DYNAMICS OF PARENT – CHILD RELATIONSHIPS AND CONFLICT IN CHINESE,

EASTERN EUROPEAN AND EUROPEAN CANADIAN FAMILIES

by

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A thesis

presented to the University of Waterloo

in fulfillment of the

thesis requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Psychology

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2008

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

In my thesis, I studied patterns of associations between the quality of parent-child relations and components of parent-child conflict in families with preadolescent children from European Canadian families, as well as recent immigrant families of Chinese and Eastern European backgrounds. A sample of 96 provided the data, which I organized in three parts.

Part 1 examined associations between the quality of parent-child relations and confrontation in parent-child conflicts. 277 children and parents from 96 families participated (i.e., 96 children, 96 mothers, and 85 fathers). Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to predict children's and parents' confrontation in conflicts at the parent-child dyadic level. In all models, the parent-child relationships variables (i.e., lower levels of egalitarian warmth and higher levels of power assertive parenting strategies) jointly predicted each family member's confrontation in conflicts over and above the contribution of the cultural differences. Few interactions were found. These results suggest that there are general principles governing the interface between family relationships and parent-child conflicts that transcend culturally specific socialization practices in these groups.

Part 2 investigated associations between children's and parents' English knowledge, use and preference for the host or native language, and the quality of parent-child relationships and conflict negotiation in the Chinese and Eastern European immigrant families. 183 family members participated: 64 children, 64 mothers and 55 fathers. Participants independently filled out questionnaires on parent-child relationship and assessments of English knowledge and use. The results demonstrated that (1) children's English knowledge is related to warm and egalitarian relationships with their parents; (2) children's use and preference for using English at home is related to the quality of children's relationship and conflict negotiation with mothers but not with

fathers; and (3) contrary to expectations, parents' knowledge of English and the gap between parents' and children's English knowledge was not associated with the quality of parent-child relationships in the first years of families' adaptation to Canada.

Part 3 examined associations between frequencies of conflict components with particular focus on actual and desired conflict outcomes within individually reported conflicts in parent-child dyads from the three cultural groups. Ninety two children and mothers and 75 fathers provided diary accounts of parent-child conflicts, reporting on types of conflicts, conflict outcomes, their individual satisfaction with conflict endings and any aspects of conflict that they would have changed in retrospect. Moreover, each respondent reported on their dyadic partner's typical use of conflict strategies across daily disputes. The participants reported 1406 conflicts over a period of two weeks. Several interesting patterns of findings emerged: First, very few cultural differences emerged; rather, similar frequencies of reported conflict issues and outcomes were found across the three cultural groups. Second, preadolescent children and parents appear to have different views on which conflict components are associated with frequency of particular outcomes. Mothers' views of conflict endings are more frequently related to the nature of conflict issues than children's and fathers' views. Preadolescent children, being generally dependent on their parents, are less often likely to experience control over how conflicts should be resolved; however, they have clear views on how specific conflict issues should be resolved. More specifically, children often wished to submit when they often argued with their parents about obligations but expressed wishes to yield in retrospect less often when they argued over activities of their personal choice. In turn, mothers were less likely to compromise when they often argued over obligations and were more often likely to do so when they disagreed with their children over children's personal interests. Fathers, however, may expect to exert control regardless of the

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conflict issue that is being negotiated and appear satisfied when they often won. Third, conflicts over children's misbehavior appeared to be particularly salient for parents but not for their children. Parents reported more conflicts over children's misbehavior than their children did, such conflicts were related to frequencies of reported standoffs, parents were often dissatisfied and desired more often changes for constructive negotiation by both sides of parent-child dyads than their children did. Children, on the other hand, often chose not to report conflicts related to their misbehavior, which likely showed self-serving biases in disclosing their own transgressions. Fourth, children's and parents' desires for a change in reported conflicts in retrospect often did not challenge but re-affirmed patterns of actual conflict outcomes, which likely suggests that in preadolescence certain conflict sequences are relatively well established. Finally, the findings presented in Part 3 are among the first to provide evidence of links between frequencies of conflict issues, intensity of disagreements, actual and desired outcomes in parent-child dyads from three cultural groups.

This multicultural study contributes to the existing literature (1) by substantiating the generality of interrelations between major qualities of parent-child relationships, (2) by providing evidence of the relations between children's and parents' English knowledge and the quality of their relationships and conflict negotiation in the earlier phases of acculturation, and (3) by providing a nuanced presentation of children's and parents' views on how they resolve conflicts on a daily basis. These evaluations provide an integrated picture of how preadolescents view and assess as well as are being viewed and assessed by their parents on important relationships matters.

Acknowledgements

I owe the accomplishment of this multicultural study to many people who contributed significantly to various stages of its realization.

First, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Hildy Ross, for her continuous support throughout all steps of this study. She encouraged me unconditionally and guided me patiently when problems along the way arose. Dr. Ross also taught me to make creative decisions when dealing with complex data sets, which in turn fostered my certainty that there are different statistical approaches that may provide an insight into complexity of family relations.

Next, I would like to thank Dr. Erik Woody and Dr. Mike Ross, the members of my dissertation committee, for their invaluable input and constructive feedback in the process of making sense of the results. Dr. Woody taught me to take a critical and parsimonious approach when developing complex statistical models, and to keep in perspective the ones that are most relevant and justifiable in light of my research questions. Dr. Ross taught me to pay attention to methodological details and to think not only in "cultural" but also in "generational" terms when creating a story from the results of my study.

I would also like to acknowledge the tremendous support of the following research assistants throughout the arduous task of data collection, their help with the coding of my data, and their management of the databases: Lauren Chance, Victoria Fung, Victoria Mok, Kristi Baerg, Amy Yeung, Fei Yan, Olivia Ng, Tanya Tolstunov, Zhenhua Chen, Stacy Liu, Claudia Gusav, Vanessa Nicholas, Reva Chen, Renee Chan, Michael Trink, Aliza Kassam**,** and Bethany Wagler.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Kirilka and Ivan Marinovi, who first inspired my interest in psychology research and who encouraged me to embark on its journey.

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INTRODUCTION

In my dissertation, I examined normative patterns of associations between major aspects of parent-child relations and of parent-child conflict in families with preadolescent children from three cultural groups in Canada. This study overcomes the limitations of previous studies on parent-child relations in several important ways. I used a multi-informant and multi-method approach in order to ascertain the validity of the data and to determine consistency or inconsistency in informants' perceptions of various aspects of parent-child relations. Both children and parents were interviewed by using questionnaires and daily diaries. In their diaries, the respondents reported about conflicts in each parent-child dyad over a period of two weeks. Having data from both children and parents helped me to determine unique features of conflict dynamics and resolution across each parent-child dyad. In the present study, I used three types of analyses. First, I examined cultural differences in parent-child relations. Second, I evaluated cultural and generational differences in conflict resolution. Third, I explored patterns of associations between aspects of parent-child relations and conflict resolution from the perspectives of children and parents.

I organized the data into three parts. In part 1, I examined the relations between the quality of parent-child relations and conflict negotiation in parent-child dyads. In part 2, I asked whether immigrant children's immersion into the Canadian culture will be related to the quality of their relationships and quality of negotiation with parents via children's rapid acquisition of English language and their emerging use and preferences for using English at home. In part 3, I evaluated links between types and intensity of conflicts and actual and desired outcomes.

In all parts, I examined both cultural differences as well as similarities of the family processes studied. When asking questions about cultural trends, I sought to replicate findings

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from past research on parent-child relations. I also evaluated generational differences in children's and parents' views on frequencies of occurrence of major components of their daily disputes: conflict issues, conflict outcomes, individual satisfaction with conflict endings, and desired outcomes of reported conflicts. I controlled for cultural differences in order to establish whether the associations found would remain strong across children's and parents' reports. In addition, with Part 1 and Part 3, I aimed to determine whether immigrant families experience parent-child relations and conflict in a similar fashion as European Canadian families despite their experiences of stresses associated with early phases of acculturation.

The current literature lacks studies with Eastern European immigrant families, which represent one of the major groups of incoming immigrants to Canada in the past decade (Statistics Canada, 2004). Therefore, with the inclusion of Eastern European families I aimed to establish where children and parents from this cultural region stand with respect to their views on parent-child relationships: do they resemble the European Canadian families due to their common cultural origins, or do they resemble the Chinese families due to similarities in their recent historical political regimes and their collectivistic orientations in social relationships? By examining two immigrant groups, I could also begin to differentiate between the specific cultural backgrounds and the experience of immigration to a Western culture.

The present study has the potential to extend existing knowledge of parent-child relations and conflict resolution by examining these processes in preadolescence where patterns of parent-child relations and conflicts are relatively well established. In adolescence, the renegotiation of family roles would further challenge and transform the internal organization of parent-child relationships and interaction scripts established in previous developmental periods. Finally, by sampling data from children and parents from three different cultural groups in Canada, this

study has the potential to substantiate existing cross-cultural theories and at the same time to expand the literature with evidence of cross-cultural similarities on several important aspects of parent-child relational processes in preadolescence.

PART 1

What Culture Can't Fully Explain: Associations between the Quality of Parent-Child Relationships and Parent-Child Conflict across Three Cultural Groups

Introduction

Although there is a great interest in cultural differences in parenting, recent research suggests that parents from different backgrounds also share similarities in their child-rearing styles. The two most widely explored parenting styles within the original Baumrind (1967) typology of parenting, authoritative and authoritarian, have been found to exist in both Western and Eastern cultures. Parents who endorse an authoritative style are able to balance their enforcement of discipline with reinforcement of freedom of self-expression and self-assertiveness in their children. Parents who endorse an authoritarian style tend to use more coercion and to limit their children's freedom to express their needs (Wu et al., 2002). These parenting styles set the context in which children learn to resolve their differences with other people from very early on.

While similarities in parental styles and child-rearing practices across cultures have gained much support in recent years, cross-cultural studies on parent-child conflict have mainly focused on a Western-Eastern distinction in conflict resolution. Theory and evidence suggest that parents in the American culture tend to encourage their children to focus on their own interests when solving conflicts, to directly express their views, and to resist social pressure when advancing their goals (Markus & Lin, 1999). In contrast, parents from Asian cultures tend to socialize their children to maintain harmonious relationships, and to fulfill their obligations, especially to their families (Chin-Yau & Fu 1990; Ho, 1986). Family relationships are structured hierarchically in that children are expected to conform to their parents' requests and to adhere to the rules and norms asserted by their elders. During family disputes, children in Non-Western cultures utilize more subtle expressions of emotions in their disagreements with their parents in order to maintain the harmony in their families (Markus & Lin, 1999). Studies with Chinese

families have shown that Chinese adolescents reported that they generally refrain from asserting their wishes and goals in order to preserve the family harmony and that their parents' wishes prevail in the majority of parent-adolescent disputes (Yau & Smetana, 1993 & 1996). Similarly, in a study conducted by Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, and Vilhjalmsdottir (2005) adolescents from non-European collectivistic ethnic groups reported more compliance in hypothetical situations of disagreements with their parents than their European American counterparts. In other words, compliance, self-restraint and avoidance of direct confrontation with parents are hallmarks of behaviors in conflicts in adolescents from Non-Western countries. Such cultural differences might suggest that children from Eastern cultures would be less confrontational in parent-child conflict, and would react less negatively when faced with parents who exert their authority than those from Western cultures. In Eastern cultures, the parents' and children's restraint in expressing openly their emotions during conflicts may not have such an effect on the quality of their negotiations as it might have in Western cultures. It remains unclear whether the relations between quality of relationships and confrontation in parent-child dyads would be similar across Western and Eastern cultures despite differences in levels of endorsement of emotions. Part 1 will address this issue by evaluating the impact of culture on the associations between the quality of parent-child relationships and conflict negotiation.

In contrast to the comparative literature, studies that examine associations between relationship qualities and parent-child conflict are both far less common and typically include families from only one cultural group. For example, Rueter and Conger (1995) observed American adolescent-parent interactions during a problem-solving task and found that adolescents whose interactions with their parents were warm and supportive effectively negotiated their goals during conflicts with them. In contrast, adolescents whose interactions

with their parents were distant and hostile were likely to use aggressive behaviors in parent-child disagreements. Moreover, Adams and Laursen (2007) have found that adolescents who assess their relationships with either parent more negatively report frequent conflicts with that parent. In that study the negativity of the relationship also influenced the effects of conflict on child outcomes: children with positive parent-child relationships sometimes benefited from more frequent parent-child conflict, whereas the effects of conflict were more detrimental when parent-child relationships were more negative.

Parallel findings are reported in non-Western cultures. Yau and Smetana (1996) studied adolescents' perceptions of conflicts with their parents in a sample of adolescents in Hong Kong. These authors found correlations between low parental warmth and greater conflict frequency, as well as correlations between high parental control and conflict intensity. In the same study, Yau and Smetana indicated that the Chinese adolescents reported similar frequencies and intensities of conflicts with parents to that reported by North American adolescents in a parallel study (Smetana, 1989). In one of the few comparative studies of parent-adolescent conflict, Fuligni (1998; see also Tseng & Fuligni, 2000) found modest but similar patterns of relations between the acceptability of disagreements and perceived cohesion with parents across reports of adolescents of Mexican, Chinese, Filipino and European background living in the United States. These studies suggest that there are similar patterns of associations between aspects of parent-child conflict and parent-child relationships in adolescents from several ethnic groups in North America and China.

There are several additional ways in which the current study departs from other research on parent-child relationships. First, cross-cultural studies have mostly evaluated aspects of parent-adolescent conflict to the relative neglect of relationships in families with younger

children. Adolescence is a developmental period in which major transformations in parent-child relationships take place: parental control weakens, adolescents' independence in decision making increases and their engagement in extra-familial relations and activities becomes more frequent (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998). Therefore, parent-adolescent relationships appear to yield to the growing prominence of peer relationships in adolescents' lives and parents have less influence on adolescents' well-being than they do in earlier developmental periods (Greenberger & Chen, 1996). In contrast, pre-adolescence is characterized by children's greater dependence on their parents, which is often manifested by children's general submissiveness (Smetana & Gaines, 1999) and less intense disagreements with parents than in early to mid-adolescence (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998). Given these developmental characteristics, it is likely that the quality of parent-child relations play a greater role in children's well-being than in adolescence. At the same time, pre-adolescents should be able to report reliably on the quality of their relationships with their parents and on the nature of parent-child conflict; much younger children might have greater difficulty in doing so. Additionally, preadolescents in families that have recently immigrated to Canada will have experience in both the host culture (due to their rapid integration through the educational system) and personal memories of family life in their country of origin (Reitz & Somerville, 2004). In comparison, younger immigrant children were less likely to have similar experience of both cultures.

Second, studies have mostly utilized a unidirectional perspective, i.e., interviewing one respondent, and rarely included parent-child dyads (Kwak & Berry, 2001; Tardif & Geva, 2006). I examined children's and parents' perceptions of their relationships with one another and their dyadic partner's confrontation in conflicts using the same set of questions. Having data from children, mothers and fathers from the same families allowed me to examine these relations from

both self-reports and cross-reports. Self-reports contained each family member's perspective on the relationship with his/her dyadic partner and his/her dyadic partner's confrontation in conflict. For example, a daughter reported about the relationship with her mother and mother's use of both cooperative and confrontational strategies in conflicts. Cross-reports presented each family member's perspective on the quality of relationships with a parent-child dyadic partner and his/her own confrontation in conflicts (as reported by the corresponding dyadic partner). Using self- and cross-reports allowed me (1) to determine if the relations of interest are strong and hold across different informants and if so, (2) to examine the magnitude of these relations from self- and shared- perspectives on parent-child relations at dyadic level.

Third, the present study examined simultaneously the associations between qualities of parent-child relations in families from three cultural groups in Canada, two of which recent immigrant families of Chinese and Eastern European backgrounds. The choice of these cultural groups was influenced by the high proportion of immigrants from these regions who have arrived in Canada recently. Immigrants from Asia are the most numerous immigrant group and constitute 50 % of all immigrants coming to Canada each year for the period 1995-2004. European immigrants constitute the third largest group coming to Canada after those from Asia and the Middle East, with several Eastern European countries (e.g., ex-Yugoslavia, and countries from the former Soviet Union) being among the top ten countries for incoming immigrants in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2004). Moreover, the former communist countries from Eastern Europe share similar political and sociocultural contexts, as well as economic development (Gupta, Hanges, Dorfman, 2002). Past research has mainly studied adults or students of Eastern European background (Grob, Wearing, Little, & Wanner, 1996; Struch, Schwartz, & Van der Kloot, 2002). While a few studies have examined the dynamics of parent-adolescent relations in

Chinese immigrant families in Canada (Lee & Chen, 2000; Tardif & Geva, 2006), the current literature lacks studies with recent immigrant families of Chinese and Eastern European descent with younger children. Research has indicated that immigrant children adapt at a faster rate to their new country than their parents, which may create a shift in the power-balance in parent-child relations (Fillmore, 1991). In immigrant families, generational disparities in acculturation tend to be associated with high levels of parent-child conflict (Rumbaut, 1994). With two immigrant groups who have distinct cultural histories, the present study will be able to examine whether similar patterns of parent-child relationships exist despite the impact of acculturation to a new country. The study will also allow comparisons between relationship patterns found in Canadian-born parents and children.

With this methodology I sought to find a way to not only contrast cultural groups, but also to find common trends among all cultural groups included in this study. I chose two major relationship qualities - parental power assertion, and warm, egalitarian relations - because these qualities are believed to constitute the core of parent-child relations, and to elicit differences with respect to levels of their endorsement across Western and Eastern cultures.

Parental Power Assertion

Studies have indicated that Chinese parents tend to exert more power (i.e., use of restrictive and punitive strategies) in their child-rearing practices than European American parents (Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Wu et. al., 2002). Some authors suggest that Chinese parents' controlling behaviors reflect parents' caring attitudes and serve to promote and maintain harmonious family relationships (Leung, Chang, & Lai, 2004). In contrast, European American parents are generally portrayed as less restrictive and more democratic. They foster their children's independence in making choices and asserting their goals.

In comparison, studies exploring the power-balance in parent-child relationships with Eastern European samples are scarce. Ispa (2002) conducted studies with caregivers and parents in Russia and found a shift in child-rearing practices after the downfall of the Soviet Union. Throughout the communist regime, the child-rearing practices endorsed collectivistic values, such as dedication to one's group, suppression of individual needs and desires, and compliance with authority figures. (Ispa, 2002). Recent studies suggest that Russian parents are now more likely to hold democratic parenting practices and child-rearing views similar to those found among North American parents: they tend to foster individualism and self-assertiveness in their children, and place less emphasis on conformity to rules than did Russian parents studied a decade ago (Hart et al., 2000; Ispa, 2002).

Some studies have indicated that parental power assertion is related to negative child outcomes in Western cultures where parental control is discouraged, but not in Eastern cultures, where this parenting practice is normative. In a study conducted by Kim, Hetherington and Reiss (1999), adolescents' externalizing behaviors were predicted directly by parental and sibling negativity and by low parental monitoring, as well as indirectly by these relationship qualities via adolescents' associations with delinquent peers. Some studies suggest that parental control in Non-Western cultures reinforces acquisition of values in children that are widely accepted in those cultures: obedience to elders in the family, group loyalty, and interdependence (Rudy & Grusec, 2006). Nevertheless, other studies have raised questions concerning whether more punitive forms of parental authoritarian behavior may have similar negative effects on children's behavior regardless of culture. Lansford and colleagues (2005) investigated the role of physical punishment on children's behavior in several Eastern and Western cultures and found that even in countries where physical discipline is normative, higher levels of parental use of punitive

strategies were related to children's externalizing and internalizing problems. Similarly, studies with Chinese families have provided evidence that authoritarian parenting styles were positively associated with children's aggressive-disruptive behaviors, and negatively associated with children's academic achievement (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997) and with adolescents' self-esteem (Lau & Cheung, 1987). These studies collectively suggest that despite cultural differences in norms of parental power assertion, authoritarian parenting and more specifically use of physical discipline is associated with negative outcomes for both children and adolescents.

Warmth and Egalitarian Closeness in Parent-child Relationships

Some studies indicated that European-American parents tend to socialize open expressions of emotions and encourage their children to discuss their feelings with them (Chao, 1995; Leichtman, Wang, & Pillemer, 2003). In contrast, Asian parents teach their children to suppress the expression of their emotions, particularly the negative ones, in order to maintain harmonious family relationships (Chao, 1995). Likewise, Russian parents tend to discourage the open expression of negative emotions; however, they value the expression of positive emotions (Ispa, 2002). Further, in a large multicultural study, Eid and Diener (2001) have found that Chinese college students consistently report less frequent and less intense expressions of both positive and negative affect than their American and Australian counterparts. Similar differences in Chinese and American adolescents and college students' perceptions of warmth and cohesiveness in relationships with their parents were found in other studies (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Wu & Chao, 2005). Yet, Chinese parents tend to reinforce their children's sensitivity to the internal states of others and to express their own parental love by providing support for different aspects of their children's development, such as education (Chao, 1995). Despite some mean differences in expressions of warmth between Asian and European

Americans, some studies suggest that in both groups higher levels of parental warmth are similarly associated with less depressive symptoms in adolescents (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Kim & Ge, 2000).

Consistent with the American ideal model of authoritative parenting, European American middle-class families tend to grant more autonomy in decision-making to children and, in so doing, to foster the development of their children's self-sufficiency (Wu et al., 2002). In a study with 2-year old children and their Canadian and Chinese mothers, Liu et al. (2005) found that both groups of mothers endorsed more autonomous than cooperative behaviors in a free play situation; however, the former group endorsed higher encouragement of child's autonomous exploration of the new situation than the latter group. The egalitarian parental approach reinforces children's independence which will help them succeed in their lives. Recent studies with Chinese families provide evidence of significant variability in parenting within this culture and similar associations between child-rearing and psychological outcomes for children. Authoritative styles endorsed by the Chinese parents are found to be similarly associated with more peer acceptance, better social competence, and higher academic achievements in Chinese children (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997). Similar parenting styles have been reported in studies of educated parents, teachers and caregivers in Russia (Ispa, 2002). In addition, authoritative parenting endorsed by Chinese parents is likely to be associated with parents' higher education (Chen et al., 2000). In sum, studies have indicated that parents' higher education has been associated with more authoritative parenting across cultures, and that parental warmth is generally related to positive outcomes for children.

Cultural Differences in Meaning of Relationship Qualities Reflected in Responding to Measures of Parent-child Relationships

Rudy and Grusec (2006) assert that cultural standards of employment of particular parenting practices (e.g., authoritarian versus authoritative) serve different socialization goals and facilitate internalization of values that are specific for a given culture. Similarly, as discussed, studies have established that there is a Western-Eastern cultural distinction in norms of experiencing and expressing affect, and in the social outcomes of emotional expression or suppression (Eid & Diener, 2001). Cultural norms of acceptable behaviors are likely to contribute to individuals attributing different meanings to these behaviors (Rudy & Grusec, 2006). With respect to this issue, some cross-cultural studies suggest that different culturally specific meanings of behaviors may be related to different ways of responding to questionnaires. Oishi et al., (2005) indicate that researchers often use Likert-type scales to examine cultural differences in various psychological processes. Rating scales are likely to elicit "reference group effects" in which respondents may endorse various beliefs or behaviors that are judged in relation to the norms of their cultural groups (p. 300). For example, individuals from Eastern countries are likely to choose more moderate responses in rating scales because modesty and suppression of own emotions, needs and opinions is normative in their countries. In contrast, individuals from Western cultures are likely to endorse more extreme responses on Likert-point scales likely because open expression of individual goals and needs is a behavioral standard in these societies. Therefore, different levels of parental control and expression of warmth and disagreement used as measures of qualities of parent-child relations in this study should hold different meanings for the families from Chinese and European background, which, in turn, may be related to different ways of responding. Based on cross-cultural research, it is likely that

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families of European origin would likely endorse end-point responses to the Likert type questionnaires used in this study than Chinese families, who, in turn, are likely to endorse more modest responses, thereby reflecting the normativeness of expression of various relationship qualities for their cultures. More specifically, across studies, if Chinese parents are found to be more controlling and less emotionally expressive in relationships with their children than families of European background, then children and parents in this study would likely respond in ways consistent with findings of past research. If Chinese parents are normatively more controlling than parents of European background, then Chinese children should not be very confrontational in conflicts with them because of the normativeness of this parental quality in the Chinese culture and because of the expectation that children should comply with their elders. In contrast, since high levels of parental control would be expected to be less normative in families of European background than in Chinese families, then this parental quality would be expected to be related to more negative outcomes in children, which will be expressed by children's confrontation in conflicts with their parents. Finally, given that using information from one respondent is a limitation of most cross-cultural studies, this study will provide a comprehensive picture of how children and parents view their relationships with one another and to what extent their perceptions of relationships reflect norms and values of their native culture.

Goal and Hypotheses

In the present study, I asked whether the same qualities of parent-child relations would be associated with children's and parents' confrontation in conflicts in European Canadian families, as well as recent immigrant families of Chinese and Eastern European origin. Little is known about whether the children's and parents' quality of negotiation in disagreements with one another relates to the quality of their relationships.

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Cultural Differences in Parent-Child Relationships

Hypothesis No. 1: Studies have shown that European American middle-class parents tend to employ more authoritative parenting styles and to encourage the expression and discussion of feelings with their children. In contrast, Chinese parents tend to be controlling with their children and to socialize suppression of emotional expression in order to maintain family harmony (Chao, 1995; Leichtman, Wang, & Pillemer, 2003; Wu et al., 2002). Recent studies with Russian caregivers and educators suggest that Russian parents tend to adopt democratic and less restrictive child-rearing styles, and therefore, to resemble North American middle-class parents (Hart et al., 1998; Ispa, 2002). Given these findings, I expected that Eastern European and Canadian children and parents will report more mutual warmth and egalitarian closeness in their relationships with one another than their Chinese counterparts. I also expected that Chinese respondents will report more parental power assertion than the respondents from the other two cultural groups.

Confrontation in Conflicts

Hypothesis No. 2: Research has established that Chinese children are expected to demonstrate compliance and respectful behavior to their parents (Chin-Yau & Fu 1990; Ho, 1986), while children of European origin are encouraged to make autonomous decisions and to assert their goals (Hart et al., 2000; Ispa, 2002). Given these findings, I expected that Chinese parents will report that their children use less confrontational strategies in conflicts with them than the Eastern European and Canadian parents. Moreover, Chinese children will report that their parents use less accommodating conflict strategies than the children of Eastern European and Canadian origin will report about their parents.

Parent-child Relationships and Confrontation in Conflicts

Hypothesis No. 3: In this study, I expected that despite cultural differences in the expression of affection and power balance in parent-child relations, and despite the acculturation stress likely experienced by the recent immigrant families, in all cultural groups more warm and egalitarian relationships will be related to lower levels of confrontation in parent-child conflicts. I also expected that in all groups, more power assertive parenting behaviors will be related to higher levels of confrontation endorsed by both sides in parent-child disputes. In addition, I anticipated that the relationships between these variables will be stronger than cultural differences and thus will transcend culturally specific influences on parents' socialization practices.

