

Antecedents of Parenting Efficacy among Chinese Immigrant Parents in Canada

by

Daphné Patricia Dokis
B.A., University of Guelph, 2000
M.A., University of Victoria, 2004

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Supervisory Committee

Dr. Catherine L. Costigan, Supervisor
(Department of Psychology)

Dr. Marion F. Ehrenberg, Departmental Member
(Department of Psychology)

Dr. Christopher E. Lalonde, Departmental Member
(Department of Psychology)

Dr. Blythe C. Shepard, Outside Member
(Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)

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Abstract

Parents' beliefs about their ability to competently fulfill the duties of the parenting role have received limited research attention. The literature to date has emphasized the correlates and consequences of this construct, but relatively little work has examined factors that promote the development of parents' efficacy beliefs. This dissertation research fills this gap by investigating predictors of parenting efficacy beliefs among immigrant Chinese families in Western Canada. Parenting efficacy beliefs were predicted to be influenced by support and encouragement from like-minded peers, and the successful completion of parenting tasks (mastery). This research explored these hypotheses by evaluating three questions. First, the research evaluated whether the receipt of support from Chinese- and Canadian-based sources, as well as spousal support would be associated with higher levels of parenting efficacy, as well as whether this association varied based on immigrant parents' social context. There was no evidence that parents' use of Chinese and Canadian supports was associated with feelings of efficacy, regardless of parents' social context. The hypothesis that spousal support would be positively associated with parenting efficacy

was supported for mothers, but not fathers. The second question evaluated whether mastery experiences, in the form of positive adolescent development in the domains of achievement, traditional Asian values and behavioural participation in the Chinese culture, were positively associated with parenting efficacy. There was no evidence of any main effects for these domains of adolescent functioning on parents' feelings of efficacy. Third, the research evaluated parents' socialization goals as a possible moderator of the association between adolescent development and parenting efficacy. It was hypothesized that the association between a domain of adolescent development and parenting efficacy would be strongest among parents who most strongly endorsed that domain as a socialization goal. This hypothesis was supported within domains of cultural development, but not academic achievement, and there was a different pattern of results for fathers and mothers. There was also an unexpectedly strong positive association between parents' interdependence goals and feelings of parenting efficacy. Overall, the results suggested that feelings of parenting efficacy were relatively robust in the face of challenges associated with immigration (e.g., loss of support from culturally relevant sources) and minor violations of parents' socialization goals. Furthermore, the results emphasized cultural retention as an important predictor of parenting efficacy. The results suggest two avenues of intervention that may assist in promoting feelings of parenting competence among immigrant Chinese parents: the development of a strong co-parenting relationship and the provision of support for cultural retention.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Parenting is a dynamic role; each developmental stage of a child's growth presents parents with a new set of tasks that must be mastered. Parents may learn to effectively parent a toddler, only to be presented with new task demands as their children enter early childhood, and then again when children enter adolescence. In addition to children's changing needs, contextual influences also affect a parent's ability to carry out their parenting duties. The addition of new family members, changes in a parent's employment or marital status, and even residential changes may present challenges for the parenting role.

Immigration represents one such contextual change that may impact one's ability to parent effectively. Canada's current rate of population growth is largely attributed to the influx of new arrivals to the country, and demographic projections suggest that the country's population growth will increasingly rely on immigration in the coming years (Statistics Canada, 2006). For instance, over the next 25 years, the national death rate will likely exceed the birth rate, making international migration an increasingly important resource for continued population growth (Statistics Canada, 2006). Consistently, in 2006 British Columbia experienced the highest rate of immigration in ten years. Immigration trends reveal that a large proportion of these new Canadians are likely to be Chinese immigrants. Changes to Canadian immigration policy (Halli & Driedger, 1999) have facilitated the migration of individuals from Eastern Asian countries, such as the People's Republic of China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, and many have chosen British Columbia as their new home (Chui, Tran & Flanders, 2001). A majority of these new residents are young, and often bring their families with them (Statistics Canada, 2001). These families

may require assistance to ensure a smooth transition to their new home; however, research investigating the impact of immigration at a family level is limited (Kwak, 2003). Therefore, a better understanding of how the process of immigration may impact multiple aspects of family functioning is needed.

Family members may experience a decline in well-being due to the stresses associated with immigration. In particular, parents' feelings of confidence in the parenting role may suffer. Children tend to adopt the values and behavioural practices of the new culture more readily than their parents (Costigan & Dokis, 2006a; Kwak, 2003). Consequently, parents may feel at a disadvantage in terms of guiding their children's development, resulting in lower feelings of parenting efficacy. However, we know relatively little about the factors that contribute to parenting efficacy. This is unfortunate, as parents who perceive themselves as having the necessary skills to tackle parenting challenges are likely to be more effective parents. Indeed, evidence from the family interventions literature suggests that increasing parents' feelings of efficacy in the parenting role is an effective means of increasing parenting skill (Jones & Prinz, 2005). Thus, the goal of the current investigation is to examine the predictors of feelings of parenting efficacy among immigrant Chinese mothers and fathers.

Parenting Efficacy

Parenting efficacy refers to the expectations parents hold about their ability to parent successfully (Jones & Prinz, 2005). Parents must know the appropriate child care response required in a given situation, have some confidence in their ability to carry out this task, and perhaps most importantly, they must have a belief that their child will respond contingently to their efforts (Coleman & Karraker, 1997). Individuals high in parenting efficacy perceive that

they are capable of performing these tasks and have the motivation to persist in their parenting role when faced with challenging circumstances. For instance, when moving from childhood to adolescence, parents may find the task of monitoring their children's whereabouts more difficult as their children's time spent away from home increases. Parents with a strong sense of parenting efficacy may be more likely to persist in finding alternate methods to effectively monitor their children, rather than perceiving it to be an impossible task and giving up. Importantly, parenting efficacy is not a stable personality trait, but rather a dynamic attribute that is influenced by the parent's experiences. That is, feelings of parenting efficacy are malleable and have the potential to fluctuate over time. Therefore, a lack of parenting efficacy at one time interval may be strengthened by new experiences in the parenting role at another developmental stage. Similarly, a strong sense of parenting efficacy can be challenged as parenting circumstances become more difficult.

While investigations of feelings of self-efficacy in other domains are abundant (e.g., Bandura, 1986; 1993), interest in feelings of efficacy specific to the parenting role is relatively recent. A growing body of research has investigated parenting efficacy as a predictor of child outcomes and parenting quality (Jones & Prinz, 2005), a mediator of the impact of contextual variables on parenting skill (Luster & Kain, 1987; Teti & Gelfand, 1991), a protective factor under conditions of risk (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001), and to a lesser extent, as an outcome of interest in and of itself (Mash & Johnston, 1990).

As a predictor, parenting efficacy has been examined as both a direct and an indirect influence on parenting quality and child outcomes. In terms of direct effects, parenting efficacy has been linked to children's levels of academic achievement (Jones & Prinz, 2005). The size of

this direct association is small, but stable, in that it has been found across a number of studies (e.g., Ardel & Eccles, 2001; Shumow & Lomax, 2002). More compelling, however, is the evidence suggesting that parenting efficacy works indirectly, through parenting skill, to produce these outcomes. That is, the impact of parenting efficacy on child outcomes appears to be mediated by the specific childrearing practices parents employ. For instance, greater parenting efficacy has been associated with increased use of positive parenting strategies, such as greater levels of warmth, involvement, monitoring, limit setting and lower levels of harsh punishment (Jones & Prinz, 2005; MacPhee, Fritz & Miller-Heyl, 1996). The use of these parenting strategies is associated with better child adjustment (Steinberg, 2001).

Parenting efficacy may also help explain the route through which various contextual variables impact child development. For instance, parents' feelings of efficacy in the parenting role have been suggested as one mechanism responsible for the association between low SES and poorer child outcomes (Luster & Kain, 1987). That is, parents of lower SES status may perceive themselves as having little influence over their child's development, and may be less persistent in their efforts under more difficult parenting circumstances. Similarly, Teti & Gelfand (1991) examined the mediating effect of parenting efficacy on the association between parental depression and behavioural competence among mothers of infants. They found that mothers who reported more symptoms of depression reported lower feelings of efficacy, and showed decreased parenting competence in a 10-minute observed interaction. In this case, feelings of parenting efficacy helped to explain why mothers who reported more depressive symptoms demonstrated poorer parenting skill. Specifically, mothers with greater symptoms of depression perceived themselves to be less capable as parents, and in turn, were less likely to employ

effective parenting strategies. Studies such as this suggest that parenting efficacy may represent a possible mechanism to explain the observed negative association between some contextual variables and child outcomes. That is, certain contexts negatively impact parents' feelings of efficacy, and their lowered confidence in their parenting ability is associated with poorer child adjustment.

Investigations of parenting efficacy have also examined its potential to moderate the impact of environmental circumstances on child adjustment. Parenting efficacy may act as a buffer, or protective factor, under conditions of risk. Work by Ardel and Eccles (2001) shows that the association between parenting efficacy beliefs and child adjustment may be more potent within some families than others. In their investigation of the link between parenting efficacy and promotive parenting strategies among parents of inner city youth, feelings of parenting efficacy were a stronger predictor of children's feelings of efficacy and academic achievement among more economically and environmentally disadvantaged family environments (e.g., due to poverty), than they were for families experiencing relatively less risk.

Parenting Efficacy during Adolescence

The current study examined feelings of parenting efficacy among parents of adolescents. The period of adolescence is described in anecdotal terms as being one of the most difficult developmental stages for parenting. This is supported by literature that shows mothers and fathers of adolescents have higher levels of parenting stress than do parents of younger children (Spera, 2006). There is relatively little research examining feelings of parenting efficacy among parents of adolescents, and even less research that examines the predictors of parenting efficacy at any developmental stage (Jones & Prinz, 2005). The available literature suggests that parents

of young children with difficult to manage behaviour have lower feelings of efficacy in the parenting role (e.g., Mash & Johnston, 1990). Parents who are unsuccessful in their attempts to rear difficult-to-manage children may attribute this failure to a lack of parenting skill. However, these findings are specific to young children who are likely to require more direct instruction and in-the-moment management from parents for their behaviour than would older children. Parents have less involvement and personal responsibility for the day-to-day management of adolescents' behaviours as they begin to disengage from parents and spend increasingly more time away from home in the company of their peers and other adults (García Coll & Pachter, 2002). At the same time, however, feelings of efficacy build upon prior experiences of success and failure, such that more experiences of success result in stronger feelings of efficacy and repeated experiences of failure are strongly associated with lower levels of efficacy (Bandura, 1997). In this view, a history of interactions with their children may promote a strong association between adolescent development and parenting efficacy during adolescence.

The Immigrant Context

Due to the dynamic nature of feelings of parenting efficacy (Coleman & Karraker, 1997), periods of transition may provide an ideal time to investigate this construct, as these are times when parents are most likely to re-evaluate their progress toward their goals (Goodnow, 1995). Parents tend to seek out information about their progress when they are preparing to make changes to their manner of attaining their goals (e.g., parenting practices) or when their immediate goals are being re-evaluated. Chinese immigrant parents present an interesting context for examining feelings of efficacy, as immigration is a time when parenting and childrearing goals may be actively reexamined and feelings of efficacy may be brought to the

forefront. Migration to a new country presents many opportunities for growth, but it is also associated with many challenges to the parenting role. Parents may feel less efficacious following a difficult transition to the new country, or more efficacious if their attempts to tackle difficult parenting challenges are met with success.

Many factors related to the acculturation process may challenge parents in their childrearing roles following immigration. For example, Chinese immigrant children are exposed to the beliefs and values of their Canadian-born peers, which may be at odds with those of their parents. At adolescence, children begin to disengage from parents and become increasingly oriented towards their peers. Thus, as immigrant children become more interested in fitting in with their non-immigrant peers, they may display fewer behaviours consistent with the more traditional interdependent worldview endorsed by their parents (Chao & Tseng, 2002). This may cause stress for parents who strive to maintain Chinese values and behavioural practices in their adopted country. Language barriers may also represent a source of stress for immigrant parents (e.g., Gorman, 1998). As their children's proficiency with the language of the new culture increases, this may create communication difficulties for parents if their own language proficiency is not equivalent to that of their children. The relative ease with which immigrant children develop English language proficiency also increases the likelihood that they will be required to act as translators for their parents (Buriel & DeMent, 1997). This language brokering role invites children into the world of adults, which may disrupt established power hierarchies within the family, and children may then seek increased autonomy in other domains that parents may not be willing to grant. This may create a potential breeding ground for parent-child conflict. Despite the presence of these parenting challenges, most immigrant parents are

successful in guiding their children's positive adaptation. Therefore, the experience of these parents may provide important information regarding the factors that promote feelings of parenting efficacy amidst parenting challenges.

Chinese Immigrants in Canada

Immigrants from China are one of the most prominent ethnic groups in Canada (Chui et al., 2005). This is a relatively recent trend due to exclusionary policies that prevented Chinese migration until the late 1960s (Halli & Driedger, 1999). In 1967, the Canadian immigration policy was changed to a more objective points-based system for evaluating the suitability of migrants for Canadian citizenship. Individuals earn points in each of several categories (e.g., education, financial resources, family status) and residency is awarded on the basis of the number of points earned. Following this change, Chinese immigration to Canada has increased steadily, and presently Asian countries such as China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan are consistently represented among the top 10 sending regions (Statistics Canada, 2001).

There are a number of factors that make Canada an attractive location for international migration. Immigrants choosing Canada as their destination often cite that they do so to take advantage of opportunities for occupational and educational advancement (Chui et al., 2005). Additionally, Canada officially supports a policy of multiculturalism, in which different ethnic groups are highlighted and celebrated. This policy has allowed for the establishment of an extensive network of resources for various ethnic groups, such as intercultural agencies serving immigrant populations. Immigrants are also perceived positively by many Canadians, who perceive that immigrants have had a positive impact on their communities, on average (Angus-Reid, 1991). Thus, these conditions provide an environment that fosters cultural retention.

In spite of the presence of supports that encourage cultural retention, Chinese immigrants in Canada also face challenges to maintaining their ethnic culture. Specifically, Chinese immigrants must contend with the substantial differences in cultural norms, or cultural distance, between Canadian society and their ethnic culture. Chinese cultural norms are based on a framework of interdependence, where filial piety and family harmony are strongly valued. This is in contrast to Canadian culture which is characterized as having an independent-orientation, which emphasizes individuality and autonomy. Practically speaking, the size of the cultural distance will depend on the ethnic density of the area in which Chinese immigrant families settle. Families who settle in communities with an established Chinese population, and where many Chinese-based services (e.g., financial, medical, educational) exist may find it relatively easier to maintain their ethnic culture compared to those who settle in areas where there are few Chinese families.

Sources of Parenting Efficacy

Compared to the increasing interest in understanding the *consequences* of parenting efficacy, little research attention has been devoted to investigating the *antecedents* of this important construct. General self-efficacy theory suggests that feelings of efficacy in a given domain are acquired in a number of ways, including vicarious learning, interpretations of physiological responses, encouragement from others, and mastery experiences (Bandura, 1997). In the domain of parenting, two significant sources of efficacy feelings are support from others and the experience of success in the parenting role. First, social network members provide support to parents that may help them tackle more difficult parenting challenges, such as those that occur following immigration. Second, the experience of mastery is thought to be one of the

most potent influences on feelings of efficacy (Bandura, 1997). Children's success in meeting developmental goals valued by parents functions as a form of mastery experience in the parenting role. Thus, in the current investigation, two main contributors to parenting efficacy were examined: social support and adolescent development.

Immigrant Parents' Social Supports

Under the best of circumstances, parenting is a challenging role. When a family experiences a non-normative change, such as migrating to a new country, the task of parenting can be made even more complex. Under challenging circumstances such as this, individuals often turn to friends, family and other formal resources for assistance. The use of these forms of social support is associated with better adjustment, including fewer symptoms of psychological distress and better recovery following serious illness (Cohen, Underwood & Gottlieb, 2000). The benefits of social support also extend to parenting, and there is ample evidence that parents benefit from the receipt of informational, emotional and material support (Cochran & Niego, 1995; Crockenberg, 1987; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Kaakola, & Reuters, 2006; Simons & Johnson, 1996). Furthermore, the association between social support and well-being appears to be most potent under conditions of greater stress (Cohen & Willis, 1985). That is, the presence of social support is thought to protect individuals from the negative impact of stressful events. The challenges associated with immigration may introduce stressors that pose a risk to parents' well-being; and therefore, in this context the use of social support is likely to be positively associated with parenting efficacy among immigrant parents.

Chinese Parenting Support

Social network members can have a significant influence on parents, acting as role models who demonstrate appropriate parenting practices, as well as providing sanctions for behaviours they perceive to be inappropriate (Marshall, Noonan, McCartney, Marx, & Keefe, 2001). Network members who observe parents acting in a way they perceive to be inappropriate may pressure parents to change their behaviour or provide advice and guidance for more appropriate alternate behaviours. Parents may perceive individuals from their own ethnic group as being most appropriate to fulfill these important duties because of their shared cultural belief system. A small body of literature examining social support among Chinese adults suggests that this is likely to be the case. In particular, older Chinese adults reported seeking help from both Chinese and non-Chinese social network members (Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2005). However, while these adults felt comfortable seeking information and practical assistance from non-Chinese supports, they reported a strong preference for same-ethnic supports for personal or family matters. Furthermore, other research has found that parents feel more confident in their parenting role when their support networks include extended family and other members of their own ethnic group (MacPhee et al., 1996).

Chinese Support and Ethnic Social Context

While the presence of same-ethnic supports may be preferred by immigrant parents, the ease with which they can establish an ethnic social network following immigration is likely to vary based on the social context in which they settle (Inman, Howard, Beaumont & Walker, 2007; Jasinskaja-Lahti, et al., 2006). This context is important to consider, as it may alter the association between social support and parenting efficacy. In particular, parents who migrate to

a context where there are few same-ethnic families may be more isolated from members of their ethnic group may therefore experience lower parenting efficacy if they have no one with whom to consult about the challenges associated with parenting their children in the new society.

Within this context, the presence of ethnically-congruent support may be especially protective in that it helps to decrease cultural distance and reduces the sense of isolation that parents might feel. Therefore, a context in which parents have limited contact with other members of their own ethnic group may increase the potency of the ethnically-congruent support they do receive.

Conversely, families may migrate to areas where there is a high density of same-ethnic group members available, or even migrate to areas where other friends or family members have already settled. Thus, they have greater opportunity to receive support from same-ethnic individuals. In a context where parents have greater contact with same-ethnic group members, the cultural distance may already be reduced by the presence of like-minded individuals who share their parenting beliefs and values (Jasinkaja-Lahti et al., 2006). Therefore, while the use of social support may still be associated with greater feelings of parenting efficacy, the association may be weaker than when parents are in a context where they have limited contact with Chinese peers.

