14.6%), Native American children (12.5%), multiracial children (10.6%), and Latino American children (8.1%). In actuality, little research is available on the prevalence of child maltreatment in Asian communities, which may be due to underreporting because of language and cultural barriers, along with lack of culturally relevant social services (Cho & Kim, 2012). The National Statistics for Child Abuse (2014) documented that Asian Americans and Asian immigrants only represent 1% of all reported child abuse cases. In addition, Maker, Shah, and Agha (2005) found that 73% of South Asians and 65% of East Asians reported some kind of physical abuse in a self-report study, but no one reported the abuse to the authorities. In recent years, however, reporting of physical abuse has increased and is being recognized as a serious problem in many Asian ethnic communities.

Intimate Partner Violence

Intimate partner violence is conceptualized as a pattern of abuse that comprises physical, sexual, emotional, or economic violence involving coercive and controlling tactics for the purpose of domination, intimidation, and subjugation of the victim (Yoshihama, Bybee, Dabby, & Blazevski, 2011). Although intimate partner violence affects all racial and ethnic groups, it is a particularly serious problem in many Asian communities in the United States. Previous study findings indicate that between 18% and 52% of Asian women in the United States have reported experiencing physical and/or sexual violence by their romantic partners during their lifetime (Raj & Silverman, 2002; Yoshihama, 1999, 2009; Yoshihama et al., 2011). In a community sample of 181 Chinese American women, Hicks (2006) also found that 42% reported knowing a Chinese woman who had experienced intimate partner violence, and 14% had reported experiencing it themselves.

Although the rate of intimate partner violence is similar to or slightly higher than that of other racial and ethnic groups (Yoshihama, 2009), Asian victims of violence are less likely to seek help than are European Americans, African Americans, and Latino Americans (Cho & Kim, 2012). According to Cho and Kim (2012), Asian victims of intimate partner violence only utilized mental health services 5.3% of the time, which was the lowest among all racial groups. From a sample of battered South Asian women in Boston, Raj and Silverman (2007) also reported that 52% did not seek social support, and none of the women reported using criminal justice services. Barriers to help-seeking include social isolation, language barriers, discrimination, and fears of deportation (Bauer, Rodriguez, Quiroga, & Flores-Ortiz, 2000). Despite these barriers, for the past several decades, many victims have been involved in the battered women's movement and have operated programs to assist immigrant women and their children in living lives free of violence (Warrier, 2000).

School Bullying and Victimization

School bullying, a subtype of aggressive behavior (Andershed, Kerr, & Stattin, 2001; Cowie, 2000; Salmivalli & Nieminen, 2002), is a serious detriment to children and adolescents' healthy development. Bullying is conceptualized as unwanted aggressive activity perpetrated frequently by another youth or group of youth, involving an observed or perceived imbalance of power (Gladden, Vivolo-Kantor, Hamburger, & Lumpkin, 2014). A growing body of research suggests that Asian Americans report experiencing higher prevalence of race-related bullying, peer rejection by native-born peers, and unfair treatment at school than those of other racial and ethnic groups (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Cooc & Gee, 2014; Mouttapa, Valente, Gallaher, Rohrbach, & Unger, 2004; Peguero, 2009; Peguero & Jiang, 2014; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way, Santos, Niway, & Kim-Gervey, 2008). Fisher, Wallace, and Fenton (2000) reported that Asian American students consistently report racially motivated bullying by their peers in the forms of physical and verbal harassment. Rivas-Drake, Hughes, and Way (2008) also found that Chinese American adolescents reported higher levels of teasing and harassment by their peers because of their race.

Findings from a study consisting of 80 Southeast Asian American adolescents in Colorado revealed that 43.7% reported experiencing peer victimization (Ho, 2008). Also, findings from a study of 295 Korean American high school students from New York and New Jersey revealed that 74.6% observed others being bullied, 31.5% were bullies, and 15.9% were victims (Shin, D'Antonio, Son, Kim, & Park, 2011). Moreover, Koo, Peguero, and Shekarkhar (2012) reported that Asian American immigrant females were at a significantly higher risk of being threatened at school than were European American males.

However, not all research has found that Asian American youth were more likely than native-born youth to experience school bullying. Cooc and Gee's (2014) results were inconsistent with other studies in that their findings suggest Asian American adolescents were at the lowest risk of being bullied. Other studies also reported that Asian American adolescents were less likely to be bullied than European American adolescents (Devoe et al., 2004; Hanish & Guerra, 2000; Kawabata & Crick, 2011) and were less likely to be victimized by violence at school, compared to European American third-plus generation students (Peguero, 2009). For instance, Kawabata and Crick (2011) found that Asian American children were generally at a lower risk of peer victimization compared to European American children. However, the association between victimization and internalizing adjustment problems appears to be stronger for Asian Americans.

