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PARENTAL CHILDREARING ATTITUDES AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH SOCIAL, SCHOOL, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT IN URBAN AND RURAL-MIGRANT CHINESE CHILDREN

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine parenting attitudes and their relations with social, school, and psychological adjustment in Chinese urban and rural-migrant children. A sample of 162 urban children and 221 rural-migrant children from grade 3 to grade 6 and their parents participated in the study. Data on children's social, school, and psychological adjustment were collected from multiple sources. Information concerning paternal and maternal childrearing attitudes was obtained from parents' self-reports. It was found that urban parents reported higher parental warmth and encouragement of independence and lower parental power assertion than rural-migrant parents, after controlling for family income and parents' educational levels. Regression analyses revealed significant group by parenting interaction effects. Maternal warmth was positively associated with peer preference, social competence, and school status, and paternal encouragement of sociability was positively associated with social competence in the urban group; these associations were not significant in the rural-migrant group. The results were discussed in terms of the influence of socioeconomic changes on socialization goals and values.

Keywords: Childrearing attitudes, urban, rural-migrant, child adjustment, warmth, power assertion, encouragement of independence, encouragement of sociability, socioeconomic change

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Parental Childrearing Attitudes and their Relations with Social, School, and Psychological Adjustment in Urban and Rural-Migrant Chinese Children

Children are learning and developing within a multilevel socio-ecological system. During development, families, peers, community, society and the interactions among them may have direct and indirect influences on children's social and psychological adjustment. Among the various influences, the impact of parenting styles and practices on children's social competence and developmental outcomes has drawn a lot of attention from different perspectives. In general, it has been found that parenting is linked to children's cognitive abilities (Williams & Sternberg, 2002), prosocial and moral development (Eisenberg & Valiente, 2002), academic achievement (Chao, 1994), peer relationships (Ladd & Pettit, 2002), and psychological adjustment (Chen, Liu, & Li, 2000).

To better understand the impact of parenting styles and practices, many researchers have examined cross-cultural differences in parenting and its relations with children's behaviours (Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007; Chen, Greenberger, Dong, & Guo, 1998; Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). These cross-cultural research studies indicate the importance of social and cultural context in understanding different childrearing attitudes. In addition, diverse subcultures and specific circumstances within a culture may have an impact on parenting and children's adjustment (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Miller, 2002). For example, there are dramatic regional differences, particularly urban vs. rural, in socialization beliefs (Chen et al., 2000), which may have an effect on parental

attitudes and individual behaviours. Therefore, it is important to look at the within-society diversity in parenting and its relations to child developmental outcomes.

Socioeconomic change is one of the important factors that may cause within-society difference in the distribution of income and wealth, the overall quality of life, and the way in which people behave. Variation in these domains may lead to diverse social attitudes and norms that further alter individual behaviours. While socioeconomic changes are taking place virtually all around the world in the globalization process, the current study focused on within-society diversity in the context of China. A closer look at China's full-scale economic reforms towards a market-oriented economy since the late 1970s has revealed dramatic changes in the cities, including a decline in the government control of social welfare and protection, increased unemployment rate and competition, as well as increased acceptance of Western values and ideologies. However, lives in rural areas are less influenced by the modernization process and remain agriculture-centered.

The agricultural lifestyles in rural families preserve many traditional beliefs and values, including childrearing attitudes and goals that emphasize compliance to authorities and suppression of individual characteristics. At the same time, childrearing attitudes in urban families are adopting ideas that underscore individual competence in response to increasing competition in society. It is possible that these different attitudes foster desirable child adjustment outcomes that are adaptive to their own ecological settings. However, millions of surplus rural labors are being attracted to large cities for better economic opportunities in recent years, and one of the challenges for them is to raise their children in the new social environment, where rural parenting styles and practices become maladaptive. Given that rural-migrant workers are becoming a

powerful force in China's social and economic development, considerable attention has been given to the development of the offspring within this population (Wong, Li, & He, 2007; Yan, 2005). Research has suggested that, compared to urban children, children from rural-migrant families are low in social competence and high in maladjustment behaviours and mental health problems (Zhou, 2006; Shen, Wang, 2006; Guo, Yao, & Yang, 2005). Despite the negative opinions about these children, there is still some praise about their hard-working and modest qualities, which may be the characteristics that they carry over from the traditional Chinese family values. Nevertheless, little is known about the characteristics of parenting in rural-migrant families. In the present study, I was interested in whether urban and rural-migrant parents differed in childrearing attitudes and how the attitudes were associated with children's social, school, and psychological adjustment.

Parenting in Context

Socialization refers to the acquisition of individual and culturally shared competence with the assistance of parents or other social agents. Parents are considered the primary agents of socialization because children and parents make up a biosocial system in which children respond to parental cues from an early age. Also, the long period of the relationship facilitates the development of routinized patterns of interaction that foster accommodation to family values and expectations (Collins, Gleason, & Sesma, 1997). Moreover, parents usually act as representatives of the social and moral rules and therefore they naturally take on the responsibility for socialization.

It should be noted that although parents may have a powerful influence on child development, the child also plays an active role in learning his or her culture. While

parents may serve as teachers to educate their children concerning appropriate norms, rules, and mores of the culture or as regulators of opportunities for social contacts and cognitive experiences, children themselves may choose to participate in socialization activities and to cooperate with their parents, and children's behaviours simultaneously elicit and shape parent's socialization strategies (Parke & Buriel, 2006). Furthermore, it is through their interactions with the socio-cultural environment that children learn to become competent members of society. More specifically, social, cultural, and historical backgrounds modify parenting goals, styles and practices through defining acceptable behaviours and desirable outcomes for children. Although the current cross-sectional study did not examine the active role of the child or the parent-child joint interaction with the socio-cultural environment, it is important to understand that children may not necessarily be passive recipients of parental socialization influence and that parental socialization effort is likely constrained by the social and cultural context.

Compared to the well-established link between parenting and child adjustment, the processes and factors that contribute to the development of parenting itself have received less attention. Belsky (1984) proposed a process model of the determinants of parenting and examined the interaction between characteristics of the child (e.g., temperament), characteristics of the parent (e.g., personality, attachment history), and the family environment (e.g., marital relationship, family stress, financial standing) in determining parental practices. This model has generated a number of research studies that have deepened the understanding of the variations in parenting. For example, parental personality and psychological functioning are linked to parenting practices, beliefs, and expectations (Cummings & Davies, 1994). Financial strain (Elder, Liker, &

Cross, 1984), parental illness (Armistead, Klein, & Forehand, 1995), and parenting stress (Rodgers, 1993) are also reported to affect parenting behaviour. However, this model failed to consider the broader social context in which families operate. Later, Luster and Okagaki (1993) integrated Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological factors such as social class, community context, socioeconomic status and ethnicity/culture, into Belsky's model. However, this ecological perspective of parenting needs empirical support to better understand the broader contextual effects on parenting (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002). The following section reviews the influence of culture, societal changes, and socioeconomic status on parenting styles and practices.

Culture and Parenting

Both cross-cultural and intra-cultural researchers emphasize the impact of cultural values and beliefs, particularly concerning socialization goals on parenting. Super and Harkness (1997) suggest that children are socialized in a developmental niche that includes the physical and social setting of daily life, culturally regulated customs of childrearing, and cultural belief systems. That is, different social beliefs and goals may affect the practices parents use in different cultural contexts. Furthermore, different cultural values may have an impact on children's perception and interpretation of parents' behaviours and thus lead to varying relationships between parenting and child outcomes.

North American and Western European individualistic cultures highly value competition, self-actualization, dominance, and open emotional expression. As a result, European American parents are likely to encourage children to develop an independent and autonomous sense of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), attribute differences in performance to innate ability (Chen & Uttal, 1988), and facilitate open discussion of

feelings (Chao, 1995). In contrast, Chinese collectivistic culture, which stems from Confucian and Taoistic principles, puts a premium on empathy, accommodation to the needs of others, group harmony, filial piety, and compliance to authorities. Accordingly, Chinese parents are reported to exert greater control over their children's behaviour (Lin & Fu, 1990), encourage children to view themselves as part of the integrated wholes of their family and society (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and emphasize attendance to other's feelings and inhibition of one's own emotion (Chao, 1995).

Many researchers have criticized the dichotomy of individualist-collectivist framework as an over-simplification of culture (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007) and argue that individualism and collectivism are orientations that exist in most societies (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Killen & Wainryb, 2000). Accordingly, developmental goals such as autonomy and relatedness can coexist in most cultures and within most parents. For example, American cultures that are considered to be individualistic also emphasize the spirit of teamwork in sports teams and school clubs (Bugental & Goodnow, 1998). In addition, Chinese American parents are reported to emphasize both obedience to authority and encouragement of independence (Lin & Fu, 1990). In fact, Confucianism, which is typically used to describe the collectivistic goals in East Asian cultures, also emphasizes hard work and achievement to disclose one's innate nature, which touches upon the individualistic goals (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Finally, qualitative interviews with mothers from Taiwan, Greece, and the United States revealed that many mothers highlighted both autonomy and relatedness when speaking about the desirable qualities of their four-year-old children (Tamis-LeMonda, Wang, Koutsouvanou, & Albright, 2002).

Taken together, these evidences support the assumption that the socialization goals of autonomy and relatedness can coexist within cultures. However, the form of coexistence and the relative balance between autonomy and relatedness may vary across settings, developmental time, and political and economic contexts (for a review, see Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). For instance, Kagitcibasi and Ataca (2005) compared Turkish urban, high-income parents to those 30 years ago and suggested that economic growth and increased educational opportunities promote parents' developmental goals of autonomy as well as expectations of psychological closeness with their child. The authors further explain that with increased material security of the household, there is a decline in children's utilitarian value accompanying an increase in their psychological value. In line with the dynamic perspective of the changing nature of parenting goals, parenting styles and practices may also shift across situations and time.