Canadian Parenting Support

The literature on social support among immigrants suggests that support is generally sought from the source that is most relevant to their immediate needs (Wong, 2002; Wong et al., 2005). For instance, individuals will turn to formal government supports for assistance with employment, but prefer to seek assistance from friends or family for private family matters. One of the key tasks parents must consider following immigration is how they will adapt their

parenting to meet their children's developmental needs within the new Canadian context. To assist them in this task, information and support from other Canadian parents and formal parenting supports within the broader community are likely to be helpful. Furthermore, while parents may prefer support from same-ethnic individuals (Cochran & Niego, 1995), some parents may not have ready access to a large and supportive ethnic social network. In instances where there is uncertainty about where to get help, individuals will seek help from any source they can readily access (Wong, 2002), such as of the host society.

There is growing evidence that immigrants do seek support from members of the host society, and that this support is positively associated with well-being (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Wong et al., 2005). However, research investigating the use of support from host society members remains a largely unexplored issue, making speculation about the effectiveness of this assistance in the domain of parenting difficult. One possibility is that the more support that is received, the greater the benefit for feelings of parenting efficacy. That is, support received from members of the host society may promote parents' feelings of efficacy, over and above the benefits provided by same-ethnic supports.

Canadian Support and Ethnic Social Context

The benefits associated with the use of Canadian parenting supports may be more potent for parents who have greater contact with Chinese individuals than for parents who have less contact with individuals from their ethnic group. Parents who have less contact with Chinese individuals may perceive that the cultural distance remains large because there are few individuals within their immediate environment who share their beliefs and values. Within this context, parents may access support from members of the host-society because that is what is

available to them. However, this support may not be strongly associated with parenting efficacy because it may not help to reduce cultural distance. Conversely, the presence of more Chinese individuals within parents' immediate environment can help to reduce cultural distance because parents may feel supported in their efforts to maintain traditional ways of parenting. Within this context, parents may seek support from host-society members for aspect of parenting that their Chinese peers cannot provide, which may be associated with greater parenting efficacy.

Chinese Parenting Support in the Canadian Context

Parents' adaptation is not only influenced by their immediate social context, but also by their broader adaptation to Canadian society. Viewing parents' adaptation from this broader lens, it would seem important to take into account not only the independent effects of the sources of support that parents draw from, but also their combined influence. That is, successful adaptation to Canadian society may not depend on only one source of support, but may be most strongly associated with the balance of supports that parents draw from.

Adjustment following immigration involves both efforts to maintain one's ethnic culture, as well as adaptation to the host culture. For immigrant parents, the process of cultural adaptation is made more complex in that they must negotiate these tasks themselves, as well as make choices about how they will address these issues within their parenting. Immigrant parents may turn to friends, family members, and other sources of support to assist them in this process. For instance, parents may rely on already established friends from their ethnic group for advice on how to handle their adolescents' desire for greater autonomy or how to promote the retention of cultural traditions within their families. However, parents who rely solely on same-ethnic group members may miss valuable advice regarding adaptation to the host culture that host

society members may be able to provide. In Wong's (2002) work, immigrants who limited their efforts for information-seeking to family or friends sometimes lacked comprehensive information about the issue at hand. For instance, when individuals relied primarily on family for assistance with employment, not all family members were aware of the significant governmental resources available for this purpose. Although helpful, family members and friends did not always know about the complete range of services available to job seekers. Similarly, while same-ethnic support networks may provide a good jumping off point for parents; these supporters may not be able to fulfill all of their support needs. For instance, while other Chinese parents may be able to inform parents about differences within the educational system, Canadian parents who are more familiar with the educational system may be better able to explain how the system works. Therefore, when parents make frequent use of same-ethnic supports, feelings of self efficacy are likely to be strongest when they also make frequent use of supports from the host society. Conversely, when parents have few same-ethnic supports, the use of supports from the host society may be positively associated with parenting efficacy, but this association will be weaker than when parents make frequent use of both forms of support. The lowest levels of parenting efficacy will be evident when parents do not rely strongly on either source of support. This is consistent with findings from the broader acculturation literature, which suggest that adopting a bicultural orientation is positively associated with many facets of individual well-being (Berry, 2003).

Adolescent Development

Support from others cannot entirely account for feelings of parenting efficacy. Experiences with one's own children are potentially a potent influence on feelings of confidence

in the parenting role. Although the bulk of the literature examining the association between parenting efficacy and child adjustment is cross-sectional, this research is still helpful in understanding the origins of beliefs about parenting efficacy. The models evaluated in this research tend to assume that parenting efficacy influences children's developmental outcomes. However, it is widely accepted that the nature of the influence between parents and children is bi-directional (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007). That is, not only do parents influence the adjustment of children, but children can also influence their parents' adjustment. Thus, the cross-sectional data highlighting a link between parenting efficacy and children's adjustment reviewed earlier may also reflect the influence of child adjustment on feelings of parenting efficacy.

A small body of literature has explicitly examined the impact of children's behaviour on parenting efficacy. This literature provides evidence suggesting that the behaviours of difficult-to-manage children may impede the growth of parents' feelings of efficacy (Baden & Howe, 1992; Mash & Johnston, 1990). Children with conduct problems are perceived as being difficult to parent because they do not respond to parents' efforts to manage their behaviour (Mash & Johnston, 1990). That is, when these children defy their parents' commands, parents perceive this oppositional behaviour as intentional and outside of parental control (Baden & Howe, 1992). Similarly, in their work with samples of both hyperactive and non-hyperactive children, Mash & Johnston (1990) found that parents felt less efficacious in the parenting role when they perceived their children to display a more difficult temperament. Because feelings of parenting efficacy grow from children's contingent responses to parents' efforts (Coleman & Karraker, 1997), interactions where parents are unable to successfully manage their children's behaviour are related to lower feelings of efficacy in the parenting role.

The evidence for an association between children's development and feelings of parenting efficacy is consistent with Bandura's (1997) theory that mastery experiences represent a salient source of influence on personal efficacy beliefs. The experience of success in a task is thought to be one of the strongest influences on the development of self-efficacy. In the domain of parenting, mastery consists of parents' success in shaping their children's development to meet their most valued socialization goals. When children's development matches parents' goals, parents have evidence that they have been successful in their role as parents. For instance, an often valued goal is the attainment of a high level of academic achievement. To achieve this goal, a parent may help their child complete homework assignments and become involved in school activities. In order to determine their efficacy in fulfilling this valued goal, parents will look to a child's grades for evidence of success. The child's high level of academic achievement indicates that parental involvement in the child's homework was a worthwhile endeavor, such that parents feel successful in their role as facilitator of their children's learning. Repeated mastery experiences in parenting can contribute to parents' generalized sense of efficacy in the parenting role, and this may translate into parents' feeling as though they can successfully tackle more difficult parenting tasks. However, it is unlikely that parents will be successful in all aspects of their parenting, and experiences with failure can also have a powerful effect on feelings of parenting efficacy.

Child Socialization in the Chinese Culture

Socialization goals may have an important influence on parenting efficacy in that they help parents define what successful child adjustment should look like. Parents' socialization goals are defined as internal representations of desired outcomes that parents hold for their child

(Grusec, Rudy & Martini, 1997; Spera, 2006). These representations organize and shape parenting efforts. Parents' goals guide the specific parenting strategies they employ both within a given interaction and over the longer term (Chen et al., 1998; Grusec, Rudy, & Martini, 1997). For instance, parents who value conformity will employ parenting strategies that are designed to constrain the child's behaviour and secure consistent compliance with their requests.

Cultural norms play a significant role in the development of parents' ideas about parenting in general, and goals for children's development in particular (Goodnow, 1995). Socialization goals reflect a combination of what the culture proscribes parents should expect and the parent's own goals for their child (Goodnow, 1995; Harkness & Super, 1995). For instance, a parent's goal for a child's academic success may be derived from the parent's own desire for the child to have a strong academic base for future endeavors, in addition to the culture's view of education as imperative for future job success. Immigrant parents may derive their socialization goals from their ethnic culture, and fine tune these goals to include expectations for the child's success in the new culture. Thus, Chinese cultural values and beliefs provide parents with a template for children's socialization. Three domains of adolescent development that may represent key socialization goals are academic achievement, the development of traditional Asian interdependence values, and the retention of the Chinese culture in the Canadian context. For Chinese parents, positive development within these domains would represent mastery experiences in the parenting role to the extent that they reflect the success of parents in fulfilling their parenting obligations.

Academic Achievement

Achieving academically is a valued quality in Chinese culture and a key socialization goal for Chinese parents (Chao, 1996; Okagaki, 2001). The literature on the academic achievement of immigrant Chinese youth consistently finds these young people to excel academically (e.g., Fuligni, 1997). Some researchers consider this to be a paradox, given the high levels of control observed among Chinese parents. In other ethnic groups, higher levels of parental control are associated with poorer academic achievement, and this has led some researchers to question why Chinese youth consistently outperform many of their peers (Sue & Okazaki, 1990). One explanation put forth for the school success of immigrant Chinese youth is the underlying value placed on academic achievement in Chinese culture (Fuligni, 1997; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). A number of studies have since confirmed that Chinese parents place a greater value on achieving high grades than parents from other ethnic groups, and emphasize success in academics over other aspects of learning, such as curiosity (Chao, 1995; 1996; Pearson & Rao, 2003; Sy & Schulenberg, 2005). In particular, Chinese parents expect their children to obtain high grades in academic subjects, have a high motivation for achievement (Chao, 1996, Li, 2002) and a high level of educational attainment (Fuligni, 1997). Consistently, when compared to English mothers living in the United Kingdom, Chinese mothers of pre-school aged children living in Hong Kong placed greater emphasis on academic achievement goals than did the English mothers (Pearson & Rao, 2003). High goals for academic achievement are especially prominent among immigrant parents, who perceive academic success as a key means of attaining greater occupational opportunities within the new society (Chao, 1996; Inman et al., 2007).

In traditional Chinese culture, the education of children is seen as one of the primary roles of parents (Chao, 1996; Okagaki, 2001). Accordingly, much of the Chinese parent's effort is focused on ensuring their child meets these high educational standards (Chao, 1994). In a pair of qualitative studies, Chao (1995; 1996) interviewed immigrant Chinese mothers of toddlers, who reported that it was very important for them to provide their children with a good education. The mothers felt it was their responsibility to ensure their child had access to the best education possible and to teach their children about the value of education, emphasizing the importance of a good education for future occupational success (Chao, 1995). Throughout their responses, mothers emphasized the level of investment and sacrifice they were willing to put forth in order to fulfill this important parenting obligation. That is, mothers reported they would do whatever they could to ensure that children were able to access the best education possible, regardless of the cost to the family. The importance of achievement goals for Chinese parents is reflected in their parenting practices. For instance, Chinese parents employ stringent methods of guidance to ensure that children perform to the best of their academic abilities (Lim & Lim, 2003). Similarly, mothers interviewed by Gorman (1998) who were concerned about their children's poorer achievement following immigration implemented measures to correct this anomaly, such as hiring a tutor or insisting on more study time.

When children achieve academic success, mothers attribute their children's positive school adjustment to their parenting efforts (Gorman, 1998). In her interviews with immigrant Chinese mothers of adolescents, Cheng found that mothers perceived their children to be doing well in school, and that their academic success was attributed to their protective watchfulness and involvement in their children's daily activities. That is, mothers fulfilled their obligation to

secure their child's academic success by ensuring that children completed homework assignments and spent adequate time studying. Mothers who were successful in this task reported increased satisfaction as parents, suggesting that meeting this parenting obligation may lead to greater parenting efficacy.

Development of Asian Interdependence Values

The Chinese culture is typically characterized as being interdependent; meaning that one's view of oneself is understood in terms of one's relationship to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Interdependent cultures emphasize harmony between group members as the ideal, and therefore, individuals are expected to conform to the group in order to maintain unity within relationships. This is in contrast to independent cultures, where individuals are socialized to strive for autonomy and where personal achievements are emphasized. Therefore, the role of parents within interdependent cultures emphasizes the value of socializing children to view themselves as part of an integrated whole and to behave accordingly, whereas the role of parents in independent cultures emphasizes the value of socializing children to be unique and assertive. However, it is important to note that developmental outcomes demonstrating both independence and interdependence are likely to be valued by all parents, regardless of ethnic background, but that it is the relative emphasis parents place on these domains that differs.

The importance of interdependence and harmony are reflected in parent-child relationships in Chinese culture. Cultural norms for parent-child relationships within Chinese families are influenced by Confucian teachings, which strictly define the roles of all family members and emphasize harmony within the family (Ho, 1986). Social order and harmony are maintained when family members honor the requirements and responsibilities of their roles

(Chao, 1994). The role responsibilities of family members are defined by the traditional belief in filial piety (Ho, 1986). The underlying tenet of filial piety is that children are expected to demonstrate a high level of respect toward elders, especially their parents. Children are expected to show their respect to the family by fulfilling familial obligations, such as caring for elderly parents and bringing honor to the family (Lim & Lim, 2003). Parents strongly emphasize to children that they should not do anything that will bring shame or dishonor to the family. Thus, a main role of Chinese parents is to ensure that children adopt and adhere to traditional Chinese values (Okagaki, & Bojczyk, 2002).

There is consistent evidence in the literature that Chinese parents identify the development of interdependent traits as one of their main parenting goals. In interviews with Chinese mothers of toddlers, Chao found interdependent goals to be a prominent theme in the mothers' descriptions of their parenting (Chao, 1995). In particular, the mothers hoped that their children would learn to get along well with others in order to develop harmonious relationships. Across a number of cross-cultural investigations of parents of children at varying developmental stages, Chinese parents endorse interdependence goals more highly than parents from other cultural groups. For example, Suizzo (2007) examined the socialization goals of African American, Chinese and European American parents of infants and young children. Chinese parents ranked goals of tradition and conformity as most important. Parents wanted their children to adopt the value of filial piety by showing respect for elders, good manners, and bringing honour to the family. Socialization goals emphasizing benevolence and prosocial behaviour were also ranked as highly important by the Chinese parents. A pair of studies by Tamis-LeMonda and colleagues found similar differences between Chinese and European

American mothers of preschool-aged children (Tamis-LeMonda, Wang, Koutsouvanou, & Albright, 2002; Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). In both studies, socialization goals associated with the development of interdependence featured more prominently in the reports of Chinese mothers than they did in those of European American mothers. For instance, Chinese mothers rated following social rules, humility, and obedience as significantly more important than did European American mothers (Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). Chinese mothers also endorsed the goal of instilling proper demeanor more highly than did European American mothers. Specifically, children were expected to be nice to others, develop harmonious relationships, and fit in with their peers. Jose and colleagues (1996) compared childrearing goals among parents of school-aged children. A comparison of three groups of parents of 5-6 year old children found that native Taiwanese and immigrant Chinese parents placed higher value on child characteristics associated with an interdependent orientation than did European American mothers (Jose et al., 1996). Both groups of Chinese parents endorsed child traits that reflected “good behaviour,” such as politeness, calmness, and neatness, to a greater extent than did the independently-oriented European American parents. Finally, parents of adolescents also report a preference for behaviours that demonstrate the successful transmission of interdependence values. For instance, in qualitative interviews, immigrant Chinese mothers reported a preference for their adolescents’ more subdued behaviour over the behaviour of their children’s non-immigrant peers, which they perceived as ‘unruly’ and ‘out of control’ (Gorman, 1998).

Parents may emphasize the development of interdependent traits within their parenting in order to ensure the transmission of interdependence values. Consistently, in Chao’s work (1995) mothers reported that teaching children the importance of harmony within relationships was a

key component of their parenting role. To achieve this goal, the mothers' reported teaching their children to be polite, be nice to others, and have a pleasant character. Furthermore, Chinese parents generally discourage displays of anger and aggression, and communicate an expectation that children will stay out of trouble (Lim & Lim, 2003). The presence of qualities within children that reflect the transmission of interdependence values may provide parents with concrete evidence of "success" in parenting, and are therefore hypothesized to be associated with greater feelings of parenting efficacy. Specifically, the successful transmission of interdependence values results in children who also highly endorse interdependent qualities within their value system (Chen et al., 1998). Consistently, there is some evidence that parents who successfully teach interdependence to their children feel satisfied with their parenting ability (Cheng, 1998).

Chinese Cultural Orientation

In addition to the socialization goals of achievement and interdependence encouraged by Chinese culture, immigrant parents have the added responsibility of guiding their children's cultural development. That is, immigrant parents must enculturate their children into Chinese culture, while also assisting them in adapting to Canadian society. Thus, immigrant parents may experience mastery when their children adopt key Chinese behavioural practices, such as Chinese language use, having Chinese friends, and Chinese media preferences.

Parents' obligation to teach children about Chinese culture features prominently in the literature on immigrant Chinese parenting (e.g., Chao, 1995; Chao & Tseng, 2002). Educating children about their ethnic culture is a task somewhat unique to immigrant parents, as their cultural practices may differ significantly from those found in the majority culture. Prior to

immigration, cultural practices are shared with members of the family's immediate social network, as well as by the broader society. Therefore, children are exposed to, and taught about, these practices in their day-to-day interactions with the adults in their lives. However, when families immigrate and the new culture does not share the parents' traditional culture, parents must make more explicit efforts to transmit traditional cultural practices. The relative ease or difficulty of this task may depend, in part, on the extent of cultural distance between the new culture and the ethnic culture (Costigan & Dokis, 2006a). As discussed earlier, the cultural distance for Chinese families immigrating to Canada is quite large. This may make the enculturation process more difficult for immigrant Chinese parents, as their children are exposed to the new society in multiple contexts (e.g., school and peers).

Despite these challenges, immigrant Chinese parents continue to endorse the transmission of Chinese culture as a key socialization goal. The mothers in Chao's (1995) qualitative study identified the maintenance of Chinese culture as one of their main parenting goals. The mothers assured the maintenance of cultural continuity by sending their children to Chinese school, involving them in the Chinese community, and teaching them "the Chinese way" (Chao, 1995). Similarly, another sample of immigrant Chinese mothers identified the transmission of Chinese cultural values to their adolescent children as one of their most prominent socialization goals (Gorman, 1998). Parents' success in attaining these goals may contribute to their feelings of parenting efficacy.

Variability in Socialization Goals

Parents are hypothesized to experience mastery when their children develop qualities that are valued by parents. That is, children's development may represent a mastery experience only

when the parent highly values the outcome in question. Among those parents who most highly value a particular outcome, feelings of parenting efficacy may suffer if children fail to meet parents' expectations for development. However, among parents who less strongly endorse a particular area of development as a key socialization goal, the association between the adolescent's development and parenting efficacy is likely to be weaker.

Minor violations of parents' expectations, or goals, for their children are thought to be normative and adaptive, in that they play a role in the realignment of the parent-child relationship during adolescence (Collins & Luebker, 1994). If the child's development across domains continues to meet parents' general expectations for development in these areas, then there is likely to be minimal impact on parents' feelings of efficacy. However, broader failures to meet parents' socialization goals have the potential to harm parents' feelings of efficacy in the parenting role. For instance, parents and children often disagree about the timing associated with autonomy-granting (Yau & Smetana, 2003), as adolescents attempt to negotiate earlier timelines for various activities like dating or being able to do things on their own. After a process of negotiation, adolescents and their parents generally arrive at an agreement about when such activities will be allowed. This challenging of parental authority is normative, and as long as the child's overall adjustment continues to meet the parent's goals for development, this should not present a problem for the parent's sense of efficacy. In contrast, if the adolescent wanted to quit school or not attend university, and the parent strongly valued academic achievement, this may be more problematic for the parent's confidence in their ability to guide the child's development. In the second example, the parent's feelings of efficacy are likely to be negatively affected because the child's adjustment deviates significantly from the parent's broader socialization goal.