Within-respondent versus Between-respondent Analyses

I examine these hypotheses within the reports of children and those of their parents (i.e., within-respondent analyses) to see if parallel patterns are found in their perceptions of the internal organization of their relationships. Moreover, I examine cross-associations (i.e., between-respondent analyses) as the more rigorous tests of whether one family member's assessments of the quality of parent-child relationships is associated with others' views of their confrontation in parent-child disputes. I expected that within-respondent analyses (i.e., self-reports) will yield stronger associations between the qualities of parent-child relations and confrontation in conflicts than between-respondent analyses (i.e., cross-reports) because they will reflect respondents' subjective or biased perceptions of relationships with the corresponding dyadic partner (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, & Papp, 2003). I hypothesized that within-respondent analyses will demonstrate similar associations among the variables studied as between-respondent analyses would. Yet, between-respondent analyses would have the advantage of presenting a more objective perspective of the internal organization of parent-child relationships.

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Method

Participants

Two-hundred and seventy-seven respondents from 96 families participated in the study (i.e., 96 children, 96 mothers, and 85 fathers). Ninety-two of the children were from two-parent families. Each cultural group was represented by 32 families. At the time of the interview, children's ages averaged 8.9 years ($SD = 1.2$, range 7-11), mothers were 37.5 years on average ($SD = 3.66$), and fathers were 38.10 years ($SD = 3.5$). The children's ages across the three cultural groups are as follows: Chinese children's mean age was 8.8 years ($SD = 1.2$); for Eastern European children it was 8.10 years ($SD = 1.2$), and for Canadian children it was 8.8 years ($SD = 1.2$). The Chinese mothers were on average 36.9 years old ($SD = 2.56$), the Eastern European mothers were 35.7 years old ($SD = 4.2$) and the Canadian mothers were 39.8 years old ($SD = 4.3$). The Chinese fathers were on average 38.5 years old ($SD = 2.5$), the Eastern European fathers were on average 36.7 years old ($SD = 3.2$), and the Canadian fathers were on average 41.7 years old ($SD = 4.7$). Children's gender was nearly equally distributed across the three cultural groups (i.e., 46.9% girls from China, 53.1% girls from Eastern Europe, and 50% girls from Canada). The criteria for recruiting immigrant families were (1) that residency in Canada was of at least one year but not more than 8 years, (2) that immigrant children were born in either China or Eastern Europe, and (3) that the primary language at home was the language of their country of origin. The average length of residence of the immigrant families in Canada was 3.3 years ($SD = 1.7$). There were no significant differences in length of residence in Canada between children and their parents. Thirty one families of the Chinese group came from the People's Republic of China (31, 96.9%) and one family came from Singapore (1, 3.1%) who was also of Chinese origin. Two of the Chinese families were from Hong Kong and twenty nine families

were from Mainland China. The Eastern European sample included families from Bulgaria (19, 59.4%), Macedonia (2, 6.3%), Romania (2, 6.3%), Russia (4, 12.5%), Serbia (1, 3.1%), and Ukraine (4, 12.5%). All Canadian children and parents were of European origin and were born in Canada with the exception of one father, who was born in a Middle Eastern country. The primary language at home was English.

Statistics Canada (2004) reported that more than 60% of adult immigrants who came to Canada recently have a postsecondary education. Consistent with the Canadian Immigration policy, most of the parents in this sample had college and university degrees: 90.6% of the mothers and 96% of the fathers from the Chinese group, and 93.8% of the mothers and 85.2% of the fathers from the Eastern European group. Likewise, 75% of the mothers and 73.3% of the fathers from the European-Canadian sample also held post-secondary degrees.

Procedure

The families were recruited from Waterloo (a mid-sized city) and Toronto (a large city), Canada, by means of advertisements, announcements and flyers in local newspapers, ESL schools for adults, community centers, health care settings, summer camps, churches, and local universities. A number of families were recruited through "snowballing" procedures in which participating families were either asked to or expressed interest in contacting other possible participants.

All measures were translated into Simplified and Traditional Chinese, Bulgarian, Russian, Serbian and Croatian and family members could complete the questionnaires in their languages of choice. Measures were translated back into English by independent bilingual translators to assure comparability of the questionnaires regardless of language. During the

translation process, culturally-nuanced terms were sought to match the meaning of the original items to the ones commonly used in the corresponding country.

Data were collected during one interview session with each family, which lasted approximately 60 minutes. The families chose to be interviewed either in their homes or to come to the University laboratory. On the study visit, parents and were asked to independently complete questionnaires on parent-child relationships and conflict strategies and children completed the same measures in interview format. All children were interviewed in English. The families were reimbursed with $25 for their participation and the children received a small gift.

Measures

*Parent-child relationship questionnair*e. This questionnaire was developed by Furman and Buhrmester (2001). It was used for both children and parents to ensure comparability across respondents in this study. The children reported separately about their relationships with their mothers and fathers, and the parents reported separately about their relationships with their child. For the purposes of this study, 27-items were used out of 40-items from its original version. Family members rated each item on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "hardly at all" to "extremely much". The factor "Protectiveness" from the original version of the questionnaire was not included because it does not directly address the issues relevant to the current study. With the shorter version of the questionnaire, the current study used three factors that reflect the factor structure of parent-child relationship as reported by children (Furman & Buhrmester, 2001): 8-item Power Assertion scale (e.g., *How much does you mother/father forbid you to do something you really like to do when you have been bad?*), 6-itemWarmth scale (e.g., *How much do you and your mother/father care about each other?*), and 13-item Egalitarian Closeness scale (e.g., *How much does you mother/father ask you for your opinion on things*). Egalitarian

closeness has been associated with parents providing more reasoning about rules and acceptable behavior, child's involvement in decision making, reciprocal prosocial influences and parental reinforcement of child's accomplishments. Preliminary analyses revealed that the factors *Warmth* and *Egalitarian Closeness* were strongly and positively correlated: in all reports rs > .58, ps < .001. Therefore, the variables *Warmth* and *Egalitarian closeness* were combined into one variable, *Egalitarian Warmth*, which was used for each respondent in the subsequent analyses. Cronbach's alphas ranged from .87 to .92 for ratings by each member of each relationship. For Power Assertion, Cronbach's alphas ranged from .81 to .88 for ratings by each member of each relationship.

Conflict strategies scale. This scale was adapted from the Conflict Tactics Scales developed by Strauss (1979). Eighteen items were used for the purposes of the current study. Items were rated on 5-point Likert-type scales which ranged from "never" to "always". Ten of the items referred to frequency of using cooperative conflict strategies (e.g., *Does your mother (or father or child) try to solve the problem with you?*) and 8 items referred to frequency of using confrontational strategies (e.g., *Does your mother (or father or child) yell or scream at you when he/she fights with you?*) used by the partner in conflict situations with the respondent. The term "Confrontation in conflicts" refers to specific conflict strategies, positive (constructive) or negative (confrontational), used by children and parents in conflicts with one another. The purely confrontational strategies include yelling, blaming, threatening to hurt, lying, calling names, not talking to, upsetting, and making fun of partner. The constructive strategies include talking calmly during arguments and saying nice things, trying to solve the problem, trying to understand partner's perspective and feelings, apologizing, and trying to find mutually beneficial solution to the problem, etc. In this way, this term differs from the widely used term in the

literature "intensity of conflicts" which only captures the forceful aspect of negative negotiation in conflicts. The cooperative conflict strategies subscales were reversed in order to create one scale score. This score was derived by averaging the items in the whole scale. Higher scores reflect higher levels of confrontation and lower levels of cooperation/accommodation within conflicts. In this study, the children reported on the conflict strategies used by their mothers and fathers, and each parent reported on the conflict strategies used by the participating child. The self-reports of participants' own conflict strategies were not sampled to avoid self-serving biases in responding (Ross, Smith, Spielmacher, & Recchia, 2004). Cronbach's alphas for this measure ranged between .83 and .86 for each family member's ratings of one another.

Reliability analyses of the scales within cultural groups is presented in Appendix A.

Improving of scales. The *Parent-child Relationship questionnaire* and the *Conflict Strategies scale* were examined with respect to the content of their items. The items from the *Conflict Strategies scale* (1) refer to dyadic partner's use of specific communication strategies in conflict and (2) reflect the intensity of conflicts from the respondents' perspectives. However, when the specific content of the items was examined, five pairs of items from the two scales were identified as having a conceptual overlap (see Table 1). Therefore, these five items from the *Parent-child Relationship questionnaire* were removed. The patterns of associations between parent-child relationship qualities remained in both the within-and between-respondent analyses. The reliabilities provided above as well as reliabilities presented in Appendix A are based on the reduced scales without the overlapping items.

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Table 1. Overlapping Items in Measures

Parent-Child Relationships (eliminated items)	Conflict Strategies Scale
How much does your mother/father talk to you about why you're being punished or not allowed to do something? (*Egalitarian Warmth*)	Does your MOM/DAD stop talking to you when he/she fights with you?
How much does your mother/father make you feel bad about yourself when you misbehave? (*Power Assertion*)	Does your MOM/DAD call you bad names?
How much does your mother/father listen to your ideas before making a decision (*Egalitarian Warmth*)	Does your MOM/DAD ask you what you want?
How much do you and your mother/father do nice things for each other? (*Egalitarian Warmth*)	Does your MOM/DAD say nice things to you?
How much does your mother/father make you feel ashamed or guilty for not doing what you are supposed to do? (*Power Assertion*)	Does your MOM/DAD blame you?

Despite eliminating the five overlapping items, one area of overlap remained between the conflict strategies item *"Does your mom/dad/child yell or scream at you when he/she fights with you?"* and an item from the Power Assertion scale was *"How much does your mother/father yell at you for being bad?"* These items reflect a forceful aspect of parents' behavior or a parenting quality that is pervasive across contexts and may sometimes occur in conflicts with their children. This item from the PCR measure is likely to have overlap in children's reports about their parents' use of conflict tactics in disputes, but not in parents' responses of their children's confrontation in conflicts. Despite elimination of several items from the PCR measures, an overlap between some items from both scales remains, which presents as a limitation of this study. In this thesis, only the analyses of improved scales without the overlapping items noted in Table 1 were reported.

Analyses Plan for the Regression Analyses

Two sets of hierarchical regressions were conducted to predict children's and parents' confrontation in conflicts at the parent-child dyadic level with each regression entailing three steps: The first step was the same for each regression analysis and explored the prediction of each family member's use of confrontational conflict strategies from cultural background represented by two contrast codes. I expected that Chinese children and parents would differ from their Eastern European and European-Canadian counterparts, who in turn were expected to share more similarities based on their common European origins. Therefore, the first contrast code (C1) compared the Chinese to both the European Canadian and the Eastern European respondents. Contrast weights were 1 for Chinese (CH), -1/2, for East European (EE) and -1/2 for European-Canadian (CA) respondents. However, since the Eastern European families were recent immigrants adapting to a new country and a new language, while the European-Canadian families were at least second generation Canadians with English being their primary language at home, it was also expected that these groups could differ from one another with respect to children's and parents' use of confrontational strategies in conflicts. The second contrast code (C2) was created to compare both groups of European origin with respect to each family member's conflict behavior. The corresponding contrast weights were 1 (EE) and -1 (CA).

The second step was different for each regression analysis: it contained either self or cross-reports of parent-child relations to predict each family member's conflict confrontation. In the regression analyses containing self-reports, each family member's views about the relationship with a parent-child dyadic partner was used to predict the dyadic partner's confrontation in conflicts. Since family members rated conflict strategies of their dyadic partners, all measures within these analyses came from a single respondent. For example, children's

reports about the relationships with their mothers were used to predict their mothers' conflict confrontation, which was also reported by the children. In the regression analyses based on cross-reports, each family member's views about their relationship with a parent-child dyadic partner were used to predict their own conflict confrontation as reported by the corresponding dyadic partner. For example, children's reports about relationships with their mothers were used to predict children's own conflict confrontation with their mothers (as per mothers' reports).

The third step in each analysis included the interactions between culture (i.e., two contrast codes) with egalitarian warmth and power assertion. This step assessed whether associations between family relationships and family members' use of confrontational conflict strategies differed for the three cultural groups. In line with Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken's (2003) suggestions, the predictor variables from the second step were centered. Simple slope tests were used to analyze the significance of the interactions found. These tests evaluated the association between the cultural group contrast variables (independent variables) and the dyadic partner's confrontation in conflicts (dependent variable) at high (one SD above the mean) and low (one SD below the mean) levels of the relationship variables.

Results

Cultural Differences in Parent-child Relationships and Conflict Behaviors

Separate analyses of variance were conducted to examine differences between the three cultures with respect to each aspect of parent-child relations and conflict strategies used by a dyadic partner. These were followed by Tukey HSD post-hoc comparisons to pinpoint specific differences (See Table 2). In general, Chinese children reported that their parents used more confrontational conflict strategies and that parent-child relationships showed less egalitarian warmth than was found in the other two cultural groups; for confrontational strategies, $F(2, 93) = 9.91$, $p<.001$, and $F(2, 86) = 6.08$, $p<.003$, and for egalitarian warmth, $F(2, 93) = 9.10$, $p<.001$ and $F(2, 86) = 7.28$, $p<.001$, for reports on relationships with mothers and fathers respectively. Chinese children reported that their mothers used more power assertion in relationships with them than the Eastern European children did, $F(2, 93) = 3.07$, $p<.051$. Eastern European mothers reported that their children used fewer confrontational conflict strategies than their European-Canadian counterparts, $F(2, 93) = 8.12$, $p<.001$, and reported greater egalitarian warmth in parent-child relationships than their Chinese counterparts, $F(2, 93) = 5.85$, $p<.004$. In addition, Chinese fathers reported that they used more power assertion than did European-Canadian fathers $F(2, 81) = 3.22$, $p<.05$.

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations for Measures of Parent-Child Relationships

Respondent	Conflict Confrontation	Egalitarian Warmth	Power Assertion
Children about mothers *(N=96)*			
Chinese	1.48 (.50)[1]	3.65 (.60)[1]	2.70 (.78)[1]
Eastern European	1.04 (.45)[2]	4.13 (.42)[2]	2.31 (.51)[2]
European-Canadian	1.01 (.47)[2]	4.09 (.44)[2]	2.62 (.68)
Children about fathers *(N=89)*			
Chinese	1.50 (.50)[1]	3.51 (.69)[1]	2.65 (.74)
Eastern European	1.07 (.56)[2]	3.99 (.54)[2]	2.50 (.68)
European-Canadian	1.09 (.54)[2]	4.03 (.52)[2]	2.50 (.91)
Mothers *(N=96)*			
Chinese	1.35 (.41)	3.96 (.46)[1]	3.03 (.55)
Eastern European	1.09 (.55)[1]	4.31 (.39)[2]	2.95 (.58)
European-Canadian	1.57 (.44)[2]	4.19 (.34)	2.71 (.68)
Fathers *(N=84)*			
Chinese	1.45 (.47)	3.92 (.43)	3.06 (.51)[1]
Eastern European	1.34 (.50)	4.16 (.46)	2.98 (.48)
European-Canadian	1.60 (.54)	3.99 (.36)	2.68 (.75)[2]

Note. [1] and [2] denote significant differences between groups

Correlational Analyses. Correlational analyses were conducted to examine associations between the variables included in the regression analyses. (See Table 3).

Table 3. Correlations between Parent-Child Relationships and Conflict Confrontation.

Children's reports about relationship with their mothers (N = 96)	1	2	3
1. Egalitarian warmth (EW)	-		.
2. Power assertion (PA)	-.13	-	
3. Mothers' confrontation in conflicts with children (children's reports)	-.68**	.38**	-
4. Children's confrontation in conflicts with mothers (mothers' reports)	-.21*	.26*	.08

Mothers' reports about relationship with their children (N = 96)	1	2	3
1. Egalitarian warmth (EW)	-		
2. Power assertion (PA)	.09	-	
3. Children's confrontation in conflicts with mothers (mothers' reports)	- .53**	.13	-
4. Mothers' confrontation in conflicts with children (children's reports)	-.34**	.19†	.08

Children's reports about relationship with their fathers (N = 89)	1	2	3
1. Egalitarian warmth (EW)	-		
2. Power assertion (PA)	.07	-	
3. Fathers' confrontation in conflicts with children (children's reports)	- .60**	.33**	-
4. Children's conflict confrontation with fathers (fathers' reports, N=84)	-.20†	.21*	.16

Fathers' reports about relationship with their children (N = 84)	1	2	3
1. Egalitarian warmth (EW)	-		
2. Power assertion (PA)	-.15	-	
3. Children's confrontation in conflicts with fathers (fathers' reports)	- .54**	.31**	-
4. Fathers' confrontation in conflicts with children (children's reports)	-.31**	.17	.16

Note. †p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01; *** p<.001.

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Preliminary regression analyses were conducted to explore the potential effects of children's age and gender on children's and parents' confrontation in conflicts. These variables were not significant predictors of the dependent variables and therefore were excluded from the analyses.

Children's Confrontation in Conflicts with Mothers (see Table 4).

Prediction of children's confrontation in conflicts (mothers' reports) from mothers' reports of relationships with them (within-respondent analyses). The two contrast codes, representing cultural differences, accounted for 15% of the variance in children's confrontation in conflicts (mothers' reports), $F(2, 93) = 8.12$, $p<.001$. The CH-EECA contrast was not significant; however, the EE-CA distinction was significant, showing that the Eastern European children used fewer confrontational strategies in conflicts with their mothers than the European Canadian children. The mothers' reports of relationships with their children, entered as a second step, contributed significantly to the model, explaining additional 32% of the variance in the children's confrontation in conflicts, $\Delta F(2, 91) = 27.50$, $p<.001$, and increasing the predicting ability of the model up to 47%. Both mothers' perceptions of warm, egalitarian relations with their children and their use of less power assertive strategies made significant individual contributions to the model. With parent-child relations entered in the equation, the contrast between Chinese and the other two cultural groups (C1) became a significant predictor of children's confrontation in conflicts, likely indicating a suppression effect. When examining mean differences between the three cultural groups, the Chinese mothers reported lower levels of egalitarian warmth with their children than did the mothers from the other two cultural groups (see Table 2). There were no mean differences in reports of children's confrontation in conflicts with their mothers between

Chinese children and children in the other two groups (C1) when the egalitarian warmth was not

controlled. However, controlling for differences in egalitarian warmth and power assertion, the

Chinese children apparently showed less confrontation in conflicts with their mothers than those

in the other two groups.

Table 4. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Children's Confrontation in Conflicts as Reported by Mothers

Effect	Mother-Child Relationship: Mothers' reports			Mother-Child Relationship: Children's Reports		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Constant	3.67	3.66	3.62	3.67	3.67	3.69
R^2	.15***	.47***	.55***	.15***	.22***	.27***
ΔR^2		.32***	.08**		.07*	.05
MS_{error}(df)	.47(93)	.38(91)	.35(87)	.47(93)	.45(91)	.45(87)
Culture						
C1: CH - EE, CA	.02	-.20*	-.16*	.02	-.10	-.09
C2: EE– CA	-.39***	-.36***	-.32***	-.39***	-.34***	-.33**
Family Relations						
Egalitarian warmth		-.57***	-.56***		-.21*	-.21*
Power assertion		.26**	.26***		.18†	.12
Interactions						
C1 X EW			.10			-.06
C1 X PA			-.22**			.07
C2 X EW			-.21**			-.15
C2 X PA			.06			-.15

Note. †*p*<.10; *p*<.05; **p*<.01; *** *p*<.001.

The inclusion of the interactions in the model, as a third step, was associated with a significant increase of 8% in the amount of variance in the children's confrontation in conflicts explained by the model, $\Delta F(4, 87) = 3.90$, $p<.01$. The final model accounted for 55% of the variance in the dependent variable. All individual variables that made unique contributions in the second step preserved their significance in the final model. In the final model, two significant interactions emerged C1 X PA (C1 X Power Assertion), $\beta = -.22$, $p<.004$, and C2 X EW (C2 X Egalitarian Warmth), $\beta = -.21$, $p<.01$. Further exploration of the C1 X PA interaction revealed that in mothers' views both the Eastern European and the European Canadian children tended to use fewer confrontational strategies when their mothers used less power assertive strategies in relationships with them and to become significantly more confrontational negotiators when their mothers' controlling behavior increased, $B = .20$, $p<.05$. The reverse but less pronounced trend was found in the Chinese mothers' reports about their children, $B = -.15$, $p = ns$ (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Chinese versus Eastern European and European Canadian differences in the association between mothers' reports of children's conflict confrontation and perceptions of their own power assertion.

The second interaction in the model, C2 X EW showed that in mothers' views both the Eastern European and the European Canadian children tend to use significantly less confrontational conflict strategies when the relationships with their mothers were warmer and more egalitarian, $B = -.43$, $p<.001$, for the Eastern European respondents, and, $B = -.17$, $p<.05$, for the European Canadian respondents (see Figure 2).
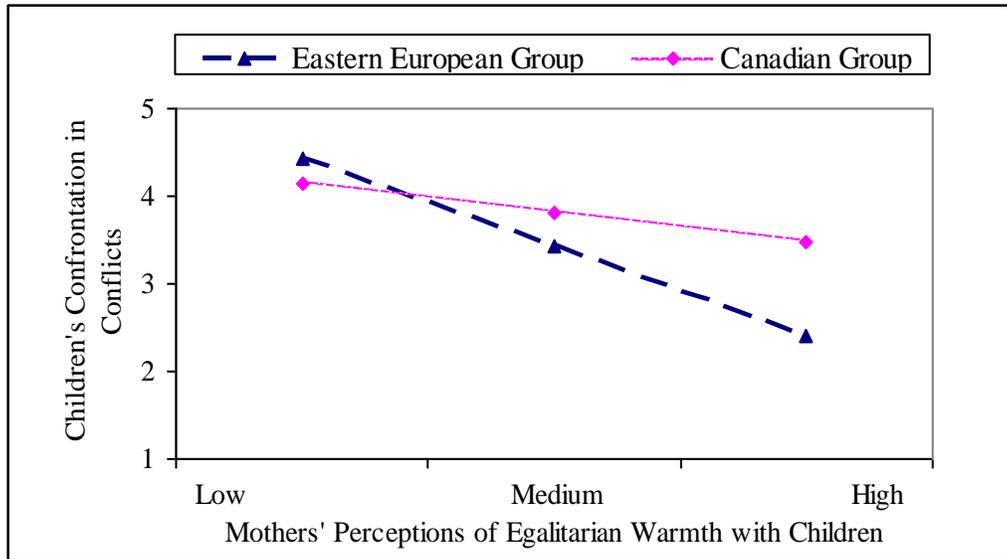
Figure 2. Eastern European versus European Canadian differences in the association between mothers' reports of children's conflict confrontation and perceptions of the egalitarian warmth in mother-child relationships.

Prediction of children's confrontation in conflicts (mothers' reports) from children's reports of relationships with their mothers (between-respondent analyses). The children's perceptions of relationships with their mothers, entered as a second step, contributed significantly to the model, $\Delta R = .07$, $\Delta F(2, 91) = 4.37$, $p<.02$. The individual contribution of egalitarian warmth was significant, and that of the power assertion marginally significant indicating that there was a tendency for children who experience relationships with their mothers as warm and egalitarian and their mothers' behavior as less controlling to use less confrontational strategies in conflicts with them. None of the interactions, entered at step 3, was significant.

Children's Confrontation in Conflicts with Fathers (see Table 5).

      Prediction of children's confrontation in conflicts (fathers' reports) from fathers' reports of relationships with them (within-respondent analyses). The joint contribution of the two contrast codes, entered as a first step in the models did not make a significant contribution to predicting children's conflict confrontation with fathers (fathers' reports), although the contribution of C2, representing the EE-CA distinction, was significant showing that the Eastern European children were rated by their fathers as being less confrontational in father-child conflicts than the European Canadian children. When fathers' reports of relationships with their children were added in the second step, the two relationships variables made a significant joint contribution, $\Delta F(2, 79) = 24.11$, $p<.001$, accounting for 36% of the variance in the dependent variable. Similarly to the mothers' reports, the fathers' perceptions of more egalitarian warmth and less power assertion significantly predicted their children's use of less confrontation in conflicts. None of the interactions, entered at step 3, was significant.

      Prediction of children's confrontation in conflicts (fathers' reports) from children's reports of relationships with their fathers (between-respondent analyses). The children's reports of relationships with their fathers, entered as a second step, accounted for 11% of the variance in children's conflict confrontation, $\Delta F(2, 80) = 5.35$, $p<.01$, and both egalitarian warmth and power assertion were significant predictors. The interactions terms, entered as a third step, did not make significant joint contribution to the model.

Table 5. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Children's Confrontation in Conflicts as Reported by Fathers

Effect	Father-Child Relationship: Fathers' Reports			Father-Child Relationship: Children's Reports		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Constant	3.54	3.54	3.53	3.54	3.54	3.54
R^2	.05	.41***	.43***	.05	.16**	.22**
ΔR^2		.36***	.02		.11**	.06
$MS_{error}(df)$	.50(81)	.40(79)	.41(75)	.51(82)	.48(80)	.47(76)
Culture						
C1: CH - EE, CA	-.02	-.15†	-.17†	-.04	-.15	-.15
C2: EE– CA	-.22*	-.19*	-.18†	-.21*	-.22*	-.16
Family Relations						
Egalitarian warmth		-.49***	-.47***		-.28*	-.29*
Power assertion		.31***	.35**		.25*	.19†
Interactions						
C1 X EW			.04			-.01
C1 X PA			.07			-.05
C2 X EW			-.12			-.19†
C2 X PA			-.01			-.14

Note. †$p<.10$; *$p<.05$; **$p<.01$; *** $p<.001$.

Mothers' Confrontation in Conflicts with Children (see Table 6).