Parenting as the Expression of Socio-historical Time

Socialization goals, values, and practices are likely to change according to the demands of the ecological and historical settings (Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2006; Kagitcibasi, 1996). A number of studies in different cultural contexts have supported this idea. For example, in a Turkish study examining the impact of modernization on parenting and family relationships, formal schooling and urban lifestyles promoted the increase of independent socialization goals, teaching practices, and parenting in rural areas (Kagitcibasi, 1996). Similarly, Greenfield and collaborators (2000, 2004) found that in adapting to changes toward a commercial lifestyle over a 20-year period, Zinacantec Mayan mothers increasingly emphasized learner independence and trial-and-error experimentation in the apprenticeship of learning to weave. In addition, this trend toward

a more independent cultural model has been found in European middle-class families as well. In Germany, where increased demands for individualization arose with growing economic instability and other social changes over the past 20 years, both fathers and mothers displayed more parenting behaviours that encouraged independence and autonomy during interactions with infants (Eickhorst, Lamm, Borke, & Keller, 2008; Keller & Lamm, 2005). To sum up, changes in childrearing practices in different cultures indicate that an increased focus on the socialization goal of independence can actually be expressed in parenting behaviours.

Most studies of the impact of socio-historical changes on parenting practices rely on longitudinal methodology and comparison of different cohorts. However, given that socioeconomic changes often take place in society at different paces due to geographic and political reasons, it may also be interesting to conduct cross-sectional studies based on carefully selected groups within a changing society. For example, although the widespread availability of media has had a homogenizing effect on American culture, Fischer (1978) found that less populated communities were more conventional than more populated communities and cultural change occurred more slowly in less populated communities than in more populated communities. The result suggested that new ideas usually filtered from urban to rural areas. In addition, changes in the modes of cultural learning concentrate in the families that had made the greatest shift to a commercial way of life (Greenfield at al., 2000), which reveals within-cultural diversity in respond to social changes.

Socioeconomic Status and Parenting

Socioeconomic status (SES) has always been an important factor in the study of family socialization strategies. Household income, parental education, and family structure, as sources of financial, human, and social capital, are major indicators of SES that may be relevant to child development (Coleman, 1988). Hoff-Ginsberg, Laursen, and Tardif (2002) point out that parental practices and beliefs vary across different SES groups. Parents from lower SES groups in different cultures have been observed to prefer conformity to societal prescriptions in their childrearing whereas parents from higher SES groups want their children to be self-directed (Holden, 1995). The emphasis on obedience and conformity in lower SES families has been interpreted as a way for parents to protect their children from dangers in their environment (Kelley, Power, & Wimbush, 1992) or to insure children's loyalty to the family for future material security (Kagitcibasi and Ataca, 2005).

In addition, SES-related differences have also been found in the quality of mother-child interactions. Compared to higher SES mothers, lower SES mothers are reported to be more punitive toward their children (Straus & Stewart, 1999), are more controlling, restrictive, and disapproving in interaction styles (Hart & Risley, 1995), and display less verbal stimulation (Hoff-Ginsberg et al., 2002). This may be linked to the limited emotional resources of lower SES parents resulting from financial hardship. More specifically, financial strain may lead to decreased psychological functioning, such as depressive symptoms, and further lead to disrupted parenting (Elder et al., 1984; Cummings & Davies, 1994). Another explanation is that poor families are less likely to

access community resources and social networks that can assist them in parenting efforts (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

Of all the socioeconomic variables, parental education is most strongly associated with parenting (Singh-Manoux, Fonagy, & Marmot, 2006; Alwin & Thornton, 1984). Indeed, Hoff-Ginsberg et al. (2002) argue that SES-related differences in mother-child interactions are due to the parent's educational level or cognitive ability rather than environmental stressors. In one Chinese sample, SES scores derived from parental occupation and education correlated positively with parents' authoritative practices and negatively with authoritarian practices (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997). The important role of education in SES may be particularly the case for parenting in Chinese families. In fact, academic achievement is considered to be the most important premise to future success in modern Chinese society, and education in large part determines occupation, income level, and even social status. Therefore, parental education in Chinese families appears to be a crucial index for the families' SES and strongly influences parenting practices.

The relationship between SES and parenting, however, are mediated by parental ideas and beliefs in the ecological setting (Bornstein & Bradley, 2003). Generally speaking, parents are influenced by theories of childrearing ideas, beliefs, and values, when socioeconomic changes take place in society, parents in higher SES groups change more and change more rapidly in response to theory changes than parents in lower SES groups, thus increasing the SES-related differences in parenting (Bronfenbrenner, 1998). In brief, both ecological conditions under which families are operating and families' SES play vital roles in determining parental socialization strategies.

Relations between Parenting and Child Adjustment

It has been argued that cultural norms and values may not only affect the prevalence of specific parenting styles but may also moderate their significance for child development (Chao, 1994; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). The relations between authoritative and authoritarian parenting and children's cognitive and social outcomes are not consistent in different cultural contexts. For example, the link between authoritative parenting and academic achievement is stronger for European American than for Asian and African American adolescents (Darling & Sternberg, 1993). Authoritarian parenting is positively related to externalizing problems for European Americans but unrelated for Mexican Americans (Lindahl & Malik, 1999). Moreover, authoritarian parenting has positive effects on adolescent's school performance in Hong Kong (Leung, Lau, & Lam, 1998). These differential relations, especially the impact of authoritarian parenting, can be explained by the differing social values mentioned above. To begin with, authoritarian parenting may conflict with the notion of autonomous sense of self in individualistic cultures and thus lead to children's maladaptive behaviours. By contrast, parental control is endorsed in collectivistic cultures; thus, children in these cultures find it natural to comply with parents' commands and consider parental control as an extension of high parental expectations (Chao, 1994). Moreover, Chao (2002) argues that authoritarian parenting in China includes the concept of training that emphasizes hard work, self-discipline, and obedience. As such, authoritarian parenting may result in positive child outcomes, such as academic achievement.

Given that individualistic and collectivistic orientations may coexist in a society (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007; Killen & Wainryb, 2000), it is over-simplistic to use

authoritative or authoritarian to describe parenting styles across cultures or subgroups within a society. Chao (1994) suggests that theories of authoritative and authoritarian parenting are rooted in European American culture and are not appropriate to capture the socialization styles and goals of Chinese parents. Thus, it is important to examine specific parenting practices and their relations with child adjustment in the context of sub-culture groups existing in a society. The following section will offer an overview of specific parenting practices such as warmth and different dimensions of control and their functional meaning in child development across cultures.

Parental Warmth and Child Adjustment

Parental warmth and responsiveness in parent-child relationships have been considered an important basis for specific parenting practices to affect children's behaviour (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Research indicates that parental warmth and responsiveness are positive predictors of children's self-reliance, school orientation (Lamborn & Nguyen, 2004), and psychological adjustment (Chen et al., 1997). Moreover, studies show that maternal warmth significantly and uniquely predicts children's emotional adjustment, while paternal warmth has significant and unique contribution to the prediction of later social and school adjustments (Chen et al., 2000).

In Rohner's (2004) parental acceptance-rejection theory, the expression and function of parental warmth are considered to have culturally universal significance for development. Various research findings have supported the notion that parental warmth may have similar influence on child development across culture (Nelson, Nelson, Hart, Yang, & Jin, 2006; Chen et al., 1997). However, Rohner's theory (1986) also acknowledges the influence of ecological contexts, suggesting that parental warmth may

be shaped by familial, community, and socio-cultural factors. It has been argued that parents in Western individualistic cultures are encouraged to be sensitive to their children's needs and display affect toward the child (Maccoby & Martin, 1983), whereas parents in collectivistic cultures may need to control their emotional and affective reactions in parent-child interactions to maintain their authority (Luo, 1996). There is evidence that Chinese parents are less responsive and affectionate toward their children in comparison with North American parents (Chen et al., 1998). It would be interesting to see how modernization and exposure to more individualistic values promote parents' expression of affect and warmth toward their children in Chinese culture.

Parental Control and Child Adjustment

In her typology model of parenting, Baumrind (1966) conceptualized parental control as parents' attempts to integrate the child into the family and society by demanding behavioral compliance. A large volume of research has tried to deepen the understanding of parental control by looking at different forms of psychological and behavioral control and their distinct effects on children's functioning (for a review, see Barber, Stolz, & Olsen, 2006).

Intrusive controlling is one form of psychological control in which adults use overbearing and inhibiting intervention with children and allow them little choice in their actions. Parents who use intrusive controlling value compliance, pressure children to specified outcome, and do not allow verbal give-and-take. As such, intrusive parental practice restricts a child's autonomy and independent thinking and has been linked to children's inhibition in peer interactions (Rubin, Burgess, & Hastings, 2002). In fact, although this kind of psychological control increases children's dependence on parents, it

elicits the development of negative self-processes and leads to low self-esteem, low self-reliance, and self-derogation in children (Barber & Harmon, 2002). Furthermore, when parents use high-power and forceful strategies without providing appropriate explanations, it may be hard for children to understand and follow parents' advice and guidance (Chamberlain & Patterson, 1995). As a result, intrusive parenting strategies would lead to later behavioral problems and maladaptive behaviours.

Power assertive parenting practices include verbal criticism and physical punishment. Verbal criticism toward children has been associated with later externalizing and internalizing problems (Frye & Garber, 2005; Mills, 2003) as well as mental health issues, such as depression (Nolan, Flynn, & Garber, 2003). Physical punishment is believed to predict later antisocial and other problem behaviour (Strassburg, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1994). As a matter of fact, Gershoff's (2002) meta-analyses reveals that parental corporal punishment is associated with poor parent-child relationships, children's mental health, being a victim of physical child abuse, and aggression in adulthood. The negative effects of corporal punishment were consistent across a heterogeneous set of studies collected over fifty years. However, Holden (2002) suggests that if punishment is seen as well-intended, or as an accepted part of the cultural context in which it occurs, then it may be viewed as less negative by the child. Similarly, Hoffman (1984) suggests that power assertion strategies of discipline may be effective in the socialization process if they are moderate and mild in usage, combined with inductive reasoning in a warm and loving relationship.

