Parenting and Children's Ethnic Identity Development

by

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B.A. Queen's University, 2002

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Psychology

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Abstract

The relationship between parenting and children's reports of ethnic identity was examined among 98 immigrant Chinese families in Canada. Children (average age = 12 years old, 57% girls) reported on their parents' parenting practices (i.e., warmth and inductive reasoning) and their feelings of ethnic identity. Mothers and fathers completed measures assessing their parenting cognitions (i.e., authority role beliefs, relational childrearing goals, and parenting self-efficacy). Higher levels of warmth and reasoning by mothers were associated with stronger feelings of ethnic identity among children. The results for fathers were more qualified. Fathers' warmth was related to stronger ethnic identity, but only among boys, and fathers' reasoning predicted stronger ethnic identity, but only among 1st generation children. In contrast to parenting practices, there were few relations between parenting cognitions and children's ethnic identity. Only mothers' authority beliefs were associated with reports of ethnic identity, and this was true only among first generation children. The findings are discussed in the context of culturally emphasized roles and relationships, differences in the cultural experiences of children who immigrate at younger versus older ages, and the importance of parenting relative to other factors that promote feelings of ethnic identity.

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Introduction

Knowledge of normative identity development is currently dominated by theories derived from studying North American adolescents. These theories are often applied to members of other cultural groups without consideration of their cultural applicability. Applying such theories to individuals of other cultures is problematic because it implies that psychological processes operate independently of culture; as a result, when cultural differences are found, those who differ from North American individuals are often considered deviant (Lam, 1998). To address these limitations in current theories, adolescence researchers have increasingly begun evaluating identity development among ethnically diverse populations, including immigrants. Studying immigrant individuals, who have experienced a change in cultural setting, allows researchers to better understand the impact of culture on development.

The Chinese are one of the most noticeable immigrant groups in North America. The presence of Chinese immigrants in North America dates back to the 1800s with the construction of the railroads and the discovery of gold in California (Huang & Ying, 1989). More recently, policy changes in both the emigrating and immigrating countries, as well as factors in the emigrating country, such as the political instability in Hong Kong during the 1990s, and increasing affluence in China, all have contributed to the rise in emigration of Chinese individuals. Despite the numbers of Chinese immigrants currently present in North America, much still remains to be learned about the impact of immigration on Chinese individuals. Of particular interest to developmental researchers are the effects of immigration on Chinese children.

Chinese youth

An understanding of healthy development among immigrant Chinese children requires careful consideration of the culture in which Chinese children are raised. Huang and Ying (1989) noted some general cultural influences on the dynamics of Chinese families. For example, Confucian philosophy emphasizes the importance of order and ascribed roles within the family. Generally, fathers are regarded as the heads of households and mothers provide nurturance and care for the entire family. Chinese children are taught to respect their parents and be loyal to their family. In addition, gender is associated with different roles for Chinese children. Chinese boys are encouraged to deal with matters outside of the home, whereas Chinese girls are more likely to help with matters in the home. (Ho, 1987; Huang & Ying, 1989). However, contemporary Chinese families likely vary in the extent to which they adhere to traditional roles and obligations. Such variation in the endorsement of traditional roles and obligations may result in differences in parenting and subsequent child development.

Early adolescence is an eventful developmental period during which children begin to differentiate from their parents and actively explore who they are as a separate person. Cross-cultural research has found that Chinese adolescents pursue autonomy later than Australian and American adolescents (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1990; Fuligni, 1998). For non-immigrant children in North America, the process of identity development during adolescence involves discovering and constructing, from a unique set of drives, abilities, beliefs, and personal history, an identity that defines the individual as distinct from others, yet part of a specific social group (Marcia, 1980). For immigrant children, the development of a unique self-concept involves not only the elements noted

above, but also an incorporation of their ethnic background in the formation of an ethnic identity. As a result, identity development may be especially challenging for immigrant children who must simultaneously develop an ethnic identity as well as a sense of who they are in the North American society. Because successful identity development during adolescence is crucial to adaptive functioning in adulthood, it is important to understand the factors that promote ethnic identity development among immigrant children.

Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity has not been consistently defined in the literature. The term ethnic identity has been used to denote ethnic group membership, self-identification of individuals, commitment and attitudes towards ethnic groups, and the acquisition and utilization of ethnic language, behaviours, values, and knowledge (Phinney, 1990; Smith, 1991; Tsai, Chetsova-Dutton & Wong, 2002).

Ethnic identity formation involves a process of self-reflection and decision-making about the role of ethnicity in an individual's life. The process of ethnic identity exploration has been compared to Marcia's ego identity statuses (Phinney, 1990). According to Marcia (1980) there are four stages in the construction identity. The first is Diffusion, which is characterized by a lack of active exploration, direction, or decision with regards to one's identity. Foreclosure is a commitment to an identity that was pre-determined by others. Moratorium refers to individuals who are currently struggling with issues of their own identity. Finally, Achievement refers to a sense of identity that an individual arrives at after exploration. Because the ability to consider abstract hypothetical situations is necessary for self-exploration (Steinberg, 2001), ethnic identity

establishment begins in early adolescence with the cognitive and physical advancements and the changes in social expectations that accompany transition into adulthood.

Phinney (1989) proposed a three-stage process by which individuals move from an unexamined ethnic identity, to a period of exploration, and then to a stage of ethnic identity achievement or commitment. In the first stage, the young person either lacks a sense of their own identity, or possesses an ethnic identity that was instilled by parents and other older individuals, but has never been questioned. The first stage is akin to Marcia's statuses of identity diffusion and identity foreclosure. The next stage generally results from a salient experience that brings ethnic issues to the forefront for the individual. As a result, the young adolescent will begin to explore their own ethnicity, through a process of immersion in their own culture, and in some cases, the rejection of the dominant culture. This second stage is similar to Marcia's identity moratorium status. The final stage is comparable to Marcia's status of identity achievement. After exploring and gaining a better understanding and appreciation for their ethnicity, adolescents arrive at their own conception of ethnic identity that was formed through their own exploration as opposed to the initial feelings that were inculcated by their parents (Phinney, 1989; Phinney, 1990).

The stability of ethnic identity, once it has been achieved, is a source of debate for various researchers (Smith, 1991; Yeh & Huang, 1996). Smith (1991) studied the development of ethnic identity among African-Americans and proposed that ethnic identity development is a life-long process that begins in childhood and continues throughout one's life. Like Phinney's model, ethnic identity development progresses in stages, but contrary to Phinney, Smith states that one's ethnic identity is not fixed at the

end of adolescence; the individual may move between stages of ethnic identity throughout the lifespan (Smith, 1991). Yip and Fuligni (2002) found that situational factors, such as interacting with one's ethnic group, are associated with higher reports of ethnic identity salience. Thus, feelings of ethnic identity can fluctuate across the lifespan as well as with situational factors. It is important to note that despite the evidence for some instability in ethnic identity, there exists a global sense of ethnic identity that is likely to remain constant within the individual across the lifespan and in different situations (Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

The development of an ethnic identity most likely occurs during adolescence concurrently with the adolescent's overall identity development (Phinney, 1990). Therefore, research on the implications of ethnic identity development for psychological well-being has generally focused on the period of adolescence. The association between higher levels of ethnic identity and adaptive psychological development is unequivocal within the ethnic identity literature (Phinney, 1989; Rosenthal, 1986; Sodowsky & Maestas, 2000). Generally, immigrant youth with a strong sense of ethnic identity report better psychological functioning than those with a weaker sense of the role of ethnicity in their lives. For example, researchers have found that higher self-esteem and lower reports of anxiety and depressive symptoms are associated with ethnic identity achievement (Phinney, 1992; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Strong feelings of ethnic identity may facilitate a sense of purpose and belonging within the adolescent. Feelings of purpose and group membership, in turn, may function to connect the adolescent with the larger society; this connection serves to promote adaptive psychological development of

the adolescent (Smith, 2001; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). In sum, successful ethnic identity development during adolescence is crucial to later development and adaptation.

Thus far, ethnic identity has been discussed as a single overarching construct. However, Phinney (1992) conceptualized ethnic identity as a construct that consists of three interrelated components: affirmation and belonging, achievement, and behaviours. Two of these factors, feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours, were selected to represent the ethnic identity of the young adolescent immigrants in this study. Ethnic affirmation and belonging refers to subjective feelings of ethnic identity, such as positive feelings towards one's ethnic group and feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group. Ethnic behaviours constitute a more objective measure of ethnic identity, and include participation in ethnic cultural practices with other individuals of the same ethnicity. Ethnic achievement refers to children's exploration of the role their ethnicity will play in their identity and the extent to which they have resolved identity issues. This aspect of ethnic identity was not examined in the current study because it is likely that early adolescent children will be in the early stages of ethnic identity development, and thus, they may be similar in terms of their ethnic identity achievement.

Gender and ethnic identity development

Ethnic identity development can differ by gender. For example, researchers have used Phinney's model to examine gender differences in ethnic identity among Chinese individuals. Research suggests that girls tend to report higher feelings of ethnic belonging, to participate in more ethnic behaviours, and to more fully achieve a sense of ethnic identity compared to boys (Dion & Dion, 2004; Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002; Ying & Lee, 1999). Similarly, studies of immigrant adults have found that women report

greater identification with their ethnicity than men (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Such gender differences in ethnic identity development may be related to differential treatment of boys and girls among Chinese immigrants (Phinney, 1990). For example, compared to boys, Chinese girls are usually encouraged to help with matters within the home, whereas Chinese boys are more likely to be encouraged to venture out into the mainstream society (Huang & Ying, 1989). Because cultural practices within the home are most likely the primary source of ethnic culture exposure, Chinese girls may have relatively more opportunities to experience cultural practices and fewer opportunities to experience North American culture compared to boys. Consequently, girls are expected to report higher feelings of ethnic belonging and participate in more ethnic behaviours.

Immigrant status and ethnic identity development

Ethnic identity can also fluctuate with factors related to an individual's immigrant status. Generational status is the most frequently studied factor related to immigrant status. In a review of the research on changes in ethnic identity with generational status, Phinney (2003) concluded that the strength of ethnic identity declines from first to second generation, followed by a levelling off or slower decline in later generations. First generation immigrants likely have a strong sense of their national or cultural identity that was inculcated prior to immigration, whereas later generations face more choices and limitations to the development of a strong ethnic identity (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). However, the influence of generational status on ethnic identity may depend on which domain of ethnic identity is examined. For example, there is evidence that first generation Chinese children engage in more ethnic behaviours, such as attending Chinese places of worship and speaking Chinese, than second generation children, but do

not differ in their feelings of ethnic pride and belonging to their ethnic group (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992a).

In addition to generational status, ethnic identity can also vary by length of residence in the host country for first generation immigrants. However, compared to the research on generational differences, the relationship between length of residence in the host country and ethnic identity development has received less attention, and the results from the few studies that have been conducted are mixed. Nesdal and Mak (2003) found that length of residence in Australia was not a significant predictor of ethnic identity among immigrants in Australia from Hong Kong, Vietnam, Bosnia, Sri Lanka and New Zealand. However, Phinney and Onwughalu (1996) found that shorter length of residence was associated with lower levels of ethnic identity among immigrant African college students.

It is also important to consider age at the time of immigration when studying the development of ethnic identity among immigrant individuals. For example, although first generation immigrants were all born outside of the host country, they may have had different experiences with the host country and their ethnic culture due to their age when they immigrated (Phinney, 2003; Tsang, Irving, Alaggia, Chau, & Benjamin, 2003). For example, being consciously aware of celebrating cultural holidays and interacting with extended family members prior to immigration may enhance feelings of ethnic identity among children who immigrate at an older age. Age of arrival in the host country can also influence the ethnic labels youth give themselves. Tsai, Ying, and Lee (2000) studied the relationship between youth's age of arrival in the United States and reports of identifying as Chinese and as American among immigrant Chinese adolescents. They

found that Chinese children who arrived in North America during their adolescence agreed with statements such as "Overall, I am Chinese" and disagreed with statements such as "Overall, I am American." Children who arrived in the United States before the age of twelve also agreed with being "Chinese", but did not disagree with being "American".

Generational status, length of residence in the host country, and age of immigration should all be taken into account when studying the relationship between immigrant status and ethnic identity. For example, comparisons of the first generation and the second generation may overlook variability in length of residence and age of arrival among first generation immigrants. To date, there are no known studies that have simultaneously examined the effects of generational status, length of residence, and age of arrival on children's reports of ethnic identity. By definition, these factors are often highly interrelated in reality, as they are in the current sample. In the current sample, the children who were born in Canada have spent more time in the host country compared to the foreign-born children (i.e., longer length of residence). In addition, among the children born outside of Canada, those who immigrated at an earlier age have lived in Canada longer than those who immigrated at an older age (confounding age of arrival and length of residence). These confounds occur in part because of the restricted age range of the current sample (ages 10 to14). A wider age range would be necessary to include children who immigrated at a young age but had been in Canada a short time, and children who immigrated at an older age but had been in Canada for a long time.