Generally, violations of parents' goals are hypothesized to be most problematic when the gap between what is expected and what is achieved cannot be reconciled (Goodnow, 1992; 1994). This can occur when the child's development falls far short of a parent's strongly held goal. That is, in conditions where the difference between what the child has achieved and what the parent hopes to achieve is large, parents' feelings of efficacy may be most negatively impacted. When this happens, parents may reevaluate their ability to meet the demands of the parenting role, their general expectations of the child, or the means through which they are attempting to meet those goals (e.g., parenting practices) (Coleman & Karraker, 1997).

The extent to which immigrant families endorse traditional Chinese socialization goals varies (Lim & Lim, 2003). For example, immigrant parents may modify their original goals to include outcomes that will foster their children's success in the new culture (Inman et al., 2007). Consistently, a number of reports show a decrease in the extent to which Chinese parents endorse traditional parenting practices following immigration (e.g., Gorman, 1998; Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990). Furthermore, a comparison of childrearing goals among Greek, Taiwanese, and American parents showed a significant amount of within-group variation in the extent to which parents endorsed prototypical independent and interdependent goals (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002). These results suggest that not all Chinese parents will place equal value on culturally-proscribed socialization goals, such as achievement and interdependence, and this variation will affect the strength of the association between adolescent development and parenting efficacy.

Academic Achievement Goals

As reviewed earlier, the value immigrant parents place on academic achievement features prominently among their socialization goals (e.g., Chao, 1996). However, the extent to which parents continue to endorse academic achievement goals can vary following immigration. In Chao's work (1995), mothers, on average, placed a high value on academic success, but not all mothers listed this as their most important socialization goal. In addition to wanting their children to succeed at school, living in Canada exposes parents to numerous other parenting priorities, such as developing positive peer relationships and developing a strong sense of self worth (e.g., Chao, 1995). Thus, it would seem reasonable to expect that there will be variation in the extent to which parents value academic achievement as a socialization goal following immigration. For example, the more immigrant parents, in the course of their own acculturation process, adopt the values and behaviours of Canadian society, the more likely they may be to lower their achievement expectations. These parents may still value academic achievement, but may not prioritize this outcome as most important. It is hypothesized that among these parents, adolescents' levels of academic achievement will be less likely to be negatively associated with parents' feelings of parenting efficacy, whereas academic achievement will be more strongly associated with parenting efficacy among those parents who continue to strongly value this goal.

Interdependence goals

Similar variation in the strength with which parents endorse interdependence goals as an important socialization goal is expected. It was argued earlier that immigrant Chinese parents, on average, are highly invested in ensuring that their children strongly adopt interdependence values. However, not all immigrant parents will place equal emphasis on the development of

interdependent qualities as a socialization goal. Following immigration, Chinese parents recognize the need for their children to adopt values and behaviours that will promote their success in Canadian society. Consistently, some research has shown that immigrant parents value independence and interdependence goals equally (Chen et al., 1998; Lin & Fu, 1990). These researchers have speculated that the endorsement of autonomy represents a recognition by immigrant Chinese parents that independence is an adaptive trait in Western society, and therefore, in order to ensure their children's success in the new society, they need to encourage their children to be assertive and independent (Jose et al., 2000). That is, some immigrant parents may place less emphasis on interdependence in order to accommodate their children's adaptation to Canadian society. It is hypothesized that feelings of parenting efficacy among these parents may be less strongly associated with adolescents' endorsement of interdependence values. Conversely, among parents who place greater emphasis on interdependence as a socialization goal, feelings of efficacy may be strongly associated with adolescents' endorsement of traditional Chinese values.

Chinese Cultural Retention Goals

Similar variation is also expected in the extent to which parents emphasize the retention of traditional Chinese culture among their children. That is, while all parents likely want their children to learn about their Chinese heritage and to identify with the Chinese group, the extent to which parents prioritize this goal may vary. Consistently, our previous work has found a wide range of cultural retention among parents themselves (Costigan & Dokis, 2006b). If parents vary in the extent to which they continue to endorse traditional Chinese values, identify as Chinese, and engage in Chinese behaviours, then it is likely that they will also vary in the extent to which

they expect their children to retain elements of Chinese culture. Variation in Chinese cultural retention goals may also be due to parents' perceptions of an acculturation gap between themselves and their children. That is, parents who perceive that their children are less oriented to the Chinese culture than they are may be distressed that their children are not retaining 'enough' of the traditional Chinese culture. When this happens, parents may place greater priority on Chinese cultural retention goals and emphasize enculturation efforts in their parenting. Consequently, it is hypothesized that among parents who endorse lower Chinese cultural retention goals for their children, their children's levels of Chinese cultural orientation are likely to be unrelated to parents' feelings of parenting efficacy. In contrast, among parents who hold strong Chinese cultural orientation goals, children's actual level of Chinese orientation will be strongly positively related to feelings of parenting efficacy.

Mothers vs. Fathers

With few exceptions (e.g., Jose et al., 2000), the literature on Chinese parenting goals reflects the socialization goals of Chinese mothers. Fathers are underrepresented in the literature on Chinese parenting in general, and in the literature on parenting goals in particular (Chao & Tseng, 2002). When both parents are included, they are sometimes considered as a single parenting 'unit' (e.g., Fuligni, 1997), and in other cases, two parents may be included, but may not be matched pairs of parents from the same family (e.g., Strom, Strom, & Xie, 1996), limiting the conclusions that can be drawn about differences between the experiences of mothers and fathers. In the rare case when both parents are included, there is little explanation of why observed differences between mothers and fathers might exist (e.g., Lin & Fu, 1990), and so it is difficult to speculate about what these differences might mean for family relationships.

Speculation about differences in the experiences of mothers and fathers is complicated by conflicting reports in the literature regarding changes in parenting roles following immigration. There is evidence that globalization has changed the experiences of parents and resulted in departures from traditional norms; however, despite these changes, the central features of the traditional family pattern are still noticeable (Ho, 1989). That is, many families continue to adhere to traditional family roles with mothers being more closely involved in the day-to-day parenting of children, and fathers taking responsibility for rule-making and enforcement, as well as overseeing children's education (Chao & Tseng, 2002). However, research on immigrant parents of other ethnic groups suggests that fathers' direct involvement in parenting increases following immigration (e.g., Shimoni, Este, & Clark, 2003).

The lack of research on parenting efficacy that includes both parents makes speculation about the similarities and differences in the experience of parenting efficacy among mothers and fathers difficult. Also missing is an understanding of within-family factors that may influence feelings of parenting efficacy. In particular, there is little known about how similarities and differences in the childrearing goals of mothers and fathers within the same family may influence feelings of parenting efficacy. Sizable differences between fathers' and mothers' goals may indicate a lack of parenting support from one's spouse which may be negatively associated with parenting efficacy. Furthermore, in two-parent families, fathers and mothers work together to shape their children's development. Therefore, it may be more relevant to consider the shared goals of parents within the same family as a predictor of feelings of parenting efficacy. The current investigation attempted to address these gaps in the literature by examining the associations among social supports, adolescent development, socialization goals and parenting

efficacy separately for mothers and fathers, as well as considering parents' socialization goals jointly.

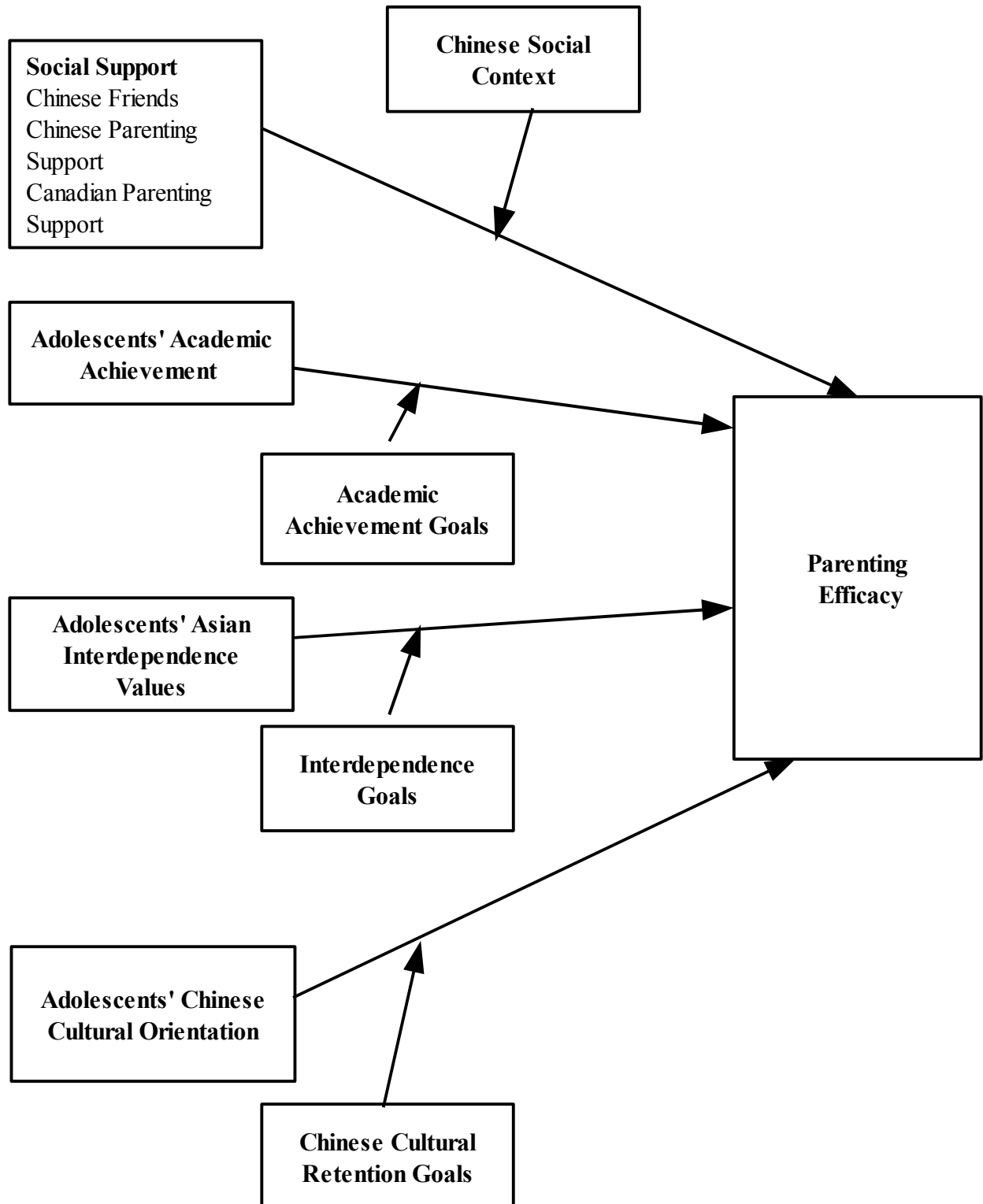
Summary of Purpose and Goals of the Study

The existing literature on parenting efficacy has primarily emphasized its role as a mediator between contextual influences on parenting (e.g., SES) and parenting skill, and as a protective factor under conditions of risk. Little is known about feelings of efficacy among parents of adolescents, and even less is known about the factors that contribute to feelings of parenting efficacy (in general or within an immigrant population in particular). Therefore, the current research investigated parenting support and adolescent development as possible predictors of feelings of parenting efficacy, with parents' social context and socialization goals as possible moderators of these associations. The proposed model is presented in Figure 1.

Goal #1: Investigate Feelings of Efficacy and Socialization Goals among Immigrant Parents of Adolescents

A major limitation of the literature on parenting efficacy and socialization goals is that parents of adolescents are largely neglected in both areas of research. As a result, little is known about how the experience of parents of adolescents may be similar to or different from parents of children at younger ages. Thus, the first goal of this study was to provide descriptive information about parenting goals and the experience of parenting efficacy among immigrant parents of adolescents.

Figure 1: *Proposed Model*



*Goal #2: Examine the Association between Parenting Support and Feelings of Parenting**Efficacy*

The second goal was to examine whether social support from ethnic group members and members of the host society was associated with feelings of parenting efficacy, and whether the strength of this association varied depending on the parents' context. Three hypotheses were tested. First, it was hypothesized that higher levels of Chinese- and Canadian-based social support would be positively associated with feelings of parenting efficacy. The second hypothesis examined the conditions under which the support received from ethnic and host society members were most strongly associated with parenting efficacy. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the association between Chinese social supports and parenting efficacy would be stronger for parents whose social context included fewer Chinese individuals than for parents who had greater contact with other Chinese individuals. For parents' receipt of Canadian support, the reverse pattern was expected. That is, the association between Canadian support and parenting efficacy was expected to be strongest among parents whose context includes more Chinese individuals. The final hypothesis examined the association between Canadian support and parenting efficacy within the context of varying levels of Chinese support. It was hypothesized that the strength of the association between Canadian support and parenting efficacy would be stronger for parents who also relied on more Chinese supports than among those whose use of Chinese support was lower.

Goal #3: Examine the Associations between Domains of Adolescent Development and Feelings of Parenting Efficacy

Under the mastery model of parenting efficacy, each developmental target that a child meets contributes to the parent's sense of efficacy in the parenting role (Bandura, 1997). In this view, multiple experiences of mastery in the parenting role should have an additive effect on parenting efficacy. That is, an adolescent's academic success combined with high endorsement of interdependence values may result in higher levels of parenting efficacy than success in a single domain. Alternatively, it may be that parenting efficacy is influenced more by mastery experiences in some domains than in others. That is, it may be that domains of development vary in terms of the strength of their association with feelings of parenting competence. At present, there is not enough research to suggest whether it is "how much" mastery a parent experiences that matters or "what kind" of mastery the parent experiences that matters more in the prediction of parenting efficacy. Thus, the third goal of the current investigation was to examine the relative influence of each domain of child development on parents' feelings of efficacy. Children's academic achievement, endorsement of interdependence values, and Chinese cultural orientation were hypothesized to act as mastery experiences that are positively correlated with levels of parenting efficacy.

Goal #4: Socialization Goals as Moderators

The fourth goal of this investigation was to determine whether socialization goals moderated the association between adolescent development and parenting efficacy. It was hypothesized that children's development would most strongly function as a mastery experience if it was congruent with parents' goals for their children's development. Thus, the association between children's development and parenting efficacy was expected to be stronger when the parent highly valued that domain of development. Specifically, among parents who held greater aspirations for their children's academic achievement, greater academic achievement was expected to be associated with higher levels of parenting efficacy. Similarly, among parents who highly endorsed interdependence goals, interdependence values among adolescents were hypothesized to be associated with higher feelings of parenting efficacy. Finally, when parents' endorsed higher goals for their children's Chinese cultural retention, higher levels of children's actual behavioural participation in Chinese culture was expected to be associated with greater feelings of parenting efficacy. When parents did not highly endorse these socialization goals, the associations between adolescent development in each area and parenting efficacy were expected to be weak.

Goal #5: Exploring Parenting Efficacy among Mothers and Fathers

The final goal was to explore the associations among social support, adolescent development and feelings of parenting efficacy for mothers and fathers. Several questions were investigated. The first question examined whether the influence of social support and child development on parenting efficacy differed for mothers and fathers. No specific hypotheses were made. The second question examined whether the lack of support from one's spouse, as

indicated by greater differences in childrearing goals between parents, was associated with feelings of parenting efficacy. It was hypothesized that larger differences between mothers and fathers in their socialization goals would be negatively associated with feelings of parenting efficacy. The final question considered whether the association between adolescent development and parenting efficacy varied depending on the strength of the childrearing goals held by the parenting unit. That is, rather than assessing the parenting goals of mothers and fathers individually, the goals of mothers and fathers within the same family were averaged in order to index the family's overall collective parenting goals. It was hypothesized that the association between adolescent development and parenting efficacy would be stronger for parents whose combined academic achievement, interdependence, and Chinese cultural retention goals were higher, than for parents whose combined goals were lower.

CHAPTER II

Method

The Intercultural Family Study

Data for this investigation were drawn from the first wave of the Intercultural Family Study (IFS), a longitudinal study of family relationships among immigrant Chinese families directed by Dr. Catherine Costigan. The IFS1 is the next step in an on-going investigation of the associations among acculturation, parenting, parent-child relationships and individual well-being in immigrant Chinese families. The first stage of the project included a longitudinal investigation of 95 immigrant Chinese families who had settled in the greater Victoria and Vancouver areas. Research with the first wave of IFS data answered a number of questions about the nature of acculturation (Costigan & Su, 2004), parent-child acculturation differences (Costigan & Dokis, 2006a; 2006b), the cultural bases of parenting (Su & Costigan, in press), and the development of ethnic identity among adolescents (Costigan & Su, 2008). In a series of conference presentations, we also examined the parenting practices of immigrant Chinese parents and how particular styles of parenting influenced adolescent adjustment (Costigan, Chia, Dokis, & Tan, 2002; Dokis & Costigan, 2004). Our work has also examined the marital relationships of immigrant Chinese couples (Costigan, Dokis & Su, 2004). The current wave of data collection (IFS) was designed to investigate a similar set of questions among a larger, randomly selected sample of immigrant Chinese families that include a wider range of adolescent ages. In addition, this new wave assesses a number of additional questions that arose during the first stage of the project, such as parents' goals for their children's acculturation. The current study contributes to

this program of research by further refining our understanding of the factors that promote positive adaptation within immigrant Chinese families.

Participants and Procedure

Families were invited to participate in the IFS if both parents immigrated to Canada after the age of 18, they had at least one child between the ages of 12 and 17, all family members self-identified as Chinese, and they had lived in Canada for at least 2 years. Additionally, families must have emigrated from mainland China, Taiwan or Hong Kong. These regions are consistently represented among the top 10 sending regions for new arrivals to British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 2001). A total of 183 families were recruited to participate in the study. Two thirds of the families (67.2%) were randomly recruited with the assistance of a survey research calling centre (Malatest and Associates). Potential participants were identified through the use of telephone directories for the greater Victoria area and the Lower Mainland. Individuals with Chinese last names were randomly contacted by the bilingual interviewers at the survey research centre. The recruiter determined the family's eligibility for the study and provided them with information about the project. A letter outlining the purpose and goals of the study was sent by the IFS research team to eligible parents who expressed interest in participation. These families were subsequently contacted by an IFS research assistant to arrange a time to complete data collection. A smaller non-random portion of the sample was obtained by social network referrals instigated by the research assistants (32.8%). The majority of families were recruited from Vancouver (73.8%) with the remainder living in the greater Victoria area (26.2%). Fathers, mothers, and one child in the target age range from each family participated.

Two research assistants visited each family in their home for a session that lasted approximately 90 minutes to complete the study's measures. Mothers, fathers (in two parent families), and an adolescent child independently completed a booklet of questionnaires. Family members were asked not to share their responses with one another. At least one of the research assistants spoke the family's native language (i.e., Mandarin or Cantonese). Informed consent was obtained from all family members before beginning the questionnaires. Families were given \$50 as compensation for their time. The study received ethical approval from the university's Institutional Review Board.