In the current study, I considered both intrusive controlling and power assertive parenting as power-assertion childrearing attitudes, given their uniform developmental

goals in maintaining parent's authority. While it is true that Chinese culture underscores the importance of authority in the family, the prevalence of power-assertive parenting and the relationship with children's adjustment outcomes are still inconclusive. Cross-cultural studies show that Chinese parents may be more likely to use power-assertive parenting than western parents (Chiu, 1987; Leung et al., 1998; Porter et al., 2005). However, studies focused on within-cultural variations have found similar negative associations between power-assertive parenting and social-emotional development in children in both Chinese and western cultures (Chang, Schwartz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2003; Chen et al., 2000; Hart et al., 1998). Longitudinal observational data in China also showed that maternal high-power parenting negatively predicted on-task behaviour and positively predicted behavioral problems (Wang, Chen, Chen, Cui, & Li, 2006). It is possible that in a changing society with increased emphasis on independence and autonomy, the negative effects of power-assertive parenting on child development are becoming more apparent in Chinese society.

Finally, *psychological autonomy support* serves as a positive form of control that fosters children's individuality and sense of self-determination. By allowing children to make choices on their own and encouraging exchange of opinions, psychological autonomy support has been found to be associated with enhanced emotional functioning, social skills, and academic competence among North American children (Joussemet, Koestner, Lekes, & Landry, 2005; Silk, Morris, Kanaya, & Steinberg, 2003). Similar relations of parents' psychological autonomy support and adolescents' enhanced emotional and academic functioning are found in China, but the beneficial effects are weaker in Chinese samples (Wang et al., 2007). The finding supports the need for

autonomy in children's development cross culture as well as the relatively minor significance placed on the socialization goal of autonomy in China.

Maternal and Paternal Parenting

Evidence suggests that there are both quantitative and qualitative differences in childrearing involvement and parent-child interactions between fathers and mothers. From infancy to adolescence, fathers are less involved than mothers in care giving and interaction with children (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004; Roopnarine, 2004). The finding is consistent across ethnic groups within North America (Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth, 2001). Moreover, fathers and mothers show stylistic differences in their interaction with the child. Results based on North American samples show that fathers play more physically with older infants and toddlers than mothers, whereas mothers' interactions with toddlers are more verbal and didactic (Yeung et al., 2001; Parke, 2002). The different maternal and paternal interaction styles continue throughout adolescence. In line with the socialization tasks of connectedness and separateness during adolescence, mothers are reported to help children develop communal and interpersonal skills, and fathers are more involved as a play or recreational partner to help children develop their own sense of identity and autonomy (Parke & Buriel, 2006).

Studies conducted in non-Western contexts reveal important cross-cultural differences in maternal and paternal parenting. Researchers have found that the core physical play style of paternal interaction in western culture may not be applied to other cultures (Roopnarine, 2004). Chinese Malaysian, Indian, and Akapygmy parents display affection and engage in close physical contacts rather than take part in physical play with their children (Hewlett, 2004; Roopnarine, 2004). In contrast to the traditional stereotype

that there is a big difference between paternal and maternal roles, a study in Japan found that most fathers and mothers were perceived by their children as understanding and authoritative (Shwalb, Imaizumi & Nakazawa, 1987).

It should be noted that socioeconomic changes might have an impact on gender roles in the family setting. In traditional Chinese culture, typical paternal and maternal parenting styles can be captured in the popular saying "Strict father, kind mother" (Wilson, 1974). The father is the authority figure to help children achieve academic goals, learn societal values, and develop appropriate behaviours, whereas mother's role is mainly to provide care and affection to the child (Ho, 1986). However, Shek (2005) argues that there has been a gradual change in the nature and severity of the parenting stereotypes. He found that Chinese mothers had relatively higher involvement in children's socialization process and were perceived by adolescents to be more controlling than fathers. A "strict mother, kind father" picture was presented in the study. Along with the socioeconomic development in China, increasing numbers of women are starting to have their own careers and share equal rights and opportunities with men. Therefore, it is important to consider paternal and maternal parenting and their relations with child adjustment separately when societal changes are reconstructing the family system and redefining parenting roles in Chinese society.

Parenting and Children's Adjustment in Urban and Rural China

Socioeconomic Changes in China

The economic reforms in China that have been carried out since late 1970s have not only opened the economic markets to the globalization process, but have also brought change to the traditional social values. The adoption of Western advanced technologies

and economic systems has also brought along the absorption of Western values and ideologies into the Chinese culture. Individualistic values and ideologies such as liberty and self-direction are readily accessible in movies, books and other commercial products widely available across many China's own mass media (Lin, 2001). Additionally, increased competition within the society gives rise to the development of personal initiative and competitiveness. As such, there appears to be a shift in socialization goals in society. For instance, whereas shy and inhibited behaviour in children had been endorsed and encouraged in traditional cultural norms, behaviours that facilitate the achievement of personal goals such as social assertiveness and initiative have become appreciated and encouraged in the new environment (Chen, Cen, Li, & He, 2005). Consequently, parents and educators are under increased pressure to help children prepare for the competitive and market-oriented society. At school, educational goals have been expanded to include helping children to develop social and interpersonal skills, such as the expression of personal opinions, self-direction, and self-confidence (Ye, 2000). At home, mothers are reported to show more encouragement of autonomy than encouragement of relatedness in socialization goal-oriented behaviours (Liu et al., 2005). Specifically, a survey (Sun, 2003) focused on modern Chinese children's status shows that Chinese parents are better prepared to treat and educate their children in a democratic way. Family physical punishment has declined and more children treat their parents as friends.

However, this development has not been equitable. While large-scale reform is creating major transformation in economic and social structures in urban centers, rural areas in China remain agricultural-centered; hence, rural residents do not have as much

exposure as their urban counterparts to the influence of market economy and Western values (Wang & Lu, 1997). In the following section, I will provide an overview of the urban-rural difference in modern China, with a focus on socialization goals.

Urban and Rural Differences in China

China's policies and developmental strategies have created significant gaps between many aspects of urban and rural life, including health care conditions, qualities of education, occupation, and income levels (Yang & Zhou, 1999; Jiang, 1995; Shi, 1993). In all cases mentioned above, rural population is at a great disadvantage. Rural families have significantly larger household size and stronger traditional beliefs, which may be related to their strong kinship ties (Selden, 1993). Interactions and social contacts within the rural community are often limited to the extended family; this limited association with outside groups may strengthen already held beliefs (Willits & Bealer, 1963). In particular, traditional beliefs in Chinese culture include suppression of emotions in interpersonal interactions, fulfilling social obligations, establishing interrelationships with others, conforming to norms, and filial piety (Luo, 1996; Fung, 1983; King & Bond, 1985). It has been found that parents in rural households display less warmth toward children, are less engaged in playing activities and use more physical punishment as a response to children's misbehaviour (Li, Cui, & Wu, 2005; Li et al., 2000).

Urban residents, on the other hand, are exposed to a greater variety of values and beliefs. Competitions at school and at work lead to an increased emphasis on individual achievement and self-realization. However, it may be misleading to suggest that urban population embraces totally different values and beliefs than rural population. The influence of social transition on individual attitudes and behaviours is an ongoing process

(Silbereisen, 2000). During China's transition toward modernization, traditional values such as respecting authority figures and elders, behavioral restraints and compliance continue to dominate as the basis for Chinese family values, while Western concepts serve as new values that constantly reshape the old ones. For example, it has been found that parental authority is strongly endorsed in Chinese families as a whole, but urban adolescents possess greater acceptance of open disagreement with parents and earlier expectations for individual autonomy (Zhang, Wang, and Fuligni, 2006). Consequently, the process of modernization has a greater impact on urban adolescents whereas rural adolescents are mostly influenced by traditional Chinese norms.

Kagitcibasi's (1996, 2005) *model of family change* for childrearing is a way to conceptualize the difference between Chinese urban and rural parents' socialization goals. Three distinct patterns in family socialization are proposed in this model. First, the independence pattern describes families living in industrialized western countries. In line with this pattern are socialization strategies that focus on mental states and personal qualities to support self-enhancement and self-maximization. Second, the interdependence pattern describes socialization beliefs and family interactions of rural societies of developing countries such as rural China. In this family pattern, parents are dependent on their children for material support and old-age security, so the socialization goal focuses on relatedness and family loyalties. Finally, the emotional interdependence pattern, which seems suitable to characterize Chinese urban families (Keller et al., 2006), describes families living an industrial lifestyle but still retaining some traditional collectivist values and family interaction patterns. Socioeconomic development in urban China provides parents with increased alternative source for old-age security such as

health care and pension plans; as a result, material dependencies give way to psychological dependencies on children. At the same time, increasing competition in cities calls for autonomy in the child as an important quality for success in the future. Therefore, urban parents put more emphasis on autonomy while still maintaining parental control because close relations are still desired for emotional and psychological support.

Differences in lifestyles and social values between urban and rural regions in China have become increasingly salient in recent years. Along with socioeconomic development, a notable group of people with new characteristics has emerged in cities. This group of people, known as rural-migrants, has been attracted from rural areas to urban centers by economic booms experienced by cities. Grew up in the rural environment, migrant parents may have difficulties adjusting to socialization goals in cities or may not have sufficient knowledge about effective parenting in their new environment. The following section will provide some background information on the rural-migrant population, the focus of this current study.

Rural-Migrant Families in the City

Since the 1990s, one of the most significant social trends in China has been internal migration (World Bank, 1997). Relaxation on migration restrictions has allowed a large number of rural residents, mostly young adults, to move to cities looking for better economic opportunities. As the rural-migrant population becomes an indispensable part of Chinese economic and social development, researchers explored the impact of migration and its related sociopolitical issues (Liang & Chen, 2007; Yan, 2005; Jiang & Yan, 2006; Guo et al., 2005). However, such research often focuses on the long-term

effect of educational disadvantages among rural-migrant children on children themselves and on the urban society as a whole.

Issues of rural-migrant children's social functioning and psychological adjustment have not drawn enough attention from researchers until quite recently. Most researches in the past focused on rural-migrant children's mental health status caused by inequalities between urban and migrant population, including health-care benefits, living conditions, and social supports. For instance, due to instability in their livelihood, rural-migrant children are more sensitive to interpersonal relationships and reported higher rates of loneliness and depression (Tao, Xu, Zhang, Gu, & Hong, 2004; Chen & Zhang, 2005); they have lower self-esteem due to direct and indirect discrimination during social interactions (Guo et al., 2005); some older rural-migrant children are more hostile towards the society (Zhan, Sun, & Dong, 2005).