In the current sample, approximately 25% of the children were born in Canada (2^{nd} generation), approximately 25% were foreign born but arrived in Canada before the

age of six (1.5 generation), and approximately 50% arrived in Canada after the age of six (1st generation). Based on this constellation of generational status, length of residence and age of arrival in the current sample, two groups were formed. The first group consists of children who were either born in Canada or came to Canada before the age of six. This group (i.e., 1.5/2nd generation) reflects the combination of later generational status, longer length of residence, and earlier age of arrival in Canada. The second group consists of children who immigrated to Canada after the age of six. This group (i.e., 1st generation) reflects the combination of early generational status, shorter length of residence, and later age of arrival in Canada.

The age of six was chosen to distinguish between first generation and 1.5 generation children because this is the age at which children typically begin formal schooling. Because both 1.5 and second generation children were less likely to have received formal cultural education, the ethnic cultural experiences of 1.5 generation children may be more similar to those of second generation children. Thus, first generation and 1.5/2nd generation children differ in the extent and nature of their cultural exposure, which is expected to lead to differences in ethnic identity. The group of first generation children are more likely to have participated in cultural holidays and celebrations, and to have received other forms of cultural education through relatives and formal schooling in their country of origin compared to the group of 1.5/2nd generation children. Thus, first generation children may have a better understanding of their ethnic culture because they received cultural education at an older age, which may serve to enhance feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging and may be associated with high levels of ethnic behaviours. In contrast, the group of 1.5/2nd generation children have

spent less time in their ethnic country and have been educated exclusively in the host culture. As a result, they may feel less attached to their ethnic culture and have less knowledge of cultural behaviours. Thus, first generation children are expected to report higher feelings of ethnic belonging and more ethnic behaviours compared to 1.5/2nd generation children.

Parenting and ethnic identity development

Ethnic identity development can also be influenced by interpersonal contexts. That is, a sense of ethnic identity may be encouraged or discouraged by external factors, rather than being exclusively internally generated (Yeh & Huang, 1996). For example, for Asian-American college students, the presence of other Asians in the geographic location and good relationships with relatives, parents, and friends of the same cultural background are important factors that promote a person's ethnic identity development (Yeh & Huang, 1996). Influences within the family have been especially noted as the primary context from which children and adolescents derive their sense of ethnic belonging (Phinney, 1990). Parents are an important source of influence on multiple dimensions of adolescent development, including ethnic identity. However, in contrast to the large body of literature on the influence of parents on children's cognitive, emotional, and social development, relatively little is known about how parenting affects children's developing sense of ethnic identity. Further elucidating the relationship between parenting practices and children's ethnic identity will enhance our understanding of the conditions that best foster ethnic identity development in children.

Existing evidence supports the idea that parents play a key role in the development of children's ethnic identity. For example, parents' interactions with their

children influence the transmission of parental values. Rudy and Grusec (2001) found that warm and supportive ways of interacting with children promote the transmission of parental values to their children. Parenting practices are also associated with global identity achievement. For example, children whose parents support and monitor their social and school activities have a higher rate of identity achievement compared to children whose parents are not as supportive and vigilant (Sartor & Youniss, 2002).

Similar relationships have been found between parenting practices and ethnic identity achievement. For example, research on the transmission of Jewish ethnic identity indicates that children raised in authoritative families are more likely to achieve a Jewish ethnic identity compared to children raised in environments that are too lenient (Davey, Stone Fish, Askew & Robila, 2003). Similarly, warm, controlling, and autonomy-promoting parenting practices are associated with a stronger sense of ethnic pride, and more knowledge of ethnic behaviours (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992b). In contrast, direct parental pressure to take part in cultural activities and adhere to cultural traditions adversely affects children's willingness to identify with their ethnic group, and is associated with the construction of identities that are a reaction against perceived parental pressures (Cheng & Kuo, 2000).

The Current Study

Given the importance of parents in promoting children's development, and the value of ethnic identity for immigrant children's psychological health, understanding the means by which parents promote ethnic identity development in immigrant children is essential. Having a positive sense of belonging to their culture and being able to perform some ethnic behaviours are important to immigrant children. The development of ethnic

identity may affect immigrant children's interactions with other members of their ethnicity as well as with individuals in the majority culture (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992a). In addition, children's attainment of a strong sense of ethnic identity is important to Chinese immigrant parents, and instilling this quality is typically a central parenting goal (Chao, 1995). The current study examines the relationship between parenting factors and children's reports of ethnic identity in order to better understand why some immigrant children develop a stronger sense of ethnic identity than others. This project focuses on how two different aspects of parenting affect children's ethnic identity: specific parenting practices and parenting cognitions.

The influence of parenting practices on children's reports of ethnic identity

From the time of arrival in the host country, immigrant children are inundated with messages from the mainstream culture (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997). In contrast, the opportunities for immigrant children to learn about their ethnic culture are more limited. As a result, for most immigrant youth, the primary source of knowledge about their culture of origin is likely to be parents. For example, children acquire cultural knowledge through the ways parents interact with them.

Parents socialize their children through their parenting practices (Hoffman, 1970), which are influenced by culturally specific values and beliefs (Harkness & Super, 1995). Thus, parenting practices convey cultural messages to children. Furthermore, specific parenting practices may affect children's willingness to learn from their parents. For example, parenting practices such as nurturance and involvement create an environment that causes children to feel more receptive to parental influence (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg, 2001). This environment, in turn, may influence children's willingness

to model themselves after their parents or to integrate aspects of their parents' culture into their own self-concept. Parenting practices such as having clear expectations and reasoning with children may also promote children's feelings of ethnic identity by making explicit to children the values and customs of their culture (Davey et al., 2003). For example, the more parents explain the reasons why they have certain rules, the more opportunities children have to learn culturally emphasized messages from their parents (e.g., "The reason you can't go out with your friends tonight is because it would interfere with us having dinner as a family.").

The current study focuses on specific parenting practices instead of global parenting styles. Baumrind's classification of parenting practices into global parenting styles is frequently used among parenting and family researchers. Baumrind (1966, 1989) distinguished between different types of parenting styles: authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative. Authoritarian parents are demanding, expect obedience without explanation, and discipline using harsh punitive techniques. Permissive parents are supportive and responsive, but do not balance their parenting with age appropriate demands, expectations, and control. Authoritative parents, who are appropriately emotionally demanding, responsive, and use firm control to direct their children, have been found to be the most effective parents (Steinberg, 2001). For example, Baumrind (1991) found that authoritative parents were most successful in protecting their adolescents from drug use and raised children who were more mature, resilient, optimistic, individuated, and competent. In contrast, authoritarian parenting is associated with more conforming and less individuated behaviours, and a lower sense of competence and control (Baumrind, 1991).

To date, Baumrind's notion of parenting styles remains the most common way of conceptualizing parenting (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). However, researchers have debated the cultural generalizability of Baumrind's parenting styles (e.g., Chao, 2001; Davey et al., 2003). Parenting practices in collectivist societies often resemble Baumrind's authoritarian parenting style. According to Chao (1994), Chinese parenting emphasizes parental respect and instilling in children a need to work hard, be self-disciplined, and obedient. Parents are typically the main authority figures and have the sole responsibility of teaching their children a standard of conduct and ensuring that children abide by their parents' wishes. They tend to achieve these goals by exerting a high level of control in the absence of high levels of expressiveness and warmth (Chao, 1994; Pearson & Rao, 2003).

Although descriptions of Chinese parenting resemble Baumrind's authoritarian parenting style, recent research has found that this style of parenting is not detrimental to the development of Chinese youth. For example, Chao (2001) found that first generation Chinese youth from authoritative and authoritarian families did not differ in terms of their school performance; in contrast, European American youth from authoritative families performed better than those raised in authoritarian families. Thus, the benefits of authoritative parenting, and the drawbacks of authoritarian parenting, cannot be directly applied to Chinese American families.

The attitudes and values that underlie Chinese parenting may explain why these parenting styles have different consequences for Chinese children. Gorman (1998) found that qualities that characterize "authoritarian" parenting, such as keeping a close watch over children's activities, and close involvement in children's lives, stemmed from

parents' concern for their children's well-being, rather than a need to dominate their children. Thus, even though some Chinese parenting practices resemble "authoritarian" parenting (e.g., exerting parental authority, minimizing overt expression of warmth), the underlying beliefs of Chinese parenting do not resemble the authoritarian parenting style as conceived by Baumrind. Gorman proposed that Chinese parenting is better characterized as an interaction of parental expectations and filial obligation rather than as parental domination and child obedience. Chao (1994) described such parenting practices as "training." Children acquiesce to their parents' demands and requests because they have been "trained" to honour their parents. In other words, the parenting practices described by Chinese mothers serve to socialize desirable behaviours and characteristics, and reinforce the importance of familial duty onto their children.

In light of such evidence regarding the limitations of applying Baumrind's parenting styles to parents from Chinese culture, this study examines how specific parenting practices (rather than global styles) are related to children's feelings of ethnic identity. Specifically, the relationship between two aspects of ethnic identity and specific parenting practices (i.e., warmth and inductive reasoning) are examined.

There are a variety of ways through which parental warmth and inductive reasoning may influence children's ethnic identity. Parental warmth refers to parents' overt expressions of love, such as care, support, and concern (Baumrind, 1989). Parental inductive reasoning refers to parents' tendency to explain the reasons behind their rules and decisions, and to involve children in the decision making process (Kim & Ge, 2000). Previous research indicates that warm parenting practices create an environment that encourages children to be more receptive to adult influence, and the use of reasoning

allows parents to convey aspects of their culture to their children (Baumrind, 1989; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992b; Steinberg, 2001). Thus, parental warmth may promote children's receptiveness to parental influence, and parental reasoning may directly instil cultural knowledge, both of which should result in higher reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours among children.

The influence of parenting cognitions on children's reports of ethnic identity

Parenting cognitions refer to parents' underlying values, goals, and beliefs regarding childrearing and child development. These cognitions are believed to influence specific parenting practices and to structure childrearing environments (e.g., Goodnow, 2002; Sigel & McGillicuddy-De Lisi, 2002), which may also influence children's ethnic identity development. For example, culturally emphasized parenting cognitions, such as parents' belief that they are authority figures, and parents' desire to raise children who highly value having good relations with others may influence children's ethnic identity through subtle but pervasive communications between parent and child (McGillicuddy-De Lisi, 1985). In addition, parents' beliefs about their efficacy in the parenting role may also influence the confidence and persistence of parents' parenting strategies (Bandura, 1997), which may also affect the way in which children evaluate their ethnic culture. In the current study, two culturally-based parenting beliefs (i.e., parental authority role beliefs and relational childrearing goals), and parenting self-efficacy are examined.

Culturally emphasized parenting beliefs. Parental authority role beliefs refer to the importance that parents place on their role as a disciplinarian and authority figure in the family (Segal, 1985). Children of parents who strongly endorse in their role as authority figures are more likely to rebel against their parents during adolescence

(Baumrind, 1989; Cheng & Kuo, 2000). Parents' beliefs regarding their authority role may be associated with children's ethnic identity development in a variety of ways. Parents who strongly endorse their role as authority figures may be less likely to encourage verbal exchanges and discussions regarding their decisions with their children (Baumrind, 1989). As a result, children of parents who strongly endorse parental role authority beliefs may have fewer opportunities to acquire cultural knowledge, which may result in lower feelings of ethnic belonging and lower reports of ethnic behaviours.

Relational childrearing goals refer to the desire to promote in children collectivist values such as obedience, meeting obligations, harmony, and cooperation (Gudykunst et al., 1996). Currently, little is known about the influence of relational childrearing goals on children's ethnic identity development. However, Markus and Kitayama (1991) argue that cultural differences in the way one views the world can shape how one defines the self. Self-identity among Asian-Americans stresses fitting-in and having strong relationships with others (Chao, 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yeh & Huang, 1996). Parents who highly value relational characteristics may be more likely to encourage such self-definition in their children. These self-definitions, in turn, are likely to be associated with a stronger sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging and more ethnic behaviours. Thus, relational childrearing goals are expected to be positively associated with higher reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours.

Parenting self-efficacy. Parenting self-efficacy refers to parents' expectations about their parenting abilities and their effectiveness at influencing their children (Coleman & Karraker, 1997; Teti & Gefland, 1991). Beliefs about one's efficacy strongly influence an individual's actions, thought processes, motivations, and affective states.

High self-efficacy is associated with high levels of effort in one's actions, heightened effort in the face of set back, and a better ability to stay task-oriented and think strategically when difficulties arise (Bandura, 1997).

Beliefs regarding one's ability to influence others may be particularly important for parents raising children in foreign countries. Parents who are raising children in their country of origin receive support from their surrounding culture regarding their parenting practices (Harkness & Super, 1995). Parenting practices of immigrant parents, on the other hand, may not be supported by the host culture. Instead, immigrant parents face many threats to their sense of parenting competence. For example, children tend to acquire the language and customs of the host culture more quickly than adults. As a result, parents may lose their position as an authority figure as they come to rely on their children to help them navigate the host society (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Kwak, 2003). This loss in the family hierarchy may be especially detrimental to Chinese parents, whose parenting practices emphasize parents as authority figures and caretakers in the family. Parents' beliefs regarding their ability to affect their children are especially influential in guiding children's development under conditions where resources, such as social and neighbourhood supports, are limited (Bandura, 1995).