Participants were fathers ($N = 166$), mothers ($N = 180$) and adolescents ($N = 182$) from 183 immigrant Chinese families. Fathers were on average 47.19 years old ($SD = 5.71$), mothers were 44.80 years old ($SD = 4.69$), and adolescents were 14.93 years old ($SD = 1.72$). There were approximately equal numbers of girls (51.9%) and boys (49.1%). Nearly all parents were married (92.8%), with a small proportion of single mothers (6.6%) represented, one remarried mother, and one single father. Among two parent families, parents were married for an average of 19.06 years ($SD = 4.19$). Parents had lived in Canada between 2 and 36 years (Fathers $M = 11.06$ years, $SD = 7.07$; Mothers $M = 10.61$ years, $SD = 6.53$). The majority of parents reported coming to Canada for their children's education (Fathers = 49.1%; Mothers = 52.5%) or to pursue educational and occupational opportunities for themselves (Fathers = 21.7%; Mothers = 14.8%). The remaining parents indicated they came to Canada because their spouse had made the decision to immigrate (Fathers = 14.9%; Mothers = 14.8%), for family reunification (Fathers = 5.6%; Mothers = 7.1%), or for other reasons such as better quality of life (Fathers = 8.7%; Mothers = 4.9%). There were nearly equal numbers of first-generation children who immigrated

after the age of 6 (54.4%), and second-generation children (45.6%), who were born in Canada or immigrated before the age of 6. First-generation adolescents had lived in Canada for an average of 9.11 years ($SD = 2.03$).

Consistent with the fact that the majority of participants were randomly recruited, preliminary analyses suggest that the families are representative of current immigration trends in British Columbia (BC). Throughout the 1990s, immigration from mainland China increased steadily, and currently accounts for the largest numbers of immigrants to BC's two major cities (i.e., Vancouver and Victoria; Chui, Tran & Flanders, 2005). Immigration from Taiwan has experienced a similar, but less pronounced increase, and a large proportion of Taiwanese have chosen Vancouver as their new home. Immigration from Hong Kong has steadily declined in the last 10 years, with a sharp decline in migration from this region since the country's return to governance by the People's Republic of China in 1997 (Guo & Devoretz, 2005). Consistent with these trends, 63.4% of the families in our sample emigrated from mainland China, 20.2% from Taiwan, and 13.1% from Hong Kong.

New arrivals to British Columbia are generally well-educated, with nearly two thirds (63%) having completed a university degree or graduate work (Guo & Devoretz, 2005). Consistently, the parents in the IFS-ST1 sample are fairly well-educated, with many parents (Fathers = 60.6%; Mothers = 46.7%) having completed a university degree or graduate work. There are a variety of education levels represented among the remaining parents, including college or vocational school (Fathers = 20%; Mothers = 32.8%), high school (Fathers = 10.8%; Mothers = 13.9%), and a small number who did not complete high school (Fathers = 8.5%; Mothers = 6.7%). Most of the parents are currently employed (Fathers = 88%; Mothers = 70%).

Measures

A subset of the IFS measures completed by family members was used in the present study. In particular, *parents* reported on their feelings of parenting efficacy, social context, sources of support, and socialization goals. *Adolescents* reported on their own academic achievement, endorsement of Asian interdependence values and Chinese cultural orientation. All measures were translated into traditional Chinese script using a back-translation process. Items were first translated into traditional Chinese script by a team of Chinese-speaking research assistants, and then translated back to English by another team of research assistants. Discrepancies were resolved by discussion. Parents were given the option of completing the consent form and measures in their language of choice (i.e., either English or traditional Chinese script). Nearly all parents chose to complete the measures in Chinese, whereas all youth completed the measures in English. Copies of all study measures are included in the Appendices.

Demographic information

A background questionnaire gathered information about participant characteristics such as age, gender, highest level of education completed, employment status, reasons for immigration, and length of residence in Canada.

Parenting efficacy

Feelings of efficacy in the parenting role were assessed with the Parenting Self-Agency Measure (PSAM) (Dumka, Stoerzinger, Jackson, & Roosa, 1996). This 10-item scale was designed to evaluate parents' confidence in their ability to act successfully in the parenting role (e.g., "*I feel sure of myself as a mother*"). The mean of the items was used, and therefore scores

could range from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*always*). The PSAM has demonstrated good concurrent validity in previous investigations in that it was positively correlated with another measure of parenting efficacy (Whittaker & Cowley, 2006). The PSAM has also demonstrated good test-retest reliability (ICC = .85; Whittaker & Cowley, 2006). The scale items also showed adequate internal consistency in both the original validation study ($\alpha = .70$; Dumka et al., 1996) and in an independent evaluation of the scale ($\alpha = .76$; Whittaker & Cowley, 2006). These items demonstrated good internal consistency in this sample ($\alpha = 0.80$ for fathers, $\alpha = 0.74$ for mothers).

Social Context

The ethnic composition of the environment in which parents received support was assessed with a single item asking parents to report how much contact they had with other Chinese individuals in their neighbourhood. Responses ranged from 1 (*None*) to 5 (*A lot/regular*).

Social Support

Several aspects of the social support used by parents were assessed. First, the availability of Chinese friends to provide support was assessed with 4 items created for the Intercultural Family Study. Specifically, parents reported how many of their friends who provided them support were Chinese (e.g., “How many of your friends that you talk to about things that bother you are Chinese?”). Scores could range from 1 (*almost none*) to 5 (*almost all*). Higher scores indicate a higher proportion of Chinese individuals in parents’ support networks. The internal consistency of these items was excellent for both fathers ($\alpha = .93$) and mothers ($\alpha = .94$).

Second, the frequency with which parents accessed Chinese parenting support was assessed with two items that asked parents to report the extent to which they relied on other Chinese parents or formal Chinese parenting supports for advice and support in their parenting. Parallel items assessed parents' use of Canadian parenting supports. All 4 items were rated on a scale from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*). Higher scores indicate more frequent use of Canadian parenting supports relative to parents who never make use of such supports. The correlation between the two items was significant, but low for both Chinese ($r = .22$ for fathers, $r = 0.28$ for mothers) and Canadian ($r = 0.37$ for fathers, $r = .23$ for mothers) forms of support. However, this was not unexpected as Cohen and colleagues (1997) have suggested that there is no reason to expect strong internal consistency between items on this type of measure. That is, there is no expectation that just because a parent reports receiving high levels of support from other parents that they would also receive high levels of assistance from formal parenting supports.

Adolescent Development

Academic achievement. Adolescents' academic achievement was assessed with their self-report of their grade point average. GPA scores could range from 1 (*F*) to 9 (*A+*). Previous investigators have found adolescents to be reliable and accurate reporters of their own grades, making this a valid method of gathering information about adolescents' academic achievement (Fuligni, 1997).

Asian values. Adolescents' endorsement of Asian interdependence values was assessed with a modified version of the Asian Values Scale (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999). The original scale contains 24 statements reflecting traditional Asian values, such as collectivism, following

social norms, and humility. Due to the length of the full questionnaire protocol, the scale was truncated to include a smaller subset of 11 items. These 11 items correlated highly with the full scale in a previous IFS-ST1 sample (Fathers' $r = .89, p < .001$; Mothers' $r = .86, p < .001$). The items assess the extent to which participants endorse interdependence values (e.g., "people should think about their group before themselves," "following family and social expectations is important."). Youth rated their endorsement of these items on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Research on the original Asian Values Scale has found the scale items to have good concurrent validity (Kim et al., 1999). Using confirmatory factor analysis, Kim and colleagues found that items from the Asian Values scale loaded on a single factor along with items from the Individualism-Collectivism Scale, which measures a similar construct. Additionally, as expected, items from the Asian Values Scale did not share factor loadings with items from the Suinn-Liew Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA), which measures behavioural acculturation. Items from the Asian Values scale have also been found to correlate positively with another measure of Asian Values (Kim, Li, & Ng, 2005). In terms of reliability, the scale items have been found to demonstrate good test-retest reliability in the original validation study, as well as good internal consistency in the original sample (Kim et al., 1999) and in other investigations (Kim, et al., 2005) with α ranging from .81 to .87. The internal consistency of the truncated scale in the current sample was good ($\alpha = .77$)

Chinese cultural orientation. Adolescents' Chinese cultural orientation was assessed with an adapted version of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-Revised (ARSMA-II; Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995). The first adaptation was to substitute

“Chinese” for “Mexican” and “Canadian” for “American” in the item stems. The ARSMA-II was chosen because it was created based on an orthogonal view of acculturation, and therefore assesses adolescents’ acculturation to the Chinese and Canadian culture separately. Items that did not assess behavioural participation (e.g., those that reflected ethnic identification) were eliminated. Additional items were added to the ARSMA-II to obtain a more comprehensive view of behavioural acculturation and were drawn from alternate measures of acculturation, such as the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), Asian American Acculturation Scale (Chung, Kim & Abreu, 2004), and the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (Stephenson, 2000). In total, fifteen items assess participants’ behavioural involvement in Chinese culture, including media preferences (e.g., “I like to watch Chinese language television), social contacts (e.g., “My friends now are of Chinese origin”), and resource use (e.g., “I have contact with Chinese community institutions”). Items were rated on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely often or almost always*). The mean of the items was used. An exploratory factor analysis suggested that this modified scale represented a unidimensional construct. Factor loadings ranged from .44 to .80, with the exception of one item with a factor loading of .26 (“*I prefer to use Chinese medicines or healers when I am sick*”).

The ARSMA-II has demonstrated validity and internal consistency in other Chinese populations (Liem, Lim, & Liem, 2000). Lee, Yoon and Liu-Tom (2006) found the scale items to reliably discriminate between individuals based on generational status. The ARSMA-II items have also shown good internal consistency in previous reports (Lee et al., 2006). The internal consistency of the items in the current sample is good ($\alpha = .88$).

Parents' Socialization Goals

Academic achievement goals. Parents' goals for their children's academic achievement were evaluated using a single item asking parents to indicate the highest level of education they would like their child to complete (Fuligni, 1997). This item was rated on a scale from 1 (*high school*) to 4 (*graduate degree*), with higher scores indicating greater academic achievement goals. Parents' collective academic achievement goals were calculated by taking the average of these scores.

Interdependence Goals. Parents' interdependence goals were assessed with four items adapted from Kim and colleagues' (Kim, Hunter, Miyahara, & Horvath, 1996) measure of interdependent self-construals. Items were modified to reflect parents' goals for their children's development of traits that reflect an interdependent self-construal (e.g., "how important is it for you that your child maintains harmony in his/her group?"), whereas the original scale asked the respondent to rate the items based on their own self-construal. Two additional items were added to increase the scope of the interdependence goals assessed (e.g., "be cooperative," "be respectful"). These six items are rated on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 5 (*extremely important*), and the mean of the items was used. The adapted scale demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .78$ for fathers, $\alpha = .76$ for mothers). To assess the collective interdependence goals of the parenting unit, the average of fathers' and mothers' reports was used. The collective interdependence goals of parents were assessed by calculating the average of fathers' and mothers' scores. Higher average scores indicate stronger endorsement of interdependence goals within the parenting unit. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to ensure that these 6 items represented a unidimensional construct. Principal components analysis suggested a single

factor solution was an appropriate fit for the items, with factor loadings that ranged from .55 to .81 for fathers, and .46 to .80 for mothers.

Chinese cultural retention goals. Parents' goals for their children's retention of Chinese culture were assessed with items created specifically for the IFS. The Being Chinese and Being Canadian scale separately assesses the extent to which parents would like their child to orient towards Canadian culture and Chinese culture. Items were developed to correspond to domains of acculturation identified in the literature (e.g., behaviour, identity and values). Only the items related to Chinese cultural retention were used in the current study. Four items evaluated parents' goals for Chinese cultural orientation (e.g., "How important is it to you that your child participates in Chinese traditions?") and were rated on a scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 5 (*of great importance*). The mean of these items was used to derive an index of each parent's Chinese retention goals. To assess the collective Chinese retention goals, the average of fathers' and mothers' reports within each family was used. These subscales demonstrated excellent internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.85$ for both fathers and mothers). The collective goals of fathers and mothers were calculated by taking the average of their scores. Higher average scores indicate stronger cultural retention goals shared by parents.

Differences in Parents' Goals. The level of spousal support was assessed as the amount of discrepancy between the socialization goals of fathers and mothers within the same family. To assess the extent of discrepancy, the absolute value of the difference in parents' reports was calculated by subtracting mothers' reports of socialization goals from fathers' reports. Greater spousal support was indicated when the absolute difference in parents' reports was 0, with higher scores indicating lower levels of support. Difference scores for academic achievement goals

could range from 0 to 3. Difference scores for interdependence goals and Chinese cultural retention goals had a possible range of 0 to 4.

CHAPTER III

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Several preliminary analyses were conducted in preparation for the main regression analyses. Specifically, these analyses provided information regarding the suitability of the variables for use in regression analyses, as well as whether there were any variables to be controlled for in the regression analyses. The preliminary analyses also addressed the first goal of the study, which was to provide descriptive information about childrearing goals and parenting efficacy among immigrant Chinese parents of adolescents. In the first step of the preliminary analysis, the descriptive statistics for the main study variables were examined to ensure that there was adequate variation in the scores for use in regression analyses. The means, standard deviations, and ranges for the main study variables are presented in Tables 1 and 2. Second, paired t-tests and correlations were used to ensure that mothers' and fathers' reports of the same variables were not redundant. The correlations between fathers' and mothers' reports are presented in the final column of Tables 1 and 2. Third, the correlations among the predictor variables were examined for possible multicollinearity. Correlations among the main study variables are presented in Table 3 for fathers and Table 4 for mothers. These issues are addressed first.

Social Support Variables

Fathers and mothers reported a medium level of contact with Chinese neighbours, with contact ranging from "none" to "regular" for both parents (see Table 1). In terms of

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Social Support Variables and Correlations between Parents

	Fathers		Mothers		Parents		<i>r</i>
	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	
Chinese Neighbours ^a	2.76 (1.02)	1.00 - 5.00	2.71 (1.11)	1.00 - 5.00			.49***
Chinese Friends ^a	3.79 (1.00)	1.00 - 5.00	3.80 (.99)	1.00 - 5.00			.50***
Chinese Support ^a	2.27 (.73)	1.00 - 4.00	2.30 (.75)	1.00 - 5.00			.33***
Canadian Support ^a	1.75 (.70)	1.00 - 4.00	1.92 (.75)	1.00 - 4.00			.45***
Absolute Difference in Education Goals ^b					.24 (.42)	0 - 1.00	
Absolute Difference in Interdependence Goals ^c					.46 (.35)	0 - 1.67	
Absolute Difference in Chinese Retention Goals ^c					.91 (.72)	0 - 3.50	

Note. ^a possible range = 1-5; ^b possible range = 0-3; ^c possible range = 0-4.

*** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Adolescent Development, Parenting Goals and Parenting Efficacy, and Correlations between Parents

	Fathers		Mothers		Parents		Children		<i>r</i>
	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	
<i>Adolescent Development</i>									
GPA ^a							7.72 (1.77)	2 - 10	
Asian Values ^b							4.67 (.84)	2.73 - 6.50	
Chinese Orientation ^c							3.34 (.69)	1.47 - 4.87	
<i>Parenting Goals and Parents' Well-Being</i>									
Education Goal ^d	3.48 (.51)	2.00 - 4.00	3.49 (.53)	2.00 - 4.00					.56***
Interdependence Goal ^e	4.02 (.44)	2.67 - 5.00	4.06 (.45)	3.00 - 5.00					.14
Chinese Retention Goal ^e	3.15 (.88)	1.00 - 5.00	3.09 (.86)	1.00 - 5.00					.08
Avg Education Goal ^d					3.50 (.46)	2.50 - 4.00			
Avg Interdep. Goal ^e					4.03 (.33)	3.25 - 5.00			
Avg Chinese Retention Goal ^e					3.14 (.63)	1.75 - 5.00			
Parenting Efficacy ^e	5.11 (.68)	3.60 - 6.60	5.18 (.63)	3.60 - 6.90					.30***

Note. ^apossible range = 1-10; ^bpossible range = 1-7; ^cpossible range = 1-5; ^dpossible range = 1-4; ^epossible range = 1-7.

*** $p < .001$.

Table 3

Intercorrelations of Main Study Variables for Fathers

	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Chinese Neighbours	.18*	.28**	.26**	-.01	-.06	.09	-.04	.25**	.05	.16*
2. Chinese Friends		.28**	-.05	-.07	.13	.09	.02	.20**	-.01	.16*
3. Chinese Support			.61***	.01	.06	.12	.07	.12	.16*	-.04
4. Canadian Support				.01	-.004	.05	.06	.10	.20*	-.05
5. Child's GPA					.05	.05	.33***	.03	.09	.17**
6. Child's Asian Values						.19**	.09	.03	-.07	-.02
7. Child's Chinese Orientation							-.01	.19*	.03	.03
8. Education Goals								.11	.04	.06
9. Interdependence Goals									.27**	.33**
10. Chinese Retention Goals										.01
11. Parenting Efficacy										-

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

Table 4

Intercorrelations of Main Study Variables for Mothers

	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Chinese Neighbours	.13	.16*	.08	-.08	-.06	.16*	-.01	.07	-.03	.03
2. Chinese Friends		.22**	-.16*	-.03	.06	.05	.06	.15*	.03	.10
3. Chinese Support			.61***	-.18**	.03	.15*	-.05	-.03	.19*	.07
4. Canadian Support				-.12	-.08	.01	-.09	.02	.11	.07
5. Child's GPA					.05	.05	.44***	.02	.03	.11
6. Child's Asian Values						.19**	.10	.06	.12	-.06
7. Child's Chinese Orientation							.06	.07	.22**	.12
8. Education Goals								.05	.03	.03
9. Interdependence Goals									.40***	.15*
10. Chinese Retention Goals										.10
11. Parenting Efficacy										

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

support received from friends, both parents reported having a moderate presence of Chinese friends, on average. The proportion of Chinese friends ranged from “none” to “almost all” for both fathers and mothers. Fathers and mothers reported using a moderate level of Chinese-based parenting supports, on average. Fathers’ use of Chinese parenting supports ranged from “almost never” to “quite a bit,” while mothers’ reports spanned the full range of responses. Parents used Canadian parenting supports significantly less often than Chinese parenting supports (Fathers $t(151) = 10.17, p < .001$; Mothers $t(171) = 7.37, p < .001$). Both fathers and mothers reported that their use of Canadian parenting support ranged from “almost never” to “quite a bit.” In terms of support from one’s spouse, the difference scores indicated little disagreement between fathers and mothers in their goals for their children (see Table 1). Specifically, in terms of education goals, differences between parents ranged from 0 (i.e., none) to 1, meaning that mothers’ and fathers’ reports of education goals differed by a single point in the response scale. Similarly, there was little disagreement between fathers’ and mothers’ reports of interdependence goals, with difference scores ranging from 0 to 1.67. Parents differed most in their reports of Chinese retention goals. Difference scores spanned nearly the entire possible range of scores, ranging from 0 to 3.50.