Gang Affiliation and Membership

Although there is no consensus on a specific definition of gang involvement, scholars have conceptualized gang activities as being involved in a gang or being identified as a gang member through a criminal justice agency (Wyrick, 2000). Even though gang membership and affiliation among Asian American youth has largely been overlooked in the research community, gang problems appear to be serious among these adolescents, particularly those in urban areas (Long & Ricard, 1996). A study that examined ethnic differences in perceptions of community problems, fear, and behavioral precautions due to gang activities, found that Vietnamese were more concerned about gang crimes than were European Americans and Latino Americans (Lane & Meeker, 2004). Further, a review of research on Vietnamese American youth gangs (Hong, 2010) found that gang involvement among Vietnamese youth in the United States is influenced by a constellation of factors.

Extant studies have shown that second-generation immigrants were more likely than their immigrant peers to join gangs because they are exposed to violent and criminal activities in the United States (see Bankston, 1998, for a review). Second-generation Asian Americans have lower socioeconomic status, educational levels, and income compared to their first-generation immigrant counterparts, making them more at risk of joining gangs. Many Asian Americans struggle to adapt to their life in the United States and report feeling overwhelmed, frustrated, and depressed by occupational and language barriers, sometimes resulting in gang membership and delinquent activities (Du Phuoc Long & Ricard, 1996). Many Asian American youth also report feeling alienated by their parents, family, and schools and turn to gangs for a sense of belonging and acceptance. Among Asian ethnic groups, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian immigrants encounter barriers to cultural adjustment in the United States, placing them at an elevated risk of gang affiliation (Le & Wallen, 2006).

What Fosters/Inhibits Risk of Crime and Delinquency among Asian Immigrants?

Individual Level Factors

Gender is a commonly explored individual level factor in research on delinquency and criminal activities among Asian immigrants. Study findings consistently reveal that among Asian Americans, males are

more likely than females to be involved with crime and delinquency (Bui & Thongniramol, 2005; Gorman, Lariscy, & Kaushik, 2014; Grunbaum, Lowry, Kann, & Pateman, 2000; Tam & Freisthler, 2015; Wallace et al., 2003), although one study showed no gender difference (Le, Monfared, & Stockdale, 2005). A recent cross-sectional study found that Southeast Asian male youth and young adults reported higher dropout rates than their female counterparts and were more likely to exhibit delinquent behaviors, including gang association (Tam & Freisthler, 2015). Grunbaum et al. (2000) also found that Asian American/Pacific Islander males were more likely than females to carry weapons and to have been involved in fights in the past month.

Other studies have investigated the relationship between *immigration status* and delinquency (Bui & Thongniramol, 2005; Chen & Zhong, 2013; Jiang & Peguero, 2016). One study found that second- and third-plus generation adolescent males of all ethnic groups had reported experiencing substance abuse problems, property damage, and violent victimization more than females (Bui & Thongniramol, 2005). Assimilated immigrants who migrated earlier may be more easily involved with crime and antisocial behaviors than newly assimilated immigrants because they have more opportunities for, and access to, risky behaviors. Furthermore, because first-generation Asian Americans are less likely to be acculturated than their U.S.-born peers, they may possess strong protective factors, such as a strong bond with their families and schools, which can shield them from the adverse outcomes of exposure to crime and delinquency (Bui, 2009; Chen & Zhong, 2013).

Previous studies also showed that a *positive ethnic identity* can shield Asian American youth from being lured into delinquent and criminal activities. More specifically, a strong sense of ethnic identity provides adolescents with a foundation for a larger range of social identities, allowing them to successfully negotiate difficult situations (e.g., negative stereotypes and discriminatory treatment) and mitigate emotional (e.g., depression and anxiety) and behavior difficulties (e.g., school dropout, substance abuse, or delinquency) due to cultural maladjustment in the United States (Shrake & Rhee, 2004; Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

Family Level Factors

Parent-child relationship. Spending more time with parents; a strong attachment (bonding) with parents; parental engagement, involvement, and monitoring; and authoritative parenting style have all been identified as protective factors that can mitigate delinquent and criminal activities among Asian Americans (Hahm, Lahiff, & Guterman, 2003; Spencer & Le, 2006). For instance, Hahm et al. (2003) found that highly assimilated youth (i.e., using English at home and being born in the United States) were less likely to use alcohol than less acculturated youth (i.e., communicating in native language at home and foreign-birth) because they were likely to have a higher level of attachment to their parents.