Immigrant parents' beliefs regarding their parenting efficacy may influence their effectiveness in helping children develop feelings of ethnic belonging and acquire cultural knowledge. To date, there are no studies relating parents' reports of parenting self-efficacy to the socialization of children's ethnic identity. However, there is evidence that indirectly suggests children's feelings of ethnic belonging and participation in ethnic behaviours may be related to parents' beliefs about their abilities to influence their

children. In general, parents who feel efficacious are more likely to encourage their children's competencies, actively guide their children's behaviour and become involved in activities with their children (Coleman & Karraker, 2003; Teti & Gelfand, 1991). Parents who believe they are ineffective as parents make fewer efforts to influence their children's behaviour, and do not persevere in their attempts to socialize their children (Coleman & Karraker, 2000). Parents who feel less efficacious as parents may also inadvertently convey a sense of uncertainty to their children. In contrast, parents who feel confident in their parenting abilities may create an atmosphere that is more likely to encourage children to model themselves after their parents. Thus, higher levels of parenting self-efficacy are expected to be associated with higher ratings of ethnic affirmation and belonging and more ethnic behaviours.

Moderators of the associations between parenting factors and children's ethnic identity

Moderators are variables that affect the direction or strength of the relationship between an independent variable and a dependent variable (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Two factors are examined that may moderate the relationship between parenting and children's ethnic identity: child gender and generational status.

Child gender. In addition to examining gender differences in children's reports of ethnic identity, this study also examines the moderating role of gender on the associations between parenting and children's ethnic identity. Specifically, the effects of parenting on reports of ethnic identity are expected to be stronger for boys than girls. A relationship between positive parenting practices and girls' ethnic identity is expected, but the strength of this association is expected to be weaker when compared to the same relationship among boys. Overall, girls are more likely to report higher levels of ethnic

identity, and consequently, parenting factors may have less of an influence on girls when compared to boys. Phinney (1990) notes that there may be a greater internal motivation for girls to develop strong feelings of ethnic belonging compared to boys because in most cultures, women are seen as the primary carriers of ethnic traditions. Conversely, external influences such as parenting practices may be more influential for boys. Therefore, higher levels of parental warmth, inductive reasoning, relational childrearing goals, and parenting self-efficacy, and lower levels of parental role authority beliefs are expected to be associated with higher levels of ethnic identity, especially for boys.

An example of these expected relations is presented in Figure 1 for parental warmth. As shown in the figure, girls are expected to be consistently higher than boys in their reports of ethnic identity, regardless of parents' levels of warmth. At high levels of parental warmth, differences in reports of ethnic identity between boys and girls will not be significant. Conversely, at lower levels of parental warmth, the difference between boys' and girls' reports of ethnic identity will be more pronounced.

Immigrant status. As discussed above, in the current study, immigrant status is assessed by comparing 1st generation children with 1.5/2nd generation children. In addition to expecting group differences in ethnic identity based on immigrant status, immigrant status is expected to moderate the relation between parenting and ethnic identity. Specifically, parents may play a more important role in promoting feelings of ethnic belonging for 1.5/2nd generation children than for first generation children. Compared to first generation children, 1.5/2nd generation children have had less exposure to cultural influences from the country of their family's origin, having left the country before the start of formal education, which may limit their conscious awareness and

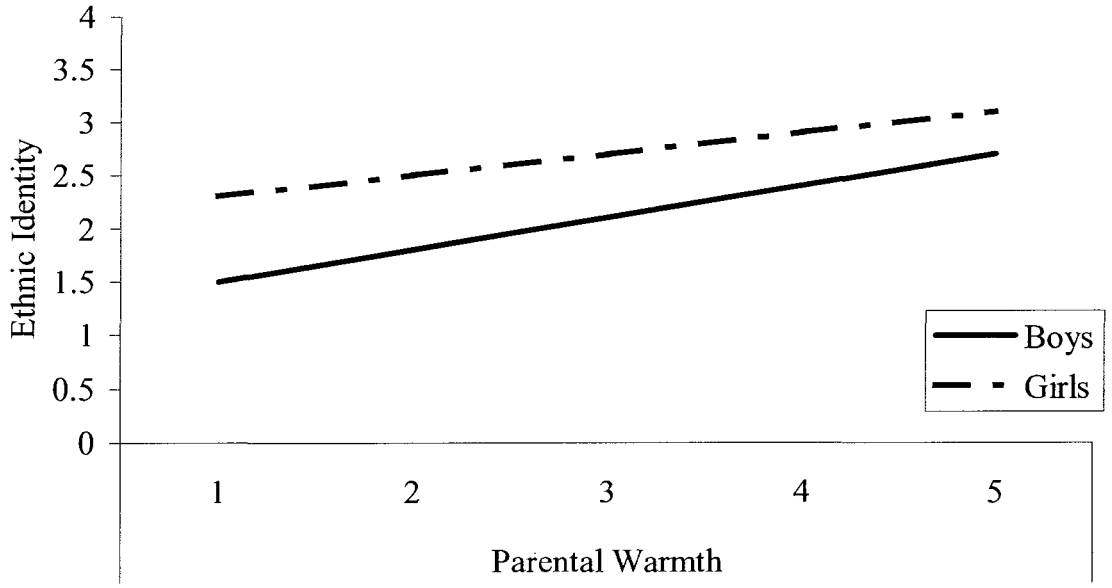

Figure 1. Predicted effects of gender as a moderator of the relationship between parental warmth and children's ethnic identity.

understanding of culturally unique practices. As a result, parents may be the main source from which these children derive their feelings of ethnic belonging and knowledge of ethnic behaviours.

In addition, higher levels of parental warmth, inductive reasoning, and relational goals, and lower levels of parental authority role beliefs may be especially important for 1.5/2nd generation children in creating a positive atmosphere for children's ethnic identity development. One and a half and second generation immigrant children are more likely to be familiar with Western parenting practices through exposure to the Western culture in their daily lives. Thus, 1.5/2nd generation children are more likely than first generation immigrant children to be aware of the differences between their parents and those they

see in Canada. For example, 1.5/2nd generation children may compare the parenting they experience from their parents to those they observe from their friends' homes, on television, and from other media. If their parents exhibit less warmth and inductive reasoning, more parental authority, and appear less confident in their parenting than the "average" Canadian parent, 1.5/2nd generation children may attribute such negative experiences to the ethnicity of their parents, resulting in lower feelings of ethnic identity. Alternatively, higher levels of parental warmth and reasoning, less parental authority role beliefs, and more confidence in parenting role may be associated with more positive feelings among 1.5/2nd generation children because their parents live up to their comparison with other parents, resulting in stronger feelings of ethnic identity. That is, these children may be more motivated to embrace their ethnic heritage, and feel a sense of pride and uniqueness in their ethnicity when it is associated with positive parenting, and feel less motivated to embrace their ethnicity when they perceive negative parenting. Furthermore, 1.5/2nd generation immigrant children who experience more parental warmth, reasoning, and confidence, and less parental authority may be more receptive to parental influence, and more willing to learn culturally specific practices from their parents compared to those who experience less positive parenting practices.

In contrast, the ethnic identity of first generation children is not expected to fluctuate as much with perceptions of parenting and may not be as susceptible to the environment created by parents. First generation children (who immigrated after age 6) are more likely to receive direct instruction on their culture prior to immigration. For example, first generation children are more likely to have received pervasive education on their ethnicity through lessons at school, various types of media, celebrations of

national holidays, and interactions with grandparents during their time in their country of origin. Consequently, parenting may be a relatively minor source of influence on first generation children's feelings of ethnic belonging and participation in cultural behaviours.

To summarize, immigrant status is expected to moderate the relationship between parenting and children's reports of ethnic identity. It is expected that higher levels of parental warmth, reasoning, relational childrearing goals, and parenting self-efficacy, and lower levels of parental authority role beliefs will be associated with higher endorsement of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours, most strongly among 1.5/2nd generation children. An example of these expected relations is presented in Figure 2. As shown in the figure, although first generation children report higher levels of ethnic identity than 1.5/2nd generation children, at higher levels of parental warmth the difference between first generation and 1.5/2nd generation children is less pronounced. In contrast, it is expected that when parents show lower levels of parental warmth, first generation children will report significantly higher levels of ethnic identity compared to 1.5/2nd generation children.

Mothers versus fathers

Finally, mothers' and fathers' influence on children's ethnic identity development may differ; thus, the relationship between parenting and children's ethnic identity is examined separately for mothers and fathers. Previous research has indicated that although mothers and fathers use similar parenting practices, fathers' involvement with children has a stronger effect on adolescents' psychological well-being (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003). In addition, previous research has found that maternal warmth is

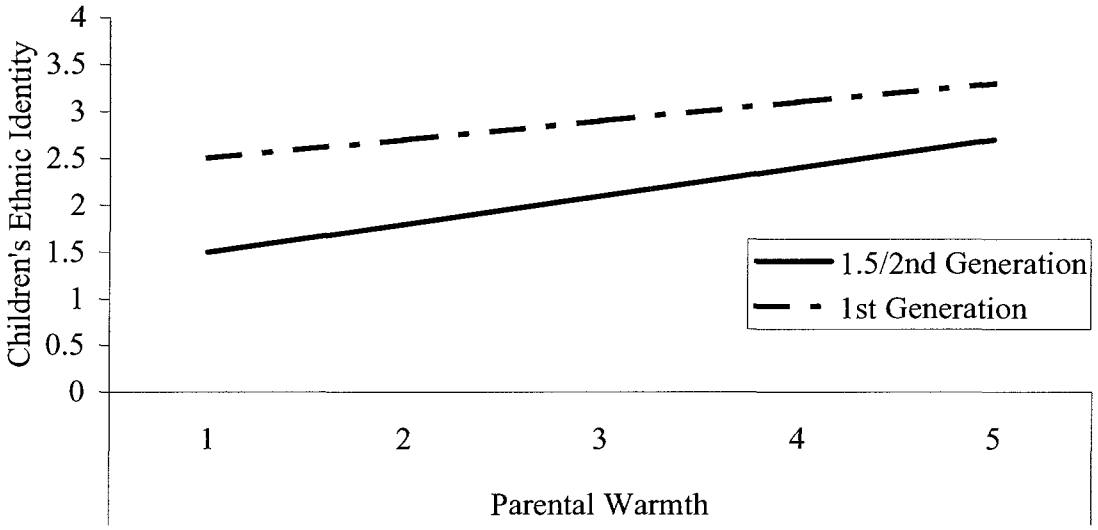

Figure 2. Predicted effects of immigrant status as a moderator of the relationship between parental warmth and children's ethnic identity.

significantly associated with children's emotional adjustment, whereas fathers' warmth is significantly associated with children's social and academic achievement (Chen, Liu, & Li, 2000). Finally, because of the Chinese emphasis on different roles for mothers and fathers (Ho, 1987), the relations between ethnic identity development and mother' versus fathers' parenting may be different. However, the influence of mothers versus fathers on ethnic identity development is an unexplored area, and therefore, no specific predictions are made.

Purpose and Goals of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between parenting (specific practices and cognitions) and children's reports on two aspects of ethnic identity (i.e., ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours). This study also examines

the role of two moderators (i.e., child gender and generational status) on the relationship between parenting factors and children's ethnic identity. Thus far, little is known about the specific parenting practices that enhance children's ethnic identity, and even less is known about the effects of parenting cognitions on children's ethnic identity. This study further contributes to the our knowledge regarding children's ethnic identity development by focusing on the following goals:

1. The first goal of this study is to examine differences in children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours based on gender and immigrant status. It is expected that girls will report higher levels of ethnic belonging and behaviours when compared to boys. Children who came to Canada after the age of six will report higher levels of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours compared to children who were born in Canada or came to Canada before the age of six.
2. The second goal of this study is to examine mother-father differences in parenting, and differences in parenting based on child gender and immigrant status. This goal is exploratory and no specific predictions are made.
3. The third goal of this study is to examine the relationship between specific parenting practices (i.e., warmth and inductive reasoning) and children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours. It is expected that greater parental warmth and inductive reasoning will be associated with higher reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours.
4. The fourth goal is to better understand the relationship between parenting cognitions and children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and

participation in ethnic behaviours. It is expected that stronger endorsement of relational childrearing goals and parenting self-efficacy, and lower endorsement of parental authority role beliefs will be associated with higher reports of ethnic identity by children.

5. The fifth goal of this study is to examine the moderating role of child gender and immigrant status on the relationship between parenting factors and children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours.
    a. It is expected that the strength of associations between parenting and children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours will be stronger for boys when compared to girls.
    b. It is expected that the relationships between parenting and children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours will be stronger for 1.5/2nd generation children than for first generation children.
6. The final goal of this study is to examine mother-father differences in the relationship between parenting and children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours. This goal is also exploratory and no specific predictions are made.