Fathers’ and mothers’ reports of their contact with Chinese neighbours, the support received from Chinese friends, as well as their use of both Chinese and Canadian parenting supports were all moderately correlated (see Table 1). As shown in Table 3, fathers who had greater contact with Chinese neighbours received more support from Chinese friends, and used Chinese and Canadian parenting supports more often. For mothers, the correlations in Table 4 show that having more Chinese friends was associated with more frequent use of Chinese

parenting support, but also, unlike fathers, with less frequent use of Canadian parenting support. For both fathers and mothers, more frequent use of Chinese parenting support was associated with more frequent use of Canadian parenting support.

Adolescent Development

As shown in Table 2, on average, adolescents reported a high level of academic achievement, with the average GPA falling between B+ and A-. Nearly two thirds (61.3%) reported grades of A- or better, one third reported grades in the B range (32.1%), and only a small percentage of adolescents reported average to below-average levels of academic achievement in the range of C or less (6.7%). Adolescents, on average, endorsed a moderate level of Asian values, ranging from mild disagreement with traditional Chinese values to strong endorsement of traditional values. Adolescents reported a medium level of involvement in the Chinese culture, with their participation in Chinese behaviours ranging from very little to very often. In terms of correlations among these predictors, adolescents' who endorsed higher levels of Asian values also reported a greater orientation to Chinese culture (see Table 3). This correlation was low enough to eliminate concerns about multicollinearity.

Childrearing Goals

As shown in Table 2, parents had high aspirations for their children's education, on average. Both fathers and mothers hoped their children would complete university (49.6%) or go on to complete graduate education (49.6%), and the reports of their goals were significantly correlated. Only one parent reported that their highest aspiration was for a 2-year college diploma, and no parent identified high school completion as their preferred level of education for their children. Parents also strongly endorsed interdependence goals on average. Fathers' and

mothers' reports of interdependence goals were significantly correlated with each other. On average, parents reported that their children's retention of the Chinese culture was of medium importance to them, ranging from being "not important" to "of great importance." Parents' reports of Chinese cultural retention goals were not significantly correlated. Also shown in Table 2 are the mean values for parents' average socialization goals within each domain. In terms of parents' shared socialization goals, the scores indicating average goals were quite similar to parents' reports of their individual goals. In terms of associations among childrearing goals, interdependence goals and Chinese retention goals were positively correlated for both parents (see Tables 3 and 4). Higher levels of interdependence goals were associated with stronger endorsement of Chinese retention goals for both fathers and mothers.

Parenting Efficacy

In terms of their confidence in the parenting role, both parents reported moderate to high levels of parenting efficacy, on average, with a wide range of confidence levels reported (see Table 2). Fathers' and mothers' reports of parenting efficacy were positively correlated, and not significantly different ($t(161) = 1.27, ns$). As shown in Tables 3 and 4, few of the predictors were correlated with parents' feelings of efficacy (see Tables 3 and 4). For fathers, greater contact with Chinese neighbours and more Chinese friends were both associated with higher levels of parenting efficacy. For mothers, there were no significant associations between social context or social support and parenting efficacy. In terms of adolescent development, there was only a significant association between adolescents' reports of their GPA and fathers' reports of parenting efficacy. Higher GPAs were associated with fathers' reports of higher parenting efficacy. There were no significant correlations between any domain of adolescent development

and mothers' parenting efficacy. Unexpectedly, there was a significant association between parents' interdependence goals and their reports of parenting efficacy. For both parents, stronger endorsement of interdependence goals was associated with higher levels of parenting efficacy.

Further Exploration of Variation in Childrearing Goals and Parenting Efficacy

Repeated measures ANOVAs (with parent as the within-subjects factor) compared mothers' and fathers' reports of childrearing goals and parenting efficacy, and evaluated whether parents' reports of these variables differed based on background variables, such as the children's gender, age and generational status, or by location of data collection (i.e., Victoria vs. Vancouver). For instance, these analyses evaluated whether mothers' and fathers' reports of education goals differed, as well as whether parents of first generation children endorsed different childrearing goals than parents of second generation children. These analyses also evaluated whether there was an interaction between parents' reports and background variables, indicating whether there were differences between fathers and mothers in one subgroup, but not others. For instance, these analyses would indicate whether fathers of sons reported different education goals than mothers of sons.

The analyses revealed no differences between fathers and mothers on any of the childrearing goals. There were, however, differences in goals based on some of the background variables. Specifically, there was a significant difference in parents' reports of education goals based on the children's generational status ($F(1,156) = 4.95, p < .05$). Parents endorsed higher education goals for first generation children ($M = 3.57, SD = .05$) than for second generation children ($M = 3.41, SD = .05$). Parents also differed in their endorsement of Chinese retention goals based on their current location ($F(1,157) = 6.61, p < .01$). Parents in Victoria endorsed

stronger goals for their child to “be Chinese” ($M = 3.36, SD = .10$) than did parents in Vancouver ($M = 3.07, SD = .06$). The family’s current location was correlated, and therefore confounded, with the length of time that parent’s had resided in Canada. Specifically, both fathers ($M = 14.50, SD = 7.94$) and mothers ($M = 13.41, SD = 7.36$) who lived in Victoria had resided in Canada for a longer period of time than fathers ($M = 9.82, SD = 6.32$) and mothers ($M = 9.62, SD = 5.93$) who lived in Vancouver (Fathers ($t(164) = 3.93, p < .001$; Mothers ($t(178) = 3.54, p < .001$)). Therefore, this analysis of differences in goals based on location was repeated with parent’s length of residence included as a covariate. There was no longer a significant difference in the Chinese cultural retention goals of parents based on their current residence when parents’ length of residence was taken into account ($F(1,156) = .277, ns$). The repeated measures ANOVAs revealed no differences between mothers and fathers in reports of parenting efficacy, and reports of parenting efficacy did not differ based on any of the child background variables (i.e., child gender, age or generational status), or the family’s current city of residence.

Control Variables

The main study variables were correlated with parent and child background variables in order to determine the need to include control variables in subsequent analyses. The correlations among parents’ age, education, length of residence in Canada and family income and the main study variables are presented in Table 5. The correlations among adolescent’s gender, age, and age of arrival in Canada and the main study variables are presented in Table 6. Variables were identified as possible control variables if they met one of two conditions. First, any of the background variables that were significantly correlated with reports of parenting efficacy were considered as control variables to determine if social support, adolescent development, and

Table 5

Correlations among Selected Parent Background Variables and Main Study Variables

	Parent Age		Parent Education		Family Income		Length of residence	
	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Mo</i>
Chinese Neighbours	.10	.11	-.04	.11	-.16*	-.07	.07	.07
Chinese Friends	-.18*	-.05	-.02	.06	-.02	-.01	-.18*	-.13
Chinese Support	.00	.07	-.09	-.12	-.18*	.03	-.03	.10
Canadian Support	.06	.14	-.04	-.09	.02	.05	.19*	.26***
Children's GPA	-.01	-.10	.17*	.13	.17*	.17*	.12	.02
Children's Asian Values	.01	-.06	-.15*	-.03	.01		.03	-.04
Children's Chinese Orientation	.02	-.04	-.05	.05	-.11		-.12	-.22**
Parents' Education Goals	-.01	-.05	.21**	.31***	.02		-.04	-.14
Parents' Interdependence Goals	.04	.14	.02	.03	-.07	.07	-.02	-.02
Parents' Chinese Retention Goals	.08	.11	-.12	-.08	-.04	.12	.26***	.06
Parenting Efficacy	.03	-.14	.04	.04	.03	.03	-.01	-.06

Note. Fa = Fathers; Mo = Mothers

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

Table 6

Correlations among Selected Child Demographics and Main Study Variables

	Child Gender ^a		Child Age		Child Age of Arrival	
	Fa	Mo	Fa	Mo	Fa	Mo
Parents' Chinese Context	-.003	.01	.09	.17*	.01	.02
Parents' Chinese Friends	-.04	-.12	-.03	-.10	.15*	.03
Parent's Chinese Support	.05	-.10	-.02	.06	.03	-.05
Parents' Canadian Support	.02	-.10	-.02	.04	-.16*	-.15*
Children's GPA	.24**		-.03		-.05	
Children's Asian Values	-.06		.10		.04	
Children's Chinese Orientation	.23**		.23***		.29***	
Parents' Education Goals	.02	.09	.07	.02	.15a	.16*
Parents' Interdependence Goals	-.07	-.06	.11	.18*	.15*	.06
Parents' Chinese Retention Goals	.04	.11	.01	.19*	-.23**	.00
Parenting Efficacy	.02	.10	-.02	-.16*	.06	-.04

Note. Fa = Fathers; Mo = Mothers. ^aGender is coded as 0 for boys and 1 for girls.

^a $p < .06$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

parenting goals contributed to the prediction of parenting efficacy over and above the contribution of the background variables. Second, background variables that were significantly correlated with any of the predictors were considered in order to control for variables that may mask a significant association between the predictors and reports of parenting efficacy due to shared variance. In the final selection of control variables, if two background variables being considered as controls for the same analysis were correlated, only one of these variables was chosen. Specifically, reports of family income were significantly associated with both fathers' ($r = .26, p < .001$) and mothers' ($r = .22, p < .001$) reports of education. Adolescents' age of arrival in Canada was also significantly correlated with both fathers' ($r = -.78, p < .001$) and mothers' ($r = -.86, p < .001$) length of residence in Canada. Adolescents' age and age of arrival in Canada were significantly correlated ($r = .25, p < .001$). Thus, in cases where either family income and parent's education, children's age at arrival and parents' length of residence, or children's age and age at arrival were correlated with the predictors, then only one of these variables was chosen as a control variable. The same control variables were used in the analyses for each parent for consistency and simplicity in reporting.

There was only one significant association between any of the background variables and feelings of parenting efficacy. As shown in Table 6, mothers reported greater feelings of parenting efficacy when their children were younger. There were a number of parent and child background variables that correlated with parents' reports of social context and social support. Specifically, fathers from lower income families reported greater contact with Chinese neighbours and greater use of Chinese parenting supports (see Table 5). Fathers reported fewer Chinese friends the longer they lived in Canada, and when their children immigrated to Canada

at a younger age. Both parents reported greater use of Canadian parenting supports when they had lived in Canada for a longer period of time and when their children had arrived in Canada at a younger age. Therefore, in the regressions of parenting efficacy on social context and social support, family income and parents' length of time in Canada were included as control variables.

A number of background variables were also significantly correlated with indicators of adolescent development and parenting goals. Fathers who were more educated had children who reported higher GPAs and lower levels of Asian values. As shown in Table 5, both fathers and mothers with higher levels of education endorsed higher education goals for their children. In families with higher income, adolescents reported higher GPAs. Fathers living in Canada for a longer period of time reported greater Chinese retention goals for their children. Children reported a lower orientation to the Chinese culture when mothers had lived in Canada for a longer period of time. Girls ($M = 8.13$, $SD = 1.48$) reported significantly higher grades than boys ($M = 7.28$, $SD = 1.96$; $t(180) = 3.32$, $p < .001$). Girls ($M = 3.49$, $SD = .70$) also reported a higher orientation to the Chinese culture than boys ($M = 3.18$, $SD = .65$; $t(180) = 3.10$, $p < .01$). Older children and children who arrived in Canada at an older age also reported a higher Chinese orientation. In terms of parents' goals, both parents reported higher education goals for children who arrived in Canada at an older age. Fathers reported higher interdependence goals and lower Chinese retention goals for children who arrived in Canada at an older age. Mothers reported greater interdependence goals and greater Chinese retention goals for older children. Based on these results, in the regression of parenting efficacy on adolescent education and parenting goals, parents' education, child gender and children's age of arrival were included as control variables. In the regression of parenting efficacy on adolescents' endorsement of Asian values and parents'

interdependence goals, parents' education and children's age at arrival were included as control variables. Finally, for the regression of adolescents' orientation to the Chinese culture and parents' Chinese retention goals, parents' length of time in Canada, child gender and child age were included as control variables.

Overall Plan for Regression Analyses

The next step of the analysis evaluated the study's main hypotheses. Two sets of regression analyses were used to evaluate the main hypotheses. The first set of regressions examined the association between various forms of social support and feelings of parenting efficacy. Specifically, these analyses evaluated whether the presence of support from Chinese friends, the use of Chinese and Canadian parenting supports and the presence of support from one's spouse were associated with feelings of parenting efficacy. These analyses also evaluated whether the association between support and feelings of parenting efficacy were moderated by the parent's social context. These analyses also evaluated whether the association between the use of Canadian parenting supports and feelings of parenting efficacy varied depending on their use of Chinese parenting supports. Finally, these analyses evaluated the extent to which support from one's spouse, in the form of fewer differences in parenting goals, was associated with parenting efficacy.

The second set of regression analyses evaluated whether the experience of mastery (i.e., as indicated by the child's successful development in multiple domains of development) had an additive influence on feelings of efficacy, or if mastery in one domain was relatively more influential than another. This set of analyses also evaluated whether adolescent development was most strongly related to parenting efficacy when parents strongly endorsed the domain in

question as a socialization goal. These same analyses were repeated with parents' joint, or average, goals to evaluate the extent to which shared goals are associated with parenting efficacy.

These hypotheses were tested in a series of hierarchical regression analyses. For all regressions, control variables were entered into the first step, and the relevant predictor variables were entered into the second step. For regressions testing moderation hypotheses, an interaction term was created where the predictor was multiplied by the moderator. This interaction term was entered in the third step of the regression. According to the recommendations made by Aiken and West (1991) for evaluating interactions, all predictor variables were centred prior to calculating interaction terms and conducting the analyses. That is, predictor variables were mean deviated by subtracting the mean for the predictor from each participant's score on that variable. Any significant interactions were probed according to procedures outlined by Aiken & West (1991).

Social Support and Parenting Efficacy

The first set of analyses was designed to evaluate the associations between the receipt of social support and feelings of parenting efficacy. These regressions tested four questions. The first regression evaluated the association between Chinese support and parenting efficacy, as well as whether the association between these variables differed for parents with varying levels of contact with Chinese neighbours (i.e., context). As shown in Table 7, Chinese parenting supports and Chinese social context were not significant predictors of parenting efficacy for either fathers or mothers. Thus, the hypothesis that the presence of Chinese social support would be associated with higher feelings of parenting efficacy was not supported. There was also no

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression of Chinese Supports and Chinese Context on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.00			.00		
Family Income			.00			.00
Parent's Length of Residence in			.00			.00
Step 2	.03	.03		.02	.01	
Chinese Friends			.07			.07
Chinese Support			-.12			.02
Chinese Context			.10			.01
Step 3	.03	.00		.02	.00	
Chinese Friends x Context			-.01			-.01
Chinese Support x Context			.01			.00
	Overall $F(7,143) = 0.66$			Overall $F(7,167) = 0.39$		

evidence that this association was moderated by the extent of parents' contact with Chinese neighbours. The interaction term was not significant, and therefore, the hypothesis that the association between the receipt of Chinese support and parenting efficacy would vary for parents who had varying levels of contact with Chinese neighbours was not supported.

A second regression evaluated the association between Canadian support and feelings of parenting efficacy, as well as whether this association differed for parents with varying levels of contact with Chinese neighbours. The hypothesis that Canadian parenting support would be associated with higher feelings of parenting efficacy was also not supported. As shown in Table 8, the regression predicting feelings of parenting efficacy from Canadian parenting support, Chinese social context and the interaction between these two was not significant for either parent. Specifically, fathers' and mothers' reports of their use of Canadian support were not significant predictors of their feelings of parenting efficacy. Furthermore, the interaction between Canadian support and contact with Chinese neighbours was not significant, and therefore there was no evidence of moderation.

The third regression in this first set of analyses evaluated whether the combination of Chinese and Canadian support received was associated with feelings of parenting efficacy. The hypothesis that the association between Canadian parenting support and parenting efficacy would be moderated by levels of Chinese support was also not supported. As shown in Table 9, neither the interaction between Chinese supports and Canadian supports, nor the interaction between Chinese friends and Canadian supports were significant predictors of parenting efficacy for either parent (see Step 3).

Table 8

Regression of Canadian Supports and Chinese Context on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.00			.00		
Family Income			.02			.00
Parent's Length of Residence			.00			-.01
Step 2	.03	.02		.01	.01	
Canadian Support			-.09			.05
Chinese Context			.11			.04
Step 3	.03	.00		.02	.00	
Canadian Support x Context			-.01			.05
	Overall $F(5,143) = 0.71$			Overall $F(5,163) = 0.48$		

Table 9

Regression of Balance of Support Sources on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.00			.00		
Family Income			.00			.00
Parent's Length of Residence			.00			-.01
Step 2	.02	.02		.03	.02	
Chinese Friends			.08			.07
Chinese Support			-.05			-.05
Canadian Support			.00			.10
Step 3	.02	.00		.04	.01	
Chinese Support x Canadian Support			.02			-.07
Chinese Friends x Canadian Support			-.04			.09
	Overall $F(7,148) = 0.35$			Overall $F(7,168) = 0.92$		

The final hypothesis in this first set of analyses evaluated whether support from one's spouse, as indicated by a low level of disagreement in childrearing goals, would be associated with greater feelings of parenting efficacy. This hypothesis was partially supported for mothers, but not fathers. As shown in Table 10, the regression predicting feelings of parenting efficacy from the absolute difference in parents' childrearing goals was significant for mothers, but not fathers. Specifically, mothers endorsed higher levels of parenting efficacy when there was a low level of disagreement with their spouse in their interdependence goals.

Adolescent Development, Socialization Goals and Parenting Efficacy

The second series of regression analyses evaluated three main questions. First, the analysis evaluated whether the different forms of mastery experiences had independent or additive influences on feelings of parenting efficacy. Subsequent analyses tested whether parenting goals moderated the association between mastery experiences and feelings of parenting efficacy. Finally, the analyses evaluated whether the strength of the goals of the parenting unit moderated the association between mastery experiences and feelings of parenting efficacy. Regression analyses were conducted in three steps, with control variables entered at the first step. The centred predictor variables were entered in the second step. A significant result at this step would indicate that there was a significant main effect of mastery and/or of childrearing goals on parents' reports of efficacy. The interaction between the measure of adolescent development and the parent's childrearing goal was entered at Step 3. A significant beta weight at this step would indicate that the effect of adolescent development on feelings of parenting efficacy

Table 10

Regression of Degree of Spousal Support on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final β	R ²	ΔR ²	Final β
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.01			.02		
Parent's Education			-.02			.10
Child's Gender			.02			.08
Child's Age of Arrival			.07			-.09
Step 2	.01	.00		.09*	.06*	
Absolute Difference in Education Goals			-.04			.07
Absolute Difference in Interdependence Goals			-.04			-.19*
Absolute Difference in Chinese Retention Goals			.03			-.12
	Overall $F(6,153) = 0.21$			Overall $F(6,153) = 2.32^*$		

* $p < .05$.

varied depending on parents' endorsement of childrearing goals.

The first regression explored whether the contribution of each form of mastery experience was additive or whether one form of mastery was relatively more important than another in predicting parenting efficacy. In this regression, control variables were entered in the first step and adolescents' reports of their development (i.e., GPA, endorsement of Asian values and Chinese orientation) were entered in the second step. As shown in Table 11, the regression predicting parents' feelings of parenting efficacy from adolescent development was not significant for either parent. When considered as a group, the measures of adolescent development were not significantly associated with feelings of parenting efficacy. However, there were significant associations between individual measures of adolescent development and reports of parenting efficacy. Specifically, mothers feelings of parenting efficacy increased as their children's orientation to the Chinese culture increased. There was also a trend toward a significant association between fathers' parenting efficacy and adolescent GPA, in that fathers reported higher levels of parenting efficacy as their children reported a higher GPA.