Given that parents serve as the primary agent in children's socialization process, it is important to examine how parenting practices in rural-migrant families contribute to children's behavioral and psychological adjustments. Only a handful of descriptive studies have addressed this issue (Shen, 2006; Zhou, 2002) and most analysis attributes rural-migrant children's poor family education to parents' low educational levels and lack of time for supervision. So far no quantitative research has been conducted to examine the characteristics of rural-migrant parents' parenting attitudes and no researcher has looked into how different urban-rural socialization goals bring challenges into rural-migrant parents' childrearing practices and parent-child relationships. Although migrant workers leave the countryside and achieve better economic conditions, they remain strongly connected with their villages. Although they reside in cities, their low economic

status, limited opportunities, and discrimination from urban residents restrict their social networks to people who also migrated from their hometowns. Therefore, rural-migrant families still tend to identify with traditional Chinese culture that emphasizes inhibition of emotional expressions, conforming to norms, and compliance to authorities. Moreover, rural-migrant parents still depend on their children for old-age security because they are not eligible for urban medical insurance and pension plans. In other words, migrant families' socialization beliefs still fit the interdependence pattern in Kagitcibasi's (2005) *model of family change.*

Due to rural-migrant children's low enrollment rate in the urban public school system, previous studies on urban-rural differences are conducted separately in urban public schools and special migrant schools. Hence, direct comparison of urban and rural-migrant children under the same context is difficult. Variations in child outcomes may be confounded with variations across settings due to unequal educational qualities. In the current study, I examined parenting attitudes in urban and rural-migrant families and the relations between parenting attitudes and children's behavioral and psychological adjustments in the same educational setting.

Summary, Research Questions and Hypotheses

Researchers emphasize the important role of parents in children's socialization process. Cross-cultural and intra-cultural research also provides evidence of how different or changed socialization goals have an impact on parenting behaviours. However, most of the research to date fails to capture the variation in specific parenting attitude and its relations with child adjustment in a changing society. Moreover, little is known about how urban-rural difference contribute to parenting and child adjustment over and above parents' socioeconomic status. The current study takes advantage of the "natural experiment" arising from China's large-scale reforms and rural to urban migration to study parenting and its relations with children's social, school, and psychological adjustment in different family backgrounds in a systematic way.

The aim of the present study was to examine how urban and rural-migrant parents differed on their parenting attitudes and how parenting attitudes were associated with social, school, and psychological adjustment differently in urban and rural-migrant Chinese children. As mentioned above, rural-migrant parents are more similar to rural parents in terms of social beliefs and parenting attitudes. Compared to urban parents, rural-migrant parents are more likely to endorse traditional values and are less aware of the importance of autonomy in modern society. The differences between urban and rural-migrant families represent different interaction patterns in Kagitcibasi's (1996, 2005) model of family change, as well as different stages in adapting to a new market-oriented society. The comparison is important from a theoretical perspective because it expands the studies concerning the contextual effects on parenting from a within-culture point of view and emphasizes the roles of parental warmth and control and specific practices in

helping children adjust in the modernization process. The current study is also important from a practical perspective because it may provide information about migrant parents' parenting skills that can help design effective intervention programs for migrant children's behavioral and psychological development. The study focused on 3 major research questions.

Research question 1: Are there differences between urban and rural-migrant parents' parenting attitudes in Chinese society? If yes, do the differences still exist after controlling for parents' socioeconomic status?

In order to succeed in the contemporary Chinese society, increasing attention has been focused on cultivating children's individual independence, assertiveness and exploration in the market-oriented society. Urban parents are more aware that parental warmth/sensitivity and encouragement of autonomy and sociability are essential in helping children achieve these socialization goals. Rural-migrant parents, by contrast, may still give priority to compliance to authority in the family, and they are more likely to work for longer hours and have little time to spend with their children. Moreover, the relatively sufficient material needs in urban families enable urban parents to reduce material dependency and increase emotional interdependence with children, whereas rural-migrant parents still need to ensure children's relatedness and family loyalties for material benefits in the future (Kagitcibasi, 2005). Therefore, I hypothesized that a) urban parents would show more warmth to their children than rural-migrant parents, b) urban parents would put more emphasis on children's sociability and autonomy than rural-migrant parents, and c) rural-migrant parents would maintain more power-assertive attitudes than urban parents.

Urban-migrant difference in parenting attitudes might be accounted for, in part, by parents' socioeconomic status, such as family income and educational level. However, these two groups of parents also differ in terms of socialization beliefs and values as well as the stages in adapting to a new market-oriented society. Thus, I hypothesized that urban and rural-migrant parents would still differ in childrearing attitudes after controlling for family income and parents' educational levels.

Research question 2: What are the relations between parental attitudes and the child's socio-emotional adjustments in urban and rural-migrant children?

To begin with, previous research has revealed cross-culturally consistent beneficial effects of parental warmth and detrimental effects of power assertion on child adjustments (Chen et al., 1997; Lamborn & Nguyen, 2004; Nelson et al., 2006; Chang et al., 2003; Hart et al., 1998). Therefore, in general, I expected to find a) positive relations between parental warmth and children's social competence, school performance and psychological adjustment and b) negative relations between power-assertive parenting and the aforementioned child adjustment variables in both urban and rural-migrant samples.

The current study attempted to provide within-cultural evidence of contextual effects on the relations between parental attitudes and child adjustment. If the first hypothesis is true, then the improved economic condition and old-age security allow urban parents to decrease material dependence on their child and enjoy the psychological benefits of having a child such as joy, fun, and companionship (Kagitcibasi, 2005). In this case, close parent-child relationships are facilitated and endorsed by urban lifestyles. In contrast, rural-migrant parents tend to hold the traditional childrearing attitudes that

include high power control in order to maintain authority. These parenting goals moderate the relations between parenting attitudes and child adjustment by influencing actual parental practices (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). More specifically, parents who report similar childrearing attitudes may display more responsive behaviours toward child's need if intimate relationship is emphasized in the family and may display more restrictive and punitive behaviours if power assertion is more prevalent in the family. It is through these practical parenting behaviours that childrearing attitudes can influence child adjustment. Based on these speculations, I hypothesized that a) there would be stronger positive associations between parental warmth and children's social competence, school performance and psychological adjustment in urban group than in rural-migrant group, b) there would be more evident negative associations between power-assertive parenting attitude and children's social competence, school achievement, and psychological adjustment in rural-migrant group than in urban group. However, an alternative hypothesis concerning the group difference in the relations between power assertion and child adjustment may also be true. Urban children may view power assertive parenting as more negative because it interferes with close parent-child relationship and is less acceptable in the urban context. As such, power assertion may have more salient negative effect on child social, school, and psychological adjustment in urban group, considering that children's perception of parenting is linked to child adjustment outcomes (Parke & Buriel, 2006).

The current study also examined the relations between parental encouragement of independence/sociability and child adjustment. Increased concern for children's autonomy indicates that parents may recognize the importance of individuality in a

society that emphasizes creativity and individual assertion. The limited studies on parental encouragement of autonomy show that allowing children to make choices and exchange opinions has weak association with their enhanced emotional and academic functioning in Chinese sample (Wang et al., 2007). In addition, very little is known about how encouragement of sociability actually influences children's behavioral and psychological adjustments. Nevertheless, based on the speculation that encouragement of autonomy and sociability are appreciated and valued differently by urban and rural-migrant parents, and thus may have differential significance for adjustment of urban and rural-migrant children, I hypothesized that these parenting attitudes would be associated more strongly with children's social competence and psychological adjustment in the urban group than in the rural-migrant group.

Research question 3: How are paternal and maternal childrearing attitudes different in urban and rural-migrant families?

Given the inconsistent findings in paternal and maternal differences in childrearing involvement across cultures, it may be interesting to examine gender roles in the families with varying social values (Roopnarine, 2004; Shek, 2005; Shwalb et al., 1987). Traditional gender roles in Chinese families can be described by a saying "Men's work centers around outside, women's work centers around the home". Thus, the father may undertake the role of breadwinner to support the material needs of the family, while the mother may serve as the main caregiver that provides both warmth and discipline in childrearing. Another popular saying is "Strict father, kind mother", which describes the father as the authority figure to maintain discipline and the mother as the protector to

provide care (Ho, 1986). Both sayings capture the primary role of the mother and the less involvement of the father in childrearing practices.

Notably, along with the socioeconomic development, the advocacy of equal rights for men and women promote women's educational levels as well as employment rates in the city. Gender roles in the family shift in favor of equality with the emergence of a more modernized society. Fathers become more sensitive to children's needs and take on more childrearing roles in the family (Yan, 1996). Moreover, parents start to recognize the importance of consistency in discipline as an effective co-parenting skill. Nevertheless, the financial strain in rural-migrant families may prevent fathers from spending more time with children and attending to their emotional need. Lack of effective co-parenting skills and emphasis on authority may also lead to inconsistent parental control in the rural-migrant family. Based on this background, I hypothesized that a) in general, mothers would show more warm and affective attitudes than fathers, but the difference would be smaller in the urban sample, b) fathers might be more likely to endorse power-assertive parenting than mothers, but again, the differences would be smaller in urban group than rural-migrant group. I also expected that maternal warmth might be associated with child adjustment more strongly than parental warmth and that parental power assertion and encouragement of autonomy and sociability might be associated with children's adjustment more strongly than corresponding maternal variables, although these hypotheses were highly tentative because of the limited research (Ho, 1986; Shek, 2005).

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 162 (85 boys and 77 girls) urban and 221 (133 boys and 89 girls) rural-migrant children (grade 3 to grade 6) and their parents. The children were from a public elementary school in the suburban area of Fengtai District, Beijing, China. The two groups differed on the household registration (*hukou*) system. Urban children are those with non-agriculture Beijing *hukou*, while rural-migrant children are those with agriculture non-Beijing *hukou*. Complete parental child-rearing data were available from 326 fathers and 327 mothers of these children.