Method

Participants

Data collected from 98 immigrant Chinese families in Canada will be analyzed for this study. The data were collected as part of a larger study (Costigan & Su, in press). All families identified themselves as being ethnically Chinese. A total of 42 boys (42.9%) and 56 girls (57.1%), and their parents filled out questionnaires for the study. The

average age of the children was 11.89 years (*SD* = 1.77 years). On average, the children had resided in Canada for 6.43 years (*SD* = 4.15 years). Approximately half of the children were born in Canada or came to Canada before the age of six (*N* = 48), and half came to Canada at or after the age of six (*N* = 50). The average age of fathers was 44.88 years (*SD* = 4.53 years). The average age of mothers was 41.87 years (*SD* = 4.23 years). The average length of residence in Canada for fathers was 9.11 years (*SD* = 9.21). Fathers emigrated from the following countries: 43.6% from Mainland China, 39.8% from Taiwan, 10.2% Hong Kong, 1.0 % from Singapore, and 3.0 % from a country other than the above mentioned four (e.g., Malaysia). The average length of residence in Canada for mothers was 7.53 years (*SD* = 6.62 years). Mother's emigrated from the following countries: 40.8% from mainland China, 43.9% from Taiwan, 12.2% from Hong Kong, and 2.0% from countries other than the above mentioned three. The median level of education for fathers was a university degree, and the median level of education for mothers was vocational training (both ranging from elementary education to graduate degree).

Procedures

Eligible families were those in which both parents were born outside of Canada, had immigrated to Canada from a Chinese country, had been in Canada for at least a year, and who had a child between the ages of 10 and 14. For a small number of families, more than one child was within the target age range and was willing to participate. In such cases, questionnaires were administered to both children, however data from the eldest child was analysed in this study. Families were recruited with the aid of agencies serving the immigrant population, and through word of mouth, in which immigrant families

introduced the researchers to other immigrant families who were eligible for the study. All participating members of each family were asked to complete their questionnaires separately. Distribution of the questionnaires took place either in the participating families' homes or in a group setting. All materials were available in English, and both traditional and simplified Chinese script so that parents were able to complete consent forms and questionnaires in their preferred language. All questionnaires were translated into Chinese and translated back into English by a team of Chinese-speaking individuals from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Mainland China. The few discrepancies between the original English version and the Chinese version were resolved through group discussions.

Ethical standards were upheld throughout the investigation in several ways. First, the participation in the study was completely voluntary. Families could choose to withdraw from the study at any time during the completion of the questionnaires without penalty. Second, families were assigned code numbers and participants were asked not to write their names or other types of identifying information on the questionnaires. Third, the consent forms and any other forms containing identifying information were locked and stored separate from the questionnaires. Finally, the results will be presented in group form only, so that no one individual's responses may be identified.

Measures

Demographic information. A background questionnaire assessed participants' age, gender, highest level of education completed, age at the time of immigration to Canada, and length of residence in Canada.

Ethnic identity. Feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group were assessed with the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale (MEIM, Phinney, 1992). This scale consists of 20 items rated on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). The MEIM includes subscales assessing ethnic identity and attitudes towards other ethnic groups. Only reports of ethnic identity are examined in the current study. Fourteen items assessed three aspects of ethnic identity, with higher scores on different subscales of the MEIM indicating higher levels of each particular aspect of ethnic identity. The ethnic affirmation and belonging subscale consists of five items that assess children's positive feelings and sense of belonging to their ethnic group (e.g., "I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background"). The ethnic behaviours subscale consists of two items that assess children's participation in ethnic activities (e.g., "I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs"). The ethnic identity achievement subscale consists of seven items that assess the extent to which children have explored and resolved identity issues (e.g., "I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life"- reverse scored). As previously discussed, the ethnic identity achievement subscale was not examined in this study because the young adolescents chosen for this study may have only just begun the process of identity development, and consequently, there may not be great variability in reports of ethnic identity achievement.

The reliabilities for the MEIM are consistently high. Phinney (1992) found an overall reliability on the MEIM of .81 for high school students. Worrell (2000) examined the reliability of the MEIM among a group of adolescents (age 10-18 years), and found a similar reliability coefficient ($\alpha = .89$). Dion and Dion (2004) examined the reliabilities of subscales of the MEIM and found good reliability for the affirmation and belonging

subscale (α = .88), and adequate reliability for the ethnic behaviours subscale (α = .62). In the current study, comparable reliability was observed for the children's responses to their feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging (α = .82). However, the ethnic behaviour subscale showed low reliability (α = .48). This is not surprising given that the scale consists of only two items. Numerous studies have found that the MEIM is a valid measure of ethnic identity among adolescents (Dion & Dion, 2004; Phinney, 1992; Roberts, et al., 1999).

Parenting practices. Children reported on the levels of warmth and inductive reasoning displayed by their fathers and mothers. Parental *warmth* was assessed using 7 items that were created for this study. Items were scored on a scale ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (always). The items were created to assess parents' overt displays of affection, care, and concern. An example of an item that assessed parental warmth is, "Is your mom cheerful when she is with you?" Higher scores indicate higher levels of parental warmth. Previous studies that have used children's reports of parenting experiences have found that children's reports are reliable and valid in assessing levels of experienced parental warmth (Chen et al., 2000). In the current sample, good reliabilities were observed for children's reports on their mother's (α = .88) and their father's (α = .92) use of warmth.

Parental inductive reasoning was assessed using four items from a parenting practices questionnaire that Kim and Ge (2000) adapted from the Iowa Youth and Families Project (Conger, Patterson, & Ge, 1995). *Inductive reasoning* involves giving explanations and reasons for decisions, asking children for their input when making decisions, and communicating rules to children. The inductive reasoning scale consists of

4 items scored on a scale ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (always), with higher scores indicating higher levels of parental inductive reasoning. An example of an inductive reasoning item is, "Does your dad give you reasons for his decisions?" Among a sample of Chinese American adolescents, Kim and Ge (2000) report reliabilities for children's ratings of mothers' and fathers' use of inductive reasoning of .71 and .82, respectively. Within the current sample, reliabilities of children's rating of their parents' use of inductive reasoning are .75 for mothers, and .79 for fathers.

Parenting cognitions. Three aspects of parenting cognitions were assessed: parental authority role beliefs, relational childrearing goals, and parenting self-efficacy. *Parental authority role beliefs* refer to parents' valuation of their role as enforcers of obedience. These beliefs were measured with a modified version of Segal's Role Disposition Questionnaire (1985). The Role Disposition Questionnaire consists of 24 items which parents rate on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The items assess parents' beliefs regarding whether their primary role as a parent is to be an absolute authority figure and/or a teacher for their children. For the purposes of this study, only the parental authority role factor is examined. This scale consists of 3 items and higher scores indicate stronger endorsement of the parents as absolute authority figures (e.g., "Children should not question the authority of their parents"). Previous analysis of these items found adequate reliability (α = .70, Costigan, 1996), and good alpha reliability coefficients were found for the mothers (α = .74) and the fathers (α = .81) in the current sample.

Relational childrearing goals refer to the importance parents place on teaching children to value and develop good relations with others. The six items assessing

relational childrearing goals were created for this study. Parents were asked to rate on a scale from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (extremely important) how important it is that their child possesses certain relational characteristics or abilities (e.g., "Maintain harmony in one's group). Higher scores indicate higher endorsement of relational childrearing goals among parents. Good reliabilities were found in the current study for mothers' ($\alpha = .74$) and fathers' ($\alpha = .80$) reports of relational goals.

Parents completed the Parenting Self-Agency Measure (PSAM, Dumka, Stoerzinger, Jackson, & Roosa, 1996). This measure assesses *parenting self-efficacy*, or parents' confidence in their ability to successfully parent their children. The PSAM consists of 10 items which parents rated on a Likert scale, ranging from 1 (rarely) to 7 (always). An example of an item from the PSAM is "I know I am doing a good job as a mother/father." Coleman and Karraker (2000) demonstrated construct validity for the PSAM, which was found to have significant positive correlations with the Parenting Sense of Competence Scale, and the Self-Efficacy for Parenting Tasks Index. The PSAM has reliabilities ranging from .68 to .81 (Coleman & Karraker, 2000; Dumka et al., 1996). Similar reliabilities were achieved for the families in this study (.69 and .79 for mothers and fathers respectively).

Results

Preliminary analyses

Ethnic identity. Children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours were examined first. In order to compare the two subscales, two mean values were calculated by dividing the sum of the item responses for each subscale by the number of items in each subscale. Reports of ethnic belonging were significantly higher

than reports of ethnic behaviours, $t(95) = 6.15, p < .001$ (see Table 1). These two dependent variables were also significantly correlated, $r = .56, p < .001$. This strong correlation is not surprising, because both feelings of ethnic belonging and ethnic behaviours are indices of ethnic identity. However, because the factors that contribute to the promotion of feelings of ethnic belonging and the factors that encourage ethnic behaviours may differ, the two measures of ethnic identity were evaluated separately.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Children's Reports of Ethnic Affirmation and Belonging and Ethnic Behaviours

	Total	Boys	Girls	1st	1.5/2nd
Affirmation and Belonging	3.18(.49)	3.05(.48)	3.27(.47)	3.14(.44)	3.21(.53)
Ethnic Behaviours	2.85(.59)	2.79(.56)	2.90(.60)	2.91(.57)	2.79(.60)

Note. 1st generation refers to children who came to Canada at or after the age of 6, and 1.5-2nd generation refers to children who were born in Canada or came to Canada before the age of 6

Next, a 2 (gender) x 2 (immigrant status) multivariate analysis of variance was performed on children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours. The means and standard deviations of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours by child gender and immigrant status are presented in Table 1. The multivariate effect of child *gender* approached statistical significance, $F(2,91) = 2.88, p = .06$. As expected, girls reported higher feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging compared to boys, $F(1, 92) = 5.55, p < .05$. However, inconsistent with hypothesis, boys

and girls did not differ in their participation in ethnic behaviours, $F(1, 92) = .82, p = .37$. The multivariate effect of child *immigrant status* was not significant, $F(2, 91) = 1.40, p = .25$. There were also no significant interactions between gender and immigrant status in children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging, $F(1, 91) = 1.72, p = .19$, or participation in ethnic behaviours, $F(1, 91) = .07, p = .19$.

Finally, the relation between age and children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours was examined with correlation coefficients. As expected due to the restricted age range of the sample, there were no significant correlations between age and ethnic belonging ($r = -.02, p = .88$) or ethnic behaviour ($r = .04, p = .71$).

Parenting. In general mothers and fathers from China and Taiwan used similar levels of warmth and inductive reasoning in their parenting, with one exception: mothers from Taiwan used more inductive reasoning than mothers from China, $t(79) = 2.01, p < .05$. There were few regional differences in parents' reports of their parenting cognitions. Of the observed regional differences, mothers from China endorsed higher parental authority role beliefs, $t(81) = -2.31, p < .05$, and fathers from Taiwan felt more efficacious in their parenting role, $t(78) = 3.23, p < .01$.

Correlations were used to examine the relations between the parenting of mothers and fathers. As shown on the diagonal of Table 2, the parenting practices and cognitions of mothers and fathers were all significantly positively related. Correlations among the five parenting variables were also examined. Warmth and inductive reasoning were significantly positively related for both mothers and fathers, but there were no other

Table 2

Intercorrelations between Mothers' and Fathers' Parenting Practices and Cognitions

	Warmth	Inductive Reasoning	Role Authority	Relational Goals	Parenting Self-Efficacy
Warmth	.70***	.71**	.03	.05	.06
Inductive Reasoning	.63**	.63***	-.10	.15	.10
Authority Beliefs	-.12	-.03	.20*	.06	-.09
Relational Goals	.01	.12	.03	.41***	-.06
Self-Efficacy	.11	.00	-.19[a]	.02	.24*

Note. Mother-father correlations are presented on the diagonal; correlations among aspects of mothers' parenting are above the diagonal; correlations among aspects of fathers' parenting are below the diagonal.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

significant correlations within the parenting constructs for either parent. Therefore, the issue of multicollinearity is not a concern in the subsequent multiple regression analyses.

Correlations were calculated to examine the relation between child age and parenting. The results showed that parenting was unrelated to child age, with two exceptions; with increasing age, children reported lower levels of warmth from their mothers ($r = -.26, p < .01$) and their fathers ($r = -.27, p < .05$). This finding is consistent with previous studies, which have also noted that parental warmth decreases as children

progress through middle childhood and adolescence (Collins, Madsen, & Susman-Stillman, 2002; Steinberg & Silk, 2002).

Means and standard deviations of mothers' and fathers' parenting by child gender and immigrant status are presented in Table 3. In general, children's reports of parental warmth and inductive reasoning, and parents' reports of their relational childrearing goals and parenting self-efficacy were relatively high. On average, parents moderately endorsed authority beliefs. Five repeated measures ANOVAs were used to examine mother-father differences in parenting (i.e., warmth, inductive reasoning, parental authority roles, relational goals, parenting self-efficacy). Each ANOVA included a Parent (mother, father) within-subjects factor and Child Gender (boy, girl) and Immigrant Status ($1.5/2^{nd}$, 1^{st}) as between-subjects factors. In light of the sample size and the exploratory nature of these analyses, only main effects and two-way interactions were examined.