Language is an important tool for parents to convey their traditional beliefs and values to their children, and use of the native language between parents and children has been found to positively influence family cohesion (Luo & Wiseman, 2000). However, many immigrant children may rapidly lose their native language in the first few years of schooling in the United States. This is a process that is referred to as “subtractive bilingualism” (Pease-Alvarez, 2002). Accordingly, regular use of English instead of the native language at home may affect immigrant youth, who may emotionally distance and alienate themselves from their parents due to lack of communication (Lee, 2013). Consequently, immigrant youth may turn to delinquency (e.g., gang association and violence) (Tam & Freisthler, 2015).

For immigrant and refugee families, parenting may be compromised and parent-child conflicts may result from low socioeconomic status, traumatic events, or acculturative stress. Traumatic experiences may reinforce mental health problems (e.g., post-traumatic stress disorder) for immigrant parents in particular, which can undermine their parenting. As a consequence, their children may

turn to delinquency and crime (Go & Le, 2005; Spencer & Le, 2006). Go and Le's (2005) longitudinal study consisting of Cambodian youth found that these adolescents may be influenced by delinquent peer association, which, in turn, can reinforce delinquent behaviors. The study revealed that many Cambodian male youth lack a male adult role model because many adult males were killed in the Vietnam War and Pol Pot Regime. As a result, these youth do not have a strong ethnic identity and turn to delinquent behaviors. For female youth, harsh parenting (e.g., scolding, spanking, or reinforcing guilt and shame) is found to be predictive of delinquent or violent behavior and involvement with delinquent peers. Because of traditional gender roles in which girls are expected to stay home, females may be more influenced by parental discipline than are males.

Intergenerational conflict. Since immigrating, Asian American youth are more likely to adapt to U.S. society more easily than their immigrant parents because of media influence, along with their new peers, and their school culture. As a consequence, a major gap in values and beliefs between immigrant parents and their children can create intergenerational conflicts. More specifically, contrasting values between *individualism* (U.S. society) and *collectivism* (homeland) may lead to conflicts between parents and adolescents, which can result in misbehavior (Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2009; Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008; Juang, Syed, Cookston, Wang, & Kim, 2012; Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Wu & Chao, 2005; Ying & Han, 2007). Tsai-Chae and Nagata (2008) found that Chinese American and Korean American families experience parent-child conflicts because of generational, cultural differences in beliefs about conformity to family norms, education/careers, and respecting elders. Ahn et al.'s (2009) study also reported conflicts arose between Korean American young adults and their parents due to differences in beliefs regarding romantic relationships.

Conflicts between Asian immigrant parents and their children can subsequently contribute to delinquent and criminal behavior. For instance, intergenerational cultural dissonance among Indian, Vietnamese, and Cambodian parents and their children adversely affect parent-child bonds, and a weak parent-child bond can lead to increased substance use, gang involvement, and delinquent behavior (Bhattacharya, 1998; Chang & Le, 2005; Choi et al., 2008). Interestingly, when ethnic subgroups were considered, Willgerodt and Thompson (2006) found that Filipino youth were more likely than their Chinese peers to engage in delinquency and substance use because of intergenerational conflicts. Le et al. (2005) reported that Chinese youth had a lower delinquency score than did Cambodian, Laotian or Mien, and Vietnamese youth. Based on these findings, we can determine that the relationship between intergenerational conflict and delinquency and crime differs by ethnic subgroup.

Peer Level Factors

In addition to family, peer groups also affect adolescents' delinquent and criminal behaviors. Adolescents, including immigrants, tend to be more involved with groups outside of the family, such as peers (Harris, 1995). Negative peer relationship has consistently been found to be a robust predictor of delinquency among adolescents (Bernburg & Thorlindsson, 2001; Haynie & Osgood, 2005; Gaik, Abdullah, Elias, & Uli, 2010; Simons-Morton, Hartos, & Haynie, 2004). Few studies have examined Asian immigrant adolescents' socialization (Kiang, Peterson, & Thompson, 2011; Quillian & Campbell, 2003). However, extant studies found that negative peer influence is strongly related to delinquent behavior among Asian American and Asian immigrant adolescents (Kim & Goto, 2000). Because of collectivist ties, Asian American adolescents are more likely to participate in group activities with close friends of similar cultural backgrounds, including delinquent behaviors such as substance use (Kim, Zane, & Hong, 2002). Moreover, several studies have shown that delinquent behavior among peer groups is strongly predictive of delinquency among Asian American adolescents (Kim & Goto, 2000; Le et al., 2005).

