

Modeling of Parenting Style — A Cross-Cultural Study of Hong Kong Chinese and Anglo-Australian

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Chao and Sue (1996) argued that the current conceptualization of parental authoritarianism ignored the purpose of parental control and so fails to adequately reflect the meaning of the authoritarian behaviors of Asian parents. The Baumrind's parenting model also does not capture core meanings in Chinese parenting. In this research, three groups of students consist of Anglo-Australian, Australian Hong Kong Chinese, and Hong Kong Chinese completed self-report measures of the above variables. Structural equation modeling (SEM) was employed to test how well the Western fitted in the model. A new concept of parenting and the variables for Hong Kong Chinese were also defined. The findings highlighted the cultural differences in child and educational development between Western and Chinese parenting styles.

Parenting Style in Western Societies

Parenting style is a constellation of parental attitudes, practices, and nonverbal expressions that characterize the nature of parent-child interactions across diverse situations (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). A substantial part of

contemporary research on parenting style derives from Baumrind's (1971, 1978) well-known studies of children and their families. Baumrind's conceptualization of parenting style is based on a typological approach to the study of family socialization practices. This approach focuses on identification of distinctive configurations of parenting practices. Variations in the configuration of major parenting elements (such as warmth, involvement, maturity demands, and supervision) produce variations in how a child responds to parental influence. From this perspective, parenting style is viewed as a characteristic of the parent that alters the effectiveness of family socialization practices and the child's receptiveness to such practices (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Baumrind's (1971) parenting style typology identified three qualitatively different patterns of parental authority—authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive.

The authoritarian style of parenting included the following patterns of interaction between parents and children. Parents attempted to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of their children in accordance with an absolute set of standards. Baumrind's (1971) study of preschool children found that such a mode of family interaction was associated with low levels of independence and social responsibility. Later Baumrind (1978) described the authoritarian pattern, somewhat more formally, as being high in demandingness on the part of the parents and low in parental responsiveness to the child.

In permissive parenting, parents were tolerant and accepting toward the child's impulses, used as little punishment as possible, made few demands for mature behavior and allowed considerable self-regulation by the child. In a study of preschool children, Baumrind (1978) found that children of permissive parents were immature, lacked impulse control and self-reliance, and evidenced a lack of social responsibility, independence, and cognitive competence.

Authoritative parenting is the third type described by Baumrind. This pattern included parents' expectations of mature behavior from their child

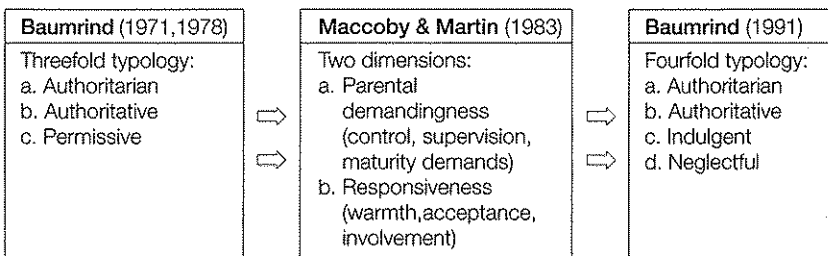
coupled with clear setting of standards and firm enforcement of those rules and standards. Parents use commands and sanctions when necessary; they encourage the child’s independence and individuality.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) subsequently transformed Baumrind’s typology by categorizing families according to their levels of parental demandingness (control, supervision, maturity demands) and responsiveness (warmth, acceptance, involvement). Redefining parenting style in terms of the interaction between these two underlying dimensions produced a fourfold typology. A primary difference between Baumrind’s earlier model and Maccoby and Martin’s refinement is that the latter differentiates between two types of permissive parenting.

The extended parenting style typology distinguishes between non-demanding families that vary in their level of responsiveness. Parents characterized by low demandingness and high responsiveness engage in an indulgent style of parenting. By contrast, parents who are neither demanding nor responsive display a neglectful or uninvolved pattern of parenting. These parents do not monitor their children’s behavior or support their interests. Whereas indulgent parents are committed to their children, neglectful parents, often preoccupied with their own problems, are disengaged from parental responsibilities (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

From the above discussion, we can see a development in the concept of parenting style. This refinement in thinking about parenting style is represented in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Development of Concept of Parenting Style in Western Literature



Western Research on Parenting Style and Academic Achievement

The early studies of Baumrind and others focused on preschool children and children in elementary schools. Studies of family processes and school achievement beyond childhood are rare. Most of Baumrind's previous studies related parenting style to social development of preschool age children. A number of researchers (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Hess & McDevitt, 1984; Shaw & White, 1965; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989; Swift, 1967; Weinhert & Trieber, 1982) have found that the effects of parenting were highly correlated with school performance. The relationship between parenting style and school achievement have been widely reported. However, it was soon recognized that this relationship was not confirmed in studies of Chinese and Asian-American students.