The ANOVA with parental *warmth* as the dependent variable showed a significant Parent main effect, $F(1,90) = 6.27$, $p < .05$. As shown in Table 3, mothers used more warmth than fathers. No significant main effects of Child Gender, $F(1,90) = .69$, $p = .68$, or Immigrant Status, $F(1,90) = .01$, $p = .91$, were observed. There were also no significant interactions between Parent and Child Gender, $F(1,90) = 1.01$, $p = .32$, or between Parent and Immigrant Status, $F(1, 90) = .1.68$, $p = .20$. These results indicate that mothers showed higher levels of warmth compared to fathers, regardless of child gender or immigrant status.

The analysis with *inductive reasoning* as the dependent variable did not show a significant Parent main effect, $F(1,92) = 2.39$, $p = .13$. There were also no differences in inductive reasoning based on Child Gender, $F(1, 92) = .41$, $p = .52$, or Immigrant Status,

Table 3

Means and standard deviations of parenting by child gender and immigrant status

	Total		Boys		Girls		1st		1.5/2nd	
	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad	Mom	Dad
Warmth	5.88 (.97)	5.70(1.00)	5.89(.91)	5.61(.99)	5.88(1.02)	5.76(1.01)	5.81(.99)	5.72(1.06)	5.96(.96)	5.67(.93)
Reasoning	5.49(1.08)	5.33(1.12)	5.36(1.00)	5.31(1.00)	5.59(1.14)	5.35(1.22)	5.54(1.05)	5.54(1.03)	5.43(1.13)	5.12(1.19)
Authority	2.93(.88)	3.06(.93)	3.00(.79)	2.95(.95)	2.88(.96)	3.14(.91)	2.65(.86)	2.90(.97)	3.22(.82)	3.21(.87)
Relational	4.22(.48)	4.12(.55)	4.22(.45)	4.14(.53)	4.22(.50)	4.10(.57)	4.26(.44)	4.22(.49)	4.19(.51)	4.02(.60)
Efficacy	5.40(.60)	5.23(.68)	5.20(.56)	5.19(.80)	5.56(.59)	5.26(.58)	5.36(.64)	5.19(.72)	5.45(.57)	5.28(.64)

Note. 1st generation refers to children who came to Canada at or after the age of 6, and 1.5-2nd generation refers to children who were born in Canada or came to Canada before the age of 6.

$F(1, 92) = 1.74, p = .19$. The interaction between Parent and Child Gender was also not significant, $F(1,92) = .90, p = .35$. However, an interaction between Parent and Immigrant Status approached statistical significance, $F(1,92) = 3.49, p = .08$. In order to probe the nature of this interaction, separate paired t-tests were used to compare mothers' and fathers' inductive reasoning among the 1st generation children and among the 1.5/2nd generation children. The results showed that in families with 1.5/2nd generation children, mothers used more inductive reasoning than fathers, $t(46) = 2.04\ p < .05$. Mothers and fathers did not differ in their inductive reasoning in families with first generation children, $t(48) = .05\ p = .97$.

The analysis of *authority role beliefs* did not produce a significant main effect for Parent, $F(1,92) = .78, p = .38$, or Child Gender, $F(1,92) = .05, p = .81$. However, a significant main effect for child Immigrant Status was observed, $F(1,92) = 9.13, p < .01$. As shown in Table 3, parents of 1.5/2nd generation children more strongly endorsed their role as authority figures than parents of 1st generation children. There were no significant interactions between Parent and Child Gender, $F(1,92) = 1.67, p = .20$, or Immigrant Status, $F(1,92) = .85, p = .36$.

Regarding parents' *relational goals,* a Parent main effect trend, $F(1,92) = 3.24, p = .08$, showed that mothers endorsed relational goals to a higher degree than fathers. Parental endorsement of relational goals did not differ based on Child Gender, $F(1.92) = .07, p = .79$, or Immigrant Status, $F(1,92) = 2.37, p = .13$. There were also no significant interactions between Parent and Child Gender, $F(1,92) = .15, p = .70$, or Immigrant Status, $F(1, 92) = 2.35, p = .13$.

Finally, regarding reports of *parenting self-efficacy* a Parent main effect trend, $F(1,91) = 3.53$, $p = .06$, showed that mothers felt more efficacious in their parenting than did fathers. A significant main effect of Child Gender was also observed, $F(1, 91) = 4.51$, $p < .05$; parents of girls reported higher feelings of parenting self-efficacy compared to parents of boys. The main effect of Immigrant Status on parenting self-efficacy was not significant, $F(1, 91) = .63$, $p = .43$. The interaction between Parent and Child Gender approached statistical significance, $F(1, 91) = 3.42$, $p = .07$. Subsequent paired t-tests for parents of girls indicated that mothers' parenting self-efficacy was significantly higher than fathers when parenting girls, $t(52) = 2.68$, $p = .01$. Mothers and fathers of boys did not differ in their reports of parenting self-efficacy, $t(41) = -.02$, $p = .98$.

Zero-order relations between parenting and ethnic identity

Correlations between parenting (warmth, inductive reasoning, authority beliefs, relational goals, and self-efficacy) and children's ethnic identity (affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours) were examined separately for mothers and fathers. The results of these correlations are presented in Table 4. For the mothers, consistent with hypotheses, warmth and inductive reasoning were significantly positively related to children's feelings of ethnic belonging and practice of ethnic behaviours. Unexpectedly, no significant relationships were found between mothers' parenting cognitions (i.e., authority beliefs, relational goals, and parenting self-efficacy) and children's reports of ethnic identity. For the fathers, only one significant relationship emerged between parenting and children's ethnic identity. Specifically, there was a significant positive relationship between fathers' use of warmth and children's feelings of ethnic belonging. The other four parenting variables were not significantly related to feelings of ethnic

Table 4

Correlations between Parenting and Ethnic Identity

Parenting Variables	Mothers		Fathers	
	Affirmation and belonging	Ethnic Behaviours	Affirmation and belonging	Ethnic Behaviours
Warmth	.27**	.19[a]	.27**	.10
Inductive Reasoning	.29**	.28**	.10	.04
Authority Beliefs	.08	.12	.12	-.04
Relational Goals	-.03	.13	-.09	-.01
Self-Efficacy	.09	-.08	-.08	-.16

[a] $p < .10$, ** $p < .01$

affirmation and belonging, and none of the fathers' parenting variables were related to ethnic behaviours.

Regressions analyses predicting ethnic identity

A three-step hierarchical regression was used to determine whether child gender and generational status moderated the relationship between parenting and children's ethnic identity development. Child age, gender and immigrant status were entered in the first step. A dummy code was used to categorize gender (0 = boy, 1 = girl) and immigrant status (0 = 1.5/2nd generation, 1 = first generation). In order to aid the interpretability of the beta coefficients and the calculation of interactions, the parenting variables (i.e., warmth, inductive reasoning, authority beliefs, relational goals, and self-efficacy) were standardized (Aiken & West, 1991). Z-scores of children's reports of parental warmth

and inductive reasoning, and z-scores of parents' endorsement of authority beliefs, relational goals, and self-efficacy were simultaneously entered in the second step. This second step evaluates whether the parenting variables account for variability in reports of ethnic identity after accounting for the influence of child characteristics. In the third step, cross-product vectors were computed to reflect the interactions between gender or immigrant status and each parenting variable. This step evaluates whether child gender or immigrant status moderates the relationship between parenting and children's ethnic identity. A significant interaction term in step 3 indicates a moderating relationship.

The results of the regression analyses with children's ethnic affirmation and belonging as the dependent variable are presented in Table 5, and the results for the regressions on children's ethnic behaviours are presented in Table 6. Because predictors were previously standardized, the unstandardized B coefficients are reported. Relations between the control variables and ethnic identity (step 1) and partial correlations between the parenting variables and ethnic identity (step 2) are discussed first, followed by results related to the moderating role of child gender and immigrant status (step 3a and step 3b, respectively).

Ethnic affirmation and belonging

As shown in Table 5, child gender was the only control variable that was marginally related to children's reports of ethnic belonging in the first step. As seen in previous analyses, girls reported stronger feelings of ethnic belonging than boys. In step 2, when the contribution of child age, gender and generational status had been accounted for, there was a trend between mothers' parenting practices and cognitions and children's report of ethnic affirmation and belonging, accounting for an additional 10% of the

Table 5

Hierarchical Regressions Predicting Children's Ethnic Affirmation and Belonging from Child Gender, Immigrant Status, and Parenting

	Mothers[a]			Fathers[b]		
Variables Entered	R^2	ΔR^2	B	R^2	ΔR^2	B
Step 1	.06			.06		
Age			-.00			.00
Gender			.19[c]			.17[c]
Generation			-.12			-.14
Step 2	.16	.10[c]		.18	.13*	
Warmth			.29**			.32**
Inductive Reasoning			.30**			.11
Authority Beliefs			.07			.09
Relational Goals			.02			-.07
Parenting Self-Efficacy			.00			-.05
Step 3a	.20	.04		.28	.09[c]	
Gender*Warmth			-.03			-.43**
Gender*Reasoning			-.20			-.31[c]
Gender*Authority			.10			.11
Gender*Relational			-.03			-.26
Gender*Efficacy			.20			.01

	Mothers[a]			Fathers[b]		
	R^2	ΔR^2	B	R^2	ΔR^2	B
Step 3b	.26	.10[c]		.23	.04	
Generation*Warmth			-.00			-.21
Generation*Reasoning			.07			.02
Generation*Authority			.47**			-.05
Generation*Relational			.18			-.06
Generation*Efficacy			-.08			.05

Note. Step 3a refers to regression analysis with gender as moderator. Step3b refers to regression analysis with immigrant status as moderator.

[a] $n = 93$. [b] $n = 90$.

[c] $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

variance. As hypothesized, higher levels of maternal warmth and inductive reasoning were both associated with stronger feelings of ethnic belonging. Fathers' parenting practices and cognitions significantly accounted for 13% of variance in children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging, over and above the contribution of the control variables entered in step 1. More specifically, higher levels of paternal warmth were associated with stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Contrary to expectations (but consistent with previous analyses), mothers' and fathers' parenting cognitions did not significantly contribute to children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging.

Gender as a moderator. The results related to child gender as a moderator of the relationship between parenting and ethnic affirmation and belonging is presented in Step 3a of Table 5. Contrary to predictions, interactions between child gender and mothers' parenting did not account for a significant amount of variance in children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging. The interactions between child gender and fathers' parenting and its contributions children's reports of ethnic belonging approached significance when entered in the third step, accounting for 9% of the variance. More specifically, the interaction between child gender and fathers' warmth was significantly related to reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging. In order to explore the nature of this interaction, correlations between fathers' warmth and children's reports of ethnic belonging were calculated separately for boys and girls. As expected, fathers' warmth was significantly related to boys' reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging, $r(42) = .49$, $p < .01$, but not to girls' reports, $r(54) = .11$, $p = .45$. The interaction between child gender and fathers' inductive reasoning also approached statistical significance. However, evaluating the relation between fathers' inductive reasoning and ethnic affirmation and belonging for boys and girls separately did not clearly demonstrate the nature of this interaction. That is, fathers' inductive reasoning was not significantly related to boys' reports, $r(41) = .25$, $p = .12$, or girls' reports, $r(55) = .01$, $p = .93$, of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Although the correlation between fathers' inductive reasoning and boys' feelings of ethnic belonging was not statistically significant, these results follow the same pattern as the previous interaction. That is, fathers' parenting was more strongly related to the feelings of ethnic belonging of boys than those of girls.

Immigrant status as a moderator. The results evaluating immigrant status as a moderator of the relationship between parenting and ethnic affirmation and belonging are presented in step 3b in Table 5. Interactions between immigrant status and mothers' parenting and its relations to children's feelings of ethnic belonging approached significance, accounting for an additional 10% of the variance. This finding was accounted for by a significant interaction between child immigrant status and mothers' endorsement of authority beliefs. The nature of the interaction was explored by examining the relationship between mothers' authority beliefs and children's reports of ethnic belonging separately for 1st generation and 1.5/2nd generation children. Contrary to expectations, mothers' belief in their role as authority figures was significantly associated with higher reports of ethnic belonging among *first* generation children, $r(49) = .34$, $p < .05$. Furthermore, although the correlation was not significant, higher levels of authority role beliefs were associated with lower reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging among 1.5/2nd generation children, $r(48) = -.19$, $p = .20$. For the fathers, contrary to hypotheses, interactions between child immigrant status and parenting did not account for a significant amount of variance in children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging.

In summary, higher maternal warmth and inductive reasoning predicted higher levels of ethnic affirmation and belonging. For the fathers, higher levels of warmth were associated with higher levels of ethnic affirmation and belonging among boys but not among girls. Parenting cognitions generally were not related to children's ethnic affirmation and belonging, with the exception of mothers' authority role beliefs. Unexpectedly, mothers' higher endorsement of authority role beliefs was associated with *higher* feelings of ethnic belonging among first generation children, and *lower* feelings of

ethnic belonging among 1.5/2nd generation children (although the latter relationship was not statistically significant).

Ethnic behaviours

Table 6 presents the results regarding ethnic behaviours. As shown in the table, child age, gender, and immigrant status did not significantly contribute to variability in children's ethnic behaviours when entered in the first step. In the second step, mothers' parenting significantly contributed to children's reports of ethnic behaviours, accounting for 13% of the variance. More specifically, higher levels of maternal inductive reasoning were associated with higher reports ethnic behaviours. There was a positive trend between mothers' warmth and ethnic behaviours. In contrast, none of fathers' parenting practices and cognitions significantly contributed to children's ethnic behaviours.