Prediction of mothers' confrontation in conflicts (children's reports) from children's reports of relationships with them (within-respondent analyses). The two contrast codes, entered as a first step, predicted 17% of the variance in mothers' confrontation in conflicts (children's reports), $F(2, 93) = 9.91$, $p<.001$. As expected, C1 emerged as a significant predictor, suggesting a CH-EECA distinction in mothers' confrontation in conflicts. The Eastern European and European Canadian mothers were less confrontational and thus more accommodating with their children in conflicts than the Chinese mothers. C2 did not make a significant contribution to the model. The relationship variables, entered as a second step, made a significant joint contribution of 40% in predicting the dependent variable, $\Delta F(2, 91) = 42.01$, $p<.001$; together with the two contrast codes, they accounted for 57% in the mothers' confrontation in conflicts. Both less egalitarian warmth and more power assertion significantly contributed in predicting the mothers' use of more confrontational strategies with their children. With the variables from the second step, the individual contribution of C1 became weaker, suggesting a mediation effect. The interaction terms did not contribute to explaining further variance. Regression analyses were conducted to test the mediation effect of each of the relationship variables (as reported by children). First, regression analysis was conducted in which culture predicted egalitarian warmth with mothers (as per children's reports). Second regression analysis was conducted to predict the mothers' confrontation in conflicts by culture and egalitarian warmth. As shown in Figure 3, the egalitarian warmth with mothers (as per children's reports) was found to mediate partially the impact of cultural differences on mothers' confrontation in conflicts. The Sobel test of mediation yielded significant partial mediation effect, $z = 3.67$, $p<.0002$. Power assertion was not found to have mediating effect.
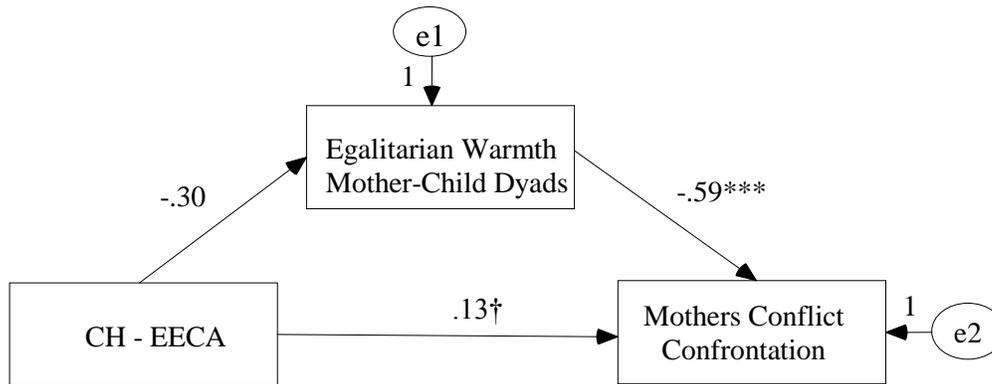
Figure 3. Egalitarian warmth as a mediator of cultural differences in predicting mothers' confrontation in conflicts (children's reports).

Prediction of mothers' confrontation in conflicts (children's reports) from mothers' reports of relationships with their children (between-respondent analyses). Mothers' reports about relationships with their children made a significant contribution of 8% in predicting mothers' confrontation in conflicts, $\Delta F(2, 91) = 4.52$, $p<.02$, over and above that of the variables from the first step. Mothers' reports of egalitarian warmth with their children as well as power assertion emerged as significant predictors of the mothers' conflict confrontation. The interactions, entered as a third step, were marginally significant; however, there was only one individually significant interaction, C1 X EW, showing that for higher levels of warm and egalitarian mother-child relations (as per their mothers' reports), the Chinese children perceived their mothers as less confrontational in conflicts with them, $B = -.31$, $p<.01$ (See Figure 4). For the mothers in the other two cultural groups of European origin, their perceptions of warm and egalitarian relations with their children did not predict children's perceptions of their mothers using less confrontational conflict strategies, $B = .01$, $p< ns$.
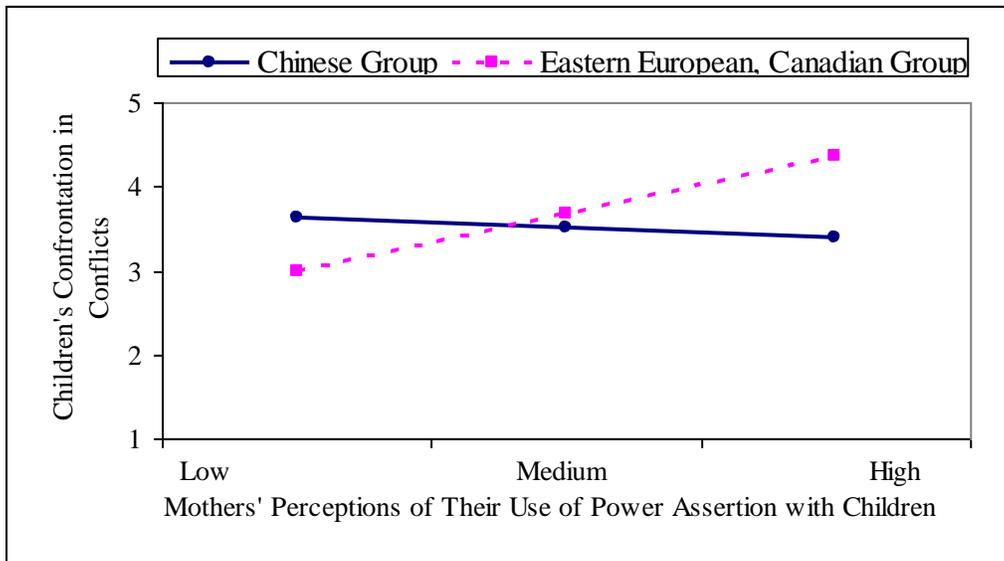
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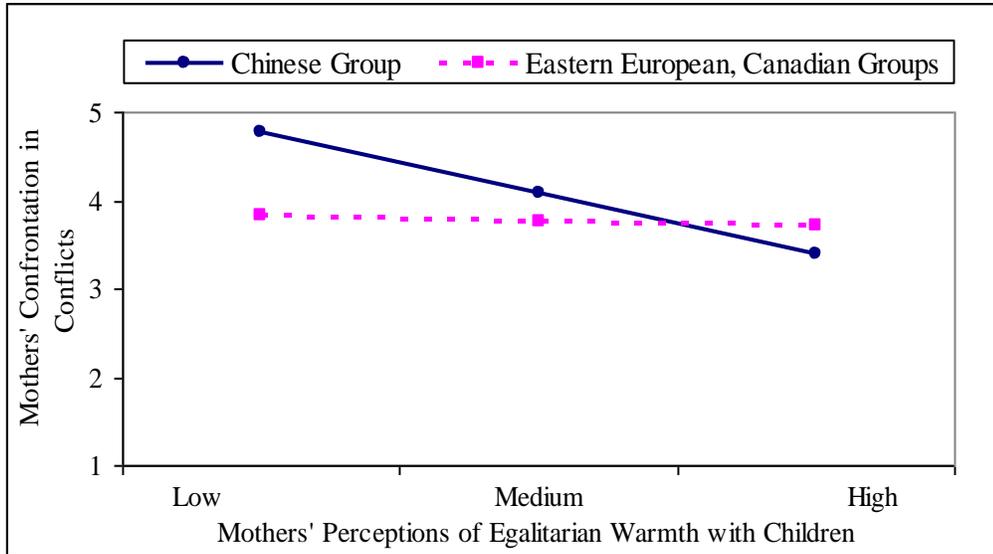
Figure 4. Chinese versus Eastern European and European Canadian differences in the association between children's reports of mothers' confrontational strategies and mothers' reports of egalitarian warmth in mother-child relationships.

Table 6. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Mothers' Confrontation in Conflicts as Reported by Children.

Effect	Mother-Child Relationship: Children's Reports			Mother-Child Relationship: Mothers' Reports		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Constant	3.82	3.82	3.81	3.82	3.82	3.87
R^2	.17***	.57***	.58***	.17***	.25***	.32***
ΔR^2		.40***	.01		.08*	.07†
$MS_{error}(df)$	.47(93)	.35(91)	.35(87)	.47(93)	.46(91)	.45(87)
Culture						
C1: CH - EE, CA	.42***	.13†	.14†	.42***	.31**	.28**
C2: EE– CA	.03	.10	.11	.03	.03	.00
Family Relations						
Egalitarian warmth		-.59***	-.61***		-.26**	-.22*
Power assertion		.30***	.31***		.16*	.18†
Interactions						
C1 X EW			.07			-.25*
C1 X PA			.00			.01
C2 X EW			-.02			.04
C2 X PA			.02			.08

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05; ***p*<.01; *** *p*<.001.

Fathers' Confrontation in Conflicts with Children (see Table 7).

Prediction of fathers' confrontation in conflicts (children's reports) from children's reports of relationships with them (within-respondent analyses). The two contrast codes, entered as a first step in the models predicting fathers' confrontation in conflicts from children's perspectives of relationships with one another was significant, $R^2 = .12$, $F(2, 86) = 6.08$, $p<.003$. C1 was a significant predictor, $\beta = .35$, $p<.001$, suggesting that the fathers from European origins (EE and CA groups) were less confrontational and more accommodating in conflicts with their children than the Chinese fathers. The children's reports about relationships with their fathers, entered as a second step, were significant, accounting for an additional 38% of the variance in the dependent variable, $\Delta F(2, 84) = 32.39$, $p<.001$. Both more egalitarian warmth and less power assertion made significant individual contributions in explaining fathers' confrontation in conflicts. With the second order variables entered in the model, the contribution of C1 was no longer significant, suggesting a mediation effect (See Figure 5). Regression analyses were conducted to test the mediation effect of each of the relationship variables (as reported by children). First, regression analysis was conducted in which culture predicted egalitarian warmth with fathers (as per children's reports). Second regression analysis was conducted to predict the fathers' confrontation in conflicts by culture and egalitarian warmth. As shown in Figure 5, the egalitarian warmth with fathers (as per children's reports) was found to mediate partially the impact of cultural differences on fathers' confrontation in conflicts. The Sobel test of mediation yielded significant partial mediation effect, $z = 3.25$, $p<.001$. Power assertion was not found to have mediating effect. The interactions, entered as a third step, were not significant.
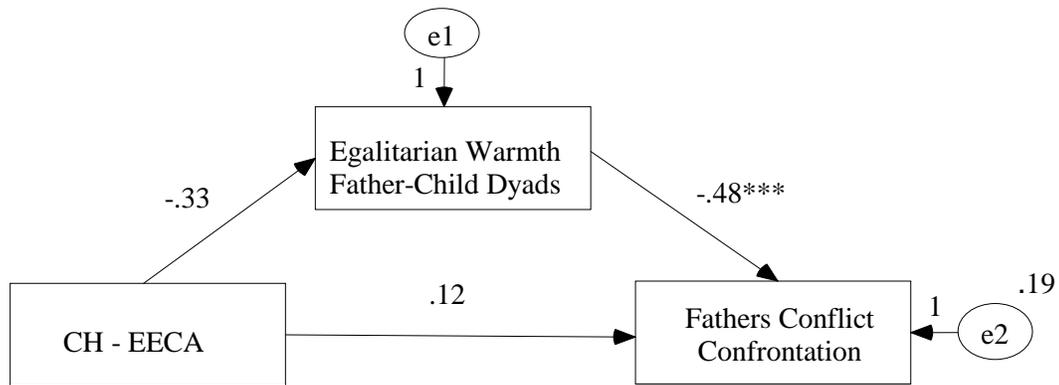
Figure 5. Egalitarian warmth as a mediator of cultural differences in predicting fathers' confrontation in conflicts (children's reports).

Prediction of fathers' confrontation in conflicts (children's reports) from fathers' reports of relationships with their children (between-respondent analyses). Fathers' reports about their relationships with their children made a significant contribution to the prediction of fathers' confrontation in conflicts, accounting for 7% of the variance over and above that of the contrast codes entered as a first step, $\Delta F(2, 79) = 3.56$, $p<.04$. The father's perceptions of egalitarian warmth with their children made a significant individual contribution, whereas their controlling behavior was not significant. The joint contribution of the interactions was not significant.

Table 7. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Fathers' Confrontation in Conflicts as Reported by Children

Effect	Father-Child Relationship: Children's Reports			Father-Child Relationship: Fathers' Reports		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Constant	3.78	3.78	3.76	3.78	3.79	3.80
R^2	.12**	.50***	.51***	.10*	.17**	.22**
ΔR^2		.38***	.01		.07*	.05
MS_{error}(df)	.53(86)	.40(84)	.41(80)	.54(81)	.52(79)	.52(75)
Culture						
C1: CH - EE, CA	.35***	.10	.10	.32**	.27*	.22*
C2: EE– CA	.01	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.01	-.01
Family Relations						
Egalitarian warmth		-.59***	-.60***		-.25*	-.25*
Power assertion		.37***	.38***		.09	.05
Interactions						
C1 X EW			.07			-.12
C1 X PA			.04			.14
C2 X EW			.03			.05
C2 X PA			.01			-.16

Note. †$p<.10$; *$p<.05$; **$p<.01$; *** $p<.001$.

Discussion

By considering common trends across cultural groups, the emphasis in this study differed from that in other studies of parent-child conflicts. Researchers focused on investigating cultural differences in various aspects of parent-child conflict may fail to recognize the existence of striking cross-cultural similarities. The findings from the present study revealed similar trends in the children's and parents' reports across the three cultural groups. I first examined cultural differences in the variables studied.

Cultural Differences in Parent-child Relationships and Conflict Behaviors

Children's and parents' reports confirmed my hypotheses to different extents. As expected, the Eastern European and the European Canadian children perceived the relationships with their parents as more egalitarian and warm and viewed their parents as more accommodating in conflicts with them than the Chinese children did. Moreover, the Eastern European children perceived their mothers as less power assertive than the Chinese children did. These findings are consistent with findings from other cross-cultural studies. Studies have demonstrated that the middle class parents of European origin were more likely to endorse democratic style of interaction with their children (Wu et al., 2002) and to encourage their children's autonomous exploration in new situations (Liu et al., 2005) than Chinese parents. As well, North American parents of European origin tend to provide more reasoning about social rules and norms, and involve their children in family decision making by encouraging them to express freely their opinions and to make individual choices. European American parents also tend to engage in reciprocal prosocial interactions with their children, and to reinforce their expression and discussion of their feelings (Chao, 1995; Leichtman, Wang, & Pillemer, 2003). In contrast, parents from Asian cultures are less likely to display and socialize expression of

emotions and more likely to exert power in relationships with their children than families from Western cultures (Chao, 1995; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Wu et. al., 2002). Similarly to their children, the Eastern European parents reported higher levels of egalitarian warmth with them than the Chinese parents reported about their children. These findings provide further support for the democratic tendencies in parent-child relations that have been found in studies with teachers and educated caregivers in Russia (Ispa, 2002; Williams & Ispa, 1999).

Contrary to my expectations and to their children's reports, the European Canadian and Chinese parents did not differ in relations to their perceptions of levels of warmth and egalitarian relations with their children. As well, they reported comparable levels of their children's confrontation. Across studies, the Chinese children have traditionally shown compliance and deference to their parents' requests, who, in turn, tend to use high levels of power assertion in parent-child relations (Ho, 1986). Therefore, I expected that the Chinese parents' reports would portray their children as less confrontational in conflicts with them than the parents from the other two groups. It is possible that immigrant Chinese parents have been under the influence of models of parenting behaviors in Canada, which might have contributed to similarity to their European Canadian counterparts' conceptualization of the relations with their children as well as to their expectations of their children's behavior in conflicts with them. The Chinese children, on the other hand, being immersed into the Canadian culture through their education, may have learned that assertion in their goals is a valued behavioral attribute and may not have been as compliant as they would if they were back in their native country. Moreover, some studies suggest that East Asian adolescents living in North America may report less mutual warmth and democratic relations with their parents, since they have a basis for comparisons in their

experience of parent-adolescent communication with their North American counterparts (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990; Wu & Chao, 2005). Therefore, one possible explanation for the cultural differences found in the children's reports would also be that the Chinese children may have reported lower levels of mutual warmth and egalitarian relations with their parents than the children from the other two cultural groups, as they may have made inadvertently comparisons by virtue of their daily exposure to European Canadian parent-child interactions at school.

As expected, the Chinese fathers reported significantly more power assertive behaviors with their children than the European Canadian fathers. The Eastern European fathers' views on this variable did not differ significantly from those of the fathers from the other two cultural groups. These findings are in line with the findings from cross-cultural studies where the Chinese parents were found to endorse higher levels of authoritarian parenting style than the North American parents (Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Wu et. al., 2002). Other studies portray Chinese fathers as asserting discipline at home and reinforcing children's obedience to authority (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Ho, 1986). However, in this study there were no cultural differences in children's reports about their fathers' power assertive behaviors. The discrepancies in the reports of the Chinese and the European Canadian children and fathers regarding fathers' power assertive behaviors may be due to differences in respondents' conceptualizations of this relationship quality. For example, the questionnaire used in the study did not include questions about specific punishment strategies being used by parents for children's misbehaviors. Therefore, it may not have captured precisely the power assertive practices being endorsed by the parents and more particularly by fathers. Whereas children may not perceive general statements about their parents' controlling behaviors as strong indicators of power assertion, fathers may more easily summarize their views of the power balance in parent-child dyads.

Further research needs to establish whether children's reports of parenting controlling behaviors may be influenced by the nature of the questions, that is, more general statements versus specific examples of parental power assertion. In addition, as some studies suggest, parents may conceptualize some relationship qualities differently than their children do (Tein, Roosa, & Michaels, 1994).

Common Trends in Parent-child Relationships across the Three Cultural Groups

As expected, in all models the parent-child relationships variables jointly predicted each family member's confrontation in conflicts over and above that of the cultural influences in both the self- and the cross-reports. In all models, higher levels of egalitarian warmth predicted greater accommodation and less confrontation in conflicts by both parents and children. Similarly, more power assertive parenting strategies were associated with higher levels of confrontation across individual and shared perspectives in all but one analysis: Fathers' confrontation in conflicts with children (as per the children's reports) was not related to fathers' views of their use of power assertion. Although the regression analyses were focused on prediction of confrontation in conflict, the correlations observed could also be interpreted in the opposite direction. That is, the quality of negotiation may also be considered as having an influence on the warmth and egalitarianism within the parent-child relations. The findings from Part 1 are similar to studies conducted with families within a single cultural group. Using observational measures, Rueter and Conger (1995) reported similar relationships between warm and supportive parent-adolescent interactions and adolescents' effective negotiation with their parents during disagreements with them. Studies of family relations in Chinese families have found that less parental power assertion in parent-adolescent relationships is related to greater

cohesiveness in their relations (Lau & Cheung, 1987), and, correspondingly, less intensity in their conflicts (Yau & Smetana, 1996).

Further, studies conducted with adolescents have found small to modest associations between the aspects of quality of parent-child relationships and parent-child disagreements (Adams & Laursen, 2007; Fuligni, 1998; Greenberger, Chen, Tally, & Dong, 2000). The present study provided evidence of stronger associations, thus suggesting that the interrelations between core aspects of parent-child relationships are more powerful in preadolescence than in adolescence (Greenberger & Chen, 1996). More specifically, these results reveal that in preadolescence, where children are still dependent on their parents, parent-child egalitarian and warm relations appear to play a prominent role in parent-child disagreements. In addition, the present study demonstrated strong links between the quality of parent-child relations and conflict negotiation across families from three cultural groups with preadolescent children, thereby providing strong evidence of the generality of those relations. Thus, both children and parents from recent immigrant families from China, Eastern Europe and families of European Canadian descent share similar views on what factors in their relations affect their collaboration versus confrontation in resolving parent-child disagreements. As noted in the Method section, one of the weaknesses of Part 1 is that there is some remaining overlap in one measure that might also contribute to stronger associations between the variables than are found in studies of adolescents. However, it is noteworthy that the one overlapping item is between conflict strategies and power assertion measures, and that the strongest relations found in the current study were between conflict strategies and egalitarian warmth.

Self-reports tend to yield inflated relations between variables (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, & Papp, 2003). Therefore, I examined the strength of relationships between the quality of

negotiation and the quality of parent-child relations from both individual (self-reports) and shared (cross-reports) perspectives. Indeed, the self-reports yielded stronger associations between the parent-child relationship variables and reports of confrontation in conflicts in the present study, thus indicating inflated relations when only one family member reported on parent-child relationships. However, these results may also demonstrate that from each family member's subjective perspective, there were strong patterns of associations between the variables examined. Additionally, associations between relationship qualities and confrontation in conflicts held based on reports by different members of each parent-child dyad. One important finding of this study is that in all three cultural groups, both children's and parents' levels of confrontation in conflicts (as reported by their corresponding parent-child dyadic partner) were negatively associated with their own perceptions of the quality of their relationships. These results likely show that both within- and between-respondent analyses yield similar associations among several important relationship qualities and thus show similar trends in the organization of parent-child relationships from both individual and shared perspectives. Thus, consistent associations were found that transcend the reports of a single type of respondent.

Furthermore, few interactions between culture and the general patterns of associations between family relationships and ineffective negotiation in conflicts were found. Two significant interactions in the mothers' reports revealed two conditions under which children's conflict behaviors are likely to change. The first interaction showed that according to Eastern European and European Canadian mothers' views, the increases in their controlling behaviors powerfully increases their children's confrontation in conflicts with them. Thus, the mothers from the two groups of European origin perceive their children's conflict behaviors as more positive when they feel that they are less constraining and less power assertive in the relationships with them. As per

the Chinese mothers' views, their power assertion was associated with a small and not significant decrease of their children's confrontation in conflicts with them. These results are in line with findings from other cross-cultural studies, which suggest that in collectivistic cultures parents' controlling behavior is not necessarily related to negative outcomes in children (Leung, Chang, & Lai, 2004; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). In contrast, in more individualistic societies, such as North America, and Europe, authoritarian parenting is not normative and is found to be associated with various behavior problems in children (Lindahl & Malik, 1999). In the current study, such relationships were found to hold within mothers' perceptions only; in other words, Chinese mothers perceive that their controlling behavior is unrelated to their children's confrontation whereas European mothers appear to make such connections.

The second interaction revealed that Eastern European and European Canadian mothers perceived their children as less confrontational in conflicts when the relationships with them were warmer and more egalitarian. This tendency was stronger in the reports of Eastern European mothers than in the reports of the European Canadian mothers. Recent studies with Russian caregivers suggest that democratic parenting, which places less emphasis on conformity and encourages more individualistic behaviors such as autonomy and self-assertion, is highly valued by educated parents in contemporary Russia (Ispa, 2002; Williams & Ispa, 1999). Indeed, in the present study both parents and children in Eastern European families reported similar levels of warm and egalitarian relations with one another as did their European Canadian born counterparts. Therefore, Eastern European mothers may believe that their children become more reactive in conflicts when parents attempt to limit their independence. Furthermore, the Eastern European mothers' sensitivity to the degree of egalitarianism and mutual affection in the relations with their children may also be related to their immigrant status. The first years of

adaptation to a new country are found to be stressful for immigrant families (Reitz & Somerville, 2004). From a bi-directional perspective, immigrant parents who are also facing the challenges of adapting to a new country may be especially sensitive to the added stress of their children's confrontation in conflicts with them. Therefore, mothers' own feelings of warmth may depend on the support they perceive receiving from their own children. It should be noted that these two interactions are based on within-respondent analyses of mothers' reports of their relationships with their children (subjective perceptions of relationships) and were not found in the between-respondent analyses, which present more objective accounts of relationships. This finding confirmed my expectation that subjective perspectives of relationships are likely to be strong and biased. As well, mothers are known to carry out a cultural heritage and to pass it onto their children (Chao, 1995). Thus, the mothers in this study are likely to hold views of family relationships that are more culturally dependent than the views of the fathers and their children.

Another interesting finding of the present study was the interaction showing that the Chinese mothers' collaboration in conflicts with their children (children's reports) was positively associated with mothers' own perceptions of warm and egalitarian relations with them. This association was not significant for the mothers from the other two cultural groups. The Chinese mothers who reported parenting attitudes that were less traditional for their culture, that is, who reported the relationships with their children as more equal and affectionate, were more accommodating in disagreements with their children than the Chinese mothers who reported lower levels of this relationship quality. This finding extends knowledge from other studies that show that the children's conformity in such families is related to the authoritarian context set by the parents (Ho, 1986; Wu et. al., 2002). Further, this finding is in line with more recent studies that suggest intra-group variability in parenting styles within Chinese families. These studies

have found that authoritative parenting styles do exist in Chinese cultures (Chen et al., 2000), and that this parenting style is positively associated with children's effortful control and social functioning (Zhou, Eisenberg, Wang, & Reiser, 2004). On the other hand, the Eastern European and the European Canadian mothers were more accommodating in conflicts with their children (as per their children's reports) than the Chinese mothers, and therefore, more likely to help their children assert their goals. This parenting approach, being normative in families of European origin, may not necessarily be associated with mothers' feelings of warmth and their egalitarian approach to their children.

Children's self reports about relationships with their parents and their parents' conflict behaviors yielded two mediation effects. In the children's reports about both mothers and fathers, the ability of C1 (CH-EECA) to predict each parent's confrontation in conflicts weakened substantially when the relationship variables were included in the model. In their own views, the children from all groups do not differ in their perceptions of their parents' confrontation in conflicts, if they felt that the relationships with their parents were equal and warm. Although these findings were generated from children's self-reports, they provide information about the relations between their views of quality of their parents' negotiation in conflicts and the quality of relationships with them. Overall, the children's reports were more often consistent with our hypotheses as well as findings from other studies examining either parents' or adolescents' views: across the three cultural groups, more egalitarian and warm parent-child relations and less parental power assertion were associated with parents' lower confrontation and greater accommodation in conflicts. These results suggest that preadolescent children conceptualize and evaluate the relationships with their parents similarly to their parents and as reliably as adolescents.

Conclusion

The results of this study demonstrate that several factors play a role in children's and parents' conflict behaviors. First, the quality of parent-child relations according to both children's and parents' reports predicted their confrontational conflict behaviors in self- and cross- reports over and above the influences of cultural differences. Only a few interactions between culture and measures of parent-child relations were found and they presented mothers' subjective views of relationships with their children. These results suggest that there are general principles governing the dynamics of parent-child conflicts that transcend culturally specific socialization styles and that the acculturation stress which recent immigrant families are likely to experience does not seem to disrupt the quality of parent-child relations. Namely, it appears that more confrontational parent-child conflicts in the perceptions of both children and parents are related to lower levels of feelings of mutual warmth and egalitarian communications and more controlling parenting practices.

PART 2

Associations between the Quality of Parent-Child Relationships and English Knowledge in

Recent Immigrant Families from China and Eastern Europe

Introduction

Recent research suggests that acculturation is a multidimensional process that occurs at several levels within individuals (Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005; Costigan & Sue, 2004): behavior (e.g., language use, daily routines), cultural identity (e.g., subjective perceptions of belonging to a cultural group) and cultural values (e.g., beliefs associated with family obligations and moral societal norms). Studies of acculturation have demonstrated that family members experience transformations in their value systems, behaviors and lifestyles to different extents, as a result of their immersion into a new cultural environment (Berry, 2003; Birman, 2005; Farver, Narang, Bhadha & Bakhtawar, 2002). Generally, individuals who are younger adapt to a new culture at a faster rate than older individuals (Veltman, 1988). Immigrant children very rapidly become immersed into the new cultural environment through their school involvement, which makes it natural for them to acquire and spontaneously use the language and behaviors of the host culture. Immigrant adults, on the other hand, traditionally show a preference for and are more likely to retain their native language, customs and behavior (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Liebkind, 1996). Typically, they face challenges to their integration into the host society due to their initial unemployment, lack of professional experience in the host country, or difficulties establishing the equivalence of their education (Reitz & Somerville, 2004). Moreover, immigrant adults tend to seek and maintain contacts with other families from the same ethnic group in order to receive their comfort and support (Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan 2005). Therefore, immigrant parents' exposure to a variety of social situations in the new culture is often partial, which hinders their development of versatile communicative competence in the host language.

As a result of children's and parents' differential exposure to various aspects of the host culture, an acculturation gap may emerge which may have consequences for parent-child

relations (Farver et al., 2002; Fillmore, 1991; Rumbaut, 1994). Acculturation differences between younger and older members of immigrant families have been widely studied in relatively advanced stages of their settlement in a new country. In Part 2, I examined the associations between children's and parents' English knowledge and the quality of parent-child relationships in the early stages of their adaptation to Canada. I build upon the existing literature by bringing new elements into the research focus and design.