A study by Dornbusch et al. (1987) found that families high in authoritarian or permissive parenting tended to have students who did less well in high school, and families high in authoritative parenting to have children who obtained higher grades in school. A similar result was also found in Steinberg et al.'s (1989) study that reported three major findings. Firstly, authoritative parenting appeared to facilitate adolescents' academic success. Secondly, it was found that each component of authoritativeness studied makes an independent contribution to achievement. The third finding was that the positive impact of authoritative parenting on achievement is mediated at least in part through the effects of authoritativeness on the development of a healthy sense of autonomy and, more specifically, through a healthy psychological orientation toward work. Adolescents who described their parents as treating them warmly, democratically and firmly were more likely than their peers to develop positive attitudes and beliefs about their achievement, and as a consequence, they were more likely to do better in school.

Grolnick and Ryan's (1989) study indicated that parental autonomy support was positively related to children's self-reports of autonomous self-regulation, teacher-rated competence and adjustment, and school grades and achievement. This pattern was observed in Caucasian Americans (Stevenson

& Lee, 1990). A parenting style that showed high parental support for development of autonomy was said to be authoritative parenting.

A consistent finding within the studies of parenting style that have included Chinese students has been that Chinese parents were more authoritarian and less authoritative than North American parents (e.g., Chen & Luster, 2002; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Lin & Fu, 1990). However, it was unclear how these parenting styles were relevant to the school performance of the Chinese students.

In Western societies authoritative parenting has been closely related to students' academic achievement but this does not seem to apply in Asian parenting. Dornbusch et al. (1987) referred to this finding as the paradox of Asian parenting. He found that Asians were the highest on authoritarian parenting style, but they also had the highest grade-point averages. Dornbusch et al. (1987, p.125) concluded that the grades of "Asian children in our public schools cannot be adequately explained in terms of the parenting style we have studied".

The Paradoxical Asian Styles of Parenting and Achievement Outcomes

Studies of Chinese parenting have often described the parents as being very controlling or restrictive (Gorman, 1998; Shek, 1998; Zhang, 1998). Asian-American parents have generally been found to be more authoritarian than authoritative in their parenting style compared with Caucasian-American parents. Among Caucasian-American samples this parenting style was associated with low school achievement. However, Asian Americans, particularly the Chinese, are achieving quite well in school, often above the Caucasian-Americans (Dornbusch et al., 1987).

Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown (1992) proposed a resolution to this paradox that parental influences were not appropriate predictors of school success for Asian students. This paradox may also be explained by the fact that parenting concepts like "authoritarian" and "restrictive"

were not very appropriate for characterizing Asian parenting. For Asians, parental obedience and some aspects of strictness may be equated with parental concern, care, or involvement. Just as importantly, Asian parental control may not always involve "domination" of children as such, but rather a more organized type of control for the purpose of keeping the family running more smoothly and fostering family harmony (Lau & Cheung, 1987). As a result, it was necessary to define the term "control" more specifically in this research. Lau and Cheung argued that there were two types of control: dysfunctional and organizational. While dysfunctional control always involved "domination" of children, organizational control was used to maintain family harmony. Earlier studies had also reported that perceptions of parental warmth correlated negatively with dysfunctional control but positively with organizational control in both Hong Kong and Western samples (Cheung & Lau, 1985; Forman & Forman, 1981; Rowe, 1983).

Organizational Control in Confucian Heritage Culture Parenting

It seems that the dimension of organizational control is missing in the Western models of parenting style. It is hard to understand Chinese parenting style without knowing more about the organizational control dimension that will be examined in this research. Organizational control is the parent's contribution to the family, while filial piety is the child's contribution to the family. It is obvious that filial piety is another important dimension which influences Chinese children's perception on parental control.

Definitive views on parental control, obedience, strict discipline, emphasis on education, filial piety, respect for elders, family obligations, reverence for tradition, maintenance of harmony, and negation of conflict have been attributed to the influence of Confucianism's view of the interrelatedness of child and parent in the context of the family (Huang, Chao, Tu, & Yang, 2003). This interrelatedness reflects the necessity for reciprocity between child and parent (Sung, 1995). In other words, Chinese children obey their parents as a reflection of filial piety. Therefore, filial

piety will be considered as a critical indicator of the parent-child relation in this research.

In sum, two indicators, the organizational control of Chinese parenting and the filial piety of Chinese children are interrelated. Neither the concept of “organizational control” in Chinese parenting, nor the concept of “filial piety”, has been considered in previous research when assessing Chinese parenting in relation to Baumrind’s typology of parenting style. Having discussed the traditional belief of filial piety and the control dimensions (organizational and dysfunctional), the following discussion will focus on the psychological dimension of filial piety and its cross-cultural implications.