There was significant difference in both parents' educational levels in the two groups (see Table 1). In the urban group, most fathers and mothers had an educational level of senior high school, and in the rural-migrant group, most fathers and mothers had an educational level of junior high school. There was no difference in family income, housing, and mothers' unemployment rate. Interestingly, fathers in urban group (22.2%) had significantly higher unemployment rate than fathers in rural-migrant group (3.6%). Further analysis revealed that unemployed fathers had lower educational levels than employed fathers in the urban sample, $t\ (158) = 2.04, p < .05$. This may be because migrant workers came to the city mainly for work and thus had to take on low-paid jobs in the city, while urban citizens with low education were reluctant to work for undesired jobs and were able to live on welfare. It is noteworthy that the urban families in this study belong to the working-class in the city. They live in the suburban area and have lower parental educational levels and family income than typical middle-class urban families.

Table 1

Percentage of Parental Educational Levels in Different Groups (%)

	Urban		Rural-Migrant	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
Literacy Class	0	0	1.9	7.8
Elementary	6.9	5.7	20.4	35.5
Junior High	31.3	39.5	52.3	44.7
Senior High	51.9	43.9	25.0	11.5
Technical School	5.6	5.1	.5	.5
College	4.4	5.1	0	0
University	0	.6	0	0

Procedure

Children were group administered a peer assessment measure of social behaviour (The Revised Class Play; Masten, Morison, & Pelligrini, 1985) and a sociometric nomination measure. Children were also asked to complete two self-report measures: a) the Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire (Asher & Wheeler, 1985), and b) the Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985). Teachers were asked to complete a measure concerning children's school-related competence and problems (The Teacher Child Rating Scale; Hightower et al., 1986). Parents of the children in each class were requested to complete a set of "Parental Questionnaires". The questionnaires included a measure of child-rearing practices and a survey of background information. Finally, information on children's social achievement and academic achievement in Chinese, mathematics and English was obtained from school administrative records. The information obtained from school records concerning leadership and academic achievement has proved to be a valid and useful indicator of school adjustment in Chinese children (Chen et al., 1997, 2000).

Measures

Peer Assessments of Social Competence. Peer assessments of social behaviour were obtained using a Chinese version of Revised Class Play (Masten et al., 1985). During administration, each child was first provided with a booklet of the behaviour descriptors and a list of the names of all students in the class, and instructed to nominate up to three classmates who could best play the role if they were to direct a class play. Same-sex, cross-sex and self nominations were all allowed. Subsequently, nominations

for all classmates were used to compute item scores for each child. The item scores were standardized within each class to adjust for differences in the number of nominators. The original RCP measure consists of items that tap broad areas of social functioning including sociability-leadership, aggression-disruption and shyness-sensitivity (Chen et al., 1997; Masten et al., 1985). Only social competence (including aspects of sociability, prosocial orientation, assertiveness, and self-control) was of interest in the present study. The internal consistency of this variable was $\alpha = .98$.

Sociometric Nominations. Children were asked to nominate up to three classmates with whom he/she most liked to be with and up to three classmates with whom he/she least liked to be. The nominations from all classmates were totaled and then standardized within each class to permit appropriate comparisons. Both positive and negative sociometric nominations were proven reliable in Chinese children (Chen et al. 1997). Following Coie, Dodge, and Copptelli's procedure (1982), an index of peer sociometric preference, which indicates how well a child is liked by peers, was formed by subtracting negative nomination scores from the positive nomination scores.

Teacher Ratings. In Chinese schools, one teacher is usually in charge of a class. This main teacher often teaches one major course, such as Chinese language, mathematics or English; he/she also looks after the various political, social, administrative, and daily affairs and activities of the class. The main teacher was instructed to rate each child in his or her class on the school-related social competency and problem behaviours in the Teacher-Child Rating Scale (T-CRS; Hightower et al., 1986). Teachers were asked to rate how well each item described each child on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very well).

The social competence subscale covered five highly overlapping areas: (a) frustration tolerance, (b) assertive social skills, (c) task orientation, (d) prosocial behaviour and (e) peer social skills (Hightower et al., 1986). Thus, a mean score of school-related competence for each child was standardized within each class. The internal consistency of this score was $\alpha = .96$. Higher scores represented higher teacher-rated competence.

The teacher rating scale included 6 items assessing children's learning problems. The mean score of these items was standardized within each class to indicate each child's learning problems, with higher scores represented greater learning problems. The internal consistency of this score was $\alpha = .76$.

Academic Achievement. Information concerning academic achievement in Chinese, Mathematics and English was obtained from all participants from the school records. The scores based on the three subjects were summed to form a single index of academic achievement. Academic achievement was significantly correlated with teacher-rated learning problems ($r = -.50$, $p < .001$). Thus, a single index of school achievement was formed by aggregating standardized academic achievement scores with reversed standardized learning problems scores.

Leadership. In Chinese schools, some students are elected to different duties to help the teachers maintain daily affair and activities. These students are considered to be responsible and conscientious. In one class, there are usually several team leaders who are responsible for keeping discipline of a group of students; one representative for each subject who are responsible for collecting homework and grading; several executive members who are responsible for organizing activities, for example, sports, entertainment

and cleaning. In addition, several students are assigned to be the executive members of the student organization in the school to keep discipline and organize events at the school level. Depending on their range of responsibility, the student leadership is coded as follows: students who did not have any leadership status received a score of zero; students who were team leaders received a score of 1; students who were subject representatives or class executive members received a score of 2; and students who were school executive members received a score of 3. The mean score of this leadership was .58 (SD = .88).

Student Honour. In Chinese schools, there is usually an evaluation of each student's moral, intellectual and physical development by the end of each academic year. Students who are nominated by classmates and teachers to perform well in these three domains are awarded as "distinguished student in three areas" (san hao xue sheng, in Mandarin). There are different levels of "distinguished student", from the class level, to the school level, to the district level and finally to the municipal level. In addition, students who have made progress in one or more domains in the past year will be awarded "progressive student" (jin bu sheng, in Mandarin). The achievement of honour is recorded in the student file and a certificate of honourship is sent to the student. Student honour was coded as follows: students who did not receive any awards in the past year received a score of zero; students who received the award of "progressive student" received a score of 1; students who received the award of "distinguished student in three areas" at the class level received a score of 2; and students who received the award beyond the class level received a score of 3. The mean score of this award was .42 (SD = 1.04).

Leadership and student honour are indicators of child's school performance, and they are significantly correlated ($r = .56, p < .001$). In the current study, the scores of leadership and student honour were combined as a single index of school status for each child.

Loneliness. A self-report measure developed by Asher, Hymel, and Renshaw (1984) was adapted to assess the children's feelings of loneliness and social dissatisfaction. The questionnaire consists of 18 items that assess: a) children's feelings of loneliness (e.g., "I feel lonely"), b) children's appraisals of their current peer relationships (e.g., "I don't have any friend"), c) children's perceptions of the degree to which their relationship needs are being met (e.g., "I think other people don't want to play with me"), and d) children's perceptions of their social competence (e.g., "It's not easy for me to make friends"). Following procedures outlined by Asher et al. (1984), children were requested to respond on a 5-point scale (1= always true, 5= not at all true), indicating the degree to which each statement is a true description of themselves. The mean score was calculated to form a single index of loneliness (M= 2.00, SD= .80), with higher scores indicated greater feelings of loneliness and social dissatisfaction. Internal consistency was .88.

Self-perceptions. A measure of self-perception was developed based on the Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985). This measure assessed children's perceptions of scholastic competence and general self-worth. The scholastic subscale assessed children's feelings of doing well in school, being smart, and feeling good about their class performance (e.g., "I'm good at every subject"). The general self-worth subscale assessed the extent to which children feel good about themselves, and how they

are leading their lives (e.g., "I'm satisfied with my current situation"). The six items within each domain were summed to form the subscale score, with higher scores indicating more positive self-perceptions. Internal consistencies of the scholastic self-perception and General Self-Worth subscales were .60 and .71, respectively. The two scores were significantly correlated ($r = .53, p < .001$), and were aggregated to form a single index of self-perceptions score.

Child-rearing Practices. Both fathers' and mothers' parental behaviours in child rearing were assessed by using a revised Chinese version of Block's Child Rearing Practices Report (CRPR; Block, 1981), which contains 60 items rated on a 5-point rating scale (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree). The CRPR measures parenting practices in several domains and has been used in previous studies with Mainland Chinese and Chinese American mothers (Chen et al., 2000; Chao, 1994). For the purpose of the current study, 3 subscales adopted from the original CRPR and 1 new subscale was used to measure specific parenting practices. The 3 subscales from the original measure include parental warmth (5 items; e.g., I give my child understanding and comfort when he/she is feeling distressed or afraid), high power parenting (9 items; e.g., I don't allow my child to have any disagreement with my decision; I think physical punishment is the best way to teach my child), and encouragement of autonomy and independence (7 items; e.g., I encourage my child to be independent, do not rely on me). The new subscale contains 4 items, indicating parents' encouragement of sociability (e.g., I encourage my child to take part in social activities; I encourage my child to actively play with others, do not play by him/herself). The new subscale on encouragement of sociability taps the specific parental behaviours that may arise from the new socialization goal of being

sociable. As Chen et al. (2002) have found, in the new market-oriented competitive society, it is important for parents to help their children develop sociability. Internal consistencies for parental warmth, high power parenting, encouragement of autonomy and encouragement of sociability were .59, .61, .71 and .72, respectively for mothers, and .65, .64, .73 and .75, respectively for fathers in the present study.

Results

Descriptive Data

Child Adjustment. Mean and standard deviations of social functioning and adjustment variables for urban and rural-migrant children are presented in Table 2. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted, to examine the overall effects of group type (urban vs. rural-migrant), child gender and their interactions on the social functioning and adjustment variables. The analysis indicated significant main effect of group type, wilks' $\lambda = .94$, $F(7, 352) = 3.67$, $p < .01$ and gender, wilks' $\lambda = .90$, $F(7, 352) = 5.45$, $p < .001$. There was no significant interaction between group type and gender.

Further univariate analysis revealed that girls had higher scores on peer and teacher-rated competence, peer preference, school status, and academic achievement than boys. Rural-migrant children had higher scores on loneliness, and lower scores on peer-rated competence and school status than urban children.