First, Part 2 focuses on the quality of parent child relations in recent immigrant families. Most studies have included immigrant participants who are both first generation immigrants (born in their native countries) or second generation immigrants (born in the host country). Hence, fewer studies have evaluated the early phases of families' acculturation to a new country (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Tardif & Geva, 2006). Immigrant families are more likely to assimilate and integrate into the new culture as a function of their longer residence in the host culture (Berry, 2003; Portes & Schaufler, 1994). Recent immigrant families face different challenges in adapting to a new cultural environment than families who have lived in the host country for more than a decade. Families with children experience high levels of acculturation stress during the first years of immigration, as they need to overcome various challenges such as finding adequate employment for parents and appropriate school for children, establishing new social networks, making changes in their lifestyles and daily routines, and so on (Reitz & Somerville, 2004). In the first years of settlement in a new country, knowledge of the host language plays a prominent role, as it is the main tool through which immigrants accomplish these adaptation tasks. At the same time, the host language enables immigrants to learn the norms, values and behaviors of the host culture, and develop their new cultural identity. In other words, acquiring the language of the host country is generally a gateway to re-establishing

immigrant families' lifestyle and economic security in a new country. Immigrant parents who have sufficient knowledge of the host language could be at an advantage because they could deal more successfully with all adaptation tasks which their family needs to resolve. In contrast, immigrant parents whose knowledge of English is poor may experience major communication difficulties with their children (Fillmore, 1991; Rumbaut, 1994). To date, little is known about whether adopting the host language is a central element of parent-child acculturation gaps in the earliest stages of families' adaptation to a new culture. Thus, this study examines whether parents' knowledge of English in the first years of immigration will be related their ability to effectively fulfill their parental role and on their relationships with their preadolescent children. As well, it evaluates associations between parents' and children's knowledge, children's preference for using English at home and quality of their relationships.

Second, this study targets immigrant families with preadolescent children. Most studies have evaluated aspects of acculturation in families with adolescents. In adolescence, the power balance of parent-child relationships is transformed: parental control weakens and the adolescents' independence and their engagement in extrafamilial relations and activities increase (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998). Thus, parent-child acculturation differences may become apparent during adolescence as a function of normative processes of individuation characterizing this developmental period (Rosenthal, 1984; Tardiff & Geva, 2006).

Preadolescent children are generally dependent on their parents in a multitude of ways and report higher levels of warmth with their parents than do adolescents (Shanahan, McHale, Osgood, & Crouter, 2007). Parents of preadolescents also are likely to provide higher levels of support and guidance to their children with respect to their school, friends and extracurricular activities than parents of adolescents. Recent immigrant families with preadolescent children

face unique challenges because they experience major transitions from one cultural world to another for the whole family.

Third, I interviewed immigrant families with preadolescent children from two cultural groups: China and Eastern Europe. Immigrants from these countries represent two major cultural groups of immigrants to Canada in the past ten years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). While immigrant families with adolescents from Asian countries have been widely studied in Canada (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Lee & Chen, 2000; Tardif & Geva, 2006), the current literature lacks studies with recent immigrant Chinese and Eastern European families with younger children. Having two immigrant groups with distinct cultural histories allowed me to explore common trends of associations between children's and parents' knowledge of English and quality of their relationships as well as to determine if patterns of adaptation differ between these cultures.

Fourth, in the present study, I sampled children's and parents' views on their relationships with one another, and their dyadic partner's conflict behavior. I also asked the participants to report their own level of English proficiency and to indicate the English proficiency of their parent-child dyadic partner. This methodology is in line with design of recent studies on acculturation processes within immigrant families (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Kwak & Berry, 2001), which objectively assessed various aspects of acculturation by including independent reports from different members of the immigrant family. Other studies have investigated parent-child relationship qualities by using one informant, either an adolescent or a parent (Fuligni, 1998; Yau & Smetana, 1996), or by employing observational measures of parent-adolescent interactions (Rueter & Conger, 1995). However, few studies evaluate both preadolescent children's and their parents' views on various aspects of their relationships with one another

during the first years of their settlement in a new country. Using reports from both children and parents allowed me to examine their individual perceptions of the quality of parent-child relationships within each parent-child dyad and to relate these to perceived English language abilities. Three major relationship qualities were examined: warm and egalitarian parent-child relations, parental power assertion, and confrontation in conflicts.

Egalitarian Warmth

Studies have shown that some immigrant children may reject their ethnic language and turn to the mainstream language in order to "fit" into their new social group (Portes & Schaufler, 1994; Rumbaut, 1994). In comparison, immigrant children and adolescents who preserve their native culture and use their native language experience greater cohesion and support and less conflict in their relationships with their parents. Interestingly, similar findings have been reported for immigrant adolescents from Chinese, Vietnamese, and Russian backgrounds that were residing in the United States and Australia (Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Nguyen, Messe, & Stollak, 1999; Portes & Hao, 2002; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). In sum, studies collectively suggest that adolescents' maintenance of their cultural heritage and native language is associated with the maintenance of harmonious and close relationships with their parents.

Building on the existing literature, the present study examined (1) whether the discrepancy in children's and parents' English proficiency (e.g., particularly, if children's English proficiency is higher than that of their parents) will be associated with lower levels of egalitarian and warm relations between them and (2) whether families in which preadolescent children tend to use English over their native language at home will experience parent-child relationships as less warm and less egalitarian than families in which children show preference for using their

native language over English language.

Confrontation in Conflicts

Research has indicated that differential rates of acculturation between parents and children have been associated with higher levels of parent-adolescent conflicts in samples with Asian American college students (Lee, Choe, Kim & Ngo, 2000), and in samples with Asian Indian adolescents and their parents (Farver et al., 2002). Another study demonstrated that children who are bilingual or Chinese monolingual experienced less family conflict than children who are English monolingual (Portes & Hao, 2002). Likewise, Rumbaut (1994) has found that immigrant adolescents from 13 countries who were not proficient in their mother tongue and who preferred using English over their native language reported more conflicts with their parents than their counterparts who reported the opposite patterns of native language proficiency and language preference. Costigan and Dokis (2006) have found that use of the native language by both sides of the Chinese mother-child dyads was associated with less conflict intensity. Based on empirical findings of recent research, the present study examined (1) whether greater discrepancy in children's and parents' English proficiency will be associated with higher levels of confrontational behaviors in parent-child conflicts, and (2) whether children's use and preference for using English at home will be related to more intense disagreements with their parents.

Parental Power Assertion

The existence of a language gap may change the power balance in relationships between older and younger family members (Rumbaut, 1994). Some studies have found that parents who are not proficient in English may gradually lose their roles as guardians and role models for their children. As a result, parents who come from cultures where the use of punishment strategies is

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normative may resort to more authoritarian practices with their children in order to preserve their

parental authority and control (Fillmore, 1991). On the other hand, some studies suggest that

immigrant parents who have high levels of education and SES are likely to report high levels of

English proficiency and to adopt a bicultural orientation (Portes & Schaufler, 1994). Other

studies suggest that parents who have high levels of education and SES status are likely to adopt

authoritative parenting practices (Chen et al., 2000; Wu et al., 2002). Thus, parents who adopt

authoritarian practices may have lower levels of education and lower levels of English

knowledge and acculturation. If children in such families become quickly immersed into the new

culture, they may likely attempt to establish their independence by using the new language in

which their parents cannot effectively maintain control over their children's behavior.

Studies conducted with Chinese immigrant families have found that parents tend to

preserve their controlling style in the new cultural context (Chin-Yau & Fu, 1990; Rosenthal &

Feldman, 1990). Rosenthal and Feldman (1990) have studied the parenting practices from the

perspective of first generation Chinese-Australian adolescents, second-generation Chinese

American adolescents and European-American adolescents. They found that the Chinese

adolescents of both generations perceived their parents as more controlling than did their

European-American counterparts, thereby providing evidence of the maintenance of the

traditional Chinese parenting styles in the new cultural environment. Fewer studies examine

parental power assertion of Eastern European families in the context of immigration; however,

Russian educators and university students report that educated parents tend to utilize a more

democratic style of communication with their children than Russian parents from more than a

decade ago (Ispa, 2002, Williams & Ispa, 1999). The present study aimed to examine (1)

whether immigrant parents from China and Eastern Europe whose English proficiency is lower

than that of their children will use higher levels of power assertion in order to maintain the power balance in parent-child relationships and (2) whether children's use and preference for using English at home will be associated with higher levels of their parents' controlling behavior.

The Language Gap between Parents and Children

Costigan and Dokis (2006) used regression analyses to examine acculturation gaps in immigrant families. Specifically, interaction terms between parent and child levels of acculturation allowed them to examine ″specific directions of parent-child differences″ as well as to ″control for mean levels of acculturation″ (Costigan & Dokis, 2006, p. 1254). I adopt Costigan and Dokis (2006) analytic procedure, seeking interactions between parents' English knowledge and either children's English knowledge or children's use and preference for using English. Specific patterns in the interactions could suggest the effects of a language gap. For example, the language gap hypothesis would predict less warmth and more confrontation in families in which children desired to use English when their parents' English knowledge was limited.

Goal and Hypotheses

In Part 2, I evaluated the associations between children's and parents' English knowledge and use and the quality of their relationships with one another in the first several years of their adaptation to Canada. Building upon the accumulated knowledge about children's and parents' acculturation, I tested the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis No. 1: *English knowledge and children's use/preference for using English at home.* In the first years of their adaptation to Canada, immigrant children will likely be more fully immersed in the new cultural environment and will likely learn the host language more rapidly than their parents (Veltman, 1988). Therefore, in line with the literature I expected that

children will have better English language skills (as per reports of both children and parents) than their parents do.

Hypothesis No. 2: *Relations between perceived language gaps, and parent-child relationships.* Research has indicated that children's more rapid acquisition of the host language may be related to change of the power-balance in parent-child relations especially when their parents' knowledge of the host language is low (Portes & Schaufler, 1994; Rumbaut, 1994). Studies have documented that higher levels of conflict, less social support by parents and less optimal psychological outcomes occur in children from families with larger acculturation gaps between parents and their adolescents (Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Farver et al., 2002; Pawliuk et al., 1996). As well, studies have found relations between discrepancy in parents and adolescents levels of acculturation and conflict frequency and/or intensity in parent-adolescent dyads (Rumbaut, 1994; Tardiff & Geva, 2006). Therefore, I expected that lower parental knowledge of English, as well as larger English language gaps (e.g., children's high and parents' low on English knowledge) will predict less egalitarian warmth in parent-child relations, more parental power assertion, and more confrontation in conflicts.

Hypothesis No. 3: *Relations between English language use and preference and parent-child relationships.* Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) have found that Chinese immigrant children's perceptions of less cohesive family relations was related to their preference for using English over their native language. Therefore, I expected that Chinese and Eastern European children's use and preference for using English at home will predict less egalitarian warmth in relationships with their parents, more parental power assertion, and more confrontation in conflicts. I expected to find such relations in the reports of both children and parents from both immigrant groups.

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Method

Participants

Part 2 included 183 family members from 64 immigrant families from the original sample (i.e., 64 children, 64 mothers and 55 fathers). The European Canadian families were excluded. Sixty one of the children were from two-parent families. Four fathers from the two parent families did not participate in the study due to lack of time, and two of the fathers were in their native countries when the study occurred. Each cultural group was represented by 32 families. All families who participated in the study reported that they spoke their native language in their homes. The average length of residence of immigrant families in Canada was 3.3 years ($SD = 1.7$). Ninety four percent of the families have resided in Canada up to 5 years. The Eastern European families resided significantly fewer years in Canada than the Chinese families, $t(62) = -3.26$, $p<.002$ ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.55$ for Eastern European families and $M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.73$ for Chinese families).

Procedure

The method of data collection has been described in Part 1.

On the study visit, parents and children were asked to independently complete questionnaires on parent-child relationships, conflict strategies, and measures of English knowledge. All children were interviewed in English. In the Chinese group, 65.6% (21) of the mothers and 55.6% (15) of the fathers chose to fill out the questionnaires in their native language. In the Eastern European group, 81.2% (26) of the mothers and 81.5% (22) of the fathers chose to fill out the questionnaires in their native language.

Measures

The *Parent-child relationship questionnaire (Furman and Buhrmester, 2001)* and the *Conflict strategies scale (Strauss, 1979)* were described in Part 1.

Language Measures

Perceived English Knowledge. Both children and parents were asked to rate their ability to understand and speak English from none (0) to very well (4). As well, children reported about the English knowledge of each of their parents and parents reported about the English knowledge of their children and of their spouse. Self-ratings of English proficiency have been used across studies and have been accepted as being reliable and valid estimation of individuals' level of English knowledge (Rumbaut, 1994; Portes & Schaufler, 1994). Mean level of perceived English knowledge for each family member was created by averaging all reports of other participating family members. Cronbach's alphas ranged from .70 to .96 for ratings by each member of each side of the parent-child dyad.

Use and preference for using English at home. Children and parents were asked what language they use at home and what language they prefer using at home (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). Across both groups, 83% of the mothers, 69% of the fathers and 45% of the children indicated native language use. For the purposes of this study, only the children's reports on this measure were included. Responses were scored as 0 (use of native language), 1 (use of both native language and English) and 2 (English). The correlations between the children's responses to the two questions were, $r = .62$, $p < .001$. Based on children's responses to the two questions, one combined variable was created, *use and preference for using English at home*. Higher scores reflected children's use and preference for using English at home.

<center>**Results**</center>

Between Group Differences on the English Measures (See Table 8). Repeated measures analyses of variance 2 (group: Chinese, Eastern European) X 3 (family member: children, mothers and fathers) using family member as a repeated measure were conducted to examine the between and within group differences in children's and parents' perceived English knowledge. The results yielded two main effects, for group $F(1, 53) = 8.96$, $p<.004$, and for family member $F(1, 53) = 32.77$, $p<.001$; as well, the Group X Family Member interaction, $F(1, 53) = 4.68$, $p<$ .04 was significant. Paired samples t-tests were conducted to further examine the differences between children and parents from each cultural group with respect to their level of English knowledge. Children from both groups were significantly higher on this variable than their parents: for the Chinese group the results are, $t(31) = 6.01$, $p<.001$, for mother-child dyads, and $t(27) = 5.71$, $p<.001$, for father-child dyads; for the Eastern European group the results are, $t(31) = 3.97$, $p<.001$, for mother-child dyads, and $t(26) = 2.46$, $p<.05$, for father-child dyads. Independent t-tests examining the Group X Family Member interaction effect showed that the Eastern European parents had a higher perceived level of English knowledge than the Chinese parents: $t(62) = 2.47$, $p<.02$ for mothers, and $t(53) = 2.64$, $p<.02$ for fathers. Children from the two groups did not differ with respect to their English knowledge.

Independent t-tests were conducted to examine cultural differences in children's use and preference for using English at home. Chinese children ($M = 1.68$, $SD = 1.40$) expressed greater use and preference for using English at home than the Eastern European children ($M = .91$, $SD = 1.17$), $t(1, 62) = - 2.42$, $p<.02$.

Table 8. Means and Standard Deviations of English Measures

Factors	English Knowledge
Children	
China	6.71 (.97)
Eastern Europe	6.75 (1.03)
Mothers	
China	4.91 (1.69)[1]
Eastern Europe	5.84 (1.29)[2]
Fathers	
China	5.11 (1.35)[1]
Eastern Europe	6.11 (1.46)[2]

Note. [1] and [2] denote significant differences between groups.

Correlational Analyses (see Table 9). Preliminary correlational analyses were conducted to examine the relations between the variables entered into each regression equation: language measures and parent-child relationships variables.

Table 9. Correlations between Parent-Child Relations, Parent-Child Knowledge of English, and Children's Use and Preference for Using English at Home

	Children's Knowledge of English	Parents' Knowledge of English	Children's English Use/preference
Children's reports about mothers (N = 64)			
Egalitarian and warm relations	.23†	.23†	-.28*
Power assertion	-.04	.07	.23†
Mothers' confrontation in conflicts	-.23†	-.38**	.26*
Mothers' reports (N = 64)			
Egalitarian and warm relations	.08	.20	-.27**
Power assertion	.02	-.04	.10
Children's confrontation in conflicts	-.03	-.15	.22†
Children's reports about fathers (N = 55 - 58)			
Egalitarian and warm relations	.31**	.30*	-.20
Power assertion	-.15	-.07	-.02
Fathers' confrontation in Conflicts	-.13	-.27*	.20
Fathers' reports (N = 54)			
Egalitarian and warm relations	.29*	.10	-.11
Power assertion	-.12	-.07	.17
Children's confrontation in Conflicts	-.26†	-.07	.12

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05; ***p*<.01; **** p*<.001.

Multiple Regression Analyses

Analyses plan for the regression analyses. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to explore the predictive ability of the independent variables (i.e., culture and English language measures) on each dependent variable (i.e., egalitarian warmth, confrontation in conflicts and parental power assertion from the perspectives of both children and their parents). The hierarchical regression models consisted of two steps: The first step explored the prediction of each dependent variable from the cultural background and language measures. Cultural background was represented by a dichotomous variable with the Chinese group coded as 0 and the Eastern European group coded as 1. The language measures included children's knowledge of English, children's use and preference for using English at home, and either mothers' or fathers' knowledge of English. The second step included the two-way interactions between the first step variables. Simple slope tests were used to explore significant interactions (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). These tests evaluated the associations between an independent variable (e.g., children's English knowledge) and a dependent variable (e.g., parent-child qualities) at high (one SD above the mean) and low (one SD below the mean) levels of another independent variable (e.g., parents' English knowledge). Differences between children's and their parents' knowledge of English were considered a language gap and all individual interactions were assessed in relation to the language gap hypothesis. In addition, the three-way interactions were also explored but none was significant. Therefore, they were excluded from the reported analyses.

Preliminary analyses showed that children's ages, parents' ages, parents' education, and families' length of residence in Canada did not significantly predict any of the dependent variables. Children's gender (i.e., boys) was only positively associated with fathers' power assertion as per children's reports ($r = .33$, $p < .05$), but was not correlated with children's

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English proficiency and including gender in the regression analyses did not affect the outcomes of the reported analyses. None of these variables was included in the regression analyses.

Egalitarian warmth in mother-child dyads (See Table 10)*. The first step variables accounted for 29% of the variance in egalitarian warmth as reported by children, $F(4, 59) = 5.97$, $p<.001$. In the model predicting egalitarian warmth from mothers' perspectives, the first step variables accounted for 19% of the dependent variable, $F(4, 59) = 3.46$, $p<.02$. Culture made significant independent contribution to both models. More specifically, Eastern European children and their mothers experienced higher levels of egalitarian warmth with their dyadic partner than their Chinese counterparts. Higher levels of children's English knowledge and lower levels of children's use and preference for using English at home predicted higher levels of egalitarian warmth with mothers as per children's reports. In mothers' reports, children's less use and preference for using English at home made marginal individual contribution to the model. The mothers' knowledge of English was not significantly related to egalitarian warmth. The joint contribution of the interaction terms entered as a second step was not significant in both models. Details about interaction terms are omitted from Table 10.

Egalitarian warmth in father-child dyads. The first step variables explained 26% of the variance in the model predicting egalitarian warmth as reported by children, F(4, 50) = 4.29, p< .01 and 16% of the variance in the model predicting egalitarian warmth as reported by fathers, F(4, 49) = 2.35, p = .07. Similarly to their reports about mothers, the Eastern European children reported higher levels of egalitarian warmth with their fathers than the Chinese children. Children's English knowledge significantly predicted more egalitarian and warm relations in the perceptions of both children and their fathers, while the other two language measures did not.

The interaction terms entered as a second step did not contribute significantly to either of the models and none of the individual interactions was consistent with a language gap hypothesis.

Table 10. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Egalitarian Warmth

Egalitarian Warmth in Mother-Child dyad	Children's reports about Mothers		Mothers' reports	
Effect	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Constant	3.35	3.43	3.76	3.81
R^2	.29***	.38**	.19*	.29*
ΔR^2		.09		.10
MS_{error}(df)	.49(59)	.49(53)	.43(59)	.42(53)
Culture: EE-CH	.32*		.27*	
Children's English Knowledge	.27*		.10	
Children's English Use/Preference	-.26*		-.23†	
Mothers' English Knowledge	.07		.10	

Egalitarian Warmth in Father-Child dyad	Children's reports about Fathers		Fathers' reports	
Effect	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Constant	3.22	3.24	3.73	3.71
R^2	.26**	.30†	.16†	.30†
ΔR^2		.04		.14
MS_{error}(df)	.60(50)	.62(44)	.44(49)	.43(43)
Culture: EE-CH	.27*		.22	
Children's English Knowledge	.32*		.34*	
Children's English Use/Preference	-.17		-.15	
Fathers' English Knowledge	.07		-.12	

Note. †$p<.10$; *$p<.05$; **$p<.01$; *** $p<.001$.

Confrontation in conflicts in mother-child dyads (see Table 11). The first step variables predicted 33% of the variance in mothers' confrontation in conflicts as reported by their children, $F(4, 59) = 7.33$, $p<.001$. The Eastern European mothers were less confrontational and more accommodating in conflicts with their children than the Chinese mothers. While children's knowledge of English was marginally significant, children's use and preference for using English at home, as well as mothers' English knowledge each made individually significant contributions to the model. Mothers were judged to be more confrontational in families in which children preferred and used English at home and mothers' English knowledge was limited. The joint contribution of the interaction terms was not significant and no interaction was consistent with a language gap hypothesis. In the model predicting children's confrontational behavior in conflicts with their mothers as per mothers' reports, the individual and joint contribution of the first and second step variables were not significant.

Confrontation in conflicts in father-child dyads. The first step variables predicted 17% of the variance in fathers' confrontation in conflicts as per their children's reports, $F(4, 50) = 2.61$, $p <.05$ (See Table 11). The Eastern European children reported that their fathers were less confrontational and more accommodating in conflicts with them than the Chinese children reported about their fathers. None of the language measures from the first step or the interactions entered as a second step was significant. In the model predicting children's confrontation in conflicts as per their fathers' reports, only lower levels of children's English knowledge significantly predicted the dependent variable. The interactions entered as a second step made a marginally significant contribution to the model, explaining an additional 20% of the variance in the dependent variable, $\Delta F(6, 44) = 2.10$, $p = .07$. In the last model, children's greater use and preference for using English at home predicted higher levels of confrontation in conflicts with

their fathers. One significant interaction emerged: Children's English knowledge x Use and preference (See Figure 6). Further exploration of the interaction revealed that children who had higher levels of English knowledge were more confrontational in conflicts with their fathers when children preferred and used English at home, $\beta = .55$, $p < .003$. Conversely, children who had lower levels of English knowledge were more confrontational with their fathers at lower levels of their use and preference for using English at home, $\beta = -.60$, $p < .003$. This interaction did not involve fathers' English knowledge, and thus did not speak to the language gap hypothesis.
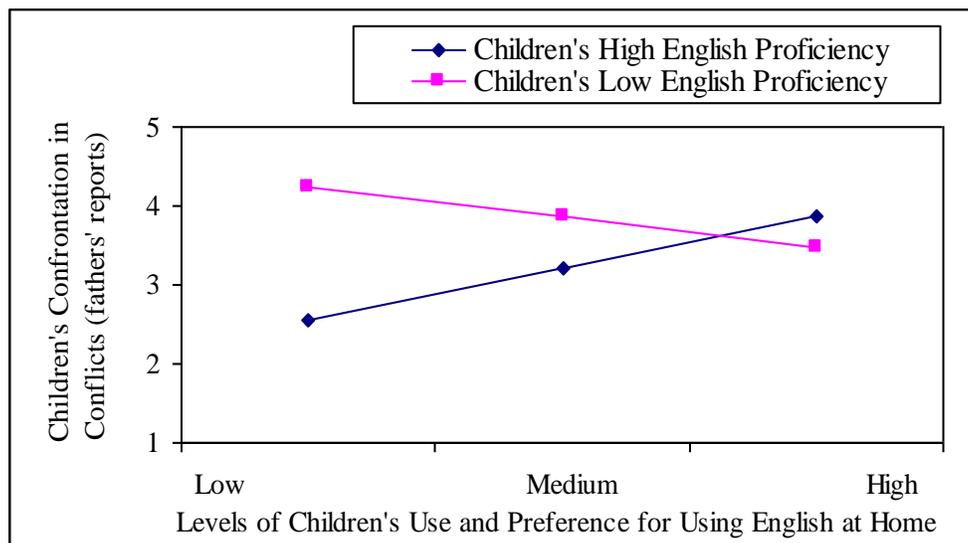
Figure 6. Children' high versus low use and preference for using English at home in the association between children's English knowledge and fathers' perceptions of their children's confrontation in conflicts.

Table 11. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Children's and Parents' Confrontation

Confrontation in conflicts in Mother-Child dyad	Children's reports about Mothers		Mothers' reports	
Effect	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Constant	3.33	3.36	3.53	3.51
R^2	.33***	.36**	.10	.19
ΔR^2		.03		.09
$MS_{error}(df)$	.44(59)	.46(53)	.49(59)	.49(53)
Culture: EE-CH	-.26*		-.17	
Children's English Knowledge	-.21†		-.05	
Children's English Use/Preference	.27*		.20	
Mothers' English Knowledge	-.26*		-.10	

Confrontation in conflicts in Father-Child dyad	Children's reports about Fathers		Fathers' reports	
Effect	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Constant	3.24	3.32	3.54	3.63
R^2	.17*	.23	.10	.30*
ΔR^2		.06		.20†
$MS_{error}(df)$	.54(50)	.56(44)	.47(50)	.45(44)
Culture: EE-CH	-.28*	.	-.05	.01
Children's English Knowledge	-.10		-.32*	-.29
Children's English Use/Preference	.13		.20	.50*
Fathers' English Knowledge	-.11		.10	.47*
Culture x Children's English Knowledge				-.10
Culture x Children's Use and Preference				-.36
Culture x Fathers' English Knowledge				-.45
Children's English x Fathers' English				-.32
Children's English x Use and Preference				.33*
Children's English Use/Preference x Fathers' English				.01

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05; ***p*<.01; ****p*<.001.

Parental power assertion in parent-child dyads (See Table 12). In the model predicting mothers' power assertion from children's perspectives, the first step variables predicted 14% of the variance in the dependent variable, $F(4, 59) = 2.43$, $p=.06$. The Chinese mothers asserted more control in the relationships with their children than the Eastern European mothers. None of the language measures and the interactions made significant contributions to this model. None of the models predicting mothers' reports of power assertion, fathers' reports of power assertion, or children's reports of fathers' power assertion produced significant effects at either the first or the second steps.