The next regressions tested the hypothesis that adolescents' academic achievement would be positively associated with parenting efficacy, and that this association would be stronger among parents who highly valued education goals. As shown in Table 12, this hypothesis was not supported for either parent; there was no significant interaction between adolescents' reports of their GPA and parents' aspirations for their children's educational attainment (see Step 3). Therefore, the association between adolescent GPA and parenting efficacy did not vary based on fathers' or mothers' reports of their

Table 11
Regression of Adolescent Development on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final β	R ²	ΔR ²	Final β
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.01			.03		
Parent's Education			-.02			.00
Child's Gender			-.04			.02
Child's Age of Arrival			.14			-.35*
Step 2	.03	.02		.07	.03	
Child's GPA			.16 ^a			.09
Child's Asian Values			-.03			-.09
Child's Chinese Orientation			.02			.16*
	Overall $F(7,162) = 0.75$			Overall $F(7,158) = 1.67$		

^a $p < .06$. * $p < .05$.

Table 12

Regression of Parents' Education Goal on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.01			.02		
Parent's Education			-.02			.04
Child's Gender			-.07			.10
Child's Age of Arrival			.02			-.01
Step 2	.04	.03		.02	.01	
Child's GPA			.08*			.04
Parents' Education Goal			-.05			-.01
Step 3	.04	.00		.03	.01	
Child's GPA x Parents' Education Goal			.01			.04
	Overall $F(6,159) = 0.98$			$F(6,175) = 0.83$		

* $p < .05$.

education goals. Similar results were found when parents' collective goals were considered. The regression of parenting efficacy on adolescent's GPA and the average of parents' education goals was also not significant for either parent (see Table 13).

The regression of parenting efficacy on adolescents' endorsement of Asian values and parents' interdependence goals tested the hypothesis that feelings of parenting efficacy would be higher when children endorsed higher levels of traditional Asian values. This regression also evaluated whether the association between adolescents' Asian values and feelings of parenting efficacy varied depending on the value parents placed on interdependence goals. As shown in Table 14, adolescents' reports of Asian values were not associated with feelings of parenting efficacy for either parent. Unexpectedly, fathers' reports of their interdependence goals were significantly, and strongly associated with feelings of parenting efficacy. In addition, the moderation hypothesis was supported for fathers, but not mothers. The association between adolescents' Asian values and fathers' reports of parenting efficacy was significantly positive among fathers who scored above the mean on interdependence goals ($\beta = .18, p < .05$), but was significantly negative among fathers who scored below the mean on these goals ($\beta = -.25, p < .05$). As shown in Figure 2, fathers' feelings of parenting efficacy increased as adolescents' reports of Asian values increased when fathers endorsed interdependence goals at higher levels. Conversely, fathers' feelings of parenting efficacy decreased as adolescents' endorsement of Asian values increased when fathers endorsed interdependence goals at lower levels. For mothers, the hypothesis that mastery experiences in this value domain would predict feelings of parenting efficacy

Table 13

Regression of Parents' Jointly Held Education Goals on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.01			.02		
Parent's Education			-.03			-.04
Child's Gender			-.06			.10
Child's Age of Arrival			.02			-.01
Step 2	.03	.03		.03	.01	
Child's GPA			.08*			.04
Parents' Average Education Goal			.02			-.02
Step 3	.04	.00		.04	.02	
Child's GPA x Parents' Average Education Goal			.06			.11
	Overall $F(6,155) = 0.99$			Overall $F(6,155) = 1.14$		

* $p < .05$.

Table 14

Regression of Adolescent Development on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.01			.02		
Parent's Education			.02			.07
Child's Age of Arrival			.00			-.02
Step 2	.10 ^{***}	.10 ^{***}		.05 ^a	.04 [*]	
Child's Asian Values			-.03			-.07
Parents' Interdependence Goal			.46 ^{***}			.23 [*]
Step 3	.15 ^{***}	.05 ^{**}		.06 ^a	.01	
Child's Asian Values x Parents' Interdependence Goal			.49 ^{**}			.08
	Overall $F(5,163) = 5.61^{***}$			Overall $F(5,173) = 2.15^a$		

^a $p < .06$. * $p < .05$.

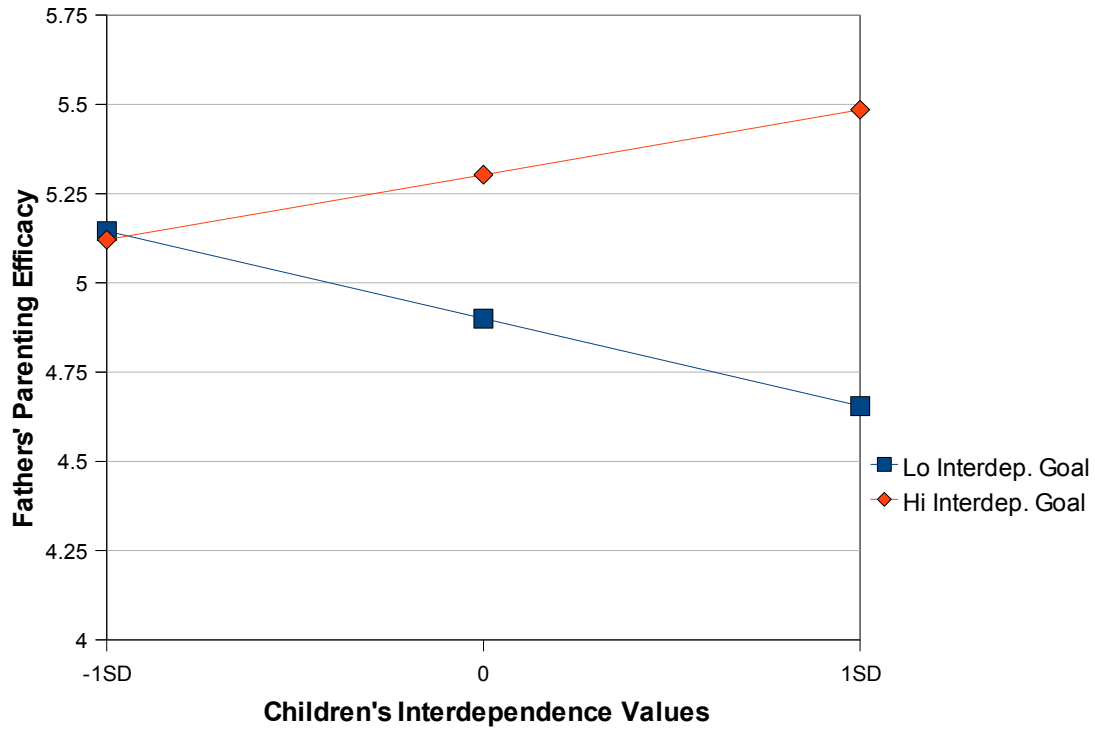


Figure 2. Interaction between Children's Interdependence Values and Fathers' Interdependence Goals

was not supported. Adolescents' reports of Asian values were unrelated to mothers' feelings of parenting efficacy. As with fathers, mothers' interdependence goals were significantly related to their reports of parenting efficacy. Mothers' feelings of parenting efficacy increased as the value they placed on interdependence goals increased. However, there was no evidence of moderation as there was not a significant interaction between adolescents' reports of Asian values and mothers' interdependence goals. The regression predicting parenting efficacy from adolescents' reports of Asian values and the average of parents' interdependence goals showed the same pattern of results for both parents, although with a small decrease in level of statistical significance for fathers (see Table 15).

The regression predicting parenting efficacy from adolescents' Chinese orientation and parents' Chinese retention goals is shown in Table 16. There was no main effect of mastery experiences in this domain for either parent, as adolescents' reports of Chinese orientation were unrelated to fathers' and mothers' reports of parenting efficacy. There was also no evidence of moderation for fathers, in that the interaction between adolescents' Chinese orientation and fathers' Chinese retention goals was not significant. However, there was evidence of moderation for mothers. Specifically, there was a significant interaction between adolescents' Chinese orientation and mothers' Chinese retention goals. Probing this interaction revealed that a significant positive association between adolescents' Chinese orientation and feelings of parenting efficacy among mothers who were above the mean on Chinese retention goals ($\beta = .26$, $p < .05$), and was unrelated to parenting efficacy among mothers whose Chinese retention goals were

Table 15

Regression of Parents' Jointly Held Interdependence Goals on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.00			.01		
Parent Education			.01			.02
Child Age of Arrival			.00			-.02
Step 2	.08*	.07**		.07*	.07**	
Children's Asian Values			-.04			-.06
Parents' Average Interdependence Goal			.50**			.46***
Step 3	.10**	.02 ^a		.07*	.00	
Children's Asian Values x Parents' Average Interdependence Goal			.39 ^a			-.01
	Overall $F(5,160) = 3.30^{**}$			Overall $F(5,160) = 2.40^*$		

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

Table 16

Regression of Parents' Chinese Retention Goals on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.00			.04*		
Parent's Length of Residence			.00			.00
Child's Gender			.02			.00
Child's Age			-.01			-.09**
Step 2	.00	.00		.07*	.03	
Child's Chinese Orientation			.03			.13
Parents' Chinese Retention Goal			.01			.07
Step 3	.00	.00		.11**	.03*	
Child's Chinese Orientation x Parents' Chinese Retention Goal			.05			.19*
	Overall $F(6,163) = .10$			Overall $F(6,173) = 3.33^{**}$		

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

below the mean ($\beta = -.07, ns$). As shown in Figure 3, higher Chinese orientations among adolescents were associated with stronger feelings of parenting efficacy when mothers highly valued Chinese retention goals. However, feelings of parenting efficacy were unrelated to adolescents' Chinese orientation when mothers endorsed lower levels of Chinese retention goals. The average of parents' Chinese retention goal showed a similar pattern of results (see Table 17). That is, there was no evidence for moderation in the prediction of fathers' parenting efficacy, and there was evidence that parents' average Chinese retention goals moderated the association between adolescents' Chinese orientation and mothers' parenting efficacy.

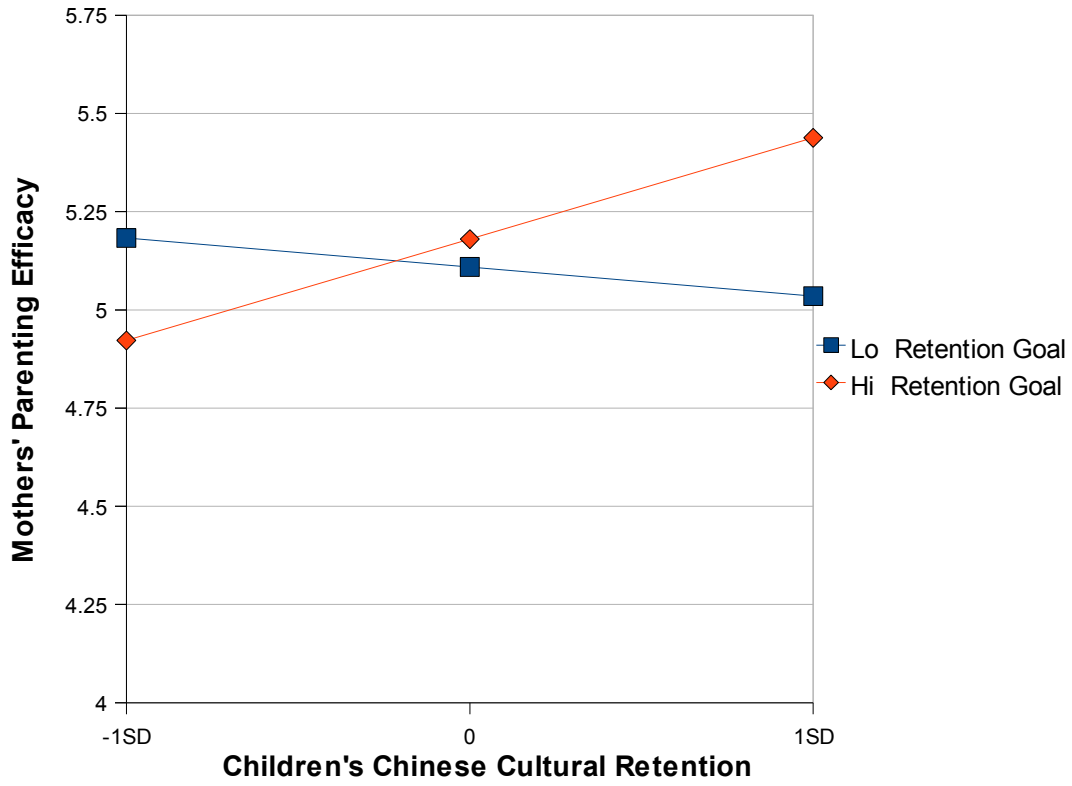


Figure 3: Interaction between Children's Chinese Orientation and Mothers' Acculturation Goals

Table 17

Regression of Parents' Jointly Held Chinese Retention Goals on Parenting Efficacy

	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B	R ²	ΔR ²	Final B
	<i>Fathers</i>			<i>Mothers</i>		
Step 1	.00			.04		
Parent's Length of Residence			.00			.00
Child's Gender			.03			.04
Child's Age			.02			-.08*
Step 2	.01	.00		.07	.02	
Child's Chinese Orientation			.03			.13
Parents' Average Chinese Retention Goal			.06			.10
Step 3	.03	.02		.10	.04*	
Child's Chinese Orientation x Parents' Chinese Retention Goal			.25			.29*
	Overall $F(6,157) = 0.66$			Overall $F(6,156) = 2.82^*$		

* $p < .05$.

CHAPTER IV

Discussion

The literature examining parenting efficacy beliefs is growing, but still limited in that it has primarily focused on investigating the *consequences* of efficacy beliefs for parent well-being and children's development among parents of infants and young children. The current investigation adds to this literature by investigating two possible antecedents of parenting efficacy beliefs among parents of adolescents: social support and adolescent development. Social support was hypothesized to act as a form of encouragement and assistance that promotes feelings of parenting efficacy. It was further hypothesized that a significant association between social support and parenting efficacy would vary depending on the extent of parents' contact with other Chinese individuals. In addition, success in several domains of adolescent development was hypothesized to promote feelings of parenting efficacy by acting as mastery experiences for parents. It was expected that the experience of mastery in a given domain would be more strongly associated with efficacy beliefs when parents more strongly valued that domain of development as a socialization goal. The results provided partial support for each of these hypotheses, and also produced some unexpected results.

Parenting Efficacy among Immigrant Chinese Parents in Canada

The overarching goal of the study was to explore parenting efficacy among immigrant Chinese parents. Chinese immigrants are the second largest immigrant group in Canada, and as Canadian population growth becomes increasingly dependent upon immigration, it is important to understand how we can best assist newcomer families in their adaptation to Canadian society. Often, immigration is described as a stressful process that can disrupt the well-being of all family

members (Lee & Zhan, 1998; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). However, there is evidence that immigration is not universally stressful as many families adapt quite well (Ma, 2002). The current study attempted to add to the literature on the adaptation of immigrant families by exploring an aspect of positive adaptation in the parenting domain – feelings of parenting efficacy. Past research has shown that higher levels of parenting efficacy are associated with more competent parenting and lower levels of parenting stress (Baden & Howe, 1992; Jones & Prinz, 2005; Mash & Johnston, 1990). Thus, parents who feel capable of tackling the challenges associated with parenting an adolescent child following immigration may, in fact, be better able to do so. However, there is little known about the parenting efficacy of immigrant parents in general, and immigrant Chinese parents in particular. Therefore, one goal of this study was to provide descriptive information regarding the parenting efficacy beliefs of immigrant Chinese parents.

The results suggest that these immigrant Chinese parents are adapting well, and support the broader literature showing positive adaptation following immigration (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2008; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006). On average, parents reported moderate to high levels of parenting efficacy. While there was an adequate range of scores represented, there were no extreme scores in that no parents reported very low levels of parenting efficacy. These results are similar to the reports of non-immigrant parents from other cultural backgrounds and with younger children (Dumka et al., 1996; Whittaker & Cowley, 2006). The average parenting efficacy in previous investigations ranged from slightly above the scale's midpoint to its uppermost limit. The parents in the current study reported a similar range of scores, ranging from slightly below the midpoint of the scale to just below the uppermost limit of the scale. The

presence of positive outcomes, such as high levels of parenting efficacy, lends further support for the need to step away from a problem-focused view of immigration to an exploration of the strengths of immigrant families.

In addition to developing a more comprehensive view of parenting efficacy among immigrant parents, a more specific goal of this study was to understand how these parents came to feel varying levels of efficacy in the first place. Based on the general self-efficacy literature, mastery experiences were targeted as a potential predictor of parenting efficacy. However, in this study, experiences of mastery by themselves accounted for very little variance in reports of parenting efficacy. This may be attributable to the limitations associated with a cross-sectional design. The fact that adolescent development was not directly associated with parenting efficacy at a single point of measurement does not necessarily mean that mastery experiences are not important. It may be that this study did not tap the domains of development that most strongly influence parenting efficacy at this stage of adolescent's development. The types of mastery experiences assessed in this investigation represent longer term, broad goals for children's development. Without a discrete finishing point when parents may reflect on their successful attainment of their goals, parents may not have a concrete indication of when mastery has been achieved. Instead, it may be that feelings of efficacy in the parenting role are most influenced by the accomplishment of goals that are more finite and time-limited. That is, a different picture may have emerged had we assessed goals that could be more clearly defined, such as decreasing parent-child conflict, or more specific, such as assisting their adolescent negotiate a conflict associated with maintaining Chinese traditions within the mainstream peer culture. Parents could identify a reduction in the number of instances of conflict over a specified time interval as

their goal, and would be able to easily gauge their success by assessing the frequency of arguments with their children at the completion of the interval.

Socialization Goals among Immigrant Chinese Parents in Canada

Another goal of this study was to contribute to the literature on immigrant Chinese parents by providing descriptive information regarding their socialization goals. Parents' goals are believed to be important to assess because they guide parents' choice of parenting practices. For instance, parents who value academic achievement may structure their children's free time to include more time spent on homework to ensure their success in school. Furthermore, knowledge of parents' socialization goals may broaden our understanding of parent-child relationships within immigrant Chinese families. For instance, in our previous work, we have examined the impact of parent-child acculturation differences on individual well-being and on aspects of the parent-child relationship (Costigan & Dokis, 2006b). Our results suggested that only differences in Chinese orientation were related to poorer adaptation, such as more relationship conflict; parent-child differences in Canadian orientation were independent of adjustment. We speculated that perhaps there was less conflict between parents and their adolescent children when there were differences in involvement in Canadian culture because parents recognize that their children must adopt Canadian ways of behaving in order to be successful. However, this was merely speculation, since we had not directly assessed parents' acculturation goals for their children. This limitation was not unique to our own work, as there is little research focusing specifically on the socialization goals of immigrant parents. Instead, much of what is written about the goals of these parents is inferred from their reports of the

importance of cultural values. To help fill this gap, parents' socialization goals were directly assessed in the current study.