Cross-cultural Perspective on Filial Piety

Filial piety is a concept which has no real conceptual equivalent in non-Confucian cultures (Ho, 1987). Accordingly, an endorsement of filial piety cannot be equated with an endorsement of filial values that are seen in other cultures, such as submission to parental authority. Rather, the definition of intergenerational relationships based on filial piety assumes a culture-specific form.

Sung (1995) investigated cross-cultural differences of filial piety between Asian and Western social groups. He identified two dimensions of filial piety, the emotional dimension (i.e., loving, respecting, and harmonizing) and the behavioral dimension (i.e., to sacrifice, to be responsible, and to repay). The former would tap the emotional nature of the construct of filial piety and the latter would tap the intention to care for parents in a particular manner as described in the level of understanding filial piety in the Confucian Heritage Culture. Sung’s study (1995) indicated that while the Western sample placed more emphasis on emotional dimension, Asians placed greater emphasis on the behavioral dimension.

Therefore, this study will examine the dimensions of control and filial piety to test their place in Chinese parenting. Next, this study will investigate differences in the cultural concept of filial piety among three samples, Hong Kong Chinese, Australian Hong Kong Chinese, and Anglo-Australians.

Method

Participants

There were 845 junior high school students aged from 12 to 18 participated: 339 from Hong Kong and 506 from Australia (253 Anglo-Australian and 253 Australian Hong Kong Chinese).

The 339 participants from Hong Kong were obtained in 3 secondary schools. The 253 Australian Hong Kong Chinese participants were recruited from the Chinese centres of the Victorian School of Languages. Of these, 200 participants came from VSL (Victorian Schools of Languages) centres in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne and a further 53 Australian Hong Kong Chinese came from the Melbourne Baptist Chinese school, a Cantonese language school. Identification of Australian Hong Kong Chinese students was based on the following criteria:

- a. One of the parents must have been born in Hong Kong, and
- b. The students must have migrated to Australia at least two years prior to the study.

The 253 Anglo-Australian students were obtained from three Melbourne state schools. There were 120 participants from a northern suburb of Melbourne. A further 133 Anglo-Australian students came from the Hong Kong International School (HKIS), which is an international school for expatriates' children whose parents were working in Hong Kong. For these students, at least one of the parents must have been born in Australia.

Demographic information collected as part of the questionnaire included the socioeconomic status of parents (parents' education, occupation, and country of birth), students' age, sex, birth order, and length of time living in Australia for the Australian Hong Kong Chinese group. Altogether 1,500 questionnaires were sent to the schools and churches, and 860 completed questionnaires were received in two months. The response rate was 57.3%. Fifteen questionnaires contained missing data and so were discarded. This left 845 subjects with complete data.

Measures

The following section describes the measures used to assess parenting style, control, and filial piety.

The PAQ (Parental Authority Questionnaire) was developed by John Buri in 1991 and has been widely accepted as a psychometrically sound and valid measure of Baumrind's (1971) parenting prototypes. This measures parenting style as perceived by the child and involves a 5-point scale where 1 represents "strongly disagree" and 5 "strongly agree". The child answers for each parent separately.

Buri (1991) suggested that this questionnaire has considerable potential as a tool for investigating correlates of parental permissiveness, authoritarianism, and authoritativeness. One of the advantages of the PAQ is that high Cronbach's alpha coefficients have been reported for each of the six scales: 0.75 for mother's permissiveness, 0.85 for mother's authoritarianism, 0.82 for mother's authoritativeness, 0.74 for father's permissiveness, 0.87 for father's authoritarianism, and 0.85 for father's authoritativeness (Buri, 1991). Another advantage of the PAQ is that it has been shown to be free of social desirability response bias. The following bivariate correlations between the PAQ scores and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale were obtained: $r = 0.23$ for mother's permissiveness, $r = -0.14$ for mother's authoritarianism, $r = 0.10$ for mother's authoritativeness, $r = 0.10$ for father's permissiveness, $r = 0.01$ for father's authoritarianism, and $r = 0.05$ for father's authoritativeness. None of these values was statistically significant (Buri, 1991).

The control sub-scale of the Family Environment Scale (FES) distinguishes between dysfunctional and organizational control. The sub-scale items require "true" (1) or "false" (0) responses. Lau and Cheung (1987) suggested that the control sub-scale of FES could be used to measure children's perception of parental warmth. The internal consistencies (Cronbach's alpha), test-retest reliabilities and stabilities for the control sub-scale as reported in the scale manual (Moos & Moos, 1981) indicate relatively high and stable coefficients (see Table 1).