Table 12. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Parental Power Assertion

Power Assertion in Mother-Child dyad	Children's reports about Mothers		Mothers' reports	
Effect	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Constant	3.11	3.15	.15	.22
R^2	.14†	.20	.01	.11
ΔR^2		.06		.10
MS_{error}(df)	.66(59)	.67(53)	.58(59)	.58(53)
Culture: EE-CH	-.29*		-.03	
Children's English Knowledge	-.14		.01	
Children's English Use/Preference	.16		.09	
Mothers' English Knowledge	.18		-.05	

Power Assertion in Father-Child dyad	Children's reports about Fathers		Fathers' reports	
Effect	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Constant	2.71	2.59	3.05	3.07
R^2	.03	.16	.06	.17
ΔR^2		.13		.11
MS_{error}(df)	.74(50)	.73(44)	.50(49)	.49(43)
Culture: EE-CH	-.06		-.02	
Children's English Knowledge	-.15		-.18	
Children's English Use/Preference	.01		.21	
Fathers' English Knowledge	.00		.05	

Note. †*p*<.10; *p*<.05; **p*<.01; ***p*<.001.

Discussion

The goal of Part 2 was to examine the associations between children's and parents' knowledge of English, as well as children's use and preference for using English at home and the quality of parent-child relationships from the perspectives of both children and parents in the earlier stages of their acculturation to Canada. I found that the children's knowledge and preference for using English at home was associated with quality of relationships; however, there were no relations between parents' knowledge of English and quality of relationships.

Children's and Parents' Knowledge of English

Consistent with other studies on acculturation, children's English knowledge was judged to be significantly greater than that of their parents. In the early stages of acculturation, children tend to have more extensive exposure to English speaking environments and thus learn the new language more rapidly than their parents. Children are therefore also more likely than their parents to adopt the norms, values and customs of the host culture. These results concur with findings from other studies with immigrant families which showed that immigrant children are at an advantage for participating more fully in the host culture than their parents (Fillmore, 1991; Portes & Schaufler, 1994; Rumbaut, 1994).

Further, consistent with the Canadian immigration policy, parents in the present study generally reported satisfactory levels of English knowledge, resulting in relatively low but still significant discrepancies between children's and parents' knowledge of English in the early acculturation stages. It is possible that for this group of immigrants, a larger discrepancy between children's and parents' knowledge of English may emerge later, as a function of their length of residence in the host country, if parents' exposure to English on a daily basis does not

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substantially increase while their children continue to be more fully immersed in English-speaking environments.

Associations between English Measures and Quality of Parent-child Relationships

Children's knowledge of English was significantly associated with higher levels of egalitarian warmth in father-child dyads (as per reports of both sides of the dyad) and in children's reports about their mothers; it was non-significant in the mothers' reports. In mother-child dyads, children's greater English knowledge was marginally associated with mothers' lower confrontation and greater accommodation in conflicts as per children's reports. These findings are in line with the general adaptation challenges that both children and parents face in a new country. One important task for children and parents in the first years of their adaptation to Canada is to integrate themselves fully into the social environment of their new country. For children, this task involves their quick adaptation to school, and for parents this task requires finding employment and/or upgrading their education (Reitz & Somerville, 2004). Good knowledge of the host language is essential for efficient completion of these tasks. In the first years of adaptation to Canada, immigrant parents are likely to either upgrade their education in order to meet the educational standards of the new country or choose another career path which may require several years study. Therefore, immigrant parents often work and study at the same time in order to ensure quicker settlement of the whole family. Children who rapidly acquire the new language are likely to be more successful at school and therefore will require less assistance from their parents with their schoolwork. Since education is highly valued in both Chinese and Eastern European cultural groups (Chao, 1995; Ispa, 2002), children's proficiency in English will be rewarding for both children and parents as it will not only increase children's individual feelings of success and confidence in their ability to do well in the new cultural environment but

it will also bring pride to the family (Ispa, 2002; Williams & Ispa, 1999; Zhou, Peverly, Xin, Huang, & Wang, 2003).

Children's use and preference for using English at home was more consistently associated with the quality of relationships with mothers than with fathers. Both children and their mothers reported less egalitarian warmth in relationships with one another when children used and preferred using English at home to their native language. Similar associations between children's disregard of their native language and their perceptions of cohesiveness with their parents were found in reports of Chinese immigrant children in Australia (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). Tseng and Fuligni (2000) conducted a study with adolescents of East Asian, Filipino and Latin American backgrounds and found that discordant language use in parent-child dyads was associated with lower levels of cohesiveness as per adolescents' own reports. Therefore, children's use of their native language in everyday communication with their mothers may be considered as children making efforts to maintain important elements of their cultural heritage and thus may be related to harmonious, equal communication, and high levels of mutual warmth. Alternatively, children whose relationships with their parents are poor may resort to using English in communication with them in an effort to assertively achieve their goals and to break free of the control of their parents. Thus, the associations found may be a result of a twofold process in which quality of relationships influence children's language use or preference; as well, children's language use or preference may impact the quality of relationships with their parents.

Interestingly, parents' knowledge of English was generally not found to predict the quality of parent-child relationships. This is likely because parents in this study, though having lower English proficiency than their children, still reported satisfactory levels of knowledge of the host language. Mothers' English knowledge was negatively associated with mothers'

confrontation in conflicts in children's reports only. Mothers whose English proficiency is higher are more likely to be versatile in using either English or their native language to negotiate their goals in conflict situations and thus may feel more comfortable when doing so without confrontation than mothers whose English proficiency is limited. It appears that in children's own views, mothers' competency in the host language and children's limited use and preference for using the host language at home are important for constructive negotiation in conflicts.

As noted, fathers' knowledge of English was not found to predict any of the father-child relationship qualities according to either fathers or children. As well, children's use and preference for using English at home only predicted children's confrontation in conflicts (fathers' reports) and was associated neither with egalitarian warmth nor with power assertion as per reports of both fathers and children. Since a greater number of fathers in this study were employed than mothers, it is likely that fathers do not spend as much time with their children at home. Therefore, children's use of either their native language or English at this acculturation stage may not play as significant role in father-child dyads as it plays in mother-child dyads.

Only one interaction was found partly supporting my prediction of the associations between English knowledge and parent-child relations. Fathers perceived their children as more confrontational in conflicts with them either at higher levels of both children's English knowledge and children's use and preference for using English at home or at lower levels of these two variables. These outcomes may have different antecedents for each group of children. For the group of children with high levels of English knowledge and use and preference for using English at home, perhaps fathers' perceptions of their children as being less constructive negotiators reflects children's increasing independence in asserting their goals as a function of their rapid adaptation to a culture which fosters such behaviors. Children's rapid acculturation, in

turn, may be reflected in their spontaneous use of their new language skills and communication style at home. Children may use English in order to establish their independence, and being confrontational in conflict with their fathers may allow them to achieve their goals more easily when they use the host language rather than their native language. On the other hand, for the group of children whose English knowledge as well as English use and preference were both low, fathers reported, again, higher levels of confrontation. Children who do not possess sufficient English skills in the English environment in which they are fully immersed and who do not use English at home may experience higher levels of stress in their daily lives. Such children may also experience temporary setbacks in their academic success as well as in their everyday communication with their peers and teachers. If so, they may not achieve the expected degree of success which is valued in their families and particularly reinforced by their fathers (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Further research needs to establish whether children's experience of success at school would be related to their conflict behaviors with their fathers in the first years of their acculturation. Children's views of their fathers' conflict behaviors, however, were unrelated to children's English knowledge or language preference. These results, again, suggest that children and fathers may not share similar views of the role of language skills on various aspects in their relationship.

Conclusion

The present study advances the existing research on acculturation by providing evidence of the associations between the knowledge, use of the language of the host culture and the quality of parent-child relations in recent immigrant families with preadolescent children. This study is among the first to show the relations between knowledge of the host language and parent-child relationships in recent immigrant families from China and Eastern Europe. Several

interesting patterns of findings emerged: (1) children's knowledge of the host language is related to warm and egalitarian relationships with their parents, especially with their fathers, (2) children's use and preference for using English at home is related to lower levels of egalitarian warmth and higher levels of mothers' confrontation in conflicts in mother-child dyads, but not in father-child dyads, (3) parents' knowledge of the host language, does not appear to be related to the quality of parent-child relationships, and (4) language gaps between parents and children were not associated with the quality of parent-child relationships in the earlier stages of acculturation of families with preadolescent children to Canada. As noted above, the immigrant parents in this study were well-educated and are likely to have higher levels of English knowledge than less educated immigrants. Therefore, language gap in such families may not operate in the same fashion in parent-child relationships as it would in families where parents' English knowledge is insufficient. As well, the relations between language gap and parent-child relations may become more pronounced in adolescence as a function of adolescents' assertion of their independence from their families. Finally, this study demonstrates that children's use and preference for using English at home, appears to be related to less cohesiveness in mother-child dyads and thus may be viewed as one important precursor of acculturation gap that may normally unfold later in adolescence. Turning one's back on native language in favor of the host language may reflect children's low adherence to preserving their cultural heritage and may be perceived by mothers as lack of respect for the native culture. Knowing the importance of preserving the native language for the immigrant family may serve as a psychoeducational tool when working with immigrant children and youth in terms of increasing their sensitivity to factors maintaining the harmony in relationships with their parents.

PART 3

Associations between Conflict Issues, Conflict Intensity, and Outcomes of Parent-child

Disputes in Families with Preadolescent Children

Introduction

Conflicts between parents and children are related to children's cognitive and socio-emotional development (Barber & Delfabbro, 2000; Decovic, 1999). The earliest source of conflict is the family where children face their parents as both powerful antagonists and role models (Emery, 1992). Everyday experience with family conflicts expands children's expertise in advancing their goals, in understanding the perspectives of their antagonists and in acting in accord with cultural norms of behavior across a variety of situations (Shantz & Hartup, 1992). Because of their importance for child development, parent-child conflicts have been studied extensively. Most often, researchers evaluated types of parent-child conflicts (Adams & Laursen, 2001, Smetana & Gaines, 1999), frequency and intensity of conflicts (Renk, Liljequist, Simpson, & Phares, 2005), and parents' and children's reasoning about conflicts and their resolution (Smetana, 1989; Smetana & Gaines, 1999; Yau & Smetana, 1996, 2003). Cultural aspects of parent-child and parent-adolescent conflict have also been studied with a major focus on the similarities and differences in various aspects of parent-child conflicts between cultures with independent and interdependent orientations towards social relations (Fuligni 1998; Haar & Krahe, 1999; Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vilhjalmsdottir, 2005; Tardif & Geva, 2006; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000; Yau & Smetana, 1996, 2003).

In Part 3, I was interested in how family members resolve conflicts within each parent-child dyad, whether they are satisfied with their resolutions, whether they would validate or challenge and change the outcomes. Similarly to Part 1, Part 3 will contribute to the existing literature on parent-child conflict in several ways. First, most studies have explored conflict dynamics in families with adolescents because adolescence is known as a major transitional period that is marked by children's increasing individuation and identity formation. Only a few

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studies have focused on evaluating components of parent-child conflict in preadolescence (Shanahan, McHale, Osgood, & Crouter, 2007; Smetana, 1989; Smetana, Yau, & Hanson, 1991). In comparison to adolescents, preadolescent children are more dependent on their parents and parents have a relatively greater impact on their children's everyday choices and important decisions they make. Studies have established that preadolescent children are more likely than adolescents to concede to their parents (Smetana & Gaines, 1999), and that parent-child disagreements are less intense than they will be once children reach adolescence (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998). Moreover, the associations between the quality of parent-child relations and conflict dynamics between children and their parents are found to be stronger in preadolescence (Part 1) than in adolescence (Fuligni, 1998; Greenberger, Chen, Tally, & Dong, 2000), which suggests that parent-child relationships play a significant role in conflict negotiations between preadolescents and their parents. Despite being generally dependent on and submissive to their parents, preadolescent children still disagree with them on various issues. In the light of these developmental differences in family relationships, it would be worthwhile studying in greater depth patterns of conflict organization and dynamics of parent-child disputes during preadolescence.

Second, as in Part 1, I emphasize the importance of studying conflict processes across families from different cultural groups, in order to examine cultural differences in line with expectations from theory and evidence from cross-cultural studies. The major focus of Part 3 is to examine cultural differences in parent-child disputes in preadolescence, and to evaluate children's and parents' perspectives on conflict resolution in each parent-child dyad. As noted in Part 1, I studied Canadian-born families of European origin and recent immigrant families from China and Eastern Europe, which represent two major immigrant groups who have arrived in

Canada in the past decade (Statistics Canada, 2004). Having groups of recent immigrants will determine whether stresses associated with acculturation will influence the dynamics of parent-child conflicts.

Third, most studies have evaluated conflict components separately, and only a few studies have examined systematically their interrelations (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Laursen & Hartup, 1989; Laursen & Koplas, 1995). According to various researchers, conflict is a social event, generated by two actors, and consisting of several components: conflict issue, initiator, intensity, resolution, outcome, and affective experience associated with conflict endings (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Shantz, 1987). Adams and Laursen (2001) compare conflict organization to a plot, which "unfolds according to a prescribed sequence": Each conflict "is comprised of discrete units that combine to form a coherent whole" (p. 98). Knowing interrelations among these units in particular period of children's development will help researchers identify conflict scenarios that are unique to this developmental stage. In the present study, I examined patterns of relations among conflict components in preadolescence with particular focus on conflict outcomes.

Fourth, unlike most studies on parent-child conflicts, I used multi-informant approach. Having reports from both sides of each parent-child dyad will shed light into generational perspectives on important conflict events for the respondents.

In Part 3, I examined daily conflicts at the individual level, because consideration of individual differences will potentially elucidate the relative contribution of cultural, generational and other factors to the organization and dynamics of parent-child conflict. I focused on several conflict components: types and confrontation in conflicts, conflict outcomes, individual satisfaction with outcomes and desired changes in reported conflicts. While previous studies have examined the first three variables, little is known about children's and parents' wishes of

retrospective changes in real conflicts. I have used correlational analyses at the individual level which allowed me to examine associations between frequencies of various conflict components in the reports of each family member.

The major goal of this study was to evaluate links between types of and level of confrontation in conflicts and conflict outcomes. More specifically, it aimed to determine (1) which of these conflict components (i.e.,frequencies of specific issue or level of confrontation) is related to the frequency of favorable (i.e., self wins, compromises) or unfavorable (i.e., partner wins, no resolution) for respondents actual outcomes, (2) which frequency of conflict components (issue, level of confrontation, or real outcome) is related to the frequency of desired outcomes, and (3) how children's and parents' views converge and diverge in relation to the attainment of particular outcomes of their daily disputes. In addition, I examined cultural differences in these issues. As discussed below, the existing literature extensively evaluated cultural and generational differences in parent-child conflicts. Therefore, the current study will be among the first to provide both comprehensive and nuanced picture of interrelations among frequencies of conflict components in preadolescence by sampling views of children and their parents.

Conflict Issues

The topics of conflicts have been widely studied (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Renk et al., 2005; Smetana & Gaines, 1999). Research has established that parent-child and parent-adolescent conflicts are mostly about daily routines and household rules (e.g., chores and daily regime), academic achievement (e.g., homework, grades), and interpersonal relations (e.g., autonomy, choice of friends and extra curriculum activities, and relationships with siblings and

parents). Families with preadolescents are more likely to argue over issues related to explicit rules than families with late adolescents (Smetana, 1989).

Parents and children have different orientations toward the conflicts that occur between them. While parents' perspectives emphasize the conventional and pragmatic justifications of their own conflict positions, children and adolescents are likely to view the same issues as matters in which their own personal choices are significant (Smetana, 1989; Smetana & Gaines, 1999). Further, cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that fulfilling family obligations is a prime focus of Chinese parents' socialization practices and a prime responsibility of children in these families (Chao, 1995; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Zhou et al., 2004). On the other hand, families of European origin are likely to foster their children's autonomous decision-making across various issues from early on in their development (Hart et al., 2000; Ispa, 2002; Liu et al., 2005; Wu et al., 2002). Based on theory and evidence from past cross-cultural research, I expected to find parallel cultural and generational differences in conflict issues.

Little is known about how particular conflict issues are related to other aspects of parent-child conflicts. Adams and Laursen (2001) examined the interconnection between conflict topics, conflict resolution and outcomes by sampling adolescents' reports of individual conflicts over various issues with their parents and friends. They found that parent-child conflicts over autonomy issues were more intense, and more likely to result in win-loss outcomes than when autonomy issues were negotiated between friends.

Would the reported frequencies of parent-child disputes over particular daily issues be related to the frequencies of particular outcomes in preadolescence? The current literature lacks empirical evidence on this matter. With this study, I aimed to establish whether and how the

frequencies of occurrence of specific conflict issues are associated with the frequencies of actual

conflict resolutions and with desired changes in the outcomes of disputes retrospectively.

Intensity of Conflicts

A meta-analysis conducted by Laursen and his colleagues (1998) has shown that parent-

child conflicts are more intense than those experienced in other relationships and that the

intensity of parent-child conflict peaks as children enter early adolescence (Adams & Laursen,

2001; Laursen, 1993; Laursen, Coy, & Collins,1998). Some studies demonstrate that the

frequency and intensity of conflicts within families is associated with the quality of parent-child

relations (Part 1; Yau & Smetana, 1996), adolescents' adjustment (Barber & Delfabbro, 2000),

and self-esteem (Decovic, 1999). Other studies suggest that the affective intensity of conflicts

may have a harmful effect on family relationships (Forgatch, 1989). Further, in some studies

adolescents from different ethnic groups reported similar levels of conflict intensity with their

parents (Fuligni, 1998; Smetana, 1989; Yau & Smetana, 1996). Part 1, however, demonstrated

that the Chinese preadolescent children perceived their parents as more confrontational in

conflicts with them than European Canadian and Eastern European children did. Similarly to

conflict issues, little is known about whether the level of confrontation in conflicts is associated

with of the likelihood of attaining particular outcomes in preadolescence. In a study conducted

by Adams and Laursen (2001), adolescents reported less mitigation, more power assertive

conflict dynamics and more win-loss outcomes with their parents than with their friends. The

current study will provide evidence on relations between conflict confrontation and conflict

resolution, individual satisfaction with conflict endings and desired changes in retrospect.

Conflict Outcomes

Parent-child conflicts across different developmental periods show similar patterns of outcomes. In most conflicts, preschool children (Eisenberg, 1992) as well as preadolescent- to mid-adolescent children (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Smetana, Daddis, & Chuang, 2003) tend to yield to their parents' requests. Relatively few conflicts result in children's winning, compromise and no-resolution, with unresolved conflicts increasing as a function of age and more particularly as a function of adolescents' increasing negotiation of their autonomy (Smetana & Gaines, 1999). Given these findings, I expected similar patterns of prevalence in conflict outcomes in preadolescent children with their parents. Moreover, cross-cultural studies have established that Chinese parents tend to socialize adherence to norms established by the elders as well as to family obligations, and so to emphasize expectations of children's compliance (Chao, 1995). In contrast, European American middle-class parents are likely to provide more freedom of choice to their children and to encourage their assertiveness while negotiating their goals (Williams & Ispa, 1999; Wu et al., 2002). Thus, I expected that Chinese children will be more likely to yield to their parents' wishes when conflict arises. Further, cross-cultural studies have established that families from Eastern and Western cultures differ in degrees of expression of affection within parent-child relationships. Parents from Eastern cultures are less likely to display and socialize expression of emotions in relationships with their children than families from Western cultures (Chao, 1995; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Leichtman, Wang, & Pillemer, 2003; Wu et. al., 2002). Thus, I expected corresponding differences in expression of satisfaction with conflict endings across the families from the three groups.

I asked whether children's and parents' expression of satisfaction following conflict resolution will be related to frequencies of specific conflict issues, the average level of

confrontation and the frequencies of reporting specific conflict outcomes. Research has shown that children's, adolescents' and parents' experience of affect following disputes is linked to both strategies they used as well as outcomes. Stein and Albro (2001) have found that standoff outcomes were most frequent when both preschool children and parents responded with anger at the end of their disputes. When parents won, they frequently reported feeling angry during conflict and their children reported being sad. In other studies, adolescents were likely to report feeling angry in conflicts with power assertive resolutions and with win-loss outcomes with their parents (Adam & Laursen, 2001), as well as to report associations between affective intensity experienced during and after conflicts across various relationships (Laursen & Koplas, 1995). In addition, conflicts which were resolved by negotiation were likely to be related to lower levels of affective intensity after conflicts (Laursen & Koplas, 1995). In this study, I examined cultural and generational differences in the prevalence of conflict outcomes as well as in expression of satisfaction with conflict endings. As noted above, I also explored whether frequencies of conflict issues and general level of confrontation in conflicts are associated with frequencies of actual conflict outcomes.

Desired Changes in Conflict Resolution

A major question in this study relates to whether respondents would change an aspect of an actual conflict when asked to do so, and if so, how. A few studies have asked similar questions. In two studies with early to late adolescents from Hong Kong and Shenzhen, Yau and Smetana (1996, 2003) evaluated adolescents' reports of actual versus ideal conflict resolution. In both studies, parents' decision making prevailed in actual conflicts; however, the adolescents reported that they, rather than their parents should make more final decisions in conflicts, thus challenging the models of ubiquitous compliance with parents which are likely to be more

prevalent in preadolescence (Smetana & Gaines, 1999). The findings of these studies likely suggest that adolescents would confront their parents' superiority in conflict resolution if asked to express their wishes for ideal outcomes. In another study, when asked to take their dyadic partner's perspectives about the unacceptability of their own actions, the adolescents provided primarily pragmatic, moral, prudential and conventional reasons. Likewise, parents viewed their children's reasoning as reflecting interpersonal motives or motives related to autonomy issues (Smetana, 1989). This study demonstrated that parents and adolescents are able to understand one another's reasons for the stands they took in conflict.

In the present study, I asked children and parents to indicate what they would change when they look in retrospect at the reported conflict. I expected that the frequencies of specific conflict issues, the average level of confrontation in conflicts and the frequencies of reporting specific types of actual outcomes will be related to frequencies of respondents' desires for specific retroactive changes in aspects of reported conflicts. Overall, I hoped to identify ideal solutions of experienced conflicts across families from the three cultural groups, the two generations within each group, and to determine specific associations among aspects of actual conflicts (types, intensity, and outcomes) and desired outcomes.

Goal and Hypotheses

The major goal of Part 3 was to determine whether frequencies of conflict types and level of conflict confrontation will be associated with how often specific actual outcomes occur, and whether and how components of real conflicts will be associated with respondents' satisfaction with conflict endings and desired outcomes. These relations were evaluated separately for children and parents and were controlled for cultural background. In addition, cultural and generational differences were examined with respect to aspects of the reported conflicts.

Hypotheses evaluating cultural differences in parent-child conflict. Based on past

research, I expected that the three cultural groups included in this study will differ from each

other in various aspects of parent-child conflict resolution. With respect to types of conflicts, I

hypothesized that the Chinese families will report more conflicts related to obligations and daily

routine activities than the families from the other two cultural groups (Chin-Yau & Fu 1990).

Given that families of European origin are more likely to encourage in their children's

independence in making choices (Hart et al., 2000), I explored whether children in these families

would mostly likely engage in more disagreements with their parents about activities they would

like to pursue than their Chinese counterparts. I expected that Chinese respondents will report

that children submitted more often in actual conflicts as well as the wish that children would

have submitted when reporting on desired changes; their Eastern European and European

Canadian counterparts should do so less often (Ho, 1986; Wu et. al., 2002). In turn, the Chinese

children will likely desire more constructive negotiations by their parents in retrospect than the

children from the other cultural groups. As well, since parents of European origin are expected to

endorse higher levels of egalitarian communication than the Chinese parents (as shown in Part

1), I hypothesized that the parents from these groups will report more desires for self- and

other's- constructive negotiation in conflicts with their children than their Chinese counterparts. I

also anticipated that Eastern European and European Canadian children and parents will more

likely report higher levels of satisfaction when they won or compromised than Chinese children

and parents. This is because open expression of emotions is found to be more culturally

normative in student and adult populations of European origin than in populations of Asian

origins (Eid & Diener, 2001; Ispa, 2002). In addition, this study will provide evidence on

whether Eastern European and European Canadian families will differ in their reports of how they experience conflicts between parents and children.

Hypotheses evaluating generational differences in parent-child conflict. Given that preadolescence is characterized by children's greater dependence on parents than adolescence and that parents' authority would play a major role in children's lives, I expected that parents from all groups will most likely report more conflicts over obligations and will more likely win in conflicts than will their children. Since activities of personal choice would be more important to children than to their parents (Smetana & Gaines, 1999), children will more likely report more such conflicts than will their parents. Finally, parents being role models in teaching their children to negotiate their goals effectively (Emery, 1992; Rueter & Conger, 1995) will likely report more desired self- and partner- constructive changes in retrospect than will their children.

Hypotheses evaluating associations between frequencies of conflict components. In all groups, I expected that more frequent conflicts over obligations will be related to the frequency of parents' winning as well as children's and parents' wishes that children should have submitted in the reported conflicts. This is because preadolescent children are expected to follow rules related to household and school obligations (Smetana, 1989). Frequent conflicts related to children's choice of activities will likely be related to children's desires that their parents often submit (and that consequently children win) in reported conflicts. In addition, the frequency of conflicts over children's misbehavior will likely be related to more frequent standoffs, and consequently the frequency of parents' retrospective desires that their children had used more constructive negotiation tactics.

In line with past research, I expected that less confrontation in conflicts by both children and parents will be associated with greater satisfaction with conflict outcomes. In contrast, more

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confrontation in parent-child dyads will be related to more frequent no-resolution outcomes and less satisfaction with conflict endings (Laursen & Koplas, 1995). Across respondents, self-win conflict outcomes will be associated with higher levels of satisfaction with conflict endings and a less frequent desire to change the outcome in retrospect. All family members, however, are also expected to be satisfied when they often achieved compromise, because this outcome would provide partial gains to both sides of parent-child dyad and thus model for children more effective resolution of differences. In contrast, frequent no-resolutions will be associated with lower levels of satisfaction with conflict endings and more frequent desired changes of partner's use of constructive conflict tactics in retrospect (Adam & Laursen; 2001; Stein & Albro, 2001).

My hypotheses are based on past research on conflict resolution within parent-child dyads. Given that I evaluate more associations between the frequencies of conflict components, this study has also an exploratory character, which may help identify unique patterns of associations. By examining these hypotheses, this study has the potential to be among the first to present a comprehensive view of conflict resolution in preadolescence through the lenses of children and parents from three distinct cultural groups.

Method

Participants

This section has been described in Part 1.

Procedure

The procedure has been described in Part 1. In Part 3, children's and parents' independent reports of their dyadic partner's confrontation in conflicts (which were filled-out at the interview session) and reports of daily conflicts were included. At the interview session, the participants were trained to fill out a diary about daily conflicts in each parent-child dyad. Each participant was asked to provide an example of a disagreement that occurred in the respective parent-child dyad in the past two weeks by focusing on the following conflict elements: what happened (type of conflict), how did the conflict end, what would each participant change in the conflict that has occurred, how did each participant feel about the conflict ending. The participants from the immigrant families also indicated which language they and their parent or child used in each conflict. In the following two weeks, the parents and children independently recorded on a daily basis one positive experience and one disagreement that occurred in each parent-child dyad. To ensure confidentiality of the data collected, the children were instructed to store their daily diaries in separate envelopes; parents also stored their diaries in an envelope. At the end of the two-week period, the diaries were sent to the University lab. All children filed out their diaries in English. In the Chinese group of parents, 72.4% (21) of the mothers and 65.2% (15) of the fathers chose to fill out the diaries in their native language. In the Eastern European group, 83.8% (26) of the mothers and 78.3% (18) of the fathers filled out the diaries in their native language. For the purpose of this thesis, only daily reports of disagreements were included.