School Level Factors

Outside of the home, schools are the primary social context for learning social norms during childhood and adolescence (Crosnoe, Johnson, & Elder, 2004). Negative school climates (e.g., schools located in a community characterized by poverty, unemployment, and crime) may exacerbate adolescent delinquent behaviors (Kumar, O'Malley, Johnston, Schulenberg, & Bachman, 2002; Price, Risk, Wong, & Klinge, 2002; Ryabov, 2009). In a sample of 26,692 Asian and 3,518 Pacific Islander adolescents from California public school districts, Kim and McCarthy (2006) found that school contexts were independently associated with Asian American and Pacific Islander adolescents' substance use. Moreover, the same study also found that Asian American students in schools with a high percentage of Asian American student populations were less likely to use illicit substances. These study findings confirm the importance of additional research that examines school contextual factors and how they are related to delinquent behaviors among Asian American students.

Community-Level Factors

Community is one of the most important developmental contexts influencing an individual's behavior. Community-level factors, such as neighborhood economic disadvantage, ethnic density, and social support or cohesiveness have been found to be consistently related to adolescents' behavior problems (Berg & Loeber, 2011; Berg, Stewart, Schreck, & Simons, 2012). Although little is known about the effect of neighborhood contextual factors on delinquency among Asian American adolescents, existing studies revealed that the ethnic community environment may be related to adolescents' delinquent behaviors, or lack thereof. For instance, Chinese and Korean immigrants living in an ethnic enclave may be less pressured to assimilate, as such community may provide cultural resources, social cohesion, and support for Asian American children (Zhou & Kim, 2006), which can reduce the risk of delinquent and criminal behavior. For example, Kandula, Wen, Jacobs, and Lauderdale (2009) found that female adolescents who reside in a community with 50% of Asians were at lower odds of smoking.

On the contrary, ethnic concentrations might have some adverse effects on behavioral problems due to neighborhood poverty (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000), residents' exposure to stressors (Mair, Roux, & Morenoff, 2010), racial/ethnic discrimination (Juang & Alvarez, 2011), and cultural alienation (Miller et al., 2009). For example, Asian American youth were at a significant risk of being exposed to tobacco use because the tobacco industry targeted neighborhoods with a high percentage of racial and ethnic minority residents through ubiquitous advertising and ready availability of tobacco products there (Muggli, Pollay, Lew, & Joseph, 2002). Lee et al. (2014) found that high concentrations of Asian residents was positively related to authoritarian parenting, which, in turn, led to higher behavior problems (e.g., delinquency) among Asian children.

Cultural Level Factors

Confucianism has long been the predominant philosophy guiding institutions in many Asian societies. Confucian philosophy strongly emphasizes human morality, respecting elders, and proper behavior, and children are expected to obey their parents, teachers, and elders. Girls, especially, are subservient to their fathers, and wives are expected to submit to their husbands (Fong, 2007). However, conflicts may arise between Asian immigrant parents, who expect their children to obey them and to fulfill their obligations, and their children, who may have adapted to Western culture. Such conflicts can subsequently lead to behavior problems and delinquent activities. In addition, changing values/beliefs among Asian families can also increase tensions between husbands and wives (Morash, Bui, Zhang, & Holtfreter, 2007; Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008). To illustrate, Vietnamese immigrant

women in the United States are often employed outside their family and gradually experience upward social mobility, which can heighten conflicts between husbands and wives, leading to violence in the home (Morash et al., 2007).

Conclusion

The rates of crime and delinquency appear to be significantly lower among Asian immigrants and Asian Americans, compared to their peers of other racial and ethnic groups. As a consequence, there is little research literature that specifically focuses on this population, although Asians are now among the most rapidly growing immigrant populations in the United States. However, due to language and cultural barriers, intergenerational conflicts, contrasting values between Asian and Western societies, lack of resources, and policies that reinforce discriminatory practices, Asian immigrants and Asian Americans are at an elevated risk of exposure to delinquent and criminal activities. Additional empirical studies can shed light on immigration patterns; cultural beliefs and values; and relationships and socialization in the home, school, and the community and how these factors are potentially associated with delinquency and criminal activities. It is also important to recognize that Asian immigrants are not a monolithic group. Therefore, future studies need to consider the unique customs, culture, and values of the various Asian ethnic subgroups (e.g., Chinese, Koreans, Indians, etc.), which would not only add to the literature but also potentially lead to the development of more culturally relevant policies and services (Ching, 2012).