Table 1 Internal Consistencies, Test-Retest Reliabilities and Stabilities for Control Subscale

	Internal Consistency (<i>N</i> = 1067)	2-month Test-Retest (<i>N</i> = 47)	4-month Stability (<i>N</i> = 35)	12-month Stability (<i>N</i> = 241)
Control				
Dysfunctional	0.67	0.77	0.78	0.79
Organizational	0.72	0.79	0.80	0.81

Source: Moos & Moos (1981). *Family Environment Scale Manual*.

The FES has been used in many cultures, including Hong Kong. Cheung and Lau (1985) reported a high internal reliability $r = 0.73$ ($N = 713$), and the subjects were all junior high school students of similar age levels to the participants in the present investigation.

The filial piety sub-scale developed by Sung in 1995 was used in order to measure important dimensions of Chinese parenting style. Responses are made on a 5-point rating scale (1 = "strongly disagree", 5 = "strongly agree"). The scale covers two dimensions of filial piety: an emotional dimension (loving, respecting, and harmonizing) and a behavioral dimension (to sacrifice, to be responsible, and to repay). In the development of the scale, 40 trained field workers administered the questionnaire to 1,241 high school and college students. These data were analyzed to determine the factor structure and relative contributions of filial piety items. The reliability coefficient for all filial piety items was 0.84 (alpha). The first factor had three loadings above 0.50: sacrifice (0.79), responsibility (0.76), and repayment (0.57). These items were termed behavioral filial piety and accounted for 26.9% of the variance. The second factor also had three loadings above 0.50: family harmony (0.68), love (0.68), and respect (0.56). This factor was labelled as emotional filial piety and accounted for 22.6% of the variance. The 10 items were randomly ordered.

In this study measures of parenting style were obtained using these scales and so included the critical aspects of parenting that have been shown in the literature to be appropriate for two different cultural groups, Anglo-Australian and Hong Kong Chinese. The PAQ was adopted to measure dimensions of parenting style expected to be typical in Anglo-Australian

families. Measures of control and filial piety were added to the PAQ in order to assess aspects of parenting style expected to be typical in Hong Kong Chinese families.

Data Analysis

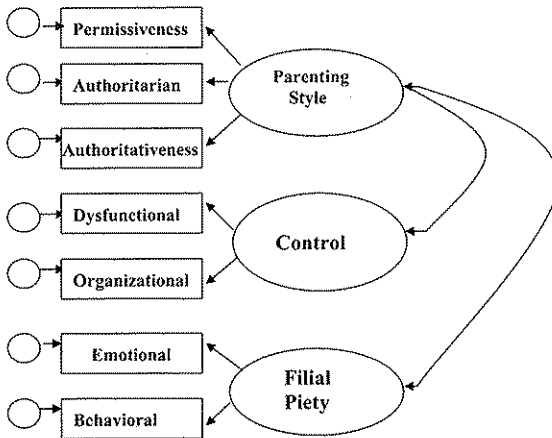
Amos 3.61 was used to test all hypotheses. The goodness of fit index (GFI), Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA) were employed to examine the model fit. Multi-samples modeling comparison was also used to test differences between the models for the three groups of students. χ^2 and *p* value indices were used to test for significant model differences among the three groups.

Results

*Model specification for Control & Filial Piety Model (Model 1)
(Confirmatory Factor Analysis) of Hong Kong Chinese parenting*

The hypothesized structural model presented in Figure 2 is a three-factor model containing: a parenting construct (*permissiveness, authoritarian and authoritative*), a control construct (*dysfunctional and organizational*), and a filial piety construct (*emotional and behavioral*). The

Figure 2 A Hypothesized Control & Filial Piety Model of Parenting Style for Hong Kong Chinese (Asian Parenting): Model 1



construct of *parenting style* was expected to covary with the constructs of *control* and *filial piety*. This model will be identified as Model 1.

Model Estimation and Preliminary Evaluation

Generalized Least Squares estimates were employed to test the Control & Filial Piety Model (Model 1). A chi-square test and p value indicated that the model did not provide a good fit to the data: $\chi^2_{\text{model 1}}(12, N = 339) = 39.85, p < 0.001$, GFI (goodness-of-fit index) = 0.97, TLI (Tucker-Lewis Index) = 0.76, and RMSEA (root mean squared error of approximation) = 0.08. Model modification was performed to improve the model fit.

Kaplan (1990) also suggested that a combination of the modification index and expected parameter change statistics should drive model modification.