Measures

Conflict strategies scale (Strauss, 1979). This questionnaire has been described in Part 1.

Diary reports (See Table 13)*.* The data collected from the diaries were as follows: Ninety two (95.8%) of the children, 92 (95.8%) of the mothers and 75 (86.2%) of the fathers submitted their diaries. No significant differences were found between the cultural groups with respect to number of completed diary sheets by each respondent, $F(2, 93) = .04$, $p =$ ns, for reports of children, $F(2, 93) = 1.47$, $p =$ ns, for reports of mothers, and $F(2, 72) = .29$, $p =$ ns, for reports of fathers.

Table 13. Number of Diary Sheets Submitted per Respondent from Each Cultural Group

Respondent	Number of diary sheets submitted per respondent
Children *(N=92)*	
Chinese	9.12 (2.46)
Eastern European	9.12 (2.46)
European Canadian	8.97 (2.42)
Mothers *(N=92)*	
Chinese	8.84 (2.96)
Eastern European	9.65 (1.04)
European Canadian	8.66 (2.92)
Fathers *(N=75)*	
Chinese	7.42 (4.09)
Eastern European	8.15 (3.39)
European Canadian	7.90 (3.63)

The participants reported 1406 conflicts: in total, children reported 373 conflicts with mothers, 246 conflicts with fathers; mothers reported 523 conflicts with children, and fathers reported 264 conflicts with children. Ninety two families provided diaries from both mothers and children about mother-child conflicts and 75 families provided diaries from both fathers and children about father-child conflicts. The conflict reports from the interview session were included in the data being analyzed. Proportions of rate of occurrence of each category of types of conflicts, conflict outcomes and desired changes were calculated out of all conflicts reported by each respondent. Only individuals with more than two reported conflicts were included in the correlational analyses in order to provide more valid proportions of the characteristics of conflicts occurring in each parent-child dyad. This resulted in the following data being analyzed: children reporting about mothers – 79 diaries, about fathers – 59 diaries; mothers reporting about children – 87 diaries, and fathers reporting about children – 56 diaries. All those who reported were included in analyses of frequencies of each conflict component.

Coding Categories Included in the Study

For definitions of each category and examples, please refer to Appendix B.

Types of conflicts. Several types of conflicts were identified across all respondents: conflicts related to (1) obligations and daily activities, (2) leisure, fun activities and child's requests for material gains, (3) child behavior, and (4) parent behavior. Two coders independently coded data from 55 conflicts. *Kappa* for coding children's reports of types of conflicts with their mothers and fathers was .90 and .89 respectively, *kappa* for mothers was .90, and for fathers was .95.

Conflict outcomes. Consistent with past research, three conflict outcomes were identified (Eisenberg, 1992; Stein & Albro, 2001): (1) Compromise, (2) Win-loss, and (3) No resolution.

Win-loss outcomes were broken down into two separate categories: Child wins and Parent wins. Two coders independently coded data from 50 conflicts with acceptable interrater reliability. *Kappa* for coding children's reports of conflict outcomes with their mothers and fathers was .83 and .90 respectively, *kappa* for mothers was .82, and for fathers was .77.

Satisfaction with conflict outcomes. This category had four response options: *bad* was coded as 1, *ok* coded as 2, *good* coded as 3, and *very good* coded as 4. Mean *level of satisfaction with outcomes* was created by averaging all conflicts reported by each respondent with the corresponding dyadic partner.

Desired changes in reported conflicts. Family members responded to the question: *If you could change something in this situation, what would you do?* Responses to this question were coded in terms of actions that each respondent would have wished that they or their dyadic partner had undertaken to improve the conduct or resolution of the reported conflict. Based on participants' responses, several categories were created: (1) the respondent would submit; (2) the respondent would like to change his/her behaviour or use more constructive strategies; (3) the respondent would like his/her dyadic partner to submit, (4) the respondent would like his/her dyadic partner to change his/her behaviour or use more constructive strategies; (5) the respondent thinks that he/she cannot change the situation if the reported conflict occurs again, and (6) the respondent does not know what to change. The last two categories were very rare in both children's and parents' reports: in children's reports about mothers the rate of occurrence of ″can't change″ and ″do not know″ categories was zero, in children's reports about fathers they were coded in 3.9% of all reported conflicts; in mothers' reports the rate of occurrence of these two categories was 8.2% of all conflicts and in the fathers' reports it was 11%. Due to the low rate of occurrence of the last two categories, they were not included in the analyses. Two coders

independently coded data from 33 conflicts. *Kappa* for coding children's responses to this question with their mothers and fathers was .91 and .85 respectively, *kappa* for mothers was .92, and for fathers was .86. Respondents did not always report under each conflict what they would change in the reported conflict: children did not respond to this question in 12% of the conflicts with their mothers, and in 16% of the conflicts with their fathers; in mothers' reports, this question was not answered in 28% of the conflicts, and in the fathers' reports in about 34% of the reported conflicts.

Results

The results have broadly three parts. First, I evaluated cultural and generational differences in all variables. Then, I examined the associations between conflict types and level of confrontation in conflicts and actual and desired outcomes. Finally, I evaluated whether children and parents will validate or challenge actual outcomes by examining the links between actual and desired outcomes.

Cultural and Generational Differences in Conflict Resolution (See Tables 14-16). Separate analyses of variance, with group (3) as a between-subjects factor and generation (2, child or parent) and conflict component (4, Type, Outcome or Desired Change) as repeated measures factors in each parent-child dyad, were conducted to examine cultural and generational differences in respondents' reports of conflict sequences. Significant interactions were tested either with *t*-tests or one-way ANOVAs followed by Tukey post-hoc comparisons. In these analyses, all reported conflicts are included. Children's and parents' use of confrontational conflict strategies were presented and discussed in Part 1 and therefore will not be discussed in this section.

Types of conflicts (See Table 14). In both parent-child dyads, a main effect for type conflict, $F(3, 89) = 899.70$, $p<.0001$, for mother-child dyads and $F(3, 62) = 525.52$, $p<.0001$, for father-child dyads, and a Generation X Type of Conflict interaction were found, $F(3, 89) = 6.30$, $p<.001$, for mother-child dyads, and $F(3, 62) = 4.86$, $p<.004$, for father-child dyads. In each parent-child dyad, family members reported more conflicts over obligations than any other conflict topic, more conflict over children's activities than over either parent or child behavior, and more conflicts over child behavior than over parent behavior. All of these differences were statistically significant, ts > 4.18, ps < .001, except for the comparison of obligations and

children's activities, in the fathers' reports which was marginal, $t(66) = 1.95$, $p = .056$. The Generation x Type of Conflict interaction was due to parents reporting more conflicts over children's behavior than did their children, $t(93) = 2.06$, $p<.05$, for the mother-child dyads and $t(66) = 3.26$, $p<.002$, for the father-child dyads. Additionally, children reported conflicts over children's leisure and fun activities more often than their mothers did, $t(93) = 2.06$, $p<.05$. In both parent-child dyads, no cultural differences with respect to type of conflicts were found.

Table 14. Means and Standard Deviations of Types of Conflicts

Respondent	Types of Conflicts			
	Obligations	Fun Activities	Child Behavior	Parent Behavior
Children about mothers				
Chinese	.61 (.32)	.31 (.30)	.07 (.14)	.01 (.02)
Eastern European	.50 (.34)	.37 (.32)	.11 (.23)	.01 (.03)
European Canadian	.44 (.31)	.38 (.34)	.12 (.23)	.03 (.08)
Mothers				
Chinese	.54 (.35)	.27 (.35)	.17 (.21)	.02 (.07)
Eastern European	.50 (.24)	.29 (.20)	.19 (.20)	.02 (.06)
European Canadian	.46 (.34)	.26 (.28)	.26 (.27)	.02 (.05)
Children about fathers				
Chinese	.54 (.35)	.30 (.35)	.14 (.27)	.02 (.09)
Eastern European	.51 (.37)	.37 (.37)	.09 (.19)	.01 (.03)
European Canadian	.38 (.42)	.46 (.44)	.16 (.32)	.00 (.00)
Fathers				
Chinese	.44 (.33)	.25 (.34)	.27 (.36)	.04 (.10)
Eastern European	.36 (.29)	.35 (.30)	.26 (.33)	.03 (.09)
European Canadian	.47 (.33)	.26 (.34)	.26 (.26)	.01 (.04)

Note. 1. $N = 94$ in mother-child dyads; $N = 67$ in father-child dyads.

Conflict outcomes (See Table 15). In both parent-child dyads, a main effect for outcome was found, $F(3, 89) = 54.05$, $p < .0001$, for mother-child dyads, and $F(3, 63) = 29.32$, $p < .0001$, for father-child dyads. Repeated paired samples *t*-tests evaluating differences between conflict outcomes reported by both parents and children revealed more instances of parents' winning than children's winning, $t(93) = 12.70$, $p < .001$, for mother-child dyads, and $t(68) = 9.55$, $p < .001$, for father-child dyads, compromises, $t(93) = 9.65$, $p < .001$, for mother-child dyads, and $t(67) = 8.09$, $p < .001$, for father-child dyads, and no resolution outcomes, $t(93) = 11.68$, $p < .001$, for mother-child dyads, and $t(67) = 6.91$, $p < .001$, for father-child dyads. For the mother-child dyads, there were also more compromises than children's winning, $t(93) = 2.29$, $p < .05$, and in the father-child dyads, more no resolution outcomes than children's winnings, $t(67) = 3.11$, $p < .003$. No significant between-group differences were found.

Satisfaction with conflict outcomes. Separate analyses of variance, with Group (3) as a between-subjects factor and Generation (2) as a repeated measures factor in each parent-child dyad, were conducted to examine the between and within group differences in children's and parents' reports of their average satisfaction with conflict outcomes.

With respect to satisfaction with conflict outcomes, only one marginally significant Group x Generation interaction in the mother-child dyads was found, $F(2, 92) = 2.71$, $p = .07$, one of only two effects in these analyses for which differences were found between cultural groups. One-way ANOVAs examining between group differences in mothers' and children's satisfaction with conflict endings revealed significant group effects for mothers, $F(2, 93) = 3.92$, $p < .05$, but not for children, $F(2, 93) = .14$, $p = $ ns. Tukey post-hoc comparisons revealed that European Canadian mothers expressed higher levels of satisfaction with conflict outcomes than

their Chinese counterparts ($p < .02$) did. No between or within group differences were found in father-child dyads with respect to this variable.

Table 15. Means and Standard Deviations of Conflict Outcomes

Respondent	Conflict Outcomes				
	Compromise	Child Wins	Parent Wins	No Resolution	Satisfaction Outcomes
Children about mothers					
Chinese	.16 (.27)	.13 (.20)	.57 (.31)	.14 (.22)	2.49 (.67)
Eastern European	.18 (.27)	.12 (.19)	.56 (.33)	.10 (.19)	2.43 (.66)
European Canadian	.17 (.26)	.14 (.22)	.50 (.34)	.18 (.24)	2.40 (.63)
Mothers					
Chinese	.18 (.22)	.14 (.18)	.52 (.32)	.14 (.25)	2.23 (.78)[1]
Eastern European	.20 (.20)	.13 (.14)	.54 (.27)	.13 (.16)	2.49 (.55)
European Canadian	.20 (.20)	.08 (.14)	.54 (.21)	.18 (.22)	2.66 (.63)[2]
Children about fathers					
Chinese	.06 (.13)	.20(.27)	.53 (.32)	.21 (.28)	2.29 (.79)
Eastern European	.16 (.28)	.16 (.29)	.57 (.36)	.08 (.18)	2.42 (.78)
European Canadian	.18 (.35)	.04 (.10)	.57 (.37)	.17 (.31)	2.61 (.75)
Fathers					
Chinese	.21 (.27)	.09 (.15)	.42 (.36)	.28 (.36)	2.23 (.75)
Eastern European	.16 (.20)	.10 (.23)	.49 (.31)	.25 (.28)	2.47 (.70)
European Canadian	.14 (.24)	.10 (.22)	.51 (.35)	.21 (.20)	2.49 (.57)

Note. 1. [1] and [2] denote significant differences between groups.
  2. $N = 94$ in mother-child dyads; $N = 66\text{-}68$ in father-child dyads.

Desired changes in reported conflicts (See Table 16). In each parent-child dyad, two main effects and one interaction were found: a main effect for generation, $F(1, 92) = 15.22$, $p < .001$, for mother-child dyads and $F(1, 65) = 11.56$, $p < .0001$, for father-child dyads, a main effect for desired change, $F(3, 90) = 33.25$, $p < .001$, for mother-child dyads and $F(3, 63) = 21.59$, $p < .01$, for father-child dyads, as well as a Generation X Desired Change interaction, $F(3, 90) = 20.78$, $p < .0001$, for mother-child dyads and $F(3, 63) = 21.79$, $p < .0001$, for father-child dyads. In addition, for the father-child dyads, there was a Group X Desired Change interaction, $F(6, 195) = 2.74$, $p < .02$.

Paired samples *t*-tests exploring the generation differences that contributed to the Generation X Desired Change interaction for each parent-child dyad revealed that children reported more desired self-submission in reported conflicts than their parents did, $t(94) = 7.67$, $p < .001$, for children about mothers and $t(67) = 7.01$, $p < .001$, for children about fathers. Parents reported more desires that they and their children had used more constructive conflict behaviors in reported conflicts than their children did, for self-change, $t(81) = 4.19$, $p < .001$, for mothers, and $t(67) = - 2.89$, $p < .01$, for fathers; for partner-change, $t(81) = 4.42$, $p < .001$, for mothers and $t(67) = - 3.17$, $p < .002$, for fathers.

Additionally, paired samples *t*-tests evaluating differences in responses within each respondent indicated that for children self-submission was the most frequent desired change, followed by partner submission, self-change and then partner change. Specifically, children desired more (1) self-submission with their parents than partner submission, $t(94) = 2.25$, $p < .05$ with mothers and $t(81) = 2.01$, $p < .05$ with fathers; (2) more instances of desired self-submission than partner change, $t(94) = 7.23$, $p < .001$ with mothers and, $t(81) = 7.48$, $p < .001$ with fathers; (3) more instances of desired self-submission than self-change with father-child only, $t(81) =$

2.83, $p < .001$; (4) more instances of desired partner submission than partner-change, $t(94) = 4.75$, $p < .001$ with mothers, and $t(81) = 5.28$, $p < .001$ with fathers; and finally (5) more instances of desired self-change than partner-change $t(94) = 6.42$, $p < .001$, for mothers and $t(81) = 4.81$, $p < .001$, for fathers.

In contrast to their children, parents most frequently desired self-change, and least often suggested that they should have submitted. Specifically, parents reported (1) more instances of desired self-change than self-submission, $t(95) = 9.33$, $p < .001$ for mothers and $t(75) = 7.29$, $p < .001$ for fathers; (2) more instances of desired self-change than partner-submission, $t(95) = 2.68$, $p < .01$ for mothers, and $t(75) = 2.68$, $p < .01$ for fathers; (3) more instances of desired self-change than partner change, $t(95) = 5.92$, $p < .001$ for mothers, and $t(75) = 4.21$, $p < .001$ for fathers; (4) more instances of desired partner submission than self submission, $t(95) = 6.22$, $p < .001$ for mothers and $t(75) = 4.11$, $p < .001$ for fathers; and (5) mothers reported more instances of desired partner-submission than partner change, $t(95) = 2.53$, $p < .05$.

To explore the Group x Desired Change interaction in the father-child dyads, one-way ANOVAs examining between group differences in each category of desired change revealed a group effect for self-change, $F(2, 65) = 4.15$, $p < .02$, and a marginal effect for partner-change, $F(2, 65) = 2.91$, $p = .06$. More specifically, the European Canadian respondents expressed the desire that they would have used constructive negotiation strategies more than did their Eastern European counterparts ($p < .02$), and (2) the Eastern European respondents would have liked their dyadic partner to have been a constructive negotiator more than their Chinese counterparts did ($p < .05$).

Table 16. Means and Standard Deviations of Desired Changes in Reported Conflicts

Respondent	Desired Changes			
	Self-Change	Self-Submit	Partner-Change	Partner-Submit
Children about mothers				
Chinese	.28 (.31)	.33 (.40)	.09 (.21)	.20 (.31)
Eastern European	.21 (.29)	.38 (.36)	.02 (.09)	.25 (.36)
European Canadian	.29 (.29)	.37 (.35)	.01(.05)	.21 (.34)
Mothers				
Chinese	.37 (.36)	.05 (.11)	.06 (.14)	.16 (.22)
Eastern European	.34 (.25)	.04 (.08)	.13 (.17)	.21 (.25)
European Canadian	.33 (.27)	.04 (.07)	.18 (.22)	.21 (.30)
Children about fathers				
Chinese	.12 (.19)	.46 (.41)	.00 (.00)[1]	.23 (.32)
Eastern European	.12 (.19)[1]	.30 (.35)	.04 (.10)[2]	.35 (.39)
European Canadian	.38 (.41)[2]	.42 (.44)	.00 (.00)	.14 (.30)
Fathers				
Chinese	.44 (.39)	.03 (.08)	.04 (.07)[1]	.10 (.26)
Eastern European	.24 (.26)[1]	.04 (.13)	.17 (.30)[2]	.21 (.27)
European Canadian	.39 (.36)[2]	.03 (.07)	.14 (.21)	.16 (.26)

Note. 1. [1] and [2] denote significant differences between groups.
2. $N = 95$ in mother-child dyads; $N = 68$ in father-child dyads.

Preliminary Correlational Analyses for Demographic Variables

One hundred and ninety six preliminary correlational analyses were conducted to explore the associations of children's and parents' age, children's gender, and parents' education and different conflict components as per reports of all respondents. Few (8/196) significant correlations were found (see Table 17). Since there were so few significant correlations, and since there was no discernable pattern to those that were found, it is likely that these significant correlations could be attributed to chance associations.

Table 17. Significant Correlations between Demographic Characteristics and Conflict Components

Respondents	Correlations
Mothers' reports (N = 91)	
Children's gender (0=girl; 1=boy) & Leisure activities	.23*
Children's reports about fathers (N = 78)	
Children's gender & Obligations	-.29*
Children's age & Leisure activities	-.29*
Children's age & Fathers' won	-.35**
Children's age & No resolution	.35**
Fathers' education & Self-change	.24*
Fathers' reports (N = 67)	
Children's gender & Compromise	-.30**
Fathers' education & Self-submit	.27*

Note. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Correlational Analyses for Associations between Conflict Components

Two contrast codes were created to control for cultural differences in the correlational analyses. The first contrast code (C1) compared the Chinese and both the European Canadian and the Eastern European respondents. Contrast weights were 1 for Chinese (CH), -1/2, for East European (EE) and -1/2 for European-Canadian (CA) respondents. The second contrast code (C2) compared both groups of European ethnic origin. The corresponding contrast weights were 1 (EE) and -1 (CA). The rationale behind these contrasts is based upon findings from past research and the results from Part 1, which suggest that cultural differences were largely between the Chinese families and the families of European origin (i.e., European Canadian and Eastern European families).

Raw and partial correlational analyses were conducted to explore the strength of patterns of relationships between conflict components before and after controlling for cultural differences. The analyses showed that patterns of associations remained, and were up to .10 higher after partialing out cultural influences. This is consistent with the relative lack of effects for culture in the analyses of variance reported above. The partial correlations are presented in Tables 18-22.

The raw correlations are presented in Appendix C.

Associations between types of conflicts and conflict outcomes (See Table 18). Parent-child pairs who fought often about children's behavior tended to more often leave the conflicts unresolved, according to the reports of all family members. Mothers were less likely to report compromises when they reported more frequently on conflicts about obligations and they were more likely to report compromises when they reported more frequently about conflicts over fun activities. The reverse pattern was found for mothers' winning. Mothers who reported winning in

conflicts were more likely to report conflicts over obligations and less likely to report conflicts over fun activities. Fathers' and children's reports did not yield the same associations. Neither children's nor parents' reports yielded any associations between issues they fought about and their own satisfaction with how they resolved conflicts with one another.

Table 18. Partial Correlations between Types of Conflicts, Conflict Outcomes, and Satisfaction with Outcomes

Types of Conflicts	Compromise	Child Wins	Parent Wins	No Resolution	Satisfaction Outcomes
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their mothers (N = 79)					
Obligations	.11	.09	-.03	-.14	.03
Fun Activities	.02	.02	.06	-.09	-.09
Child Behavior	-.18†	-.09	-.07	.37**	.05
Mothers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 87)					
Obligations	-.30**	.05	.29**	-.14	-.03
Fun Activities	.36**	.02	-.23*	-.05	.11
Child Behavior	-.04	-.10	-.10	.26*	-.11
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their fathers (N = 59)					
Obligations	.10	.05	.01	-.13	.00
Fun Activities	.10	.06	.03	-.13	.06
Child Behavior	-.25†	-.12	-.10	.45***	-.12
Fathers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 56)					
Obligations	.11	-.04	.09	-.16	-.09
Fun Activities	.12	.14	-.04	-.14	.13
Child Behavior	-.19	-.14	-.08	.33*	.00

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Associations between types of conflicts and desired changes in the reported conflicts (See Table 19). When children frequently argued with their parents about obligations, they reported more often willingness to self-submit in retrospect. However, children less often expressed a desire to self-submit when they reported more conflicts over fun activities with their parents. Instead, children expressed more wishes that their mothers had used more constructive strategies when they often fought with them over fun activities, but were less likely to suggest that their mothers engage in more constructive conflict resolution strategies when conflicts often concerned obligations. Further, children more often expressed wishes that their mothers had submitted when they frequently fought with them over fun activities. Interestingly, mothers also tended to report that they wished that they had submitted when they reported more fights over fun activities. There were no relations between frequencies of conflict issues reported by fathers and their desired changes in the reported conflicts.

Table 19. Partial Correlations between Types of Conflicts and Desired Changes

Types of Conflicts	Self-Change	Self-Submit	Partner-Change	Partner-Submit
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their mothers (N = 79)				
Obligations	.09	.24*	-.25*	-.18
Fun Activities	-.16	-.33**	.23*	.34**
Child Behavior	.06	.10	.04	-.13
Mothers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 87)				
Obligations	.03	-.10	-.07	-.02
Fun Activities	-.13	.21†	-.01	.01
Child Behavior	.10	-.12	.05	.03
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their fathers (N = 59)				
Obligations	-.14	.35**	-.18	-.12
Fun Activities	-.01	-.29*	.18	.10
Child Behavior	.25†	.04	.02	-.14
Fathers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 56)				
Obligations	-.13	-.05	.01	-.08
Fun Activities	-.07	.18	-.07	.08
Child Behavior	.23†	-.12	.09	-.07

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05, ***p*<.01.

Associations between conflict confrontation and conflict outcomes (see Table 20). Parents reported *no-resolution* outcomes often when their children were, on average, more confrontational with them. There were no significant relationships between outcomes and confrontation for children's diary reports of conflict outcomes or assessments of parents' levels of conflict confrontation. Both children and their mothers reported less satisfaction with how they solved their conflicts with one another when children were rated as using more confrontational conflicts strategies. Children were less likely to report satisfaction with conflict endings when their fathers were generally more confrontational with them, while fathers reported less satisfaction when either they or their children used more confrontational conflict strategies.

Associations between conflict confrontation and desired changes (see Table 21).

Children whose mothers were generally confrontational in conflicts with them were more likely to wish that their mothers used more constructive negotiation strategies in retrospect. Children whose fathers were generally confrontational in conflicts were less likely to desire that their fathers submitted in retrospect.

Table 20. Partial Correlations between Conflict Confrontation in Parent-Child Dyads, Conflict Outcomes and Satisfaction with Conflict Outcomes

Conflict Confrontation	Compromise	Child Wins	Parent Wins	No Resolution	Satisfaction Outcomes
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their mothers (N = 79)					
Children's confrontation with mothers	.07	-.11	.14	-.07	-.27*
Mothers' confrontation with children	-.07	-.06	.01	.10	-.09
Mothers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 87)					
Children's confrontation with mothers	.05	-.11	-.20†	.27**	-.37***
Mothers' confrontation with children	.03	-.08	-.11	.17	.00
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their fathers (N = 56-59)					
Children's confrontation with fathers	.17	-.07	.18	-.25†	-.16
Fathers' confrontation with children	-.07	-.14	.04	.12	-.37**
Fathers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 56)					
Children's confrontation with fathers	-.02	-.24†	-.11	.29*	-.28*
Fathers' confrontation with children	-.19	-.08	.02	.17	-.28*

Note. †$p<.10$; *$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

Table 21. Partial Correlations between Conflict Confrontation in Parent-Child Dyads and Desired Changes

Conflict Confrontation	Self-Change	Self-Submit	Partner-Change	Partner-Submit
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their mothers (N = 79)				
Children's confrontation with mothers	.16	.10	.04	-.07
Mothers' confrontation with children	.04	-.07	.28*	.02
Mothers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 87)				
Children's confrontation with mothers	-.10	-.12	.18†	-.14
Mothers' confrontation with children	-.13	-.10	.05	-.10
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their fathers (N = 56-59)				
Children's confrontation with fathers	.21	.11	-.04	-.16
Fathers' confrontation with children	.07	.19	.07	-.28*
Fathers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 56)				
Children's confrontation with fathers	.10	-.11	.12	-.14
Fathers' confrontation with children	-.11	-.22	.09	.02

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05, ***p*<.01.

Associations between conflict outcomes, satisfaction with conflict endings and desired changes in the reported conflicts (see Table 22). Children who often won in conflicts with their parents were likely to report greater satisfaction with conflict endings. Fathers, likewise, reported more satisfaction when they reported frequent wins. Mothers, on the other hand, were more satisfied with outcomes when they reported compromises frequently. Both parents reported less satisfaction with conflict endings when their conflicts often ended in *no resolution*, as did the children when reporting on mother-child conflicts. In father-child dyads, children, in contrast to their fathers, reported less satisfaction with conflict resolution when their fathers often won.

Children who won in conflicts with their mothers were often likely to express wishes that their mothers submit when looking back at the reported conflicts. Children who often reported their fathers' winnings expressed more often desires that they had submitted and less often wished that they or their fathers would find more constructive ways to negotiate their differences. Both parents reported more often wishes to self-submit when looking back at the reported conflicts when their children frequently won in conflicts with them.

When children and fathers frequently reported compromises with one another, they expressed more often wishes that their dyadic partner negotiated more constructively in the reported conflicts and fathers were unlikely to wish that their children submit. Finally, children who often reported *no resolution* outcomes with their mothers were more likely to express wishes that their mothers had negotiated more constructively with them.