References

- Ahn, A. J., Kim, B. S., & Park, Y. S. (2009). Asian cultural values gap, cognitive flexibility, coping strategies, and parent-child conflicts among Korean Americans. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 5*(1), 29–44.
- Alvarez, A. N., Juang, L., & Liang, C. T. (2006). Asian Americans and racism: When bad things happen to “model minorities.” *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*, 477–492.
- Andershed, H., Kerr, M., & Stattin, H. (2001). Bullying in school and violence on the streets: Are the same people involved? *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention, 2*, 31–49.
- Bankston III, C. L. (1998). Youth gangs and the new second generation: A review essay. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 3*, 35–45.
- Bauer, H. M., Rodriguez, M. A., Quiroga, S. S., & Flores-Ortiz, Y. G. (2000). Barriers to health care for abused Latina and Asian immigrant women. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved, 11*, 33–44.
- Berg, M. T., & Loeber, R. (2011). Examining the neighborhood context of the violent offending-victimization relationship: A prospective investigation. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 27*, 427–451.
- Berg, M. T., Stewart, E. A., Schreck, C. J., & Simons, R. L. (2012). The victim-offender overlap in context: Examining the role of neighborhood street culture. *Criminology, 50*, 359–390.
- Bernburg, J. G., & Thorlindsson, T. (2001). Routine activities in social context: A closer look at the role of opportunity in deviant behavior. *Justice Quarterly, 18*(3), 543–567.
- Bhattacharya, G. (1998). Drug use among Asian-Indian adolescents: Identifying protective/risk factors. *Adolescence, 33*, 169–184.
- Bui, H. N. (2009). Parent-child conflicts, school troubles, and differences in delinquency across immigration generations. *Crime & Delinquency, 55*, 412–441.
- Bui, H. N., & Thongniramol, O. (2005). Immigration and self-reported delinquency: The interplay of immigration generations, gender, race, and ethnicity. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 28*, 71–99.
- Chang, J., & Le, T. N. (2005). The influence of parents, peer delinquency, and school attitudes on academic achievement in Chinese, Cambodian, Laotian or Mien, and Vietnamese youth. *Crime & Delinquency, 51*, 238–264.
- Chen, X., & Zhong, H. (2013). Delinquency and crime among immigrant youth: An integrative review of theoretical explanations. *Laws, 2*, 210–232.
- Child Trends. (2015, March). Child maltreatment: Indicators on children and youth. Retrieved from www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/40_Child_Maltreatment.pdf
- Ching, E. (2012). In *Asian American child abuse*. Retrieved from www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~hboiled/issues/102/10-2-abuse.html.
- Cho, H. (2012). Use of mental health services among Asian and Latino victims of intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women, 18*, 404–419.