The model was modified mainly based on the meaningfulness rule (Kenny, 1998; Loehlin, 1998), using the modification index and expected parameter change. Steinberg et al. (1992) explained that the parenting concepts "authoritarian" and "restrictive" are not appropriate for Asian parenting. For Asians, parental obedience and some aspects of strictness may be equated with parental concern, caring, or involvement. Lau and Cheung (1987) suggested that there were two types of control: dysfunctional vs. organizational. Organizational control is to maintain family harmony, but the authoritarian in Baumrind's model mentioned only a dysfunctional type of control that involved "domination" of children. Secondly, Baumrind's model does not give sufficient emphasis to reciprocal relationships between child and parents (Sung, 1995). Yang (1988) stated that filial piety seemed to reflect the interrelatedness of child and parents within the context of the family. Chinese children obeyed their parents as a reflection of filial piety. This was also a part of Chinese children's training. Sung (1995) identified two dimensions of filial piety, the emotional dimension and the behavioral dimension. His study implied that Asians put a lot of emphasis on the behavioral dimension than on emotional dimension. Furthermore, both modification index and expected parameter changes of covariance of unique

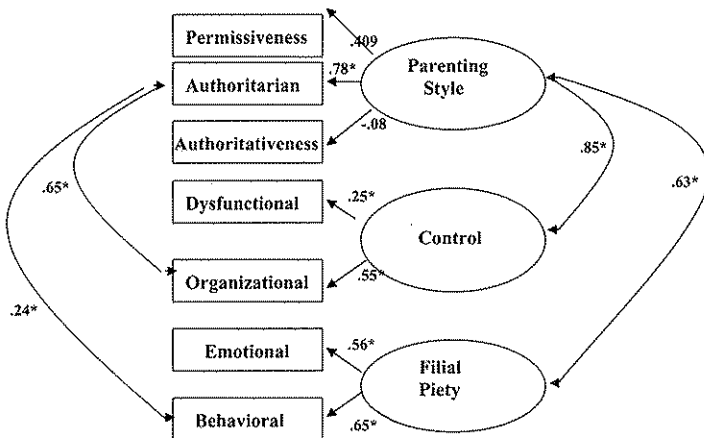
variances of these variables authoritarian to organizational control and authoritarian to behavioral filial piety were relatively high compared with other covariances (see Table 2 and Figure 3). Therefore, the Control & Filial Piety Model of Hong Kong Chinese parenting was amended to covary residuals of *authoritarian with those of organizational control and of authoritarian with those of behavioral filial piety*, since theoretically these are feasible. This was then labeled as the Control & Filial Piety Revision Model (Model 1A).

Following the discussion of parenting dimensions, it is reasonable to expect that authoritarianism, the behavioral aspect of filial piety and the organizational control dimension might be significantly correlated. Both χ^2 and TLI (Tucker-Lewis Index) were significantly improved by the addition

Table 2 Summary of Control & Filial Piety Model (Model 1) and Control & Filial Piety Revision Model (Model 1A) of Hong Kong Chinese (Asian Parenting)

Model	(χ^2)	df	p	RMSEA	GFI	TLI
Model 1A	13.96	9	> .05	0.05	0.99	0.93
Model 1	39.85	12	< .01	0.08	0.97	0.76

Figure 3 The Control & Filial Piety Revision Model (Model 1A) of Parenting Style for Hong Kong Chinese (Asian Parenting) Including Standardized Coefficients



*p < 0.05

of the covariances, *authoritarian* to *organizational control* and *authoritarian* to *behavioral filial piety* and all standardized coefficients for an improved Control and Filial Piety Revision Model (Model 1A) are shown in Figure 3. Parameter estimates and approximate standard errors for the control & filial piety revision model are also shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 shows that only *authoritarian* was a significant indicator of parenting style, which also had the highest loading 0.78. Both the estimate of variance and the squared multiple correlation (SMC) indicated that *authoritarian* was the most reliable indicator of *parenting style* with an SMC of 0.61, and the least reliable was *authoritativeness* with an SMC of 0.01. Arbuckle (1997) suggested that only SMC's above 0.20 should be considered as reliable. The results showed that two indicators, *authoritativeness* and *dysfunctional control*, were below 0.20, and should be regarded as unreliable and unacceptable. *Organizational control* was a significant and reliable indicator of control, with a parameter of 0.55. Both *emotional filial piety* and *behavioral filial piety* were also significant and reliable indicators in filial piety, but it showed that *behavioral filial piety* was more reliable than *emotional filial piety* with an SMC of 0.43. *Behavioral filial piety* also had higher relationship with the filial piety factor with its coefficient 0.65.

The preceding results have demonstrated that a valid model of parenting style could be constructed for Hong Kong Chinese (Asian parenting). The study then needed to test whether the new model of parenting style could be used for the three samples. Therefore, a multi-sample comparison CFA model was undertaken

Multi-sample comparisons of Control & Filial Piety Revision Model (Model 1A)

The Control & Filial Piety Revision Model (Model 1A) was tested using a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). The chi-square test for the first comparison of Hong Kong Chinese and Anglo-Australian samples was large enough to reject the hypothesis of no difference at the 0.001 level, ($\chi^2 = 57.48$, $df = 16$, $p < 0.001$). Thus Model 1A for the Hong Kong Chinese did

not provide an appropriate fit for the data obtained from the Anglo-Australian sample.