Table 22. Partial Correlations between Conflict Outcomes, Satisfaction with Conflict Outcomes and Desired Changes

Conflict Outcomes	Satisfaction Outcomes	Self-Change	Self-Submit	Partner-Change	Partner-Submit
Children's diary reports about mothers					
Compromise	.11	-.09	-.03	-.16	.11
Child Wins	.26*	-.16	-.13	-.15	.29**
Mother Wins	-.13	.05	.14	-.09	-.13
No resolution	-.24*	.17	-.01	.40***	-.21†
Mothers' diary reports					
Compromise	.28**	.11	.08	.15	-.06
Child Wins	.06	.13	.29**	-.07	.05
Mother Wins	.13	-.07	-.10	-.13	-.07
No resolution	-.41***	-.09	-.18	.10	.07
Children's diary reports about fathers					
Compromise	.12	.13	-.16	.30*	-.02
Child Wins	.37**	.09	-.11	.09	.03
Father Wins	-.33**	-.27*	.27*	-.26†	-.02
No resolution	-.08	.16	-.07	-.01	-.01
Fathers' diary reports					
Compromise	.06	.04	.03	.26†	-.31*
Child Wins	-.01	.07	.40**	-.08	.05
Father Wins	.29*	-.01	-.14	-.14	.14
No resolution	-.38**	-.05	-.10	.01	.06

The majority of these associations indicate that the respondents' desired changes are consistent with what actually happened in the conflicts. Because I had asked about change, and yet the correlational responses tended to indicate consistency with outcomes rather than changes in outcomes, it was important to verify this pattern in the individual conflicts reported, in addition to the analyses of individual differences. Therefore, four chi-square analyses, 4 (conflict outcome) X 4 (Desired Change), for each respondent within each parent-child dyad were performed to evaluate whether these relations would hold at the conflict level . Most of the significant findings confirmed the major patterns of associations between conflict outcomes and desired changes found in the correlational analyses (See Appendix D).

Discussion

The goal of this study was to examine patterns of associations between frequencies of conflict components with specific focus on how conflict issues and levels of confrontation in conflicts are related to actual and desired outcomes from the perspectives of children and parents. I found that children and parents do not always share the same views on how they resolve conflicts with one another.

In this study, children and parents were asked to report on only one conflict each day. If more than one conflict had occurred during a particular day, it is possible that each respondent reported the one that was presumably more salient to him or her. This may account for differences in frequencies or associations between conflict components reported by parents and children. Thus, this discussion likely pertains to conflicts that may have particular importance to the respondents.

Cultural Differences in Parent-child Conflict Resolution

Few cultural differences were found. I did not find the expected differences in the prevalence of conflicts related to obligations in the Chinese families or more compliance by the Chinese children than the children from the other two cultural groups. Studies with Chinese families have revealed that Chinese parents tend to be more controlling and have more expectations of children's adherence to obligations and compliance with them than parents from North America (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Wu et. al., 2002). Similarly to past research, Part 1 demonstrated that the Chinese fathers perceived themselves as more power assertive than the European Canadian fathers. One explanation for the lack of cultural differences in prevalence of conflicts over obligations and children's compliance would be that the Chinese parents in this sample are well-educated, and may

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have had some exposure to Western values of democratic communication within families through their education and residence in Canada. Thus, the Chinese parents, though generally controlling (as per their own views), may insist less on compliance and may allow their children some autonomy in making choices about how to prioritize and balance obligations with activities of interest to them on a daily basis. As expected, European Canadian mothers expressed higher levels of satisfaction with conflict outcomes than did their Chinese counterparts. These findings are in line with studies on cultural differences in the expression of affect (Eid & Diener, 2001; Leichtman, Wang, & Pillemer, 2003).

Eastern European fathers and children expressed wishes that their dyadic partner would have negotiated more constructively, whereas the Chinese respondents rarely desired such changes in others. Additionally, children from all groups rarely suggested changes in their fathers' negotiations. Moreover, the European Canadian children and their fathers expressed more desires to have used more constructive behaviors themselves in the reported conflicts with one another than their Chinese and Eastern European counterparts did. In general, one might expect that the Chinese fathers would have wished for greater submission or more cooperation from their children since Asian parents have strong expectations of their children's compliance when negotiating daily issues (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Since in Chinese father-child dyads, generational hierarchy is an important relational feature (Chao & Tseng, 2002), it is likely that the Chinese respondents may not have thought that more positive negotiation by others would have improved their conflict resolution. In Part 1, I found that the European Canadian and Eastern European children expressed higher levels of egalitarian warmth with their fathers and reported their fathers to be more accommodating in daily conflicts than the Chinese children did. These findings

likely demonstrate that the respondents of European origin are more actively engaged in common activities and joint decision making on a daily basis than their Chinese counterparts, which may explain their desire to improve their negotiation.

It is noteworthy that the methodology of this study is different from the methodology of most cross-cultural studies on parent-child relations in that it uses independent daily accounts of actual conflict events by children and their parents. Most cross-cultural studies on parent-child relations have used Likert-type scales, which are likely to elicit "response styles and reference group effect" (Oishi et al., 2005, p. 300). For example, my own analyses from Part 1 revealed more cultural differences in parent-child relations using Likert rating scales than Part 3, which used diary reports of various aspects of conflicts. These findings likely show that cultural differences may be particularly salient when individuals are asked to express the magnitude of their emotions and opinions on various aspects of interpersonal relations. However, it appears that a methodology that focuses on more detailed accounts of daily events demonstrates greater similarity in patterns of daily conflicts. In addition, the existing literature on parent-child conflict is scarce on studies that explored systematically cultural differences in individual accounts of conflict events over time across several ethnic groups. Thus, this study is among the first to provide evidence that parent-child conflict is likely to unfold similarly across different cultural groups. Yet, these findings await replications using the same methodology with other cultural groups.

Generational Differences in Parent-child Conflict Resolution

In both parent-child dyads, conflicts over obligations prevailed over the other types of daily conflicts. These patterns of findings are in line with other studies with adolescents, which demonstrated that early and mid adolescents are more likely to argue with their parents about daily obligations and household rules and responsibilities than late adolescents (Renk et al., 2005, Smetana, 1989). Both parents reported more conflicts over children's behavior than their children did, which suggest that parents appear to be particularly sensitive to issues related to their children's moral development. Parents, traditionally having responsibility to maintain order and harmonious relationships in their home, likely reported conflicts that are of primary importance to them. Additionally, children may be more reluctant to report conflicts in which they may have misbehaved in an important way. Past research has shown that children display self-serving biases by tending to report fewer unjustified negative actions and more positive actions that they undertook in conflicts with their siblings than they did for their siblings (Ross, Smith, Spielmacher, and Recchia, 2004). Therefore, children in this study may not have been inclined to reveal their own transgressions, but rather to report more conflicts over activities of their personal choice. Children, on the other hand, reported more conflicts over leisure and fun activities with their mothers than their mothers did. For children, their engagement in leisure and fun activities appears to be an important issue since a great deal of their time involves attending school, and they may have little time to pursue activities they like. As each family member was asked to report on conflicts that were of greater personal significance to themselves, these differences may also reflect children's concerns over autonomy and their parents' concern over conventional, pragmatic and moral issues (Smetana, 1989).

As expected, both sides of each parent-child dyad reported the prevalence of parents' winning in conflicts with their children over the other conflict outcomes. These findings reveal cross-generational agreement in relation to the most likely outcome of parent-child disputes and are in line with past research, which showed that parents are more likely to win in daily conflicts than their children and adolescents (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Smetana & Gaines, 1999; Yau & Smetana, 2003). Surprisingly, children's wishes also corresponded with this pattern; in retrospect, they expressed more willingness to have submitted in the reported conflicts with their parents than their parents did. This was especially the case when conflicts arose over obligations and daily routines. These results extend the findings from a study conducted by Yau and Smetana (1996) in which early and mid adolescents perceived their parents as final decision makers in both real and ideal conflict resolutions across all conflicts reported. Hence, the present study suggests that preadolescent children have established perceptions and generally expect to concede to their parents' requests in daily disagreements with them. However, the correlational analyses revealed that children's desire for self-submission depends on the conflict issue (see below). On the other hand, as expected, both parents expressed more wishes that both sides of each parent-child dyad had negotiated more constructively in retrospect than their children reported. Parents may feel that at this point of their children's development it is their own responsibility to model effective negotiation of differences in goals and perspectives on a variety of daily issues. As well, parents expect their children to respond properly in return. As shown, for preadolescent children, self-submission seems to be more salient desired and expected outcome of parent-child disputes.

Associations between Conflict Issues, Conflict Intensity, and Conflict Outcomes

The main goal of the present study was to examine associations between frequencies of conflict components with particular focus on actual outcomes and desired changes in conflicts from the perspectives of children and parents. As expected, correlational and partial correlational analyses demonstrated similar associations with the latter being slightly higher. The associations found demonstrate that the relations among frequencies of conflict components are over and above those of the cultural differences and thus culture likely does not mediate these associations.

The correlational analyses revealed several interesting patterns. First, as expected, both children and parents reported that when they often argued over children's misbehavior, they also frequently failed to resolve the conflict. Conflicts related to child behavior included fights with siblings, disrespect of parents, teachers or classmates, or children's non-compliance in matters not related to family obligations. Moreover, parents reported dissatisfaction more often when their children were more confrontational with them and when they often failed to resolve conflicts. Children, on the other hand, felt frequently dissatisfied with conflict endings when they were often confrontational with their mothers and when their fathers were often confrontational with them. These findings are similar to results in a study conducted by Laursen and Koplas (1995), where the respondents reported high affective intensity experienced during and after conflicts across various relationships. Further, children often wished that their mothers had negotiated more positively when they often failed to achieve resolution with them and when their mothers were more often confrontational, and all family members appeared to be commonly dissatisfied with such outcomes. Not reaching a particular solution to a problem may contribute to parents'

frustration with their failure to solve conflict issues with their children. These findings likely demonstrate that children's misbehavior and lack of cooperation cannot successfully be handled by parents and often remain unresolved on a daily basis. When children misbehave, they may experience intense negative affect when confronted by their parents, which makes it less likely that they accept their parents' judgments about their behavior.

I found more consistent associations between frequencies of types of conflicts and frequencies of conflict outcomes in the mothers' reports than in children's and fathers' reports. As expected, mothers were less often likely to report compromises and more likely to report that they won when their frequently engaged in conflicts over conventional issues such as obligations and daily routines. Moreover, mothers reported that they were more likely to compromise and less often likely to win when they often disagreed with their children over children's personal interests. These findings extend the existing literature by providing further evidence about mothers' and children's views of conflict resolution. Studies have demonstrated that mothers, as primary caregivers across different cultures, spend more time with their children and accumulate more experience in conflicts with them than fathers do (Renk et. al., 2005; Smetana, 1989). Mothers have many daily responsibilities for household organization, children's upbringing and school preparation. Therefore, mothers need to establish a structured routine and a system of rules at home, which will enable them to accomplish all daily tasks effectively and in a timely fashion. These results demonstrate that mothers from all three cultural groups tend to be more solution oriented with respect to household matters and they likely have established perceptions of how their children should contribute to family life. In addition, since children's reports did not yield the same associations as their mothers' reports did, it is

possible that relations between frequencies of certain types of conflicts and conflict endings have more significance for mothers in light of their overall responsibility for maintaining daily routines and household rules.

Interestingly, in children's reports, more associations emerged between frequencies of reported types of conflicts and desired changes in conflicts than between types of conflicts and the actual outcomes. Children expressed more often a desire to submit in retrospect when they often argued with their parents about daily obligations. However, children expressed their desire to do so less often when they often disagreed over activities they wanted to pursue. Moreover, when children frequently engaged in disputes over fun activities with their mothers, they often expressed desires that their mothers had negotiated more constructively and submitted more often than they actually did; however, children were less often likely to have such expectations when the disputes with their mothers frequently revolved around daily obligations. These findings parallel mothers' reports of their own inclination to often compromise in conflicts over leisure and fun activities. Thus, it is likely that preadolescent children understand the importance of fulfilling their obligations related to completing homework, helping with chores, and other responsibilities related to daily routines (i.e., bed time, etc.), while simultaneously expressing their desire for more freedom to choose and to engage in activities of their personal choice. Preadolescent children in this study endorsed similar wishes as adolescents did in a study conducted by Yau and Smetana (2003), who expressed desires to be final decision makers in disputes with their parents. However, the present study demonstrates that while preadolescents often yearn for freedom of choice in conflicts over activities of their choice,

they also appear to recognize the importance of compliance in conflicts over rules and obligations, as shown in another study by Smetana (1989).

As expected, children were pleased with how they resolved conflicts with their parents when they often won, likely because their daily goals and wishes were fulfilled. Parents expressed dissatisfaction when they often failed to resolve disputes with their children; however, they differed in their satisfaction with certain conflict endings. Mothers were pleased with outcomes when they often reached compromises and fathers were pleased with outcomes when they often won. Research shows that mothers tend to use more reasoning in daily communication with their children and so to foster development of their negotiation competence, while fathers tend to adopt a disciplinarian stance (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Grusec, 2002; Ho, 1986). Thus, parents' contentment with particular conflict outcomes likely reflects different trends in parental roles: mothers, as primary caregivers, may emphasize collaboration and may teach their children to make adjustments in their goals in order to accomplish various tasks. Fathers, on the other hand, may be more directive and may more assertively insist on their children's acquiescence (Vuchinich, Emery, & Cassidy, 1988). As discussed, mothers' reports reflected frequencies of occurrence of particular outcomes in relation to particular conflict issues, and children's reports reflected frequencies of desired changes in relation to particular conflict issues. Fathers' reports did not yield such associations, which likely demonstrated that they may be less sensitive to differences in issues than other family members. Fathers, however, may expect to exert control regardless of the conflict issue that is being negotiated and appear satisfied when they often won.

When evaluating the associations between children's and parents' reports of

outcomes and their desired changes in retrospect, three interesting patterns emerged. First, I expected that children and parents will express desires to improve their negotiation by either suggesting changes to the process of negotiation or by the way they resolved the conflict with one another. In fact, most of the desired changes appear to be frequently associated with the actual outcomes, which likely shows that the respondents appear to be content with how the conflict had been resolved. In other words, both parents and children often expressed no wishes of a change in the reported dispute. For example, both children and parents frequently desired to self-submit in conflicts in which their dyadic partner won. Children often expected their mothers to submit when they won. Some examples from the latter findings include situations in which children negotiated prioritizing leisure activities over their homework, chores, and some leisure activities, providing reasons for not fulfilling their parents' requests, or making decisions to do an activity in their preferred way, etc. Examples from mothers' diaries indicate that mothers would likely wish their children to submit when conflict issues referred to daily responsibilities which have established time and place of occurrence, such as doing homework, personal hygiene, or meeting peers.

This pattern of findings likely demonstrates that children and parents often seem to have little desire for departure from particular conflict outcomes. Their desires for no-change in retrospect in fact re-affirm the established patterns of outcomes. It is possible that in preadolescence, particular conflict sequences are relatively well established and children's and parents' expectations of how conflicts unfold may reflect and substantiate the existing dynamics of conflict resolution rather than challenge it.

The second pattern revealed that upon reaching compromises with their parents, children expressed wishes to have negotiated more constructively in retrospect (See

Appendix D). Compromises may be viewed as a higher form of conflict resolution in which both parties are able to consider their partners' perspective, and to achieve resolution in which both parties make gains but also accommodate their original goals (Siddiqui & Ross, 1999). Hence, these results likely show that reaching a mutually beneficial resolution likely reinforces children's inclination to collaborate in disputes with their parents.

Third, as noted above, in children's responses more associations were found between frequencies of reported outcomes and desired changes than between frequencies of particular conflict issues and actual outcomes. These findings likely show that at this developmental stage children often do not seem to have much power over influencing occurrence of conflict outcomes but desire changes in particular types of conflicts. Despite having less frequently control over turning the dispute into their advantage, preadolescents seem to have established perceptions of which conflict issues (i.e., obligations or fun activities) they or their parents should commonly submit.

Conclusion

The results of the present study advance the existing literature on parent-child conflict in several ways. First, I found few cultural differences. Cross-cultural studies traditionally use questionnaires, which may potentially elicit individual biases as well as reference group biases in responding to various issues related to interpersonal relations (see Part 1; Oishi et al., 2005). By using independent daily reports of conflicts by both children and parents, this study demonstrates that cultural differences in individual experiences of parent-child disputes are not as salient as they were in past research on other aspects of parent-child relations. I found similar frequencies of occurrence of conflict issues and outcomes. The findings from this study also demonstrated that culture does not mediate the

associations between frequencies of conflict components. Thus, the findings of this study suggest that cultural background does not play a major role in children's and parents' perceptions of how they solve conflicts with one another on a daily basis. Second, I found that both children's and parents' desires for a change in retrospect often did not challenge but re-affirmed patterns of conflict outcomes. These findings likely suggest that in preadolescence, children's and parents' perspectives, though differing on various aspects of conflicts, corroborate the notion that particular conflict sequences are relatively well established and reflect certain developmental trends. Third, this study demonstrates that preadolescent children and parents have different views on their conflict resolution with one another and that mother-child dyads differ from father-child dyads in various aspects of conflict resolution due to different exposure to a variety of conflicts as well as due to different parental socialization practices. Mothers, as primary caregivers, may emphasize children's daily collaboration, and fathers may place greater importance on asserting and maintaining discipline and thus emphasize children's obedience. Overall, mothers' perceptions of conflict endings are more consistently related to the nature of conflict issues than children's and fathers' reports. Preadolescent children, being generally dependent on their parents, are less often likely to experience control over how conflicts should be resolved. However, based on their daily experiences in conflicts, children appear to have developed clear perceptions of how they or their parent dyadic partner should have acted in certain conflicts. More specifically, they often wished to submit when arguments with their parents evolved around obligations but expressed wishes to yield in retrospect less often when they argued over activities of their personal choice.

Conflicts over children's behavior appeared to be particularly salient for parents but not as much for their children. Parents reported more conflicts over children's behavior and more desired changes for constructive negotiation by both sides of parent-child dyads than their children did. While both children and parents reported more standoffs of their disputes when they often argued over children's misbehavior, parents reported that children's confrontation in conflicts were more often provoked by children's misbehavior and were often dissatisfied when they failed to resolve such conflicts with them. Children, on the other hand, choose not to report conflicts related to their misbehavior, which likely showed self-serving biases in disclosing their own transgressions, as shown in past research. Hence, children's and parents' accounts of conflict events are likely to be biased by their generational roles and associated beliefs and expectations.

Finally, this study is among the first to provide evidence of children's and parents' views on their daily disputes with one another. Greater differences were found in the reports of parents and children than in those from different cultural groups. Children's and parents' different perceptions of resolution of their daily conflicts will likely result in children's and parents' different reactions to various conflict events, and are likely to be precursors to growing generational differences in representations of conflict scenarios that may become more apparent in adolescence.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

In my thesis, I examined cultural differences and similarities of parent-child relations and conflict resolution as per views of children and parents from three major cultural groups in Canada. In Part 1, I asked how qualities of parent-child relations are linked to quality of conflict negotiation. In Part 2, I evaluated the associations between English language knowledge and children's use and preference for using English at home and the quality of parent-child relations in the early acculturation stages. In Part 3, I explored trends in conflict resolution from children's and parents' perspectives with particular focus on conflict outcomes within individually reported conflicts.

Cultural Differences in Parent-child Relationships

When exploring cultural differences, I sought to replicate findings from past research. Having reports from children and parents allowed me to evaluate cultural differences from the perspective of two generations within one family. First, in Parts 1 and 3, I replicated some findings from other cross-cultural studies, but also expanded the existing literature on parent-child conflicts in several important ways.

As expected, the Eastern European and the European Canadian children reported higher levels of egalitarian and warm relations with their parents and perceived their parents as more constructive negotiators than the Chinese children did. These findings are consistent with findings from other cross-cultural studies (Chao, 1995; Leichtman, Wang, & Pillemer, 2003; Liu et al., 2005; Wu et al., 2002). Contrary to my expectations and to their children's reports, the European Canadian and Chinese parents did not differ in relation to their perceptions of levels of warmth and egalitarian relations with their children and reported comparable levels of their children's confrontation in conflicts. However, as

expected, the Chinese fathers reported higher levels of power assertion than the European Canadian fathers, and the Chinese mothers reported lower levels of satisfaction with conflict outcomes than the European Canadian mothers, as shown in other studies with similar research focus (Chao, 1995; Chin-Yau, & Fu, 1990; Kelley & Tseng, 1992). These results replicate findings from past research but also show unique trends in children's and parents' perceptions of their relationships. Children's responses more generally confirmed my predictions of cultural differences in expression of feelings within families, reciprocity in parent-child relations and democratic parenting styles. These findings likely show that preadolescent children, being immersed in the new cultural environment, compare how their parents relate to them with parents of Canadian born children (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990; Wu & Chao, 2005). Fathers' reports, on the other hand, confirmed my expectations of culturally contingent levels of parental control and assertiveness. The comparable levels of egalitarian warmth reported by Chinese and European Canadian parents likely show that Chinese parents' exposure to the Canadian culture may have contributed to re-conceptualization of their expectations of their children's behaviors in conflicts with them.

Trends in Parent-child Relationships and Conflict Resolution

Overall, the findings from this multicultural study suggest striking cross-cultural similarities in children's and parents' perceptions of associations between qualities of their relationships. Part 1 demonstrated that the quality of parent-child relationships predicted each family member's confrontation in conflicts over and above that of the cultural influences in both the self- and the cross-reports. More specifically, higher levels of egalitarian warmth and lower levels of power assertive parenting predicted greater accommodation and less confrontation in conflicts by both parents and children. Similarly,

Part 3 demonstrated that culture does not mediate the associations between frequencies of conflict components. I also found very few cultural differences in children's and parents' reports of frequency of conflict issues and outcomes over a period of two weeks. Rather, children's different experiences of daily disputes with each parent are likely to be associated with different ways of resolutions of these disputes in mother-child and father-child dyads. Mothers, as primary caregivers, commonly emphasize the importance of children's collaboration, particularly in issues related to their daily responsibilities, and are less often likely to let their children have their own way in disputes over such issues. Mothers were often inclined to compromise, however, when children often attempted to negotiate activities of personal choice. Fathers, on the other hand, may be more power assertive while maintaining discipline at home, and thus may commonly expect their children to be obedient. Across all respondents' reports, standoff outcomes of daily disputes were likely to occur when children and parents arguments often evolved around children's misbehavior and when children's level of confrontation with parents increased (as per parents' views). Failure to resolve daily disputes was often related to respondents' dissatisfaction with conflict outcomes. These results suggest that while each parent-child dyad may have established dynamics of conflict resolution, conflicts which result in standoffs appear to unfold similarly in parent-child disputes. In this regard, both parents expressed desires for more mutually beneficial negotiation in retrospect than their children did and children expressed more willingness to collaborate when they achieved compromise with their parents. At this point of their children's development, parents are actively involved in providing models of effective conflict resolution and reinforcing collaboration and mutual consideration of differences in their children.

The findings from Part 1 show similar dynamics of parent-child relations and conflict negotiation across the three cultural groups. Moreover, the results from this study provide further evidence that early acculturation stresses do not seem to disrupt the quality of parent-child relations in the immigrant families. Yet, children's knowledge of the host language appears to be positively associated with children's relationships with fathers, which likely shows that fathers strongly support their children's successful adaptation in their new country. It is possible, that immigrant parents with higher levels of education are more likely to have satisfactory levels of English knowledge, to be assertive and adaptable, and as such to provide adequate support and guidance for their children. Therefore, the language gaps in such families appear to be small and may not be associated with the quality of relationships as much as they do in families where parents have lower levels of education and English proficiency. Nevertheless, Part 2 suggests that children's refusal to use their native language at home appears to be associated with low cohesiveness in the mother-child dyads and with high levels of mothers' confrontation in conflicts, which likely suggests that language preference may be a precursor of acculturation gap that may become evident in later developmental periods. Future longitudinal studies need to track and evaluate changes in communication patterns in immigrant families starting from earlier developmental periods and continuing until adolescence. It is likely that language gap effects as well as effects of other aspects of acculturation, such as adopting values and norms of behaviors of the host culture, may become more pronounced in adolescence as a function of adolescents' individuation and identity formation.

In Part 1, I found stronger associations between relationship qualities in preadolescence than other studies have reported in adolescence (Adams & Laursen, 2007;

Fuligni, 1998; Greenberger, Chen, Tally, & Dong, 2000), which reveals the significance of parent-child relationships for younger children. Similarly, Part 3 corroborates the notion that preadolescence is a developmental stage which is characterized by children's general dependence on their parents and that parents are likely to play a dominant role in resolution of daily disagreements. The evaluation of generational differences in respondents' reports of diary events revealed that conflicts over obligations prevailed over the other types of daily issues and parents' winnings prevailed over children's winning. Children, on the other hand, expressed more wishes for self-submission in retrospect than their parents did and these wishes were often related to the frequency of conflicts over obligations and daily routines. These patterns of findings are comparable to findings from studies with early adolescents (Renk et al., 2005, Smetana, 1989; Smetana & Gaines, 1999; Yau & Smetana, 2003). Unlike other studies with adolescents, Part 3 provides robust evidence that preadolescent children are less often likely to exert much control over resolution of daily disputes with their parents than their parents do. At this developmental stage, children appear to recognize that they are expected to submit in disputes over daily responsibilities. However, they would rather defend and assert their goals in disputes over activities they would like to pursue. An important finding of Part 3 is that in retrospect both children and parents did not express a strong desire to change aspects of their disputes. Instead, they often re-affirmed they way they resolved them. These findings suggest that preadolescent children and parents do not challenge established conflict scenarios and are generally content with how they resolve their differences.

Part 3 provides further evidence for the notion that conflicts of personal significance are particular salient for the respondents and exert influence on their inclination to

remember and to report them. The findings from the individual reports of daily conflicts revealed that children display self-serving biases by underreporting their negative behaviors, which, in turn, appear to present concerns to their parents (Ross, Smith, Spielmacher, and Recchia, 2004). However, children reported more conflicts over activities of their personal choice with their mothers than their mothers did. The parent-child differences in reports of prevalence of certain conflict issues parallel findings from other studies where conflicts over autonomy issues were particularly salient to adolescents and those over conventional and moral issues appeared to be salient for their parents (Smetana, 1989; Smetana & Gaines, 1999).

The results from this multicultural study substantiate and expand the findings from studies with similar research focus, which studied only one cultural group and thus point to the universalities of the internal organization of parent-child relations. This study also suggests that preadolescent children's views are similar to those held by their parents about the dynamics of their relationships. Thus, despite being at a developmental stage of general dependence on their parents, preadolescents appear as active agents in the relationships with them. As noted, most parents in this study had postsecondary degrees and it is possible that the relatively comparable views of and behaviors in relationships with their children are likely due to their generally higher levels of education. As well, immigrant parents, though having residing in Canada for a few years, were likely to be in a process of adopting some values and norms of behavior of their new culture, which, in turn, might have influenced their parenting styles (Trickett & Birman, 2005).

In light of the lack of studies with Eastern European recent immigrants to Canada, this study is among the first to provide evidence of children's and parents' views from this

region on construction and dynamics of parent-child relations. The Eastern European families and particularly children appeared to be more similar to the European Canadian respondents than to the Chinese respondents in their views of organization of parent-child relations. This study also provides evidence of tendency to egalitarianism in the parental orientation in Eastern European families, which has been first suggested in studies with teachers and educated caregivers in Russia (Ispa, 2002; Williams & Ispa, 1999).