Gender as a moderator. The moderating role of gender on the relationship between parenting and children's reports of ethnic behaviours is presented in step 3a of Table 6. Once again, significant interactions were probed by examining the correlations between parenting and ethnic behaviours separately by child gender or immigrant status. Contrary to predictions, the interactions between child gender and mothers' parenting did not significantly contribute to children's reports of ethnic behaviours. For the fathers, there was one trend between parenting self-efficacy and children's reports of ethnic behaviours. Unexpectedly, higher reports of fathers' parenting self-efficacy were associated with *lower* ethnic behaviours for boys, $r(42) = -.36$, $p < .05$; fathers' self-efficacy was unrelated to girls' ethnic behaviours $r(52) = .04$, $p = .76$.

Immigrant status as a moderator. The findings regarding the moderating role of immigrant status on the relationship between parenting and children's ethnic behaviours

Table 6

Hierarchical Regressions Predicting Children's Ethnic Behaviours from Child Gender, Immigrant Status, and Parenting

	Mothers[a]			Fathers[b]		
Variables Entered	R^2	ΔR^2	B	R^2	ΔR^2	B
Step 1	.01			.01		
Age			.01			.01
Gender			.09			.03
Generation			.09			.07
Step 2	.14	.13*		.06	.05	
Warmth			.20[c]			.10
Inductive Reasoning			.29**			-.05
Authority Beliefs			.18			.03
Relational Goals			.13			-.06
Parenting Self-Efficacy			-.11			-.12
Step 3a	.17	.03		.13	.07	
Gender*Warmth			.12			-.26
Gender*Reasoning			-.07			-.22
Gender*Authority			-.01			-.10
Gender*Relational			.02			-.12
Gender*Efficacy			.15			.27[c]

Variables Entered	Mothers			Fathers		
	R^2	ΔR^2	B	R^2	ΔR^2	B
Step 3b	.21	.08		.13	.07	
Generation*Warmth			.23			.09
Generation*Reasoning			.12			.25[c]
Generation*Authority			.30[c]			-.21
Generation*Relational			.15			-.05
Generation*Efficacy			-.15			-.03

Note. Step 3a refers to regression analysis with gender as moderator. Step3b refers to regression analysis with immigrant status as moderator.

[a]$n = 92$. [b]$n = 89$.

[c]$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

are presented in the Step 3b of Table 6. Contrary to expectations, interactions between child immigrant status and mothers' parenting did not account for a significant proportion of variance in children's reports of ethnic behaviours. Despite the overall insignificant contribution of the interaction terms in Step 3, the specific interaction between mothers' endorsement of authority beliefs and children's immigrant status and its relationships with ethnic behaviours approached statistical significance. Probing this effect revealed that higher maternal endorsement of authority roles was associated with more ethnic behaviours among first generation children, $r(49) = .36, p < .05$, but was not associated with 1.5/2nd generation children's ethnic behaviours, $r(47) = -.02, p = .89$. Also contrary to predictions, the interactions between child immigrant status and fathers' parenting did

not significantly account for variance in children's reports of ethnic behaviours. Only the interaction between immigrant status and fathers' inductive reasoning and its relationship with reports of ethnic behaviours approached statistical significance. Fathers' inductive reasoning was positively associated with more ethnic behaviours among first generation children, $r(49) = .28, p = .05$. In addition, although the correlation was not significant, fathers' inductive reasoning showed the opposite relation with ethnic behaviours among $1.5/2^{nd}$ generation children, $r(47) = -.21, p = .16$.

Overall, consistent with predictions and with univariate analyses, higher levels of maternal warmth and inductive reasoning predicted more ethnic behaviours. Fathers' inductive reasoning was also associated with higher reports of ethnic behaviours, but only among first generation children. In general, parenting cognitions did not account for a significant portion of variance in children's reports of ethnic behaviours, with the exception of fathers' parenting self-efficacy and maternal authority role beliefs. Higher feelings of parenting self-efficacy among fathers were associated with lower reports of ethnic behaviours, but only for boys. In addition, stronger authority role beliefs among mothers were associated with more ethnic behaviours among first generation children and fewer ethnic behaviours among $1.5/2^{nd}$ generation children (although the latter relations was not statistically significant).

Summary of results

Parenting between mothers and fathers were significantly related. However, mothers were higher than fathers on several parenting domains. Mothers used more warmth in their parenting and more inductive reasoning when parenting $1.5/2^{nd}$ generation children. Mothers also more highly endorsed relational goals in their

childrearing and felt more efficacious in their parenting role, especially when parenting girls.

Few gender and immigrant status differences in ethnic identity were observed. As expected, girls reported higher feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging than boys. However, there were no gender differences in participation in ethnic behaviours, and no immigrant status differences in reports of ethnic belonging and ethnic behaviours.

In general, parenting practices were significantly related to children's reports of ethnic identity. More specifically, mothers' use of warmth and inductive reasoning had an overall contribution to children's development of ethnic identity, regardless of child gender. Only fathers' use of warmth in their parenting was associated with boys' feelings of ethnic belonging, and neither fathers' use of warmth nor use of inductive reasoning were associated with girls' reports of ethnic identity. In contrast, there were few relations between parenting cognitions and children's reports of ethnic identity. Of the significant findings, mothers' endorsement of authority role beliefs was significantly associated with higher feelings of ethnic belonging and more ethnic behaviours among first generation children. Finally, in examining the moderating role of child gender and generational status, parenting played a more important role in reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours among boys and first generation children.

Discussion

The interrelations among gender, immigration status, and parenting, and their relations with two aspects of ethnic identity (i.e., ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours) were assessed in this study. The results highlight gender differences in children's reports of ethnic identity and begin to clarify the role of parenting in children's

ethnic identity development. In general, positive environments within the family created by mothers' parenting practices may promote children's development of a strong sense of ethnic identity among both boys and girls. Fathers' parenting practices were important predictors of boys' feelings of ethnic identity, but were unrelated to girls' ethnic identity. In contrast to the effects of parenting practices, parenting cognitions were largely unrelated to children's feelings of ethnic identity, with a few exceptions. Mothers' beliefs in their role as authority figures and father's use of reasoning with children were more important in predicting the ethnic identity of 1st generation children than 1.5/2nd generation children. Finally, although mothers and fathers tended to differ in their parenting, the aspects of parenting that predicted feelings of ethnic identity were quite similar.

Gender and immigrant status differences in ethnic identity

As expected, girls reported more positive feelings about being Chinese and felt greater belonging to the Chinese group compared to boys, but contrary to expectations there were no gender differences in children's participation in culturally specific activities. Stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging among girls are consistent with findings from previous studies (Phinney, 1990; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). However, the lack of gender differences in children's participation in ethnic behaviours are inconsistent with findings from previous studies that found girls are more likely to participate in ethnic behaviours compared to boys (e.g., Dion & Dion, 2004; Phinney, 1992). The younger age of the children in this study may have contributed to this inconsistent finding, since gender differences in reports of ethnic behaviours mostly have been observed among older adolescents and adults. Perhaps at younger ages, boys and

girls are required to participate in ethnic behaviours at a similar rate by their parents. As children progress into adolescence and adulthood, gender differences in ethnic behaviours may emerge as parents begin to ask girls to take on more familial and cultural responsibilities, such as helping to prepare dishes for ethnic celebrations. Parents may ask girls to perform more familial and cultural duties because women are traditionally viewed as cultural transmitters (Phinney, 1990). In addition, it is important to note that ethnic behaviours were assessed using only two items, which may have limited the reliability with which participation in ethnic behaviours was assessed.

No differences were observed between first generation and 1.5/2nd generation children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging or ethnic behaviours. It was expected that because first generation children participated in cultural activities and received cultural education prior to immigration, their ethnic identity development may have progressed further than 1.5/2nd generation children who likely had less direct ethnic culture exposure. However, the 1.5/2nd generation children may have had a different set of experiences growing up in Canada that also promoted a sense of ethnic identity, resulting in no group differences in children's reports of ethnic identity. That is, children who were born in Canada or who immigrated at an early age have spent more time as an ethnic minority compared to first generation children, and consequently, may have had more opportunities to consider what their ethnicity means to them. In addition, because 1.5/2nd generation children may have less knowledge of cultural traditions, parents may be more likely to enrol these children in organized and informal cultural classes (e.g., Chinese school) and encourage them to take part in cultural activities and seek out same ethnic individuals, all of which may have contributed to 1.5/2nd generation children's

participation in ethnic behaviours. It is also important to note that Canada encourages multiculturalism and thus, sources of cultural knowledge may be more readily available for Chinese immigrants in Canada. Immigrant status differences in participation in ethnic behaviours may be more pronounced when examining the development of ethnic identity in countries where external sources of cultural knowledge for immigrants are more limited.

The *age of immigration* among the children in this study may have contributed to the lack of immigrant status differences. For example, first generation children may be similar to 1.5/2nd generation children because both immigrant groups received relatively less direct cultural education compared to individuals who immigrated as adolescents or adults. Individuals who immigrated during adolescence or adulthood may be more involved in cultural socialization and may have received cultural education from a longer period of time. Consequently, first generation children may not differ from 1.5/2nd generation children due to the relatively early age (before the age of 12) at which they immigrated to Canada and the period in which they received cultural education (during childhood).

The *current age* of the children in this study also may have contributed to the lack of significant immigrant status differences in ethnic identity. Generational status differences in ethnic identity have been observed among older adolescents and young adults (e.g., Dion & Dion, 2004; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992a). The young adolescents in this study may all be in the early stages of ethnic identity development, and may have relatively less independence and cognitive abilities to explore their feelings of ethnic identity compared to older adolescents. Consequently, the different experiences of

children from different generations may not yet be reflected in their reports of ethnic identity. Overall, these findings suggest that immigrant status differences in ethnic identity may not be salient during the developmental stage of early adolescence. It is possible that as first generation children get older and spend more time in Canada, the cultural socialization they received before immigrating may serve to enhance their attachment to their ethnic culture compared to 1.5/2nd generation children.

Parenting practices and ethnic identity

Parental warmth and inductive reasoning were significantly related to stronger feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging and more engagement in ethnic behaviours. Consistent with the hypotheses and with previous research, these results suggest that warmth and inductive reasoning create an atmosphere within the family that encourages immigrant children to explore their ethnicity and come to their own conclusions regarding the role of their ethnic background in their lives (Cheng & Kuo, 2000; Davey et al., 2003). Parents who are willing to openly show their love for their children and who are more open to discussions with their children may also be modeling positive attitudes and openness towards the opinions of others. As a result, their children may be more receptive to parental influence, which likely includes encouragement of strong feelings of ethnic identity. Furthermore, these parenting practices may also reflect positively upon the Chinese culture, and make it more appealing for immigrant children to identify with the Chinese culture.

Unexpectedly, although mothers' warmth and inductive reasoning were positively related to both sons' and daughters' reports of ethnic identity, the positive effect of fathers' parenting on children's ethnic identity was restricted to sons' feelings of

belonging to the Chinese culture. This result partly supports the hypothesis that parenting has a stronger influence on boys' ethnic identity development than girls. Parenting may play a more important role in boys' ethnic identity development because boys may have less internal motivation to adopt an ethnic identity than girls (Phinney, 1990). Furthermore, fathers may be particularly important in the development of ethnic identity among sons because of the importance placed on the father-son relationship in Chinese families. Because Chinese societies are patrilineal, fathers may teach sons about family traditions and filial duties more than girls (Ho, 1987). Thus, although fathers do not differ in their expressions of warmth with boys or girls, fathers' expressions of warmth with boys may be especially salient due to the role that father-son relationships play in the transmission of familial duties from father to son.

Mothers' use of reasoning may have more global influences on the ethnic identity of children than fathers' use of reasoning because mothers' reasoning may contain more cultural content, which in turn may encourage children to engage in more ethnic behaviours and feel a stronger sense of ethnic belonging (e.g., "You can't go out with your friends tonight because you should have dinner with the family"). In contrast, Chinese fathers' reasoning with their children may be less likely to contain cultural messages (e.g., "You can't go out with your friends tonight because it is dangerous for teenagers to be out so late"). As a result, fathers' reasoning may provide fewer opportunities for children to learn about their culture, whereas mothers' inductive reasoning may contain more cultural messages from which children can develop stronger feelings of ethnic belonging and engage in more ethnic behaviours.