The results suggested that compared to their urban counterparts, rural-migrant children showed a lower level of social competence in school. Rural-migrant children are

Table 2

Means and (Standard Deviations) of Child Socio-emotional Outcomes for Boys and Girls in Different Groups

	Urban			Rural-Migrant			*F*-value	
	Boys (n=77)	Girls (n=76)	Total	Boys (n=125)	Girls (n=84)	Total	Sex	Group
Peer Preference	-.16 (1.15)	.11 (.98)	-.02 (1.07)	-.03 (.92)	.13 (.81)	.03 (.88)	4.33*	.44
Peer-rated Competence	.02 (1.08)	.46 (1.29)	.24 (1.20)	-.21 (.75)	.05 (.96)	-.11 (.85)	10.54**	9.17**
Teacher-rated Competence	-.32 (1.07)	.41 (1.01)	.04 (1.10)	-.21 (.95)	.26 (.87)	-.02 (.95)	32.51***	.02
School Status	.09 (1.03)	.28 (1.01)	.18 (1.02)	-.19 (.70)	.03 (.95)	-.10 (.82)	4.55*	7.19**
Academic Achievement	-.41 (1.70)	.56 (1.49)	.07 (1.67)	-.15 (1.51)	.30 (1.28)	.03 (1.43)	19.47***	.00
Self-Perceptions	7.58 (1.67)	8.00 (1.47)	7.79 (1.59)	7.49 (1.55)	7.47 (1.58)	7.48 (1.56)	1.49	3.43
Loneliness	1.97 (.80)	1.80 (.75)	1.89 (.77)	2.07 (.79)	2.12 (.88)	2.09 (.83)	.52	5.54*

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

less likely to be selected by peers and teachers as honorable students. Moreover, they reported greater loneliness than urban children.

Parental Childrearing Attitudes. Mean and standard deviations of maternal and paternal childrearing attitudes for boys and girls in the two groups are presented in Table 3. A repeated measure multivariate analysis of variance (repeated-MANOVA) was conducted to examine the overall effects of child gender, parent gender, group type and their interactions on childrearing attitudes. The result of repeated-MANOVA, with group type and child gender as between-subjects factors and parent gender as a within-subjects factor, revealed significant main effects of group type and parent gender, Wilks' $\lambda = .94$ and .94, Fs (4, 288)= 5.00 and 4.99, ps $< .01$, respectively. There were non-significant interactions between child gender and parent gender, between parent gender and group type, and among child gender, parent gender, and group type, Wilks' $\lambda = .99$, .99, and .99, Fs (4, 288) = .67, .95, and .78, ps $> .05$, respectively.

Further univariate analyses indicated that mothers overall showed higher parental warmth than fathers. Compared to rural-migrant parents, urban parents had higher scores on parental warmth, encouragement of sociability, and encouragement of independence and lower score on power assertion.

In order to understand the effect of group type beyond the influence of family's socioeconomic status, a repeated measure multivariate analysis of covariance (repeated-MANCOVA) was conducted to examine the effects of child gender, parent gender and group type on childrearing attitudes, with family income and parents' educational levels as covariates. The results of repeated-MANCOVA showed that after controlling for family income and parents' educational levels, there were still significant main effects of

group type and parent gender, Wilks' $\lambda = .95$ and .92, Fs (4, 263) = 3.45 and 5.82, ps $< .05$ and .01, respectively. The main effect of family income was also significant, Wilks' $\lambda = .96$, F (4,263) = 3.12, $p < .05$. Specifically, parents with higher incomes showed more encouragement of independence than parents with lower incomes, F (1, 266) = 3.91, $p < .05$. Follow-up analyses indicated that compared to rural-migrant parents, urban parents had higher score on parental warmth and encouragement of independence, Fs (1,266) = 4.63 and 3.87, ps $< .05$, respectively, and lower score on power assertion, F (1, 266) = 6.36, $p < .05$. However, the differences between urban and rural-migrant parents' encouragement of sociability became non-significant. Moreover, there was a marginal significant interaction between parent gender and group type for parental power assertion, F (1, 266) = 3.45, $p = .065$.

Table 3

Means and (Standard Deviations) of Maternal and Paternal Childrearing Attitudes for Boys and Girls in Different Groups

	Urban						Rural-Migrant						*F*-value		
	Fathers			Mothers			Fathers			Mothers			Child	Parent	Group
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Gender	Gender	Type
Warmth	11.70	12.49	12.21	12.25	12.53	12.40	11.50	11.33	11.38	12.02	11.91	12.09	.56	10.06**	4.43*
	(2.49)	(2.46)	(2.46)	(2.20)	(2.14)	(2.08)	(2.75)	(2.74)	(2.77)	(2.58)	(2.48)	(2.45)			
Power Assertion	25.99	23.65	24.76	25.25	24.27	24.16	25.86	26.36	26.28	27.08	27.31	27.64	.93	2.29	7.73**
	(6.91)	(5.80)	(6.44)	(6.35)	(6.50)	(6.09)	(5.93)	(7.12)	(6.34)	(6.03)	(6.64)	(6.06)			
Encouragement of Sociability	16.72	16.32	16.54	16.84	16.58	16.82	15.36	15.66	15.58	15.32	15.97	15.63	.05	.96	9.56**
	(3.12)	(3.30)	(3.00)	(3.09)	(3.38)	(3.06)	(3.09)	(3.10)	(2.96)	(3.32)	(3.00)	(3.10)			
Encouragement of Independence	27.72	28.52	28.16	27.40	28.33	27.68	26.39	27.51	26.92	26.17	27.30	26.82	4.15*	.87	5.52*
	(4.49)	(4.98)	(4.66)	(4.27)	(5.50)	(5.15)	(4.69)	(4.49)	(4.57)	(4.50)	(4.37)	(4.27)			

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

Relations between Parenting Variables and Child Adjustment Variables

The correlations between childrearing attitudes and child adjustment variables are showed in Table 4. I was interested in the relations between parenting variables and child adjustment variables in different groups. A series of multiple regression analyses was used to examine the unique contributions of childrearing attitudes to the prediction of child adjustment, controlling for family income and parent's educational level. Boy and girl were dummy-coded as 0 and 1; urban group and rural-migrant group were dummy-coded as 0 and 1. Given their overlap in measuring child adjustment ($r = .56$, $p < .001$) and to reduce the number of analyses, peer-rated competence and teacher-rated competence were combined to form one dependent variable of social competence. All the predictors were standardized before entering into the equation.

In the multiple regression analysis, child gender was entered in the first step to control for gender effect, then family income and parent's educational level (either father's educational level or mother's educational level, depending on the parenting variable used in the fourth step) were entered into the second step to control for socioeconomic status. Group type was entered after socioeconomic status in the third step. Given their highly correlated relations with each other, paternal and maternal childrearing attitudes were entered separately into the equation in the fourth step to reduce collinearity in the analyses. In other words, I conducted 8 separate multiple regression analyses for each child adjustment variable, using paternal or maternal warmth, power assertion, encouragement of sociability or encouragement of independence as predictors. Next, since preliminary analyses indicated that none of the two-way interactions between socioeconomic status and parenting variables were

significant in predicting child adjustment, only a series of two-way interactions among child gender, group type and childrearing attitude were entered into the equation hierarchically (child gender × group type - step 5, child gender × childrearing attitude – step 6, group type × childrearing attitude – step 7). Finally, three-way interactions among these variables were entered in the eighth step. Results concerning the main effects and two-way interactions are presented in Table 5 to Table 10.

The results indicated that a) family income positively predicted peer preference and social competence, b) father's educational level positively predicted social competence and school status, and c) mother's educational level positively predicted school status. The following main effects were found over and above the effects of gender, socioeconomic status, and group type. Maternal warmth positively predicted social competence and academic achievement. Maternal power assertion negatively predicted peer preference, academic achievement, and self-perceptions and positively predicted loneliness. Maternal encouragement of independence positively predicted social competence and school status. Paternal power assertion negatively predicted peer preference, social competence, academic achievement and self-perceptions and positively predicted loneliness. Finally, paternal encouragement of sociability positively predicted academic achievement.

There were significant interactions a) between child gender and paternal power assertion in predicting academic achievement, b) between group type and maternal warmth in predicting peer preference, social competence, and school status, and c) between group type and paternal encouragement of sociability in predicting social competence. No three-way interactions were found.

Table 4

Correlations between Parenting Variables and Child Adjustment in Different Groups

	Peer Preference	Social Competence	School Status	Academic Achievement	Self-Perception	Loneliness
Urban						
Maternal						
Warmth	.21*	.36***	.25**	.22**	.13	-.11
Pow. Ass.[a]	-.13	-.11	-.14	-.24**	-.20*	.19*
Enc. Soc.[b]	.01	.16	.16	.03	.04	.03
Enc. Ind.[c]	.08	.25**	.18*	.13	.12	-.10
Paternal						
Warmth	.13	.24**	.14	.16	.13	-.04
Pow. Ass.[a]	-.23**	-.18*	-.15	-.26**	-.31***	.30***
Enc. Soc.[b]	.02	.17*	.13	.10	.19*	-.13
Enc. Ind.[c]	-.01	.17*	.10	.09	.12	-.07
Rural-Migrant						
Maternal						
Warmth	.06	.08	.04	.10	.03	-.03
Pow. Ass.[a]	-.13	-.11	-.11	-.13	-.09	.14
Enc. Soc.[b]	-.08	.03	-.04	.04	-.04	.02
Enc. Ind.[c]	.11	.14	.13	.12	.11	-.12
Paternal						
Warmth	-.01	.12	.12	.18*	-.00	-.02
Pow. Ass.[a]	-.19*	-.13	-.08	-.10	-.14	.17*
Enc. Soc.[b]	-.05	-.02	-.02	.17*	-.01	.01
Enc. Ind.[c]	.03	.09	.16*	.13	.12	-.19*

[a] Pow. Ass. = power assertion
[b] Enc. Soc. = encouragement of sociability
[c] Enc. Ind. = encouragement of independence

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

Table 5

Results of Regression Analyses Predicting Peer Preference

	Mothers			Fathers		
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value
Main effect						
1. Sex	.26	.11	2.25*	.21	.11	1.84
2. Income	.18	.06	3.14**	.16	.06	2.84**
Education [a]	-.08	.06	-1.32	.01	.06	.15
3. Group type	-.03	.13	-.25	.13	.12	1.07
4. Warmth	.10	.06	1.77	.02	.06	.31
Pow. Ass. [b]	-.12	.06	-2.06*	-.19	.06	-3.52**
Enc. Soc. [c]	-.05	.06	-.82	-.03	.06	-.51
Enc. Ind. [d]	.06	.06	1.02	-.04	.06	-.64
Interaction						
5. Sex × Group	.01	.23	.06	-.02	.23	-.09
6. Sex × Warmth	-.04	.12	-.30	-.08	.12	-.62
Sex × Pow. Ass. [b]	.08	.12	.71	.16	.11	1.47
Sex × Enc. Soc. [c]	.02	.12	.14	-.06	.12	-.52
Sex × Enc. Ind. [d]	-.10	.12	-.88	.00	.12	.04
7. Group × Warmth	-.21	.13	-1.75*	-.07	.12	-.57
Group × Pow. Ass. [b]	-.02	.12	-.17	-.01	.11	-.11
Group × Enc. Soc. [c]	-.13	.12	-1.10	-.06	.12	-.49
Group × Enc. Ind. [d]	-.00	.12	-.04	.11	.12	.90

Note. Each of the child-rearing variables was entered into the equation, separately from the others, in step 4 after group type. The same approach was taken for the interactions.