- Cho, H., & Kim, W. J. (2012). Intimate partner violence among Asian Americans and their use of mental health services: Comparisons with White, Black, and Latino victims. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 14*, 809–815.
- Choi, Y., He, M., & Harachi, T. W. (2008). Intergenerational cultural dissonance, parent–child conflict and bonding, and youth problem behaviors among Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 37*, 85–96.
- Coc, N., & Gee, K. A. (2014). National trends in school victimization among Asian American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence, 37*, 839–849.
- Cowie, H. (2000). Aggressive and bullying behavior in children and adolescents. In G. Boswell (Ed.), *Violent children and adolescents: Asking the question why* (pp. 138–150). London, UK: Whurr Publishers Ltd.
- Crosnoe, R., Johnson, M. K., & Elder, G. H. (2004). Intergenerational bonding in school: The behavioral and contextual correlates of student–teacher relationships. *Sociology of Education, 77*, 60–81.
- DeVoe, J. F., Katharin, P., Kaufman, P., Miller, A., Noonan, M., Snyder, T. D., & Baum, K. (2004). *Indicators of school crime and safety: 2004* (NCES 2005–002/NCJ 205290). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Du Phuoc Long, P., & Ricard, L. (1996). *The Dream Shattered: Vietnamese Gangs in America*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Eadie, T., & Morley, R. (2003). *Crime, justice and punishment* (3rd ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher, C., Wallace, S. A., & Fenton, R. E. (2000). Discrimination distress during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 29*, 679–695.
- Fong, V. L. (2007). Parent–child communication problems and the perceived inadequacies of Chinese only children. *Ethos, 35*, 85–127.
- Futa, K. T., Hsu, E., & Hansen, D. J. (2001). Child sexual abuse in Asian American families: An examination of cultural factors that influence prevalence, identification, and treatment. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice, 8*(2), 189–209.
- Gaik, L. P., Abdullah, M. C., Elias, H., & Uli, J. (2010). Development of antisocial behaviour. *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences, 7*, 383–388.
- Gladden, R. M., Vivolo-Kantor, A. M., Hamburger, M. E., & Lumpkin, C. D. (2014). *Bullying surveillance among youths: Uniform definitions for public health and recommended data elements, version 1.0*. Atlanta, GA: National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and U.S. Department.
- Go, C. G., & Le, T. N. (2005). Gender differences in Cambodian delinquency: The role of ethnic identity, parental discipline, and peer delinquency. *Crime & Delinquency, 51*, 220–237.
- Gorman, B. K., Lariscy, J. T., & Kaushik, C. (2014). Gender, acculturation, and smoking behavior among U.S. Asian and Latino immigrants. *Social Science & Medicine, 106*, 110–118.
- Grunbaum, J. A., Lowry, R., Kann, L., & Pateman, B. (2000). Prevalence of health risk behaviors among Asian American/Pacific Islander high school students. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 27*, 322–330.
- Hahn, H. C., Lahiff, M., & Guterman, N. B. (2003). Acculturation and parental attachment in Asian–American adolescents’ alcohol use. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 33*, 119–129.
- Hanish, L., & Guerra, N. (2000). The roles of ethnicity and school context in predicting children’s victimization by peers. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 28*, 201–224.
- Harris, J. R. (1995). Where is the child’s environment? A group socialization theory of development. *Psychological Review, 102*, 458–489.
- Haynie, D. L., & Osgood, D. W. (2005). Reconsidering peers and delinquency: How do peers matter? *Social Forces, 84*, 1109–1130.
- Hicks, M. H. R. (2006). The prevalence and characteristics of intimate partner violence in a community study of Chinese American women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21*, 1249–1269.
- Ho, J. (2008). Community violence exposure of Southeast Asian American adolescents. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23*(1), 136–146.
- Hong, J. S. (2010). Understanding Vietnamese youth gangs in America: An ecological systems analysis. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 15*, 253–260.
- Jiang, X., & Peguero, A. A. (2016). Immigrant generations and delinquency: Assessing the relative effects of family, school, and delinquent friends. *Race and Justice, 7*, 199–225.
- Juang, L. P., & Alvarez, A. N. (2011). Family, school, and neighborhood: Links to Chinese American adolescent perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 2*, 1–12.
- Juang, L. P., Syed, M., Cookston, J. T., Wang, Y., & Kim, S. Y. (2012). Acculturation-based and everyday family conflict in Chinese American families. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 2012*(135), 13–34.
- Kandula, N. R., Wen, M., Jacobs, E. A., & Lauderdale, D. S. (2009). Association between neighborhood context and smoking prevalence among Asian Americans. *American Journal of Public Health, 99*, 885–892.
- Kawabata, Y., & Crick, N. R. (2011). The significance of cross-racial/ethnic friendships: Associations with peer victimization, peer support, sociometric status, and classroom diversity. *Developmental Psychology, 47*, 1763–1775.