The chi-square was large enough to reject the hypothesis of no difference at the 0.001 level, ($\chi^2 = 38.30$, $df = 16$, $p < 0.001$) in the second comparison between Hong Kong Chinese and Australian Hong Kong Chinese. Again the Control & Filial Piety Revision Model (Model 1A) for Hong Kong Chinese did not provide an appropriate model for the Australian Hong Kong Chinese students. Summary of fit indexes among three samples are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Summary of Control & Filial Piety Revision Model (Model 1A) of Hong Kong Chinese (Asian Parenting), Australian Hong Kong Chinese Model, and Anglo-Australian Model

Model	(χ^2)	df	p	RMSEA	GFI	TLI
Model 1A Hong Kong Chinese	13.96	9	> .05	0.05	0.99	0.93
Model Australia Hong Kong Chinese	45.35	9	< .01	0.11	0.90	0.70
Model Anglo-Australian	87.65	9	< .00	0.17	0.81	0.62

Control and Filial Piety: An alternative model for Asian parenting

Dornbusch et al. (1987) have suggested that Baumrind's theoretical construct based on Western culture parenting styles may not be appropriate for conceptualizing the essential dimensions of Chinese parenting. Steinberg et al. (1992) have suggested that school success for Asian youngsters is more likely to be determined by authoritarian and restrictive parenting practices. These Asian parental practices may not always involve "domination" of children as such, but rather represent setting goals for children, keeping the family running smoothly, and fostering family harmony (Lau & Cheung, 1987). These functions suggest that the important meaning of these parenting practices is family organization or control. For Asians, parental obedience and some aspects of strictness are expressions of parental concern, care, or involvement. The essence of this dimension is to maintain family harmony in Chinese families, which is absent in the authoritative, authoritarian, permissive typology developed by Baumrind. Secondly, Baumrind's typology of parenting style ignores how children respond to different parenting styles, especially in terms of Chinese children's

acceptance of parental control as reflected in filial piety. Hence, Chinese children may be more likely than Australian children to accept parental control as a positive family influence. Therefore, the model for Asian parenting would be expected to include dimensions of both control and filial piety.

For the Hong Kong Chinese students, a model of parenting with the two added dimensions of *control* and *filial piety* was tested (see Figure 3). Parenting style was found to be significantly related to the measures of control and filial piety. Parenting style was more highly correlated with control than with filial piety. Only the *authoritarian* parenting measure was a significant indicator of parenting style for these Hong Kong Chinese students. The construct of *control* had two indicators, *dysfunctional control* and *organizational control*. Organizational control was the strongest indicator of the latent control dimension. The construct of *filial piety* also had two indicators, *emotional* and *behavioral* filial piety. Behavioral filial piety was the stronger indicator of the latent variable. Both organizational control and behavioral filial piety were significantly correlated with authoritarian parenting style.

These findings are consistent with some of the arguments developed by researchers who studied issues of Asian parenting and student achievement. As Dornbusch et al. (1987, p. 125) observed, "the academic achievement of Asian children in our public schools cannot be adequately explained in terms of the parenting style we have studied", Steinberg et al. (1992) also suggested that the parenting concepts "authoritarian" and "restrictive" were not very appropriate in describing Asian parenting. Chao and Sue (1996) argued that the current conceptualization of parental authoritarianism ignored the purpose of parental control and failed to capture the essence of the authoritarian behaviors of Asian parents.

The model of Asian parenting supported by the findings of this study (Control & Filial Piety Model) suggests that there are three important components in Chinese parenting practices, authoritarianism, control and filial piety. The Control & Filial Piety Model suggests that the

authoritarianism observed in Chinese parenting was associated with organizational control whose purpose was to maintain family harmony. Such definitive views on parental control have been attributed to the influence of Confucianism (Glenn, 1983; Ho, 1981). In Confucianism, the concept of governing, monitoring, interfering, and controlling (*guan 管*) summarized parents' consistent actions to maintain order and discipline in the family. Organizational control items, such as "We are generally very neat and orderly", "Work before play is the rule in our family", and "There are set ways of doing things at home" indicate that the rules and orders serve to make a harmonious family. Steinberg et al. (1992) also argued that parental obedience and some aspects of strictness might be equated with parental concern, care, or involvement for Asians. Chinese children have been conditioned to understand such means of control as indicating parental care and concern.