[a] Mother's educational level was entered into the equation when mother's parenting attitudes were used as predictors, whereas father's educational level was used when father's parenting attitudes were predictors.
[b] Pow. Ass. = power assertion
[c] Enc. Soc. = encouragement of sociability
[d] Enc. Ind. = encouragement of independence

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

Table 6

Results of Regression Analyses Predicting Peer and Teacher-rated Social Competence

	Mothers			Fathers		
predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value
Main effect						
1. Sex	1.05	.21	4.92***	1.03	.21	4.91***
2. Income	.24	.10	2.25*	.21	.11	2.03*
Education [a]	.00	.11	.03	.34	.10	3.36**
3. Group type	-.53	.25	-2.02*	-.13	.22	-.58
4. Warmth	.35	.11	3.10**	.22	.10	2.07*
Pow. Ass. [b]	-.18	.11	-1.68	-.24	.10	-2.33*
Enc. Soc. [c]	.14	.11	1.31	.08	.11	.80
Enc. Ind. [d]	.29	.11	2.75**	.11	.10	1.03
Interaction						
5. Sex × Group	-.40	.42	-.96	-.38	.41	-.92
6. Sex × Warmth	.37	.22	1.70	.27	.21	1.28
Sex × Pow. Ass. [b]	.08	.22	.38	.23	.21	1.12
Sex × Enc. Soc. [c]	.10	.21	.47	-.04	.21	-.19
Sex × Enc. Ind. [d]	.17	.21	.81	.31	.21	1.45
7. Group × Warmth	-.65	.22	-2.90**	-.20	.22	-.92
Group × Pow. Ass. [b]	.05	.22	.25	-.01	.21	-.04
Group × Enc. Soc. [c]	-.39	.21	-1.84	-.45	.21	-2.13*
Group × Enc. Ind. [d]	-.29	.21	-1.34	-.07	.21	-.30

Note. Each of the child-rearing variables was entered into the equation, separately from the others, in step 4 after group type. The same approach was taken for the interactions.

[a] Mother's educational level was entered into the equation when mother's parenting attitudes were used as predictors, whereas father's educational level was used when father's parenting attitudes were predictors.
[b] Pow. Ass. = power assertion
[c] Enc. Soc. = encouragement of sociability
[d] Enc. Ind. = encouragement of independence

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

Table 7

Results of Regression Analyses Predicting School Status

	Mothers			Fathers		
predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value
Main effect						
1. Sex	.29	.11	2.66**	.26	.11	2.40*
2. Income	-.03	.06	-.55	-.01	.06	-.13
Education [a]	.13	.06	2.21*	.19	.05	3.48**
3. Group type	-.20	.13	-1.55	-.18	.12	-1.52
4. Warmth	.11	.06	1.93*	.08	.05	1.42
Pow. Ass. [b]	-.10	.06	-1.75	-.10	.05	-1.79
Enc. Soc. [c]	.04	.06	.66	.01	.06	.25
Enc. Ind. [d]	.14	.06	2.43*	.06	.06	1.11
Interaction						
5. Sex × Group	-.02	.22	-.11	.00	.22	.02
6. Sex × Warmth	.21	.11	1.88	.12	.11	1.09
Sex × Pow. Ass. [b]	.08	.11	.74	.09	.11	.86
Sex × Enc. Soc. [c]	.11	.11	.98	-.08	.11	-.72
Sex × Enc. Ind. [d]	.05	.11	.43	.05	.11	.46
7. Group × Warmth	-.23	.12	-1.93*	-.02	.11	-.14
Group × Pow. Ass. [b]	.03	.11	.30	.00	.11	.00
Group × Enc. Soc. [c]	-.20	.11	-1.81	-.15	.11	-1.34
Group × Enc. Ind. [d]	-.05	.11	-.42	.07	.11	.64

Note. Each of the child-rearing variables was entered into the equation, separately from the others, in step 4 after group type. The same approach was taken for the interactions.

[a] Mother's educational level was entered into the equation when mother's parenting attitudes were used as predictors, whereas father's educational level was used when father's parenting attitudes were predictors.
[b] Pow. Ass. = power assertion
[c] Enc. Soc. = encouragement of sociability
[d] Enc. Ind. = encouragement of independence

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

Table 8

Results of Regression Analyses Predicting Academic Achievement

	Mothers			Fathers		
predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value
Main effect						
1. Sex	.66	.17	3.82***	.68	.17	3.93**
2. Income	.09	.09	1.07	.12	.09	1.37
Education [a]	-.01	.09	-.15	.06	.09	.67
3. Group type	-.04	.21	-.18	.05	.19	.26
4. Warmth	.18	.09	2.05*	.17	.09	1.92
Pow. Ass. [b]	-.23	.09	-2.64**	-.22	.09	-2.63**
Enc. Soc. [c]	.02	.09	.18	.18	.09	2.02*
Enc. Ind. [d]	.12	.09	1.35	.07	.09	.80
Interaction						
5. Sex × Group	-.34	.35	-.99	-.49	.35	-1.41
6. Sex × Warmth	.04	.18	.22	.08	.18	.47
Sex × Pow. Ass. [b]	.30	.18	1.72	.43	.17	2.52*
Sex × Enc. Soc. [c]	-.19	.18	-1.06	-.19	.18	-1.09
Sex × Enc. Ind. [d]	-.10	.18	-.55	-.10	.18	-.55
7. Group × Warmth	-.18	.19	-1.01	.10	.18	.57
Group × Pow. Ass. [b]	.23	.18	1.31	.12	.18	.70
Group × Enc. Soc. [c]	-.04	.18	-.22	.05	.18	.28
Group × Enc. Ind. [d]	-.01	.18	-.06	.09	.18	.51

Note. Each of the child-rearing variables was entered into the equation, separately from the others, in step 4 after group type. The same approach was taken for the interactions.

[a] Mother's educational level was entered into the equation when mother's parenting attitudes were used as predictors, whereas father's educational level was used when father's parenting attitudes were predictors.
[b] Pow. Ass. = power assertion
[c] Enc. Soc. = encouragement of sociability
[d] Enc. Ind. = encouragement of independence

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

Table 9

Results of Regression Analyses Predicting Self-Perceptions

	Mothers			Fathers		
predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value
Main effect						
1. Sex	.40	.19	2.08*	.31	.19	1.59
2. Income	.12	.10	1.21	.12	.10	1.28
Education [a]	.12	.10	1.19	.11	.10	1.11
3. Group type	-.39	.23	-1.83	-.34	.21	-1.61
4. Warmth	.06	.10	.58	.01	.10	.15
Pow. Ass. [b]	-.25	.10	-2.64**	-.38	.09	-4.02***
Enc. Soc. [c]	-.04	.10	-.42	.11	.10	1.11
Enc. Ind. [d]	.16	.10	1.67	.16	.10	1.66
Interaction						
5. Sex × Group	-.46	.38	-1.21	-.48	.39	-1.26
6. Sex × Warmth	.27	.20	1.35	.23	.19	1.17
Sex × Pow. Ass. [b]	.27	.19	1.40	.31	.19	1.65
Sex × Enc. Soc. [c]	.17	.19	.90	-.01	.20	-.03
Sex × Enc. Ind. [d]	.01	.19	.06	-.05	.19	-.26
7. Group × Warmth	-.07	.20	-.33	-.08	.20	-.41
Group × Pow. Ass. [b]	.18	.19	.95	.14	.19	.76
Group × Enc. Soc. [c]	-.11	.19	-.57	-.34	.19	-1.76
Group × Enc. Ind. [d]	.02	.20	.11	.07	.20	.35

Note. Each of the child-rearing variables was entered into the equation, separately from the others, in step 4 after group type. The same approach was taken for the interactions.

[a] Mother's educational level was entered into the equation when mother's parenting attitudes were used as predictors, whereas father's educational level was used when father's parenting attitudes were predictors.
[b] Pow. Ass. = power assertion
[c] Enc. Soc. = encouragement of sociability
[d] Enc. Ind. = encouragement of independence

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

Table 10

Results of Regression Analyses Predicting Loneliness

	Mothers			Fathers		
predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value	*B*	*SE*	*t*-value
Main effect						
1. Sex	-.18	.10	-1.88	-.14	.10	-1.60
2. Income	-.04	.05	-.82	-.04	.05	-.79
Education [a]	-.02	.05	-.35	-.06	.05	-1.26
3. Group type	.34	.11	3.05**	.22	.11	2.07*
4. Warmth	-.01	.05	-.20	.01	.05	.22
Pow. Ass. [b]	.14	.05	2.83**	.19	.05	3.86***
Enc. Soc. [c]	.04	.05	.86	-.02	.05	-.38
Enc. Ind. [d]	-.06	.05	-1.31	-.09	.05	-1.86
Interaction						
5. Sex × Group	.23	.19	1.19	.28	.20	1.40
6. Sex × Warmth	-.14	.10	-1.41	-.16	.10	-1.56
Sex × Pow. Ass. [b]	-.05	.10	-.56	.05	.10	.42
Sex × Enc. Soc. [c]	-.13	.10	-1.31	-.03	.10	-.32
Sex × Enc. Ind. [d]	.02	.10	.24	-.00	.10	-.01
7. Group × Warmth	-.00	.10	-.03	-.04	.10	-.35
Group × Pow. Ass. [b]	-.02	.10	-.17	-.05	.10	-.49
Group × Enc. Soc. [c]	-.02	.10	-.19	.11	.10	1.12
Group × Enc. Ind. [d]	-.03	.10	-.33	-.16	.10	-1.63

Note. Each of the child-rearing variables was entered into the equation, separately from the others, in step 4 after group type. The same approach was taken for the interactions.