- Kiang, L., Peterson, J. L., & Thompson, T. L. (2011). Ethnic peer preferences among Asian American adolescents in emerging immigrant communities. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 21*, 754–761.
- Kim, I. J., Zane, N. W., & Hong, S. (2002). Protective factors against substance use among Asian American youth: A test of the peer cluster theory. *Journal of Community Psychology, 30*, 565–584.
- Kim, J., & McCarthy, W. J. (2006). School-level contextual influences on smoking and drinking among Asian and Pacific Islander adolescents. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence, 84*, 56–68.
- Kim, T. E., & Goto, S. G. (2000). Peer delinquency and parental social support as predictors of Asian-American adolescent delinquency. *Deviant Behavior, 21*, 331–347.
- Koo, D. J., Peguero, A. A., & Shekarkhar, Z. (2012). The “model minority” victim: Immigration, gender, and Asian American vulnerabilities to violence at school. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 10*, 129–147.
- Kumar, R., O'Malley, P. M., Johnston, L. D., Schulenberg, J. E., & Bachman, J. G. (2002). Effects of school-level norms on student substance use. *Prevention Science, 3*, 105–124.
- Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2004). Social disorganization perceptions, fear of gang crime, and behavioral precautions among Whites, Latinos, and Vietnamese. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 32*, 49–62.
- Le, T. N., Monfared, G., & Stockdale, G. D. (2005). The relationship of school, parent, and peer contextual factors with self-reported delinquency for Chinese, Cambodian, Laotian or Mien, and Vietnamese youth. *Crime & Delinquency, 51*, 192–219.
- Le, T. N., & Wallen, J. (2006). Youth delinquency: Self-reported rates and risk factors of Cambodian, Chinese, Lao/Mien, and Vietnamese youth: *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community: 2006, 4*(2), 15–44.
- Lee, E. H., Zhou, Q., Ly, J., Main, A., Tao, A., & Chen, S. H. (2014). Neighborhood characteristics, parenting styles, and children's behavioral problems in Chinese American immigrant families. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 20*, 202–212.
- Lee, J. (2013). Family cohesion as a moderator of the relationship between parents' socialization behaviors and adolescents' ethnic identity importance in Chinese immigrant families. (Unpublished Master's thesis). East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- Leventhal, T., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2000). The neighborhoods they live in: The effects of neighborhood residence on child and adolescent outcomes. *Psychological Bulletin, 126*, 309–337.
- Long, P. D. P., & Ricard, L. (1996). *The dream shattered: Vietnamese gangs in America*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Luo, S. H., & Wiseman, R. L. (2000). Ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24*, 307–324.
- Mair, C., Roux, A. V. D., & Morenoff, J. D. (2010). Neighborhood stressors and social support as predictors of depressive symptoms in the Chicago Community Adult Health Study. *Health & Place, 16*, 811–819.
- Maker, A. H., Shah, P. V., & Agha, Z. (2005). Child physical abuse: Prevalence, characteristics, predictors, and beliefs about parents-child violence in South Asian, Middle Eastern, East Asian, and Latina women in the United States. *Journal Interpersonal Violence, 20*, 1406–1428.
- Martínez, R., & Lee, M. (2000). On immigration and crime. *The Nature of Crime: Continuity and Change, 1*, 486–524. Retrieved from www.ncjrs.gov/criminal_justice2000/vol_1/02j.pdf.
- Miller, A. M., Birman, D., Zenk, S., Wang, E., Sorokin, O., & Connor, J. (2009). Neighborhood immigrant concentration, acculturation, and cultural alienation in former Soviet immigrant women. *Journal of Community Psychology, 37*, 88–105.
- Morash, M., Bui, H., Zhang, Y., & Holtfreter, K. (2007). Risk factors for abusive relationships: A study of Vietnamese American immigrant women. *Violence Against Women, 13*, 653–675.
- Mouttapa, M., Valente, T., Gallaher, P., Rohrbach, L. A., & Unger, J. B. (2004). Social network predictors of bullying and victimization. *Adolescence, 39*, 154, 315–335.
- Muggli, M. E., Pollay, R. W., Lew, R., & Joseph, A. M. (2002). Targeting of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders by the tobacco industry: Results from the Minnesota Tobacco Document Depository. *Tobacco Control, 11*, 201–209.
- Pease-Alvarez, L. (2002). Moving beyond linear trajectories of language shift and bilingual language socialization. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 24*, 114–137.
- Peguero, A. A. (2009). Victimizing the children of immigrants: Latino and Asian American student victimization. *Youth & Society, 41*, 186–208.
- Peguero, A. A., & Jiang, X. (2014). Social control across immigrant generations: Adolescent violence at school and examining the immigrant paradox. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 42*, 276–287.
- Pew Research Center. (2012). The rise of Asian Americans. Retrieved from www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/06/19/the-rise-of-asian-americans/.
- Price, R. K., Risk, H. K., Wong, M. M., & Klingler, R. S. (2002). Substance use and abuse by Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: Preliminary results from four national epidemiologic studies. *Public Health Reports, 117*, S39–S50.
- Qin, D. B., Way, N., & Mukherjee, P. (2008). The other side of the model minority story: The familial and peer challenges faced by Chinese American adolescents. *Youth & Society, 39*, 480–506.