It is noteworthy that the methodology of this study is different from the methodology of most cross-cultural studies on parent-child relations in that it included scales to sample both children's and parents' views on quality of their relationships and also independent daily accounts of actual conflict events. Most cross-cultural studies on parent-child relations have mainly used Likert-type scales, which are likely to elicit certain reference group effects and response styles (Oishi et al., 2005). I found more cultural differences when I asked the respondents to rate the magnitude of their feelings and views on various aspects of parent-child relationships (Part 1) than when I asked them to provide objective accounts of their daily experiences of disagreements (Part 3). It is likely that using scales to measure the degree of endorsement of various behaviors triggers culturally laden responses. In contrast, using questions that sample data about specific daily actions possibly generate responses that identify more universal behaviors across cultures. It is clear, however, that future studies need to disentangle culturally specific from universal trends in parent-child relations using multi-method and multi-informant designs.

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Limitations and Future Directions

This multicultural study, has several limitations. First, as noted in the demographics section, most parents from each cultural group had a college or university education. Therefore, the results do not allow generalization of the findings across populations with wider socio-demographic characteristics. For example, immigrant parents having higher levels of education and higher knowledge of the host language may experience smaller gaps in communication with their children, which may have resulted in lack of expected interaction effects in Part 2. Despite this limitation, both immigrant groups are representative of the immigrant population in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). With these characteristics of the parents' sample of immigrants, having relatively educated European Canadian parents as a control group permits comparability of the findings. Second, the Eastern European sample in this study was comprised of families from several countries with similar cultural roots, political and economical history. This feature, however, is also strength in that it makes the Eastern European sample more comparable to the European Canadian sample, which comprises of parents with both Western and Eastern European origins. The third limitation of the study is the small sample size of each cultural group included. It would be important to replicate the findings with larger samples and to examine the patterns of relationships between the quality of negotiation and the quality of parent-child relations for each cultural group individually. For that reason, in Part 2 some interaction effects related to culture may have failed to reach significance particularly for father-child dyads. It could be important to replicate the findings with larger samples and to examine the patterns of relationships between the children's and parents' knowledge of English and the quality of parent-child relations for each cultural group individually. Fourth,

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one of the weaknesses of Part 1 is that there is some remaining overlap in the measures that might also contribute to stronger associations between the variables than are found in studies of adolescents. Fifth, Part 2 has used English knowledge as a variable that reflects an important factor in immigrant families' adaptation to a new country. However, it likely does not precisely capture all processes of immigrants' acculturation. Therefore, future studies need to include more comprehensive measures of acculturation that may be successfully used with young respondents, such as preadolescent children. Sixth, future studies need to examine the course of acculturation process over time and its impact on communication and relationships within parent-child dyads in immigrant families. Seventh, in Part 3 questionnaires and daily diaries were used to explore conflict resolution in parent-child relations in preadolescence. Future studies need to use observational methods in order to determine whether the patterns of associations between conflict components found by this study would be replicated in families with preadolescent children. Eighth, future studies using larger samples with different ethnic groups would be able to more powerfully determine patterns of similarities within and between cultural groups. Ninth, future studies need to determine whether other contextual factors, such as place and time of occurrence of particular conflicts, as well as the daily stress level of children and parents, will influence the dynamics of conflict resolution.

Conclusion

This multicultural study uses a methodology that overcomes limitations in much of the earlier research by sampling reports of both children and parents. Overall, the findings of Part 1 and 3 provide robust evidence of how preadolescent children and their parents view and assess their relationships and daily disputes with one another. The results from Part 1 provide further evidence of the universality of parent-child relations, which appear to be stronger than differences in cultural influences on socialization. The findings from Part 2 revealed that in the two immigrant groups, children's English knowledge and children's use and preference for using English at home, were related to the quality of parent-child relations. Part 3 demonstrated that children and parents have different views on how they resolve conflicts with one another on a daily basis. As a result, children and parents may establish over time different representations of various conflicts, which may likely augment generational differences in their responses to conflict events, and to lead to renegotiation of established conflict scenarios in adolescence.

One important implication of these findings would lie in their applicability in the counselling practices in multicultural societies. Knowing the nature of cultural and generational differences and the strengths of common trends in family processes would help researchers and professionals further merge culturally specific with established evidence-based practices. For the purposes of improving multicultural counselling practice with evidence-based effective approaches to treatment of ethnically diverse families, it is important for studies to further investigate and determine universal trends of bidirectional influences within parent-child relationships at dyadic level and to explore the interdependence of those influences.

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Appendix A

Reliability Analyses of Scales within Cultural Groups

Table 23. Reliability Analyses of Parent-Child relationships within Cultural Groups

Respondent	Conflict Confrontation	Egalitarian Warmth	Power Assertion
Children about mothers *(N=96)*			
Chinese	.82	.91	.88
Eastern European	.79	.85	.73
European-Canadian	.79	.87	.75
Children about fathers *(N=89)*			
Chinese	.83	.93	.85
Eastern European	.87	.90	.86
European-Canadian	.84	.91	.91
Mothers *(N=96)*			
Chinese	.78	.87	.79
Eastern European	.88	.85	.77
European-Canadian	.79	.85	.89
Fathers *(N=84)*			
Chinese	.85	.90	.77
Eastern European	.84	.91	.70
European-Canadian	.86	.87	.89

Appendix B

Coding Schemas of Diary Categories

(Part 3)

Types of Conflicts

Question: What kind of disagreement you have had with your mom/dad/child? What happened?

Category	Definition	Examples
Obligations and Daily activities Code: oblig	Obligations refer to social norms, social responsibilities, rules of the house etc. Daily activities are related to daily routines, such as going to bed, choice of clothes, brushing teeth etc.	1. I did not want to go to bed. 2. I did not want to do my homework. 3. My child did not clean up her room.
Child behaviour Code: chbeh	This code refers to conflicts that have been related to child behaviour, child moral behaviour and emphasize that child behaviour is the reason for a conflict to occur. This category also includes conflicts of child with siblings, friends, relatives or a parent as reported either by the child or by the parent who was not involved in the original conflict.	1. I yelled at my mother. 2. I fought with my brother over a videogame. 3. My child lied that my friend had called.
Leisure and fun activities Code: fun	This category includes disagreements about fun/entertainment and leisure activities, such as watching TV, playing with friends, going to pool, hobbies etc. This category also includes child's requests for material gains.	1. I wanted to go to my friend's house. 2. My child wanted to play longer on the computer. 3. I wanted my mom to buy me this video game.
Parent behaviour Code: parbeh	This category refers to child being dissatisfied with parent's behavior and/or parent admitting of not being helpful to the child or doing something wrong.	1. My mom was grumpy and she took it out on me. 2. My child blamed me for not listening to her. 3. I was in a bad mood and it affected everyone in the house.

Conflict Outcomes

Question: How did the conflict end?

Category	Definition	Examples
No resolution Code: nr	No resolution of the disagreement has been achieved; none of the parties achieved his/her goals.	Type: I did not eat my dinner; End: My mom yelled at me. Type: He screamed at dinner and bothered his brothers; End: It usually ends in the same way: We shout at him.
Win-loss (child) Code: wl , cwin	Win/loss: one of the parties of the dispute did not achieve his/her goal(s), but the other party did. Win-loss is also coded with respect to who wins: child, mother or father.	Type: My mom wanted me to do my homework; End: I did not do my homework (child wins). Type: John asked me to buy him expensive sport shoes; After some arguments, I bought him the shoes he liked (child wins)
Win-loss (parent) Code: wl (mwin or dwin)	Win/loss: one of the parties of the dispute did not achieved his/her goal(s), but the other party did.	Type: My mom wanted me to clean up my room; End: I cleaned up my room (mother wins).
Compromise and win-win outcomes Code: comp	There are a few possible scenarios: 1. The conflict resolution partly satisfies the request/wishes/needs of both parties (the desired outcome may be delayed in time). 2. One of the parties offers a solution for one or for both parties that is sufficient for the disagreement to end. 3. Both parties are happy with how the disagreement ended and make joint gains.	Type: I wanted new shoes. End: My dad promised to buy me new shoes next month. Type: Mom did not let me play one hour longer outside. End: She let me have a chocolate. Type: About what to do during the weekend; End: We both decided to invite some friends over.

Desired Changes in Reported Conflicts

Question: If you could change something in this situation, what would you do?

Category	Definition	Examples
Actor would like to submit to partner's request Code: ssub	Actor would do what his dyadic partner wanted: this involves simply submitting to partner's request without elaboration on actions to be done.	<u>Type:</u> I did not want to take a shower: <u>Would do:</u> I would take a shower: <u>Type:</u> I did not want to go to bed: <u>Would do:</u> Listen to my dad. <u>Type:</u> I did not want to do my homework, <u>Outcome:</u> I did my homework: <u>Would do:</u> I would not change anything. <u>Note:</u> #3 indicates no desire to change the conflict outcome.
Actor would like to change his/her behavior. Code: sch	These include actor's intention to use more constructive strategies: the actor would not yell, lie, cry, will ask partner politely, would stop fighting, would not argue, would not scream, tell the truth, would say *sorry*, would help partner, would change the situation or try new ways of solving the problem, etc.). This category also includes statements in which the actor would try to understand better his/her partner.	<u>Type:</u> I wanted to go to a friends' house <u>Would do:</u> I would ask my mom politely whether I could spend the afternoon in my friend's house. <u>Type:</u> My son refused to do his math homework. <u>Would do:</u> I would try to convince him that he can do it, but he need to work harder and I will spend more time with him.
Actor would like partner to submit Code: osub	Actor would like the dyadic partner to submit to his/her request without elaboration on actions to be done. This category also include statements in which the actor would not do what the partner wanted	<u>Type:</u> I did not want to take a shower: <u>Would do:</u> I would not take a shower. <u>Type:</u> I did not want to eat spaghetti; <u>Would do:</u> I would not eat spaghetti.
Actor would like partner to change his/her behavior. Code: och	These include actor's wishes that his/her partner uses more constructive strategies: these include wishes that partner would stop yelling, calm down, be patient or use other positive ways to solve the problem. This category also includes statements in which the actor would like partner to better understand his/her wishes/ needs/requests: learning native language, motivation to improve certain skills (piano, sport, art).	<u>Type:</u> My mom did not allow me to play with the toys of my brother; <u>Would do:</u> I would like my mom not to yell at me. <u>Type:</u> My son did not let his brother to work on the computer. <u>Would do:</u> I would like him to be more tolerant. <u>Type:</u> My son did not want to speak Chinese with his grandpa. <u>Would do:</u> I would like him to understand the importance of knowing his native language and to be more respectful.
Can not change anything Code: cantch	If the actor has explicitly written that he/she will not or can not change anything.	<u>Type</u>: Disagreements about getting 56 points with pictures. <u>Would do:</u> I can't change the situation. <u>Type:</u> I wanted a new computer. <u>Would do:</u> I will forget about it.
Do not know Code: dk	This category refers to responses in which the respondent has written ″I do not know.″	

Appendix C

Raw Correlations between Conflict Components **(Part 3)**

Table 24. Correlations between Types of Conflicts, Conflict Outcomes, and Satisfaction with Outcomes

Types of Conflicts	Compromise	Child Wins	Parent Wins	No Resolution	Satisfaction Outcomes
Children's diary reports: conflicts with					
their mothers (N = 79)					
Obligations	.09	.09	-.03	-.13	.04
Fun Activities	.03	.02	.05	-.09	-.09
Child Behavior	-.18	-.09	-.07	.36**	.05
Mothers' diary reports: conflicts with					
their children (N = 87)					
Obligations	-.30**	.07	.28**	-.15	-.07
Fun Activities	.36***	.03	-.23*	-.06	.10
Child Behavior	-.03	-.14	-.09	.28**	-.05
Children's diary reports: conflicts with					
their fathers (N = 59)					
Obligations	.06	.09	-.03	-.07	-.03
Fun Activities	.13	.02	.06	-.16	.09
Child Behavior	-.24†	-.14	-.08	.42***	-.11
Fathers' diary reports: conflicts with					
their children (N = 56)					
Obligations	.08	-.03	.11	-.16	-.08
Fun Activities	.14	.12	-.06	-.11	.12
Child Behavior	-.20	-.13	-.07	.32*	.00

Table 25. Correlations between Types of Conflicts and Desired Changes

Types of Conflicts	Self-Change	Self-Submit	Partner-Change	Partner-Submit
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their mothers (N = 79)				
Obligations	.08	.22†	-.18	-.17
Fun Activities	-.15	-.31**	.19	.33**
Child Behavior	.05	.11	.02	-.14
Mothers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 87)				
Obligations	.02	-.09	-.09	-.02
Fun Activities	-.13	.21†	-.01	.01
Child Behavior	.10	-.13	.09	.04
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their fathers (N = 59)				
Obligations	-.16	.33**	-.17	-.11
Fun Activities	.02	-.29**	.17	.10
Child Behavior	.26*	.04	.01	-.14
Fathers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 56)				
Obligations	-.09	-.06	.00	-.08
Fun Activities	-.12	.19	-.04	.09
Child Behavior	.24†	-.13	.08	-.08

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001.

Table 26. Correlations between Conflict Confrontation in Parent-Child Dyads, Conflict Outcomes and Satisfaction with Conflict Outcomes.

Conflict Confrontation	Compromise	Child Wins	Parent Wins	No Resolution	Satisfaction Outcomes
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their mothers (N = 79)					
Children's confrontation with mothers	.07	-.10	.11	-.02	-.31**
Mothers' confrontation with children	-.09	-.04	.01	.11	-.07
Mothers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 87)					
Children's confrontation with mothers	.05	-.15	-.19†	.29**	-.30**
Mothers' confrontation with children	.00	-.01	-.13	.13	-.13
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their fathers (N = 56-59)					
Children's confrontation with fathers	.13	-.10	.20	-.22	-.19
Fathers' confrontation with children	-.13	-.04	-.03	.18	-.39**
Fathers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 56)					
Children's confrontation with fathers	-.05	-.21	-.09	.27*	-.26†
Fathers' confrontation with children	-.15	-.01	.01	.12	-.32**

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05; ***p*<.01.

Table 27. Correlations between Conflict Confrontation in Parent-Child Dyads and Desired Changes

Conflict Confrontation	Self-Change	Self-Submit	Partner-Change	Partner-Submit
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their mothers (N = 79)				
Children's confrontation with mothers	.09	.13	.06	-.07
Mothers' confrontation with children	.04	-.02	.18	.01
Mothers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 87)				
Children's confrontation with mothers	-.10	-.12	.17	-.18†
Mothers' confrontation with children	-.10	-.15	.15	-.10
Children's diary reports: conflicts with their fathers (N = 56-59)				
Children's confrontation with fathers	.18	.09	-.01	-.15
Fathers' confrontation with children	.09	.22	.08	-.29*
Fathers' diary reports: conflicts with their children (N = 56)				
Children's confrontation with fathers	.06	-.10	.14	-.14
Fathers' confrontation with children	-.01	-.22	.01	.07

Note. †$p<.10$; *$p<.05$; **$p<.01$.

Table 28. Correlations between Conflict Outcomes, Satisfaction with Conflict Outcomes and Desired Changes

Conflict Outcomes	Satisfaction Outcomes	Self-Change	Self-Submit	Partner-Change	Partner-Submit
Children's diary reports about mothers (N = 79)					
Compromise	.10	-.09	-.02	-.17	.11.
Child Wins	.26*	-.16	-.13	-.14	.29**
Mother Wins	-.13	.04	.14	-.08	-.13
No resolution	-.25*	.18	-.02	.39***	-.21†
Mothers' diary reports (N = 87)					
Compromise	.28**	.11	.07	.16	-.06
Child Wins	-.01	.12	.30**	-.12	.03
Mother Wins	.13	-.07	-.10	-.11	-.07
No resolution	-.36***	-.08	-.18†	.12	.08
Children's diary reports about fathers (N = 59)					
Compromise	.15	.13	-.16	.31**	-.01
Child Wins	.34**	.04	-.10	.11	.04
Father Wins	-.31*	-.21	.26*	-.27*	-.02
No resolution	-.10	.13	-.06	-.01	-.01
Fathers' diary reports (N = 56)					
Compromise	.03	.04	.04	.22	-.32**
Child Wins	-.03	.11	.39**	-.12	.02
Father Wins	.30*	-.01	-.14	-.13	.15
No resolution	-.35**	-.09	-.10	.04	.09

Note. †*p*<.10; **p*<.05; ***p*<.01.

Appendix D

Chi-square Interrelationships between Conflict Outcomes and Desired Changes

Four chi-square analyses, 4 (conflict outcome) X 4 (Desired Change), for each respondent within each parent-child dyad were performed to evaluate whether these relations would hold at conflict level (See Table 29). Adjusted standardized residuals were used to identify significant associations between categories. A cut off point of $\pm$ 2 SD represented strong significant associations between the variables (Haberman, 1978). The chi-square analyses yielded several significant associations, χ^2 (9, n = 308) = 53.43, p < .001 for children's reports about mothers; χ^2 (9, n = 185) = 20.49, p < .05 for children's reports about fathers; χ^2 (9, n = 379) = 62.16, p < .001, for mothers' reports; and χ^2 (9, n = 179) = 48.63, p < .001, for fathers' reports. Most of the significant findings confirmed the major patterns of associations between conflict outcomes and desired changes found in the correlational analyses. More specifically, children desired to self-submit in conflicts in which their parents won and both parents expressed desires to self-submit in conflicts in which their children won. Both children and mothers expected their dyadic partner to submit when they won. In addition, when children achieved compromises with their parents, they expressed more wishes to have used more constructive strategies in the reported conflicts.

Table 29. Significant Chi-square Interrelationships between Conflict Outcomes and Desired Changes

Conflict Outcomes	Self-Change	Self-Submit	Partner-Change	Partner-Submit
Children's diary reports about mothers (N = 308)				
Compromise	21+	10-	2	15
Child Wins	6	12	1	18+
Mother Wins	43	75+	5-	40
No resolution	22	23	12+	3
Mothers' diary reports (N = 379)				
Compromise	36	9+	14	21
Child Wins	26	12+	4	5-
Mother Wins	83	1	40	68+
No resolution	33	0	11	16
Children's diary reports about fathers (N = 185)				
Compromise	11+	11	0	5
Child Wins	8	8-	1	15+
Father Wins	16-	49+	2	31
No resolution	11	10	2	5
Fathers' diary reports (N = 179)				
Compromise	12	2	10+	2
Child Wins	8	8+	3	3
Father Wins	38	0	12	27+
No Resolution	22	2	12	18

Note 1. The numbers represent observed frequencies
Note 2. + Indicates significant adjusted standardized residuals, which are + 2 SD above the mean. - Indicates significant adjusted standardized residuals, which are - 2 SD below the mean.

Appendix E

Demographic Information[1]

1. Name (Surname and Family name): _____

2. Your relation to the child: mother ☐, father ☐, other ☐ (if yes, specify)_____

3. Your age _____

4. Your child's age (the child who participates in our study): ____DOB: dd/mm/yyyy)_____

5. How many people live in your immediate family household: _____

6. Do you have other children? Gender: male ☐ age (s)____female ☐ age (s)_____

7. Who else lives with your family (e.g. grandparents): _____

8. Your country of origin: _____ 9. Your native language: _____

10. When did you come to Canada (month/year)? _____

11. In what area do you live (City/region/postal code): _____

12. How long (years, months) have you been living in this area? _____

13. Please indicate your current educational level. Graduated from:

high school ☐, college/bachelor degree ☐, advanced/professional degree ☐

14. What is your current occupation: _____

15. What was your occupation in your native country: _____

16. Are you currently employed? yes ☐, no ☐

17. Your Income (optional):

18. under $25000 ☐, $ 25,000-39,000 ☐, $ 40,000-60,000 ☐, above $ 60,000 ☐

---

[1] The Demographic Questionnaire was filled out by the parents.

Parent-Child Relationship Questionnaire (Child Version)[2]
(Part 1 and 2)

Instructions: Please answer all questions.

This questionnaire is about my **<u>mother/father</u>**

My name: _____(completed by)

Hardly at all 1	Not too much 2	Somewhat 3	Very Much 4	Extremely Much 5

1. How much do you and your mother/father care about each other? 1   2   3   4   5
----
2. How much do you and your mother/father disagree and quarrel with each other?
                                                                         1   2   3   4   5
----
3. How much do you and your mother/father mother/father
like the same things?   1   2   3   4   5
----
4. Some parents praise and compliment their children a lot, while other parents hardly ever
praise and compliment their children. How much
does your mother/father praise and compliment you?   1   2   3   4   5
----
5. How much does your mother/father order you around?   1   2   3   4   5
----
6. How much do you and your mother/father tell each other everything? 1   2   3   4   5
----
7. How much do you admire and respect your mother/father?   1   2   3   4   5
----
8. How much does your mother/father admire and respect you?   1   2   3   4   5
----
9. Some parents take away privileges a lot when their children misbehave, while other
parents hardly ever take away privileges. How much does your
mother/father take away your privileges when you misbehave?   1   2   3   4   5
----
10. How much does your mother/father show you how
to do things that you don't know how to do?   1   2   3   4   5
----
11. How much does your mother/father yell at you for being bad? 1   2   3   4   5

---

[2] The Parent-Child Relationship Questionnaire for parents referred to "child" for questions asking about partner's behaviors.

12. How much does your mother/father ask you
for your opinion on things?   1   2   3   4   5
----
13. How much do you and your mother/father go
places and do things together?   1   2   3   4   5
----
14. How much do you and your mother/father love each other?   1   2   3   4   5
----
15. How much do you and your mother/father
get mad at and get in arguments with each other?   1   2   3   4   5
----
16. How much do you and your mother/father
give each other a hand with things?   1   2   3   4   5
----
17. Some parents and children have lot things in common, while other parents and children
have a little in common. How much do you
and your mother/father have things in common?   1   2   3   4   5
----
18. How much does your mother/father tell you that you did a good job?
                                                                     1   2   3   4   5
----
19. How much does your mother/father tell you what to do?   1   2   3   4   5
----
20. How much do you and your mother/father
share secrets and private feelings with each other?   1   2   3   4   5
----
21. How much do you feel proud of your mother/father?   1   2   3   4   5
----
22. Some parents feel really proud of their children,
while other parents don't feel very proud of their children.
How much does your mother/father feel proud of you?   1   2   3   4   5
----
23. How much does your mother/father forbid you
to do something you really like to do when you've been bad?   1   2   3   4   5
----
24. How much does your mother/father help you
with things you can't do by yourself?   1   2   3   4   5
----
25. How much does your mother/father nag or bug you to do things?   1   2   3   4   5
----
26. How much do you play around and
have fun with your mother/father?   1   2   3   4   5
----
27. How much does your mother/father give you
reasons for rules he or she makes for you to follow?   1   2   3   4   5

Conflict Strategies Scale (Child Version)[3]

(Part 1, 2, and 3)

Name: _____

Please rate how often your MOM/DAD uses the following conflict strategies during disputes with you according to the following five-point scale.

1 = never   2 = once in a while   3 = sometimes   4 = most of the time   5 = always

		Rating
1	Does your MOM/DAD stop talking to you when he/she fights with you?	1 2 3 4 5
2	Does your MOM/DAD yell or scream at you?	1 2 3 4 5
3	Does your MOM/DAD try to solve the problem with you?	1 2 3 4 5
4	Does your MOM/DAD call you bad names?	1 2 3 4 5
5	Does your MOM/DAD make fun of you?	1 2 3 4 5
6	Does your MOM/DAD ask you what you want?	1 2 3 4 5
7	Does your MOM/DAD ask you how you feel?	1 2 3 4 5
8	Does your MOM/DAD say nice things to you?	1 2 3 4 5
9	Does your MOM/DAD say he/she's sorry?	1 2 3 4 5
10	Does your MOM/DAD make you cry?	1 2 3 4 5
11	Does your MOM/DAD talk calmly?	1 2 3 4 5
12	Does your MOM/DAD ask you how to solve the problem?	1 2 3 4 5
13	Does your MOM/DAD lie to you?	1 2 3 4 5
14	Does your MOM/DAD help you get what you want?	1 2 3 4 5
15	Does your MOM/DAD let you have your way?	1 2 3 4 5
16	Does your MOM/DAD tell you he/she will hurt you?	1 2 3 4 5
17	Does your MOM/DAD blame you?	1 2 3 4 5
18	Does your MOM/DAD try to find a way for both of you to get what you want?	1 2 3 4 5

[3] The Conflict Strategies Scale for parents referred to "child" for questions asking about partner's confrontation in conflicts.

English Knowledge Questionnaire[4]
(Part 2)

1. How many hours during the day do you speak English?   _____
2. How many days a week do you speak English?   _____
3. How well do you understand English: none □,   little □,   somewhat □,   well □, very well □
4. How well do you speak English? none □,   little □,   somewhat □,   well □, very well □
5. How well does your mom understand English? none □, little □, somewhat □, well □, very well □
6. How well does your mom speak English? none □,   little □,   somewhat □,   well □, very well □
7. How well does your dad understand English? none □, little □, somewhat □, well □, very well □
8. How well does your dad speak English?   none □,   little □,   somewhat □,   well □, very well □
9. What language do you speak at home?   Your native language □   English □   Both □
10. What language do you want to speak at home? Your native language □   English □   Both □

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[4] The English Knowledge questionnaire has only been used with the immigrant families.

Child Diary[5]
(Part 3)

Date _____(day/month/year)

| Has something nice happened to you today? | Yes ☐ | No ☐ |

What is that nice thing?
_____

How often have you had pleasant moments today? None ☐,   1 time ☐,   2 times ☐,   more times ☐
How often have you had pleasant moments with your parents today?

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　None ☐,   1 time ☐,   2 times ☐,   more times ☐

Have you had disagreements with your parents today?   Yes ☐   No ☐

How many disagreements have you had today?   None ☐,   1 time ☐,   2 times ☐,   more times ☐

With whom?   Mom ☐   Dad ☐   Both ☐

Please, fill out if you had disagreement with your MOM:

| Who started?

I　☐
mom ☐ | What kind of disagreement? What happened?
_____ |

How did it end?
_____
_____

If you could change something
in this situation what would you do?
_____
_____

How do you feel about how this disagreement ended?	What language did you use?	What language did your mom use?
Bad ☐	Mother tongue ☐	Mother tongue ☐
Ok ☐	English ☐	English ☐
Good ☐	Both ☐	Both ☐
Very good ☐		

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[5] The diary for parents required parents to describe a daily conflict with their child by asking the same set of questions. The Canadian families were not asked about the language use in their daily disagreements.

Please, fill out if you had disagreement with your DAD:

Who started?	What kind of disagreement? What happened?
I □ Dad □	_____

How did it end?

_____

_____

If you could change something
in this situation what would you do?

_____

_____

How do you feel about how this disagreement ended?	What language did you use?	What language did your dad use?
Bad □ Ok □ Good □ Very good □	Mother tongue □ English □ Both □	Mother tongue □ English □ Both □