The next additional construct was filial piety, and the strongest indicator was *behavioral filial piety*. Obedience, respect and hard work at school were the components of behavioral filial piety for the Hong Kong Chinese students. Items used to measure it such as: "A great deal of support provided to sick and dependent elderly members by children may reflect obligation and not necessarily affection", and "Sons and daughters must obey their parents no matter what" show that the essence of behavioral filial piety is "the intent to do things for the well-being of parents". In sum, Hong Kong Chinese students perceive parental control as parental care and concern. They respond to parental control with behavioral filial piety and it maintains family harmony. Practices such as dedicating their energy to please their parents, getting high grades, and working hard at school are the behavioral expression of filial piety. Therefore, control and filial piety dimensions were incorporated into the Control & Filial Piety Model of Asian parenting.

Control & Filial Piety Model: The fit for Anglo-Australians and Australian Hong Kong Chinese

It has been widely established that dimensions of control and filial piety

are not observed to the same degree in Western groups (Cheung & Lau, 1985; Forman & Forman, 1981; Rowe, 1983; Sung, 1995). Sung (1995) found that Western families placed more emphasis on the emotional dimension of filial piety whereas Asian families placed greater emphasis on the behavioral dimension.

When tested with the other two samples, the Control & Filial Piety Model provided an appropriate fit for only the Hong Kong Chinese sample. It did not fit for the Australian Hong Kong Chinese or the Anglo-Australian samples. The lack of fit for the Australian Hong Kong Chinese students and the Anglo-Australian students suggested that there are important intra-cultural differences in parenting practices as well as inter-cultural differences.

Discussion

Implications and Limitations of This Research

The present study confirmed that the typology of parenting style developed by Baumrind is inadequate for describing some essential aspects of Asian parenting. Baumrind's typology of parenting style ignores how children react to different parenting styles. Parent-child relationships are reciprocal relationships. It is important to understand how children respond to parental practices. This research has demonstrated that parenting style has culturally specific psychological components. In the current study it was necessary to include the culturally specific components of control and filial piety to represent Hong Kong Chinese parenting practices.

The difference between the two Chinese samples suggests that there may be a range of factors other than cultural heritage factors that contribute to parenting style. There may be important demographic factors that are influencing parenting practices, such as socio-economic status. It was found that most of the Australian Hong Kong Chinese students were from professional families who had migrated to Australia. Over 60% of the fathers of Australian Hong Kong Chinese students were university graduates and

nearly 80% of them had a postgraduate qualification. In sharp contrast, nearly 50% of the Hong Kong Chinese fathers were only educated to high school level. In relation to the findings of this study, the intra-cultural differences in parenting practices between the Hong Kong Chinese and the Australian Hong Kong Chinese may therefore be due to these socio-economic status differences. If this is the case, the influence of cultural heritage on students' learning approaches is being moderated by their living environment, as suggested by the conducted research. It has been shown that parents with less education are more likely to emphasize conformity and obedience for their children (Leung, Lau, & Lam, 1998). In the light of this evidence, it seems reasonable to expect that children of less well-educated parents may be more receptive of and react more positively toward the authoritarian behavior of their parents. Socio-economic status has also been found to influence parenting style because parents with higher educational backgrounds are more open to the surrounding culture than parents with lower educational backgrounds (Alwin, 1984; Leung et al., 1998; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; Wright & Wright, 1976). Socio-economic status differences may be contributing to the intra-cultural differences observed in the present study. Further investigation of the relationships between parenting practices and learning approaches within Hong Kong Chinese and Australian Hong Kong Chinese students needs to be conducted with groups of students who come from more closely comparable socio-economic backgrounds.

Another important demographic factor that might account for the intra-cultural difference between the two Chinese samples is schooling. For instance, the education system in Hong Kong is quite examination-oriented and authoritarian. Teachers are usually found managing large classes containing an average of 38 students per class. In contrast, the Australian Hong Kong Chinese students attended Australian schools where teachers are likely to adopt a teaching style more closely aligned with authoritative rather than authoritarian parenting practices. Classes are smaller than those in Hong Kong, with an average of 25 to 30 students per class. Low socio-

economic status, in combination with the large family size of the Hong Kong Chinese sample, means it was likely that in these families there was greater emphasis on authoritarian parenting. This suggests that for the Hong Kong Chinese students the authoritarian parenting practices in their family may be matched by the style of teacher behavior they encounter in their schooling (Alwin, 1984; Leung et al., 1998; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; Wright & Wright, 1976).

The differences in socio-economic status that emerged in the present study confound the interpretation of the intra-cultural differences in parenting practices. Therefore any future research examining intra-cultural differences in parenting practices needs to build this factor into the selection criteria for participants. Van de Vijver and Leung (1997) have recently reinforced this point and have indicated that cultural differences can sometimes be explained in terms of differences in the demographic profiles of the cultural groups.