- Quillian, L., & Campbell, M. E. (2003). Beyond black and white: The present and future of multiracial friendship segregation. *American Sociological Review*, 68, 540–566.
- Raj, A., & Silverman, J. G. (2002). Intimate partner violence against South-Asian women in Greater Boston. *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association*, 57, 111–114.
- Raj, A., & Silverman, J. G. (2007). Domestic violence help-seeking behaviors of South Asian battered women residing in the United States. *International Review of Victimology*, 14, 143–170.
- Rivas-Drake, D., Hughes, D., & Way, N. (2008). A closer look at peer discrimination, ethnic identity, and psychological well-being among urban Chinese American sixth graders. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37, 12–21.
- Rosenbloom, S. R., & Way, N. (2004). Experiences of discrimination among African American, Asian American, and Latino adolescents in an urban high school. *Youth & Society*, 35, 420–451.
- Ryabov, I. (2009). The role of peer social capital in educational assimilation of immigrant youths. *Sociological Inquiry*, 79, 453–480.
- Salmivalli, C., & Nieminen, E. (2002). Proactive and reactive aggression among school bullies, victims, and bully victims. *Aggressive Behavior*, 28, 30–44.
- Shin, J. Y., D'Antonio, E., Son, H., Kim, S. A., & Park, Y. (2011). Bullying and discrimination experiences among Korean-American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 34, 873–883.
- Shrake, E. K., & Rhee, S. (2004). Ethnic identity as a predictor of problem behaviors among Korean American adolescents. *Adolescence*, 39, 601–622.
- Simons-Morton, B. G., Hartos, J. L., & Haynie, D. L. (2004). Prospective analysis of peer and parent influences on minor aggression among early adolescents. *Health Education & Behavior*, 31(1), 22–33.
- Spencer, J. H., & Le, T. N. (2006). Parent refugee status, immigration stressors, and Southeast Asian youth violence. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 8, 359–368.
- Tam, C., & Freisthler, B. (2015). An exploratory analysis of linguistic acculturation, neighborhood, and risk behaviors among children of Southeast Asian immigrants. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 32, 383–393.
- Tsai-Chae, A. H., & Nagata, D. K. (2008). Asian values and perceptions of intergenerational family conflict among Asian American students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 14, 205–214.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2013). The Child Abuse Prevention And Treatment Act: Including Adoption Opportunities & the Abandoned Infants Assistance Act. Retrieved from www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/cb/capta2010.pdf.
- Wallace, J. M., Bachman, J. G., O'Malley, P. M., Schulenberg, J. E., Cooper, S. M., & Johnston, L. D. (2003). Gender and ethnic differences in smoking, drinking and illicit drug use among American 8th, 10th and 12th grade students, 1976–2000. *Addiction*, 98, 225–234.
- Warrier, S. (2000). *(Un)heard voices: Domestic violence in the Asian American community*. San Francisco, CA: Family Violence Prevention Fund.
- Way, N., Santos, C., Niwa, E. Y., & Kim-Gervey, C. (2008). To be or not to be: A contextualized understanding of ethnic identity development. *New Directions in Child and Adolescent Development*, 120, 61–79.
- Willgerodt, M. A., & Thompson, E. A. (2006). Ethnic and generational influences on emotional distress and risk behaviors among Chinese and Filipino American adolescents. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 29, 311–324.
- Wu, C., & Chao, R. K. (2005). Intergenerational cultural conflicts in norms of parental warmth among Chinese American immigrants. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 29, 516–523.
- Wyrick, P. A. (2000, February). Vietnamese youth gang involvement. *OJJDP Fact Sheet*. Washington, DC: Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Ying, Y. W., & Han, M. (2007). The longitudinal effect of intergenerational gap in acculturation on conflict and mental health in Southeast Asian American adolescents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 77, 61–66.
- Yip, T., & Fuligni, A. J. (2002). Daily variation in ethnic identity, ethnic behaviors, and psychological well-being among American adolescents of Chinese descent. *Child Development*, 73, 1557–1572.
- Yoshihama, M. (1999). Domestic violence against women of Japanese descent in Los Angeles: Two methods of estimating prevalence. *Violence Against Women*, 5, 869–897.
- Yoshihama, M. (2009). Literature on intimate partner violence in immigrant and refugee communities: Review and recommendations. In Family Violence Prevention Fund (Ed.), *Intimate partner violence in immigrant and refugee communities: Challenges, promising practices and recommendations* (pp. 34–64). Princeton, NJ: Robert Wood Johnson.
- Yoshihama, M., Bybee, D., Dabby, C., & Blazewski, J. (2011). Lifecourse experiences of intimate partner violence and help-seeking among Filipina, Indian, and Pakistani women: Implications for justice system responses. Retrieved from www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/236174.pdf.
- Zhou, M., & Kim, S. (2006). Community forces, social capital, and educational achievement: The case of supplementary education in the Chinese and Korean immigrant communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76, 1–29.
- Zong, J., & Batalova, J. (2016). Asian immigrants in the United States. Retrieved from www.migrationpolicy.org/article/asian-immigrants-united-states.