Fathers and mothers held similarly high aspirations for their children's academic achievement. There was limited variability in their reports of their educational goals, with the majority of parents identifying the attainment of a university education as important for their children's development. This was not surprising given the substantial literature indicating the importance immigrant parents place on education for their children (e.g., Chao, 1996; Fuligni, 1997; Okagaki, 2001). Immigrant parents in general place a high value on academic achievement as achievement is seen as a means of promoting children's successful adaptation to the host society (Chao, 1995; Inman et al., 2007). Chinese parents in particular have high expectations regarding their children's academic achievement because it forms a part of their core cultural values (Chao, 1996; Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Okagaki, 2001). Importantly, parents' goals for their children's education were positively associated with their children's actual achievement. Thus, it appears that within the domain of education, parents were successful in attaining their goals.

Within the domain of cultural values, fathers and mothers highly valued interdependence as a socialization goal. The average goal for both fathers and mothers within this domain fell above the midpoint of the scale, and no parents endorsed interdependence goals at the lowest end of the scale. This finding is consistent with Chao's work (1995; 1996) indicating that immigrant Chinese mothers valued the development of interdependent traits in their children, and saw the cultivation of this trait as an important part of their parenting responsibilities. The results of the current study provide an important addition to this work by showing that valuation of

interdependent traits not unique to mothers; fathers in this study also identified the interdependence values as an important developmental target.

Parents' endorsement of Chinese cultural retention goals demonstrated the greatest variability. Chinese retention goals encompassed parents' desire for children to continue to identify as Chinese and participate in behavioural practices. Fathers and mothers endorsed a moderate level of Chinese retention goals, and the value they placed on their children's Chinese cultural retention spanned the entire possible response range. These results provide important information about what immigrant parents expect in terms of cultural retention on the part of their children in the host society. Because parents continue to strongly endorse traditional cultural values following immigration (e.g., Chao, 1995; 1996) and express a desire to transmit these values to their children, there is an expectation that parents have a universally strong investment in maintaining other aspects of the ethnic culture, such as language use. The range of cultural retention goals reported by parents in the current study caution against assuming that all immigrant parents want their children to strongly adopt all elements of the Chinese culture. Adolescents' reports of their own behavioural orientation to the Chinese culture were positively associated with mothers', but not fathers', Chinese retention goals. Women more commonly assume the primary responsibility for maintenance of the ethnic culture (Davey, Fish, Askew, & Robila, 2003). It may be that the significant association between adolescents' Chinese cultural orientation and mothers' goals for Chinese cultural retention may reflect that this is a domain in which fathers have less direct involvement.

Social Context and Support

In addition to the general goals discussed above, the more specific goals of the study were to examine the associations among social support, social context and parenting efficacy, as well as among adolescent development, socialization goals and parenting efficacy. A comprehensive view of the adaptation of immigrant families must take into account the context to in which these families settle. Despite an official policy of multiculturalism in Canada that supports cultural retention, there is still a substantial cultural distance between the values of Canadian society and those of immigrant Chinese parents. These differences have the potential to disrupt parents' adaptation following immigration (Dion & Dion, 1996). In terms of parenting, this distance has the potential to introduce doubt in parents' ideas about their ability to parent effectively within their adopted country because their ideas about parenting may be significantly different from those of the other parents in their immediate environment. However, the extent to which parents will be affected by this cultural distance may depend, in part, on the amount of contact parents have with other Chinese individuals and on the types of support they receive.

Fathers and mothers reported moderate levels of contact with Chinese neighbours, on average, and there was significant variation in the extent of contact reported. Thus, among these parents, their experience of cultural distance is likely to vary, as some parents had little or no contact with Chinese neighbours and others had more regular contact. However, regardless of the level of parents' contact with Chinese neighbours, fathers and mothers reported having a moderate to high number of Chinese friends in their social network, on average, although responses spanning the entire response scale. Despite this, fathers and mothers reported

relatively infrequent use of Chinese parenting supports, with the average score falling somewhere between “*not very often*” and “*sometimes*.”. Parents reported even more infrequent use of Canadian parenting supports on average, although variability was evident here as well. Interestingly, parents who used Chinese parenting supports more often were also likely to use Canadian parenting supports more often; parents who accessed one form of support were more likely to also access the other. This suggests that when parents access support, they do not discriminate between sources of support. Rather, parents make use of all forms of support available to them.

Social support from sources outside of the immediate family did not predict parenting efficacy for either parent, regardless of the presence or absence of Chinese neighbours. That is, same-ethnic supports were not associated with feelings of parenting efficacy, regardless of whether parents had access to few or many Chinese supporters. There was no evidence that the benefits of same-ethnic supports were enhanced in contexts with lesser availability of other Chinese individuals in the immediate environment, nor was there evidence that the benefits of Canadian parenting supports were enhanced in contexts with greater availability of other Chinese individuals. However, it is important to note that any conclusions that may be drawn from these results are limited by the measurement of context within this study. Parents were simply asked to indicate how much contact they had with Chinese *neighbours*, which served as a crude indicator of the availability of Chinese individuals within the parents’ environment from whom they could draw support. However, parents’ contact with Chinese neighbours may not accurately capture parents’ social context. The parents in this sample were drawn from neighbourhoods where the number of Chinese neighbours varied substantially. It is possible that

parents living in neighbourhoods with few Chinese neighbours may have contact with a significant number of Chinese individuals in other settings. For instance, families may be members of religious institutions and attend religious services where they have regular contact with other Chinese families. Parents may also involve their children in culturally-based extra-curricular activities (e.g., attendance at Chinese school) where they have many opportunities to interact with other Chinese parents. Our measure assessed access to a network of convenience rather than a network of choice and this may account for the lack of findings.

Variability in the use of social support may have failed to predict parenting efficacy (regardless of context) due to the conditions in which social support is typically most efficacious. Social support is hypothesized to function as a protective factor under conditions of stress; however, its ability to perform this function may depend upon the individual's level of distress (Cohen & Willis, 1985). Specifically, social support is most effective as a coping aid during times of moderate, rather than very low or very high, levels of stress. Under conditions of low stress, there is no direct benefit of social support because there are no threats to the individual's well-being. Conversely, under conditions of high stress, the individual may be so overwhelmed that they are not able to benefit from the assistance provided by their social networks. On average, parents' ratings of support fell near the midpoint of the scale, suggesting that parents were not making very frequent use of parenting support. It may be that parents did not seek frequent assistance because they were not experiencing high levels of distress, and therefore, it is possible that their level of stress was too low for social support to promote feelings of parenting efficacy.

Cultural norms regarding help seeking within the Chinese culture may also explain the lack of association between social support and feelings of parenting efficacy. That is, cultural norms stress the importance of keeping family matters private; therefore, there is a general reluctance to turn to individuals outside of their family for assistance (Wong, 2002; Wong et al., 2005). Instead, Chinese parents may prefer to rely on their own personal resources or other family members when faced with challenging obstacles (Shek, 1992; Wong et al., 2005). On average, parents turned to outside support infrequently, regardless of whether it was from same-ethnic individuals or Canadian sources.

Instead, support from one's spouse may be most relevant to parents' feelings of confidence in the parenting role. Mothers reported higher feelings of parenting efficacy when there were low levels of disagreement between mothers' and fathers' interdependence goals. This finding is consistent with previous literature showing a positive association between spousal support and mothers' feelings of parenting efficacy (Leerkes & Crockenberg, 2002). Spousal support may be especially beneficial for immigrant parents as they are parenting within a broader social context that may not support their parenting goals. In their country of origin, parents shared a common set of developmental goals within the broader society. Following immigration, these same parents may perceive the parenting ideas of the broader society to be squarely at odds with their own in many respects. Within this context, parents may increasingly value the support they receive from their spouse in this respect. Interestingly, spousal support was not a significant predictor of parenting efficacy for fathers. This different pattern of findings for mothers and fathers may be due to differences in help-seeking between parents. In his investigation of the help-seeking preferences of Chinese mothers and fathers, Shek (1992) found a preference among

mothers to seek help for familial issues from their spouse, rather than from outside sources. Fathers, on the other hand, reported a strong preference for relying on their own personal inner resources when faced with a challenge, rather than relying on their spouse or other family members for assistance. Therefore, the absence of support from a spouse may be more detrimental to mothers' feelings of parenting efficacy because they depend on the support of their spouse in tackling parenting challenges, whereas fathers may prefer to solve these problems on their own.

The lack of significant association between support outside the family and parenting efficacy in this study suggests that parents' beliefs about their parenting ability do not depend on the frequency of their use of support. However, efficacy beliefs may be related to the *quality* of assistance parents receive. Other investigators have found a link between social support and parenting efficacy have assessed mothers' *satisfaction* with support received (Leerkes & Burney, 2006; Leerkes & Crockenberg, 2002), whereas this investigation assessed the frequency of use of informal and formal parenting resources and the availability of support from same-ethnic friends. Perhaps the parents in the current study did not always perceive the support received as helpful, regardless of how frequently they may have accessed those supports. That is, parents may have a number of support sources available to them, but if these supporters are not seen as helpful, then the frequent use of support is not likely to influence feelings of parenting efficacy. For instance, a parent who sees that their child is struggling at school may be concerned that they are not fulfilling their responsibility to ensure their child's academic success. Parents may seek encouragement or advice from members of their social network who would reassure them they are capable of tackling this challenge. However, seeking support from individuals who does not

necessarily mean that the assistance they provide will be useful. For instance, the support may consist of other parents telling them “not to worry” because the situation will “sort itself out.” If parents do not derive any comfort from this type of advice, this may not alleviate their concerns about their ability to successfully guide their children’s academic achievement.

The developmental period under investigation may also have influenced the findings. Parents’ need for support may vary according to the novelty or degree of challenge associated with parenting tasks at different developmental stages. The current investigation explored the role of social support in predicting feelings of parenting efficacy among parents of *adolescents*, while Leerkes and colleagues (Leerkes & Burney, 2006; Leerkes & Crockenberg, 2002) examined parents of *infants*. New parents who have limited knowledge of child development may be easily overwhelmed and perceive minor challenges as major hurdles. At this stage, encouragement and advice provide external reinforcement that boosts parents’ confidence in their ability to tackle these challenges. Once a task has been mastered with support, parents have direct evidence of their capability to parent effectively, and may no longer need outside confirmation or encouragement to succeed. For example, the first time an infant or young child runs a high fever, parents often become anxious because they are uncertain of the best course of action to take. They may turn to more knowledgeable parents or other experts, such as the child’s pediatrician, who provide them with advice about how to proceed and encouragement that they will make it through the crisis just fine. This support increases parents’ confidence in their ability to manage their children’s illnesses. Over time, parents become familiar with the routine for caring for a sick child, and no longer need outside encouragement because they have confidence that they can manage on their own. The developmental targets investigated in this

study are goals that parents have likely been working toward for some time, rather than novel tasks that have been introduced at this stage in their children's development. As such, parents have likely already experienced success within in each of these domains, and so any additional encouragement parents receive may not significantly increase feelings of parenting efficacy.

Adolescent Development

In Bandura's (1997) self-efficacy theory, experiences of task success are thought to be potent predictors of efficacy beliefs. Therefore, another goal of this study was to explore adolescents' development in three domains (i.e., academic achievement, Asian interdependence values and behavioural Chinese cultural orientation) as indicators of 'mastery' for parents. The first issue addressed was whether multiple experiences of mastery would result in stronger feelings of parenting efficacy, or if mastery in one domain would have relatively more influence on efficacy beliefs than others. The results showed that neither of these possibilities was supported, as there were no significant main effects of adolescent development on parenting efficacy. Despite a significant univariate association between adolescents' academic achievement and fathers' parenting efficacy, the regression predicting efficacy beliefs from all three domains of adolescent development was not significant. Furthermore, there were no significant associations between any of the indicators of adolescent development and mothers' feelings of parenting efficacy.

The absence of any main effects of adolescent development on parenting efficacy may be due to the types of outcomes that were chosen for study. This investigation is somewhat unique in its inclusion of positive developmental outcomes, and this may account for the lack of significant relations with parenting efficacy beliefs. The outcomes measured in this study

represent developmental targets that parents typically would like to see their children develop, rather than outcomes they would prefer to avoid. Furthermore, the adolescents in this sample were relatively well-adjusted, suggesting that parents have been generally successful in shaping their children's development to date. Previous investigations that have found a link between child characteristics and parenting efficacy beliefs have tended to focus on negative outcomes, such as difficult infant temperament (Leerkes & Burney, 2006; Leerkes & Crockenberg, 2002) and disruptive behaviours in young children (Mash & Johnston, 1990). These previous findings are consistent with Bandura's (1997) idea that failing to achieve a highly desirable goal may have a stronger negative impact on efficacy beliefs than the positive boost provided by experiences of success.

The development of efficacy beliefs is a recursive process wherein one experience of success increases parents' confidence in their ability to manage similar tasks of greater difficulty.

Parents who feel more capable will put forth more effort when faced with challenging tasks, and are more likely to be able to complete these tasks with greater ease. Over time, parents develop a sense of the boundaries of their competence, and when they experience success on a task they have already mastered, there may be little increase in feelings of parenting efficacy. Conversely, if parents fail at a previously mastered task, this may undermine their feelings of efficacy because it introduces doubt about how competent they truly are. Thus, stronger relations may have been found had we assessed negative developmental outcomes.

Notably, the results suggested that parents' goals may provide an important context for understanding feelings of parenting efficacy. It was hypothesized that parenting efficacy would not be uniquely determined by positive adolescent development in any domain, but by successful

development in domains that were highly valued by parents. Consistent with the predictions, adolescents' endorsement of Asian values was positively associated with fathers' parenting efficacy when fathers placed a higher value on interdependence goals. Furthermore, for mothers, adolescents' behavioural Chinese cultural orientation was positively associated with parenting efficacy when mothers more strongly endorsed cultural retention as a socialization goal. The hypothesis was only not supported for parents' education goals. Adolescents' academic achievement was unrelated to parenting efficacy for either parent, regardless of the value parents placed on academics.

During adolescence, minor violations of parents' goals are normative and adaptive (Collins & Luebker, 1994) and would not be expected to have a negative influence on feelings of parenting efficacy. However, major departures from parents' goals are not normative, and parents may perceive this as a broader failure to meet the demands of the parenting role, resulting in diminished feelings of parenting efficacy. This may explain why the hypothesis that parents' goals would moderate the association between adolescent development and parenting efficacy was supported for the cultural domains of development, but not for academic achievement. In the domain of education, parents nearly uniformly endorsed attainment of at least a university education as their preferred education goal, leaving little variability in parenting goals. Furthermore, most adolescents reported high levels of academic achievement, and within such a restricted range, there were no major violations of parents' expectancies. However, in the domains of cultural development (i.e., Asian values and Chinese orientation), there was greater variation in both adolescents' reports of their development, as well as parents' endorsement of these goals. Thus, within each of the indicators of cultural development, there

was greater opportunity for significant deviation from parents' goals for their children's development.

There is no reason to expect that parents' goals remain static, and the lack of association between domains of adolescent development and parenting efficacy among parents who place *less* value on the socialization goal associated with that domain may be due to flexibility in parents' goals. Implicit in the argument that minor violations of parents' goals is not problematic is the idea that parents' goals are inflexible. Instead, when faced with a difference between their ultimate goal and the adolescent's development, parents may change or adjust their expectations to match their children's abilities. Therefore, it is equally important to consider the changing nature of adolescents' development in understanding the robustness of parenting efficacy in the face of minor deviations from parenting goals. For instance, we know that adolescents become competent negotiators during this developmental stage, often making use of this skill to increase their personal autonomy (Collins & Luebker, 1994). Thus, in addition to remaining confident in spite of minor deviations from their overall goals, parents may also adjust their expectations following a process of negotiation with their adolescents.

Interdependence Goals

A surprising result was the finding of a main effect of parents' interdependence goals on their feelings of parenting efficacy. There was no reason to expect that the strength of parents' goals for their children's development in each domain would directly relate to parenting efficacy. Perhaps this direct effect can be explained by considering what endorsing interdependence values as a parenting goal may mean to parents. When immigrant parents more strongly endorse goals that are valued within their culture, such as the importance placed on the development of

interdependence within Chinese culture, they may feel that they are fulfilling a key part of their parenting duty. Instilling interdependence values may be relatively easy for parents living in their country of origin where there are extended family and other social network members who can assist them in transmitting this important cultural value. However, immigrant parents to Canada are not parenting their children in a Chinese context, and therefore their ability to shape their children's cultural development may be challenged. Often, the acculturation literature identifies children's exposure to Western influences through such avenues as peers and school as a threat to their ethnic cultural retention (García Coll & Pachter, 2002), with little mention of how these forces may affect parents. In particular, immersion within a society like Canada that is oriented toward independence may make it more difficult for immigrant parents to adhere to traditional Chinese parenting goals. In addition, immigrant parents' simultaneous desire for their children to retain Chinese culture while adapting successfully to Canadian culture may make it difficult for some parents to know what childrearing goals to prioritize. According to Coleman and Karraker (1997), in order to feel efficacious in the parenting role, parents must have an idea of what is expected of them in this role. Therefore, when immigrant parents continue to strongly value interdependence as a goal, in spite of the outside influences that may challenge this goal, they may feel particularly confident in their ability to effectively parent their child.

The unexpected finding of a direct association between parents' interdependence goals and feelings of efficacy also raises the question of why this effect was limited to parents' interdependence goals. As discussed above, there was a narrow range of variability in parents' goals for academic achievement, limiting its ability to predict parenting efficacy. Therefore, it is

understandable that these goals would not be directly related to feelings of efficacy. However, it is puzzling that within the cultural domain, only interdependence goals directly related to feelings of parenting efficacy. It appears that parents' confidence is more strongly related to their desire for their children to maintain strong interdependence *values* than by their desire for their children to maintain the Chinese culture more generally (as reflected in parents' Chinese retention goals). Parents may place a greater value on children's development of traditional Chinese values than on behavioural aspects of cultural retention. Consistently, fathers and mothers endorsed higher levels of interdependence goals than Chinese cultural retention goals. Parents appear to prioritize guiding the development of their children's core cultural values over shaping their children's behavioural participation in Chinese culture. Perhaps feelings of confidence in the parenting role are most strongly influenced by those aspects of the parenting role that parents prioritize.

Mothers vs. Fathers

One major limitation in the literature on the adaptation of immigrant families is that it most often examines the adaptation of a single parent, typically mothers, rather than the adaptation of both parents simultaneously. To address this gap, the current investigation included reports from mothers *and* fathers to determine whether the same predictors of parenting efficacy were evident for both parents. Fathers' and mothers' experiences of parenting efficacy appear to be quite similar, on average. Information about fathers' parenting efficacy is scarce, and therefore, one of this study's strengths is the inclusion of independent reports from both fathers *and* mothers. Fathers' and mothers' reports were positively correlated, and not significantly different. At first glance, it would seem safe to assume that this similarity allows

for conclusions made about mothers' parenting efficacy to be applied to fathers. However, despite their overall similarity, fathers' and mothers' reports were not synonymous because they were predicted by different aspects of adolescent development. Adolescents' endorsement of traditional Asian values predicted fathers' feelings of efficacy when fathers strongly endorsed interdependence as a socialization goal, whereas adolescents' behavioural orientation to the Chinese culture predicted mothers' parenting efficacy when mothers strongly endorsed Chinese retention goals. These results underscore the importance of gathering information from both parents because inferences made from the reports of one parent may not necessarily apply to the other, despite the shared experience of parenting the same child.