In terms of making inter-cultural comparisons, the current findings suggest that the dimension of organizational control is missing from measures of parenting style developed in the West. It is hard to understand Chinese parenting style without knowing about the dimension of organizational control. The present research has confirmed that this is a critical dimension of Chinese parenting. Similarly the dimension of filial piety does not feature in Western measures of parenting, but is essential for describing Chinese parenting. Organizational control is the parent's contribution to the family, while filial piety is the child's contribution. This is a reciprocal relationship between child and parent (Sung, 1995). In other words, Chinese children obey their parents as a reflection of filial piety. As Sung's study (1995) has indicated, within the set of issues represented by the filial piety construct, Western samples place more emphasis on the emotional dimension (i.e., loving, respecting, and harmonizing) whereas Chinese place greater emphasis on the behavioral dimension (i.e., to sacrifice, to be responsible, and to repay). In the current study when the Control & Filial Piety Model was applied to the Australian Hong Kong Chinese and Anglo-Australian students, it did

not fit for the two groups. The Model provided an appropriate fit for the Hong Kong Chinese students only. This suggested that both intra- and inter-cultural differences in parenting practices require further investigation. However, before further research into the relationships between parenting practices and achievement variables is undertaken, more attention needs to be directed towards the development of measurement instruments that represent a broader range of parenting issues than those currently included in the widely used Western measures. In this way it may be possible to achieve a better understanding of both intra- and inter-cultural differences in important parenting practices.

A further practical issue that may limit the current findings is the return rate of questionnaires for the Anglo-Australian and Australian Hong Kong Chinese samples. In both cases, the return rates were relatively low. To investigate questions on factors contributing to intra- and inter-cultural differences in parenting practices, the research procedures need to be designed specifically to ensure more representative and directly comparable samples of students are used in future studies.

Suggestions for Future Studies

In the present study it was found that control and filial piety dimensions were required for an adequate model of Hong Kong Chinese parenting. Sung (1995) found that Western families place more emphasis on the emotional dimension of filial piety while Asian families place greater emphasis on the behavioral dimension. Including appropriate groups of students at level 4 (nation or state level), this type of design would be appropriate for testing the intra- and inter-cultural bases for such differences within parenting practices. For example, if the level 4 coefficients indicated that both Australian Hong Kong Chinese and Anglo-Australian students reported more emphasis on the emotional dimension of filial piety while the Hong Kong Chinese reported more emphasis on the behavioral dimension, this effect would represent inter-cultural similarity of Australian Hong Kong Chinese and Anglo-Australian. At the same time this would

represent intra-cultural differences between the Hong Kong Chinese and Australian Hong Kong Chinese. In multilevel modelling, both intra-class relationships and micro-macro interactions can be used to investigate the cross level differences and similarities among clustered data. A cross-level interaction in multilevel structural equation modelling can be used to test that the proposed model of "parenting style with control and filial piety" is only an appropriate model of parenting practices within certain socio-economic groups, and not necessarily applicable to all students. Defining "parenting style with control and filial piety" as the micro level and socio-economic status as the more macro level (level 3), such a cross-level is a micro-macro interaction. The stronger the micro-macro interaction, the stronger is the effect of the macro-level variable, here socio-economic status is on the proposed model of parenting styles with control and filial piety. Therefore, future research into cultural effects of parenting on student achievement could appropriately use multilevel structural equation models to disentangle the effects of socio-economic status and culture.

Conclusion

As was expected from previous research findings, one point at which this model did not fit for the Hong Kong Chinese students involved the model of parenting. Dimensions of control and filial piety were needed to supplement Baumrind's three dimensions of authoritarian, authoritative and permissive parenting to achieve an acceptable model of parenting for the Hong Kong Chinese students. Both intra- and inter-cultural differences are suggested by our observation that the new model of Chinese parenting, though appropriate for the Hong Kong Chinese students, did not fit for the Anglo-Australian and Australian Hong Kong Chinese students.

Consideration of some of the limitations of the present study suggests that these findings need to be confirmed with stronger samples of students. Both socio-economic status and the quality of schooling need to be given more emphasis in the design of future studies in this area. Use of clustered

random sampling techniques in combination with the use of some of the recent developments in structural equation modelling, such as multilevel modelling, would allow more thorough testing of different models representing parenting style.

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中西方父母管教模型的比較

梁智熊

摘要

Chao & Sue (1996) 認為現今西方有關父母權威的管教概念，既忽略了管制的目的，又未能有效反映亞裔父母權威式管教的實質意義。至於 Baumind 的父母管教模型，也有同樣問題。本論文以三組學生為研究對象，包括香港人、英籍澳洲人和澳籍香港人，根據他們對以上變項所完成的自陳式量度，運用結構方程模型，檢視本文建議的模型是否適用於西方研究。本文重新定義香港父母管教概念的模型和變項，並從數據中突顯在中西方父母管教模式下兒童及教育發展的文化差異。

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