Fathers' use of reasoning was significantly related to higher reports of ethnic behaviours among first generation children, but it was not significantly related to reports of ethnic behaviours among 1.5/2nd generation children. Children of different generations may have different expectations regarding the likelihood that fathers will reason and discuss decisions with them. First generation children may not expect their fathers to discuss and reason with them because they have spent more time in the ethnic culture where fathers do not readily negotiate and discuss their decisions with their children (Ho, 1987; Huang & Ying, 1989). As a result, when fathers discuss with first generation children, these children may feel more positive about being a Chinese individual in Canada, and may be more likely to take part in cultural activities. First generation children with fathers who engage in more reasoning may also understand better why it is important to participate in Chinese cultural practices compared to first generation children whose fathers' reason with them less. In contrast, because they have spent more time in Canada, 1.5/2nd generation children may expect fathers to solicit their opinions because they may have perceived from the media and interactions with their friends that Canadian parents reason with their children. As a result, the extent of fathers' reasoning with 1.5/2nd generation children may not strongly influence children's willingness to take part in cultural activities. In addition, greater use of reasoning from fathers may not promote more ethnic behaviours in these children due to possible language barriers between fathers and 1.5/2nd generation children. For example, 1.5/2nd generation children may have more difficulties understanding fathers' reasoning expressed in Chinese, and fathers may have difficulties clearly expressing their reasons in English. As a result, reasoning from fathers may have less influence on 1.5/2nd generation children.

Parenting cognitions and ethnic identity

No significant relations were observed between parenting cognitions and children's reports of ethnic affirmation and belonging or ethnic behaviours. It was expected that authority role beliefs may interfere with children's ethnic identity development because such parenting beliefs would be associated with fewer parental discussions with children and consequently, fewer opportunities for children to learn about their culture from their parents. In contrast, relational childrearing goals and parenting self-efficacy were expected to promote children's feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviours. The cultural messages contained in relational goals, and the confidence and persistence in childrearing associated with feelings of parenting self-efficacy were expected to make it more likely for children to model themselves after their parents and develop a strong sense of ethnic identity. However, the results from this study do not support these hypotheses, and suggest that parenting cognitions are not directly related to children's ethnic identity development.

The expectation that parenting cognitions would be associated with ethnic identity included the assumption that certain parenting cognitions would be associated with specific parenting practices, which in turn would promote or discourage feelings of ethnic identity. However, the parenting cognitions assessed in this study may not be associated with concomitant parenting practices as expected. For example, it was assumed that higher endorsement of authority beliefs would be associated with fewer parent-child discussions. This assumption may not be warranted, because previous studies have found that although Chinese parents and children highly value the importance of parental authority, parents still report that they explain their reasons for their decisions and

negotiate with their children (Bowes, Chen, San, & Yuan, 2004; Chao, 1994). Endorsement of authority role beliefs may be associated with the Chinese cultural notion of "child training" where high parental authority occurs in the context of support and nurturance (Chao, 1994). The parents in this study generally showed high levels of warmth and inductive reasoning. Therefore, even though parents in this study may have strongly endorsed their roles as authority figures, this parenting belief may not be associated with negative parenting practices, such as fewer parent-child discussions.

It was also assumed that higher parental efficacy would be associated with confidence and persistence in teaching children about their ethnic culture. However, parents who feel they are effective in their parenting may not necessarily encourage children to take part in *ethnic* activities and may not model *ethnic* behaviours for their children. As a result, although parents who feel highly efficacious may be more likely to guide their children (Coleman & Karraker, 2003; Teti & Gelfand, 1991), and their children may be more likely to model themselves after their parents, these behaviours may not directly encourage children to develop a sense of ethnic identity.

The lack of relationship between relational childrearing goals and children's ethnic identity suggests that valuing culturally emphasized childrearing goals is not sufficient in promoting children's feelings of ethnic identity. In addition, parental emphasis on socializing children to value and develop good relations with others may not be unique to the Chinese culture and consequently may not be strongly associated with children's ethnic identity development. Chao (1995) examined childrearing themes among European American and immigrant Chinese mothers and found that mothers from both cultures highly valued teaching children to value and respect relations with others.

In addition, although Chinese mothers were more likely to value the development of relational characteristic in their children, European American mothers did not differ from Chinese parents in their emphasis on the importance of teaching children the value of respect (Jose, Huntsinger, Huntsinger, & Liaw, 2000). Thus, relational childrearing goals may not encourage feelings ethnic belonging and participation in Chinese cultural activities because valuing good relations with others is not unique to the Chinese culture.

There was one main instance in which parenting cognitions predicted ethnic identity. The more mothers endorsed their roles as authority figures, the more first generation children felt they belonged to the Chinese culture and engaged in cultural activities with other Chinese individuals. In contrast, among 1.5/2nd generation children, mothers' stronger endorsement of authority roles tended to be associated with lower feelings of ethnic identity (although this was not statistically significant). Children of different generations may have different expectations regarding the extent to which mothers are the authority figures in the family. Because they have immigrated more recently, the families of first generation children may place greater importance on traditional family hierarchy compared to families of 1.5/2nd generation children. If so, then higher endorsement by mothers regarding their roles as authority figures would be concordant with first generation children's expectations regarding what it means to be part of a Chinese family. As a result, higher maternal authority role beliefs may be associated with stronger feelings of ethnic identity among first generation children, and lower authority role beliefs may be associated with weaker feelings of ethnic identity. On the other hand, 1.5/2nd generation children's feelings of ethnic identity may be less strongly related and perhaps adversely affected by authority beliefs from parents because

they have spent more time in Canada and may have formed their expectations in part from their greater knowledge of non-immigrant Canadian mothers. As a result, higher endorsement of authority role beliefs among mothers may reflect less positively on the Chinese culture for 1.5/2nd generation children, and consequently may be associated with lower feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging. Indeed, mothers of 1.5/2nd generation children reported *higher* authority role beliefs than parents of first generation children. Thus, these beliefs may be particularly incongruent with the expectations of 1.5/2nd generation children.

Interestingly, although fathers did not differ from mothers in the extent to which they believe they are authority figures in the family, fathers' authority beliefs were not related to the ethnic identity of first generation or 1.5/2nd generation children. Fathers may have fewer occasions to interact with children compared to mothers, and as a result, children may not be as directly impacted by fathers' authority role beliefs as mothers' authority beliefs. For instance, fathers in this sample were more likely than mothers to work outside of the home, which may limit fathers' demands that children abide by their requests and not question their authority. Therefore, fathers' obligations outside of the home may limit the extent to which their authority role beliefs affect children's ethnic identity development.

Although, parenting self-efficacy was generally not associated with children's ethnic identity, there was one exception; the more fathers reported feeling efficacious as parents, the lower boys' reports of ethnic behaviours were. Fathers' feelings of parenting self-efficacy may have more impact on boys' participation in ethnic behaviours than girls due to the emphasis placed on father-son relationships in Chinese families (Ho, 1987).

For example, because Chinese families are traditionally patrilineal, fathers may feel particularly responsible for the success of sons. If fathers feel greater responsibility for boys' achievement and successful development, then their feelings of confidence in their role as parents may play a more important role in interactions between fathers and sons. In addition, because Chinese sons are expected to take care of their parents in old age, and carry on family traditions, fathers may feel more responsible for the transmission of cultural knowledge and behaviours to sons compared to daughters. If fathers feel a special obligation to ensure that boys know important ethnic traditions and behaviours, then their confidence and persistence at teaching and modeling ethnic traditions will have more of an impact on the extent to which boys adopt ethnic behaviours.

However, the direction of the relationship between self-efficacy and ethnic identity was unexpected (i.e., higher self-efficacy predicted lower ethnic identity). Perhaps immigrant fathers' feelings regarding their ability to influence their sons are affected by how capable they feel parenting within the Canadian context. That is, fathers who feel more efficacious may be more familiar with Canadian culture than fathers who feel less efficacious. If fathers who feel more efficacious are more oriented towards Canadian culture, greater participation in the Canadian culture may result in fewer opportunities to model ethnic behaviours and traditions for children. Similarly, if fathers who feel less efficacious are more oriented towards the Chinese culture, they may be more likely to model ethnic behaviours and traditions for their children.

The current data is from a larger study (Costigan & Su, in press), and therefore there is the opportunity to directly evaluate the hypothesized relationship between fathers' cultural participation and feelings of parenting self-efficacy. As expected,

stronger feelings of parenting self-efficacy were associated with greater involvement in Canadian culture, $r(96) = .33$, $p = .001$, and less involvement in Chinese culture, $r(95) = -.20$, $p < .05$. These correlations support the hypothesis that fathers who report higher feelings of parenting self-efficacy are more oriented towards the Canadian culture and may model ethnic behaviours and traditions less frequently. Thus, fathers who report higher feelings of parenting self-efficacy may model Chinese behaviours less frequently for their sons, resulting in lower levels ethnic behaviours among boys. Conversely, fathers who report lower feelings of parenting self-efficacy may model ethnic behaviours more frequently for their sons, resulting in higher levels of ethnic behaviours among boys.

Mother-father differences in parenting

Despite the findings that mothers and fathers were fairly similar in the aspects of their parenting that predicted ethnic identity, there were a number of significant differences in the extent to which parents demonstrated different aspects of parenting. Compared to fathers, mothers in this study used more overt expressions of love in their parenting, reasoned more when parenting 1.5/2nd generation children, more strongly emphasized relational childrearing goals, and felt more efficacious in their parenting role when parenting girls. These findings may reflect traditional Chinese parenting roles of mothers and fathers.

Traditionally, Chinese parents play different roles in the family. Chinese mothers are often viewed as the nurturing caretakers in the family and have close relationships with children, whereas Chinese fathers are the main decision makers and disciplinarians in the family and are discouraged from expressing warmth to their children (Chao-Tseng,

2002; Ho, 1987). As a result of these culturally supported parenting roles, Chinese mothers may use more warmth in their parenting, and may more highly value relational characteristics in their children in order to enhance the closeness of mother-child relations (Chao, 1994, 1995; Grusec, 2002; Ho, 1987). In contrast, Chinese fathers may be less likely to show warmth and emphasize relational characteristics in their children because these aspects of parenting may conflict with their parenting role as the disciplinarian in family. Finally, the finding that Chinese fathers reasoned with their children less than mothers also supports the notion that reasoning with children may be inconsistent with Chinese fathers' role as the main decision maker in the family; however this was only true among parents of 1.5/2nd generation children.

The finding that fathers used reasoning less frequently than mothers when parenting 1.5/2nd generation children was surprising because it was expected that fathers of 1.5/2nd generation children, having lived in Canada longer, may be particularly likely to use Canadian parenting practices, which includes reasoning with children. Instead, the results showed that fathers of 1.5/2nd generation children were the least likely to use reasoning. If 1.5/2nd generation children have less knowledge of cultural values and traditions compared to first generation children, then fathers of 1.5/2nd generation children may be concerned that their children are do not fully appreciate the role of fathers in Chinese families as the main decision maker. As a result, fathers of 1.5/2nd generation children may be less likely to reason in order to enhance their children's understanding of the role of Chinese fathers. In contrast, mothers may be more likely to use reasoning than fathers when parenting 1.5/2nd generation children, because reasoning

with children is consistent with mothers' role as the caretakers and nurturers in the family.

Similarly, parents may feel that 1.5/2nd generation children are less aware of the importance of parents' roles as main authority figures in Chinese families. Consequently, parents may endorse more authority role beliefs when parenting 1.5/2nd generation children in order to emphasize to these children the importance of respect for parents' authority in Chinese families. Furthermore, because 1.5/2nd generation children tend to be more acculturated than their parents (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997), parents may feel pressure to endorse their role as authority figures in order to maintain their influence on their children. In contrast, fathers may engage in inductive reasoning as much as mothers and both parents may less strongly endorse their roles as authority figures when parenting first generation children because these children likely have a better understanding of Chinese family structure and values. Thus, fathers may not feel as much need to explicitly model the role of Chinese fathers for first generation children, and parents may not feel as much pressure to emphasize their role as authority figures when parenting first generation children.

The role of mothers in Chinese families as the main caretakers in the family may encourage more interaction between mothers and children. Thus, it is not surprising that the mothers in this study reported higher feelings of efficacy in their role as parents than fathers; however, this is only true when parenting girls. Mothers of girls may have reported higher feelings of parenting self-efficacy than fathers of girls in part due to the age of the children in this study. In particular, mothers may feel more efficacious than fathers when parenting adolescent girls because mothers may feel they are better able to

relate to and guide the changing needs of girls. In addition, because adolescent girls are less likely than boys to turn to their fathers for support (Chen et al., 2000; Ho, 1987), fathers of girls may have fewer opportunities to feel efficacious in their parenting role.

Finally, although the findings from this study support existing research regarding the role of mothers and fathers in Chinese families, these findings also illuminate aspects of Chinese parenting that may be changing over time. For example, although Chinese fathers are traditionally regarded as the disciplinarian and decision makers in the family, the fathers in this study did not endorse their beliefs as authority figures in the family more strongly than mothers. Furthermore, although the mothers in this study used more warmth than fathers in their parenting, reports of fathers' overt expressions of affection were still relatively high. These findings suggest that Chinese parents today may not adhere strictly to traditional roles of "kind mother, strict father" (Wilson, 1974, in Shek, 2000). Traditional concepts of Chinese parenting roles may have changed following immigration and with previous exposure to Western parenting ideals through the media before immigration.

Conclusions and implications

Having a sense of ethnic identity may help immigrant Chinese children adapt to changes associated with immigration, such as changing from being part of a majority ethnic group to being a visible minority. The sense of purpose and group membership that is associated with ethnic identity may help immigrant children feel connected to a larger society, and subsequently, may promote adaptive psychological development (Phinney, 1992; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Thus, understanding the factors that promote

ethnic identity development among immigrant children is important in helping these children successfully adjust to life as an ethnic minority in Canada.