In particular, the results of the current study suggest that parents' feelings of confidence are most strongly influenced by experiences of success within the domains of development for which they bear most responsibility. For instance, fathers in Chinese families are typically responsible for ensuring that children meet the culturally accepted behavioural standards, which include high academic achievement, modesty, and maintaining harmonious relationships (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Fathers who strongly endorse interdependence goals likely see instilling this quality as an integral part of their parenting role. Consistently, mastery within this domain was especially influential for fathers', but not mothers' feelings of parenting efficacy. Mothers more typically have greater involvement in their children's daily care (Chao & Tseng, 2002). As part of this role, mothers may feel they have more influence over their children's active participation in Chinese culture. Accordingly, children's behavioural orientation to the Chinese culture, demonstrated through preferences for Chinese media use, spending time with Chinese peers, and

participation in cultural customs, is likely to have an especially strong influence on mothers' confidence as parents.

The different findings for fathers and mothers found in this study replicate a similar pattern of findings from our previous work with a different sample of families that examined acculturation differences between parents and children (Costigan & Dokis, 2006b). In the previous work, we found that differences between fathers and children in their endorsement of traditional Asian values, such as interdependence, was associated with adolescent adjustment; for mothers, differences in behavioural participation in Chinese culture was associated with adjustment. This past research, combined with the findings from the current study, suggest that fathers' well-being may be most influenced by their children's development of traditional Asian values, whereas mothers' well-being may be more strongly influenced by their children's engagement in Chinese behaviours. Thus, programs and interventions may be more effective if they are sensitive to these differences and incorporate elements that addresses the needs of each parent.

Implications

Immigrant parents may face a number of parenting challenges, such as ensuring their children's cultural development within the context of a broader society that does not share their cultural values. Despite these challenges, feelings of parenting efficacy among the immigrant Chinese parents in this study appeared to be relatively robust, in that parents reported moderate to high levels of parenting efficacy, and their feelings of efficacy were largely unaffected by minor violations of their socialization goals. This information is important because it suggests that parents are resilient in the face of challenges. Parents who feel more efficacious will

experience less distress when faced with parenting challenges (e.g., Mash & Johnston, 1998).

This resilience not only benefits their own well-being, but also the well-being of their children.

That is, parents who feel more capable as parents tend to *be* more effective within this role (e.g., Jones & Prinz, 2005; Teti & Gelfand, 1991).

The use of social support has been identified as a powerful coping tool that may buffer individuals' well-being from the adverse effects of stressful events (Cohen & Willis, 1985; Cohen, Underwood & Gottlieb, 2000). For the parents in this study, there was no evidence that support from individuals outside the immediate family influenced feelings of parenting efficacy. This is contrary to the literature showing significant associations between social support and parents' well-being (Cochran & Niego, 1995). However, strong conclusions should not be drawn from this result because our measurement of social support may not have been sensitive enough to capture any significant effects. This limitation will be discussed in greater detail in the general discussion of the study's limitations.

Importantly, not all parents reported high levels of parenting efficacy, suggesting that strong feelings of parenting efficacy were not universal among these parents. Given the benefits associated with feeling more confident in the parenting role, promoting parenting efficacy may be an effective target for prevention programs designed to protect the well-being of immigrant parents, or as a point of intervention for parents who are struggling to adapt following immigration. The goal of this study was to explore the antecedents of parenting among immigrant Chinese parents in order to identify ways of promoting parenting efficacy among parents whose confidence may be lower. The results suggested the improvement of spousal

support and the promotion of cultural retention among both parents and adolescents as possible points of intervention. These will be discussed in turn.

First, support from one's spouse, in the form of shared parenting goals, contributed to mothers' parenting efficacy. Thus, one form of intervention that may be particularly effective involves the strengthening of the parenting unit. In particular, intervention efforts may consider the development of a strong co-parenting relationship as one way of building parents' confidence. Co-parenting represents an ideal intervention target because it enhances multiple domains of parents' well-being. For instance, a strong co-parenting alliance may have a positive impact on parents' marital satisfaction because it may increase feelings of closeness between parents. Indeed, we have found that a strong co-parenting relationship is associated with greater marital satisfaction among immigrant Chinese parents (Costigan, Dokis, & Su, 2004). A good co-parenting relationship can directly benefit children through more effective parenting. Furthermore, immigrant parents who are relatively recent arrivals in Canada may not yet have a social network to provide them with needed assistance. For these parents, support from one's spouse may be especially important.

Together, the benefits of parenting efficacy and the strengthening of the co-parenting relationship highlight the importance of considering the needs of the family as a unit when planning interventions to improve the well-being of individual family members. Many existing modes of intervention emphasize how we can assist the individual. Furthermore, these individually-oriented interventions often focus on symptom-reduction rather than relationship-building. Although these types of interventions may be effective in achieving their treatment goals, this mode of intervention may be less well-suited for immigrant Chinese families who

endorse an interdependent worldview. Within the family context, interdependence emphasizes harmony among family members. Therefore, the functioning of an individual within the family is intertwined with that of the other family members (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). When an individual within the family experiences significant distress, this may disrupt the overall health of the family unit. If this is the case, then intervention efforts may be most effective when the focus is on improving the relationships among family members.

A second avenue for the promotion of parenting efficacy may lie in encouraging cultural retention among immigrant parents and their children. Among parents, stronger valuation of interdependence goals for children was associated with higher levels of parenting efficacy. Thus, programs and services that support and enable parents to maintain a strong value on the development of interdependence within the family may also promote feelings of parenting efficacy. Community-based services available to new immigrants to facilitate their adaptation tend to be limited in that they focus primarily on the structural aspects of settlement. That is, programs that offer ESL classes, assistance with finding employment and information about how to access resources are fairly common. Less common are programs designed to promote cultural retention. This is unfortunate, as the results of this study suggest that cultural retention is not only desirable for parents in terms of being able to pass along important values and customs to their children, it also may have a significant impact on their feelings of parenting confidence.

Furthermore, programs and services that promote cultural retention among children may also promote parents' feelings of parenting efficacy, particularly among parents who have high goals for their children's Chinese cultural retention following immigration. The results indicated that parenting efficacy is enhanced when adolescents' development meets parents' expectations.

Thus, adolescents' immersion within the ethnic culture and internalization of important cultural values would contribute to greater parenting efficacy. Adolescents should be encouraged to explore their ethnic heritage in formal settings, such as enrollment in Chinese language classes. Promotion of cultural development need not be limited to formal avenues, and could also include informal teaching on the part of parents, either through modeling valued ethnic behaviours, such as speaking Chinese in the home, as well as explicit discussions about cultural values.

Promoting cultural retention among parents and children may have benefits beyond the promotion of parenting efficacy. In our previous work, we found that greater differences between parents and children in their ethnic cultural orientation were associated with more symptoms of depression among adolescents and more intense conflict with parents. Therefore, programs designed to encourage children to learn about and retain important elements of their ethnic culture may promote positive parent-child relationships and children's well-being more generally by reducing parent child-differences in cultural retention. Thus, cultural retention benefits the health of the entire family and should be strongly considered as an important element to include in interventions and programs for immigrant health.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study boasts a number of strengths related to its design that enhance the external validity of the findings presented. Data were collected from a large, mostly random, community sample, and individual family members, including mothers and fathers, provided independent reports of their own functioning. However, despite these strengths, there were a number of limitations that may influence the conclusions that may be drawn from the results. These include issues related to the measurement of constructs and the cross-sectional nature of the study.

The results revealed that social support, regardless of parents' social context, was unrelated to parents' feelings of efficacy. Some possibilities for this null finding were presented above; however, another possibility for the lack of support for the hypotheses may be that these constructs were not adequately measured. Parenting-specific Chinese support was assessed with only two items that asked parents to report on how often they turned to formal and informal sources for advice about parenting. Parallel items assessed parenting-specific Canadian support. This measure only assessed the relative frequency of parents' use of these resources. As discussed earlier, the frequency with which support is used may be less important to building up a parent's confidence than the quality of the support received. Furthermore, the items did not specify the exact nature of the support received, in that parents were not asked how these sources of support were used to assist them in parenting. That is, parents were simply asked how often they used the identified sources "for support in your parenting." It is impossible to know if parents relied on these supporters for practical assistance, specific advice about parenting strategies, or general information about what it is like to rear children in Canada following immigration. This vague definition of parenting support makes speculation about why there were no significant associations between social support and parenting efficacy more difficult. It is possible that different forms of support may show different patterns of association with feelings of parenting efficacy. For example, the receipt of practical assistance may help to reduce stress associated with a specific parenting task, but may not directly impact parenting efficacy. Instead, the receipt of emotional support may boost parents' confidence and therefore have a stronger association with parenting efficacy.

The use of a measure of relative frequency of support use also limits any interpretation of what low versus high reports may mean. In the social support literature, frequency of social support use is positively associated with individual well-being under conditions of stress (Cohen & Willis, 1985; Cohen et al., 2000). However, there is also evidence that the amount of support used also depends upon the individual's level of distress; therefore, the frequency of support use partly reflects how distressed the individual may be. This presents a problem for interpreting higher versus lower levels of support use because it is difficult to determine if individuals are using support less frequently because they are not in need of assistance or because they do not want the help. Given the limitations associated with social support measurement, it would be premature to conclude that social support is not relevant to the development of parenting efficacy. Instead, it would be more appropriate to reexamine this issue in a future study with improved measurement of social support.

The current study provided a small snapshot of parenting efficacy among immigrant Chinese parents. There was only partial support for the hypothesis that more positive adaptation among adolescents would be associated with higher feelings of parenting efficacy, particularly when parents placed a high value on the domain in question. Furthermore, these variables accounted for very little variance in feelings of parenting efficacy. On the one hand, it is possible that the proposed constructs are simply not as strongly related to parenting efficacy as was expected. On the other hand, the lack of significant findings may be due to limitations imposed by the study's cross-sectional design, the operationalization of the constructs, or the measurement of the variables.

Parenting efficacy has been described as a dynamic aspect of parenting that varies over the course of children's development (Jones & Prinz, 2005). However, it was not the purpose of this study to investigate this issue; furthermore, the cross-sectional design of this study does not allow for a direct investigation of this premise. Conclusions regarding the malleability or stability of parents' efficacy beliefs cannot be made from information gathered at a single point in time, and requires longitudinal data that can elucidate whether parents' efficacy beliefs have increased, decreased or remained the same over the course of their children's development. These are important questions which should be addressed in future research.

The cross-sectional nature of the study limits the conclusions that may be drawn from the results because we cannot make inferences regarding the direction of any significant findings. For example, there was a strong main effect of parents' interdependence goals on reports of parenting efficacy discussed above, and the speculation regarding the reasons for this effect were based on the inference that parents' goals predict parenting efficacy. However, the finding may also reflect the opposite perspective – parents' reports of efficacy may predict which goals they attempt to achieve. In fact, Bandura (1997) would agree that this is a strong possibility. He argues that when individuals experience success in a task it increases their feelings of efficacy and that this experience will shape the goals they choose to work toward in the future. Specifically, he would argue that individuals with higher efficacy beliefs would choose to work toward goals of greater difficulty than individuals who felt less confident in their abilities. Within the domain of parenting, confidence in one's parenting abilities may be associated with setting higher goals for children's development because there is an expectation that they will be capable of accomplishing these tasks. Less efficacious parents would not have such an

expectation, and therefore would be likely to endorse fewer goals or set lower standards for the goals they do value.

A major limitation of the mastery model's ability to explain the development of parenting efficacy beliefs is the assumption that parents' confidence is derived from experiencing success in a novel task or a familiar task of greater difficulty (Bandura, 1997). This framework for understanding efficacy beliefs may not adequately address the issue of parents' previous experiences with children. Parents may experience mastery with children other than their own before they become parents, or they may apply experiences of success with a first-born child to the parenting of younger siblings. These prior experiences may have provided parents with general ideas about parenting abilities before they encounter specific issues with their own children. Consistently, some research has found that parents with prior knowledge and experience with other children feel more confident in the parenting role, and this prior experience contributes to parenting efficacy over and above success in parenting one's own children (Leerkes & Crockenberg, 2002). Therefore, it may not be any single developmental indicator that best predicts parenting efficacy, but that feelings of parenting confidence are developed in small increments over time as parents become more experienced with children more generally.

Future research should also consider child characteristics as possible predictors of parenting efficacy. Parents' interactions with their children are influenced by their children's personality and temperament. Some children may be easier to parent than others, and this may influence how confident parents feel about their ability to shape their children's development. Children with difficult temperaments may thwart parents' attempts to shape their behaviour more

frequently, resulting in fewer mastery experiences for their parents. For instance, parents with a strong desire for cultural language retention may insist that family members speak their ethnic language within the home. A child with a more difficult temperament may stubbornly refuse to abide by this rule, frustrating his or her parents' attempts to achieve this goal. In this situation, the child's parents may feel ineffective in shaping his or her behaviour and their feelings of efficacy may suffer. Research on parents of infants supports this idea, as parents of infants with difficult temperaments report lower feelings of parenting efficacy (Leerkes & Burney, 2006).

Further research on the determinants of parenting efficacy should include a more comprehensive measurement of parenting efficacy beliefs. Specifically, the most commonly used measures assess global, rather than specific, feelings of efficacy in the parenting role. However, research using measures of global parenting efficacy may be limited by their inability to discriminate the finer nuances of parents' feelings of confidence in the parenting role. A global parenting efficacy measure may not adequately discriminate between parents who feel confident in all aspects of parenting from parents whose efficacy varies across parenting domains. That is, some parents may report overall high levels of parenting efficacy, but this does not necessarily mean that they will feel equally confident in all aspects of the parenting role. A parent may feel highly confident directing his or her child's education, but relatively less capable of ensuring his or her child's Chinese cultural retention. A global measure of parenting efficacy would miss this finer-grained analysis of the parent's confidence and would only indicate that the parent had a moderate level of confidence overall. The lack of main effects for the domains of adolescent development assessed here might be a reflection of this limitation. That is, there may be a significant association between domains of development and feelings of

parenting efficacy, but the measure of parenting efficacy used may not have been sensitive enough to detect this effect.

Consistently, Coleman & Karraker (1997) have argued that there is a need for greater specificity in the measurement of parenting efficacy. They suggest that measures should assess parents' feelings of confidence specific to a particular task, rather than ask parents to indicate how confident they feel as parents more generally. Other research using task-specific measures of parenting efficacy has found a significant association between children's adjustment and parenting efficacy (Leerkes & Burney, 2006). Parents of infants reported on their feelings of efficacy specific to their ability to soothe an irritable infant. The ability of infants to be soothed was positively associated with parents' efficacy beliefs related to this task. These findings lend support to the notion that future research could benefit from a more detailed assessment of parenting efficacy beliefs. In particular, future studies could include both general and task-specific measures of parenting efficacy to compare and contrast the types of information that each provides.

This research contributes to the literature on parenting efficacy by providing descriptive information about the efficacy of immigrant Chinese parents, as well as indicates that feelings of parenting confidence are shaped in part by their children's cultural development when they place a high value on these outcomes. However, a number of questions about the nature of parenting efficacy remain unanswered. The association between adolescents' cultural development and parenting efficacy was assumed to be due to parents perceiving that they were successful in meeting their highly valued socialization goals. Yet, there is little known about whether parents actively or consciously evaluate their progress in meeting their goals, or even if the formation of

specific socialization goals is deliberate (Goodnow, 1995) Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the nature of parenting efficacy will benefit from further knowledge of how parents think about parenting.

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Appendix A

Parenting Efficacy

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
1. I feel sure of myself as a mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. No matter what I try, my child will not do what I want.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. 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
4. I know I am doing a good job as a mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I feel useless as a mother/father.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. My child usually ends up getting his/her way.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I know things about being a mother/father that would be helpful to other parents.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. When my child gets upset with me, I usually give in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I can solve most problems between my child and I.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. 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

Appendix B

Support from Chinese Friends

About your friends:

	Almost none	A few	Some	A lot	Almost All
1. How many of your close friends are Chinese?	1	2	3	4	5
2. How many of your friends that you talk to about parenting are Chinese?	1	2	3	4	5
3. How many of your friends that you can talk to about things that are bothering you are Chinese?	1	2	3	4	5
4. How many of your friends that you participate in activities with are Chinese?	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C

Parenting Supports

How much do you rely on the following for advice or support about parenting?

	Almost never	Not Very Often	Sometimes	Quite a bit	Almost always
1. Family members/relatives	1	2	3	4	5
2. Other Chinese parents you know	1	2	3	4	5
3. Canadian parents you know	1	2	3	4	5
4. Books about parenting	1	2	3	4	5
5. Formal parenting supports in the Chinese community	1	2	3	4	5
6. Formal Canadian parenting supports	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix D

Adolescents' Interdependence Values (Asian Values Scale)

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Mildly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Occupational failure brings shame to the family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. People should think about their group before themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Modesty is an important quality for a person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Educational failure brings shame to the family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. People should consider the needs of others before considering their own needs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. People should be humble and modest.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. People should achieve academically to make their parents proud.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. People's achievements should be viewed as their family's achievement.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Following familial and social expectations is important.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. When people receive a gift, they should reciprocate with a gift of equal or greater value.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. A family's reputation is an important social concern	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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Appendix E

Adolescents' Chinese Cultural Retention

Please circle the number for each statement that best applies to you.

	Not at all	Very little or not very often	Moderately	Much or very often	Extremely often or almost always
1. I speak Chinese.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I enjoy speaking Chinese.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I associate with other Chinese people.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I enjoy listening to Chinese language music.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I enjoy Chinese language TV.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I enjoy Chinese language movies.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I enjoy reading in Chinese.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I write in Chinese.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My contact with a Chinese country has been...	1	2	3	4	5
10. My friends now are of Chinese origins.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I have contact with Chinese community institutions (schools, churches, work...).	1	2	3	4	5
12. I cook or eat Chinese food.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I participate in Chinese occasions, holidays or traditions.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I enjoy social activities with Chinese people	1	2	3	4	5
15. I prefer to use Chinese medicines or healers when I am sick.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F

Parents' Interdependence Childrearing Goals

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 for your child...

	Not at all important	Fairly unimportant	Somewhat important	Very Important	Extremely important
1. to remain in a group if needed even if he/she is unhappy with the group	1	2	3	4	5
2. to be respectful	1	2	3	4	5
3. to sacrifice self-interest for his/her group	1	2	3	4	5
4. to respect decisions made by his/her group	1	2	3	4	5
5. to be cooperative	1	2	3	4	5
6. to maintain harmony in his/her group	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix G

*Parents' Goals for Chinese Cultural Retention*How important is it to you that **YOUR CHILD**:

	Not at all important	A little important	Of medium importance	Quite Important	Of great importance
1. Identify strongly as Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
2. Participate in Chinese traditions	1	2	3	4	5
3. Speak Chinese	1	2	3	4	5
4. Follow traditional Chinese values	1	2	3	4	5