The influence of parents may be particularly salient in shaping immigrant Chinese children's development of ethnic identity. Aside from time spent in school, early adolescent children may spend more time with parents than older adolescents (Collins et al., 2002). In addition, Chinese adolescents tend to expect autonomy from parents at a later age than European American adolescents (Stewart, Bond, Deeds, & Chung, 1999). Thus, at this developmental stage, the environments that parents create through their parenting practices are important in encouraging immigrant children to feel connected to their ethnic culture and engage in ethnic activities with other Chinese people.

The findings from this study suggest that parenting *behaviours* may encourage children to develop a sense of belonging to the Chinese community and take part in Chinese cultural activities. More specifically, mothers' expressions of love for their children and their willingness to reason with children may create an atmosphere within the family that encourages immigrant children to feel more positive about being a Chinese individual in the Canadian society. Furthermore, fathers' expressions of love with sons are especially important in the development of boys' feelings of ethnic identity. In contrast, culturally based parenting *cognitions* do not have a strong direct impact on children's ethnic identity development. Thus, teaching children traditional cultural values such as highly valuing relationships with others and respecting the authority of parents may not encourage children to feel more positive about being Chinese or to take part in Chinese cultural activities. These results suggest that, although immigrant parents may attempt to help their children develop a sense of belonging to the Chinese community by

modeling and endorsing culturally emphasized role and values, fostering a positive environment in the family through parenting practices may be more important in achieving that goal. Being openly affectionate and discussing decisions with children may also help promote immigrant children's socio-emotional development and psychological well-being (Chen & Luster, 2002; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003), which may also indirectly support the development of a strong sense of ethnic identity. In addition, although the findings from this study did not find evidence that parenting cognitions had an effect on children's ethnic identity development, the two culturally supported parenting beliefs examined in this study may affect other aspects of children's development. For example, placing strong emphasis on the role of parents as authority figures may adversely affect children's development of self-motivation skills and autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2000), which may have an impact on children's ethnic identity development as they grow older.

The lack of immigrant status differences in ethnic identity suggest that although 1.5/2nd generation children may have fewer direct experiences with their ethnic culture, their experiences as an ethnic minority in Canada may have contributed to their ethnic identity development. The presence of cultural organizations in Canada may also have helped promote 1.5/2nd generation children's development of ethnic identity. Thus, the continuing presence of these Chinese institutions in Canada may be especially important for 1.5/2nd generation children in teaching them cultural practices and in fostering feelings of belonging to the Chinese community.

Overall, there were only a few instances in which child gender or immigrant status moderated the relationship between parenting and ethnic identity. Specifically,

there was evidence that fathers' parenting was more influential on boys' reports of ethnic identity than girls. This was true for fathers' expressions of warmth and feelings of parenting self-efficacy. There was also some limited evidence that parenting is a more salient influence on the feelings of ethnic identity of first generation children than 1.5/2nd generation children. This was true for both mothers' endorsement of authority beliefs and fathers' use of inductive reasoning. These results suggest that boys and first generation children may benefit more from parental support in developing their identities as a Chinese individual living in Canada.

The results from this study illuminate only one facet in the myriad of influences on children's ethnic identity development. For instance, influences within the family do not stop with parents. Live-in grandparents and older siblings are likely to be an important influence on immigrant children's ethnic identity development. Because grandparents are highly valued in Chinese societies and occupy important positions in the family, grandparents may also directly teach children about their ethnicity, which may result in higher feelings of belonging to the Chinese culture among those children. In addition, children may acquire a better understanding of cultural values and traditions (e.g., filial piety) by observing parents' behaviours around grandparents. Older siblings who have spent more time in the country of origin may also teach children about cultural practices and model cultural behaviours for younger siblings.

At this developmental stage, interactions with peers and the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods also may influence children's development of ethnic identity. For example, young adults who have close relationships with friends who are of the same ethnicity as them are more likely to develop a strong sense of ethnic identity and engage

in more ethnic behaviours (Nesdale & Mak, 2002; Xu, Shim, Lotz, & Almeida, 2004). Children who live in neighbourhoods where they are the major ethnic group may also be more likely to feel a sense of belonging to their ethnic community. The cultural diversity of neighbourhoods and schools may also affect the role of parenting on children's ethnic identity development. The influence of parents on children's ethnic identity development may be less salient in neighbourhoods where there is a high population of individuals from the same ethnic background. For instance, Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) found that children from schools in which they were the major ethnic group perceived lower levels of active cultural education in their family, whereas children from schools where they were minorities were more aware of parents' cultural teachings within the home. Parents' efforts to teach children about their culture may be more salient for children who attend schools where they are the minority ethnic group, because they can readily compare their experiences at home to those of other peers at school.

Individual factors also may affect children's ethnic identity development and moderate the relationship between parenting and ethnic identity. For example, birth order may partially shape children's ethnic identity (Cheng & Kuo, 2000). First-born children may report higher feelings of ethnic identity because they are traditionally viewed in Chinese families to be the bridge between the parents' generation and the younger generation (Huang & Ying, 1989). Parents may also expect first-born children to teach later born children about their culture (Huang & Ying, 1989). As a result, first-born children may feel more motivation to develop a sense of ethnic identity. Similarly, later-born children may be less likely to develop strong feelings of ethnic identity because they may feel less family obligation to uphold and transmit their ethnic culture.

Limitations and future directions

There are several limitations to this study. First, like most studies about ethnic identity, this study used children's self-reports of ethnic identity. Children's responses on questionnaires regarding their feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging and their participation in ethnic activities may differ from what they actually think or do. A better way to assess children's participation in ethnic behaviours may be to directly assess what types of ethnic activities children participate in and ask parents about the extent to which children take part in cultural rites and celebrations.

In addition, the measure of ethnic identity used in this study only captures children's feelings of ethnic identity at a specific moment in time. Data were collected from family members at the same time (and occasionally with several Chinese families gathered together). Because children were aware that the study was about their ethnic background, and were filling out these questionnaires in the context of other Chinese individuals, their feelings of ethnic belonging and reports of ethnic behaviours may have been elevated. Future studies should take into account the influence of situational factors on the relationship between parenting and ethnic identity. For example, using daily diaries to assess children's ethnic identity may better capture situational variations in feelings of ethnic identity. Doing so may elucidate the contexts in which parents play an important role in influencing children's feelings of belonging to their ethnic group and clarify the contexts that enhance or decrease feelings of ethnic belonging among children of different gender and immigrant statuses.

The findings in this study were based on correlations, and thus, causal conclusions cannot be drawn. Although it was assumed that higher levels of parental warmth and

inductive reasoning promoted children's ethnic identity development, it is also possible that parents of children who report higher ethnic affirmation and belonging and participate in more ethnic behaviours show more warmth and use inductive reasoning more frequently in their parenting. The direction of the relationship between parenting and ethnic identity could be better assessed by following the participants across time to determine if changes in parenting are accompanied by changes in children's reports of ethnic identity.

The age of the children in this study limits the generalizability of these findings. Although this study is one of the few to examine ethnic identity development among younger adolescents, the findings cannot be applied to older adolescents. The process of identity development for the young adolescents in this study has just begun, and consequently, there may be less variation in reports of ethnic identity among children in this age period. More variation in reports of ethnic identity and parenting experiences may be found in a sample with a wider age range. For example, as young adolescent children approach middle and late adolescence, they may gain more independence from their parents, and as a result, the influence of parenting on older adolescents' ethnic identity development may wane. Examining differences in parenting and ethnic identity among adolescents within a wider age range may further elucidate the salience of parenting on children's ethnic identity development during different stages of adolescence.

Although comparisons between first generation and 1.5/2nd generation children simultaneously takes into account age of arrival, and length of residence in the host and ethnic countries, this distinction may overlook other types of host and ethnic culture

exposure. For example, Chinese children born in Canada may have previous exposure to their ethnic culture through trips back to their parent's country of origin, Chinese school, and interactions with peers from the same ethnic background. Thus, using generational status and length of residence as proxies for host and ethnic culture exposure may not validly reflect immigrants' actual knowledge of host and ethnic cultures (Costigan & Su, in press; Phinney, 2003). Assessing immigrant children's direct experiences and knowledge of the host and ethnic cultures may be a better way of studying the role of cultural exposure on children's development of ethnic identity. Instead of making inferences based on immigrant status, future studies should directly assess how much previous exposure 1.5/2nd generation children have had to their ethnic culture and how much previous exposure first generation children have had to the Canadian culture.

Finally, as previously discussed, the relationship between parenting and children's ethnic identity development may also be affected by factors such as birth order, live-in grandparents, and the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods. Thus, future studies should broadly assess factors that may influence children's ethnic identity development so that the relative importance of parenting compared to these other factors can be determined.

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Appendix A: Ethic Identity Questionnaire

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or *ethnic* groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Indo-Canadian, Chinese, Black, First Nations, and White. Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two groups, but people differ in how important their *ethnicity* is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

	1 Strongly Disagree	**2 Disagree**	**3 Agree**	**4 Strongly Agree**
I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4
I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	2	3	4
I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	1	2	3	4
I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.	1	2	3	4
I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how it relates to my own group and other groups.	1	2	3	4
In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.	1	2	3	4
I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music or customs.	1	2	3	4
I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	1	2	3	4

Appendix B: Parental Warmth Questionnaire

Please circle the number that best indicates how your **MOM** relates to you and what kind of expectations she has of you.

	1 Never	**2 Almost Never**	**3 Not Often**	**4 About ½ the time**	**5 Fairly Often**	**6 Almost Always**	**7 Always**
Is your mom affectionate with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you think your mom enjoys talking things over with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you feel your mom understands what you are really like?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When you have troubles, does your mom comfort and help you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Is your mom cheerful when she is with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you feel satisfied with the relationship you have with your mom?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Does your mom smile at you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Next, please circle the number that best indicates how your **DAD** related to you and what kind of expectations he has of you.

	1 **Never**	**2** **Almost Never**	**3** **Not Often**	**4** **About ½ the time**	**5** **Fairly Often**	**6** **Almost Always**	**7** **Always**
Is your dad affectionate with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you think your dad enjoys talking things over with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you feel your dad understands what you are really like?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When you have troubles, does your dad comfort and help you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Is your dad cheerful when she is with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you feel satisfied with the relationship you have with your dad?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Does your dad smile at you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix C: Parental Inductive Reasoning Questionnaire

Please circle the number that best indicates how your **MOM** relates to you and what kind of expectations she has of you.

	1 Never	**2 Almost Never**	**3 Not Often**	**4 About ½ the time**	**5 Fairly Often**	**6 Almost Always**	**7 Always**
Can you talk to your mom about what is going on in your life?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Does your mom give you reasons for her decisions?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Does your mom ask you what you think before making decisions that affect you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Does your mom discipline you by reasoning, explaining, or talking to you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Next, please circle the number that best indicates how your **DAD** related to you and what kind of expectations he has of you.

	1 **Never**	**2** **Almost Never**	**3** **Not Often**	**4** **About ½ the time**	**5** **Fairly Often**	**6** **Almost Always**	**7** **Always**
Can you talk to your dad about what is going on in your life?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Does your dad give you reasons for her decisions?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Does your dad ask you what you think before making decisions that affect you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Does your dad discipline you by reasoning, explaining, or talking to you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix D: Parental Authority Role Questionnaire

Please circle the number that best represents your views about raising children of this age.

	1 Strongly Disagree	**2 Mildly Disagree**	**3 Not Sure**	**4 Mildly Agree**	**5 Strongly Agree**
The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to parents.	1	2	3	4	5
Children should always do what their parents say, no matter what.	1	2	3	4	5
Children should not question the authority of their parents.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix E: Relational Childrearing Goal Questionnaire

Parents often have specific ideas about the qualities they are trying to instill in their children. For instance, some parents highly value independence and try to raise their children to have this trait. Other parents highly value loyalty, and focus their child-rearing efforts on instilling this quality. Quite a few possible child-rearing goals are listed below.

How important is it to you that your child possesses the following characteristics or abilities?

	Not at all important	**Fairly unimpor-tant**	**Somewhat important**	**Very Important**	**Extremely important**
Remain in a group if needed by the group even though one is unhappy with the group	1	2	3	4	5
Be respectful	1	2	3	4	5
Sacrifice self-interest for one's group	1	2	3	4	5
Respect decisions made by one's group	1	2	3	4	5
Be cooperative	1	2	3	4	5
Maintain harmony in one's group	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F: Parenting Self-Efficacy Questionnaire

How often do you feel this way about your parenting?

	Never	Rarely	Once in a while	About Half the Time	More often than not	Most of the time	Always
I feel sure of myself as a mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No matter what I try, my child will not do what I want.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When something goes wrong between me and my child there is little I can do to correct it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I know I am doing a good job as a mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel useless as a mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My child usually ends up getting his/her way.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I know things about being a mother/father that would be helpful to other parents.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When my child gets upset with me, I usually give in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can solve most problems between my child and I.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When things are going badly between my child and me, I keep trying until things begin to change.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7