[a] Mother's educational level was entered into the equation when mother's parenting attitudes were used as predictors, whereas father's educational level was used when father's parenting attitudes were predictors.
[b] Pow. Ass. = power assertion
[c] Enc. Soc. = encouragement of sociability
[d] Enc. Ind. = encouragement of independence

** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

To better understand the nature of the interactions, I conducted separate analyses for the binary variables (boy vs. girl, and urban vs. rural-migrant), predicting child adjustment based on the parenting variables. The results indicated that paternal power assertion significantly and negatively predicted academic achievement for boys, $B = -.39$, $SE = .12$, $t = -3.38$, $p < .01$, but not for girls, $B = -.06$, $SE = .11$, $t = -.51$, $p > .05$ (see Figure 1). Moreover, maternal warmth a) significantly and positively predicted peer preference for urban children, $B = .25$, $SE = .10$, $t = 2.53$, $p < .05$, but not for rural-migrant children, $B = .05$, $SE = .06$, $t = .81$, $p > .05$ (see Figure 2), b) significantly and positively predicted social competence for urban children, $B = .87$, $SE = .19$, $t = 4.52$, $p < .001$, but not for rural-migrant children, $B = .12$, $SE = .11$, $t = 1.08$, $p > .05$ (see Figure 3), and c) significantly and positively predicted school status for urban children, $B = .28$, $SE = .09$, $t = 2.99$, $p < .01$, but not for rural-migrant children, $B = .03$, $SE = .06$, $t = .54$, $p > .05$ (see Figure 4). Finally, paternal encouragement of sociability significantly and positively predicted social competence for urban children, $B = .38$, $SE = .18$, $t = 2.07$, $p < .05$, but not for rural-migrant children, $B = -.03$, $SE = .12$, $t = -.25$, $p > .05$ (see Figure 5).

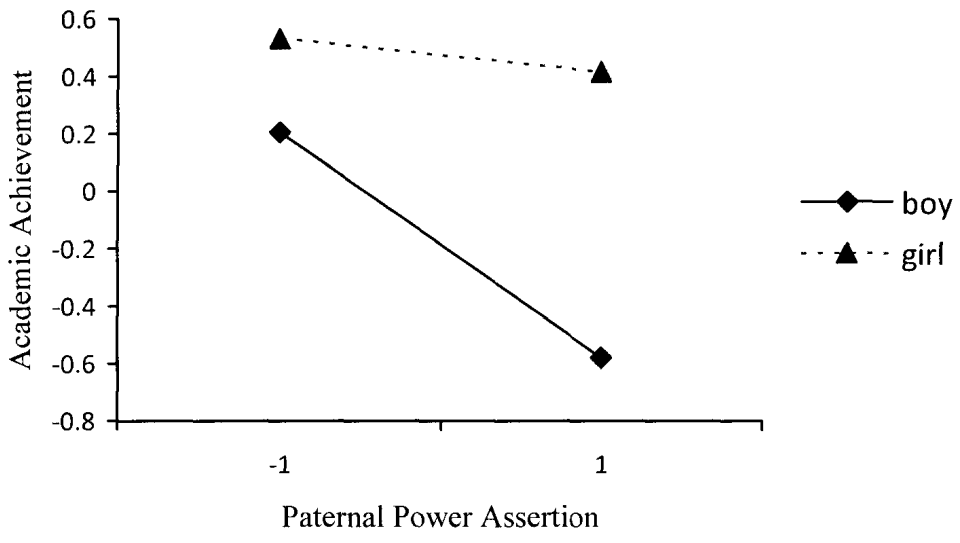

Figure 1. Interactions between paternal power assertion and child gender in predicting academic achievement

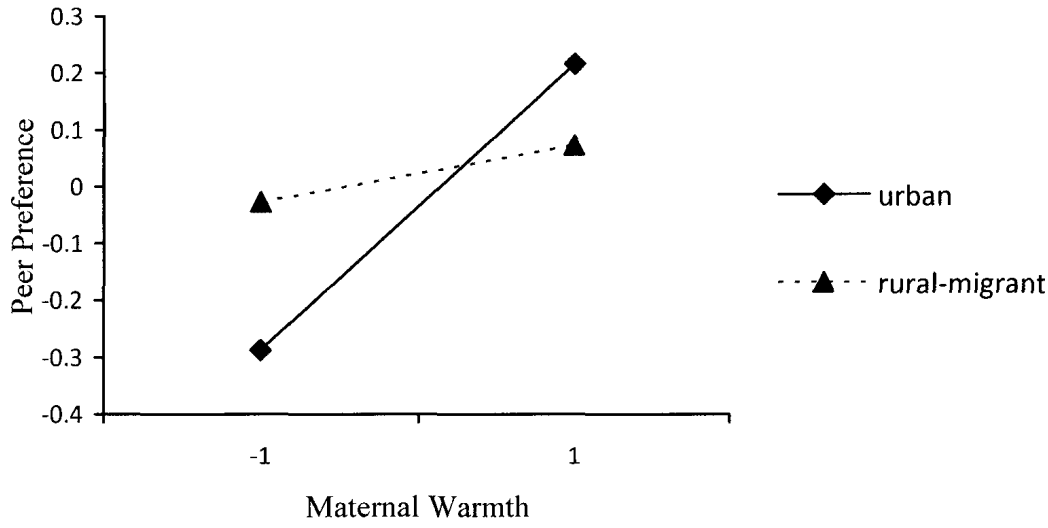

Figure 2. Interactions between maternal warmth and group type in predicting peer preference

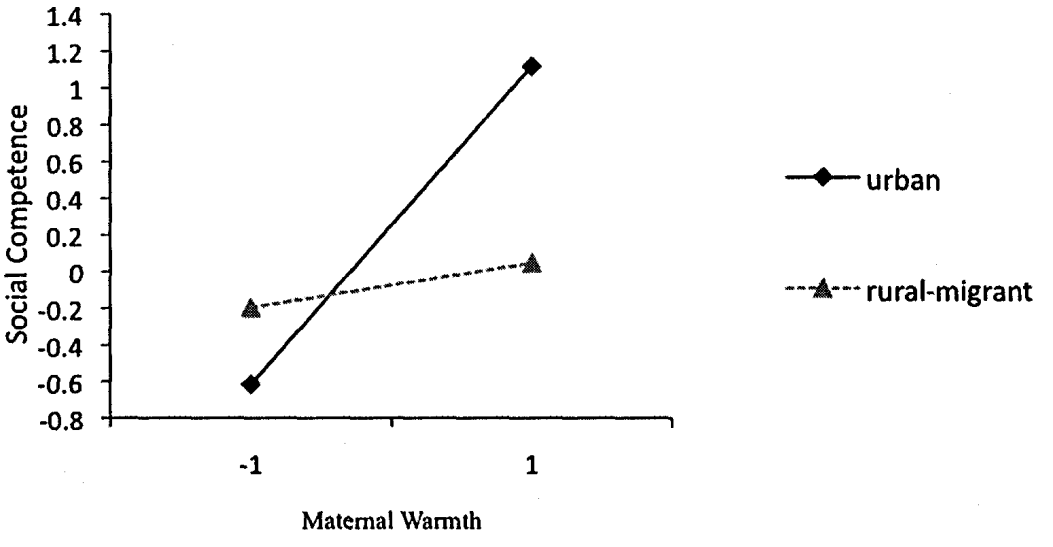

Figure 3. Interactions between maternal warmth and group type in predicting social competence

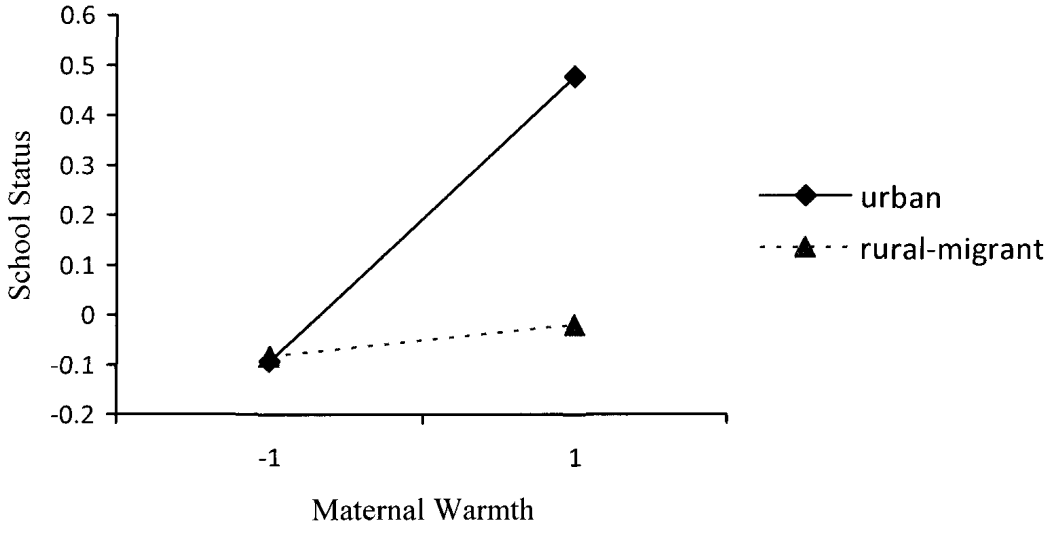

Figure 4. Interactions between maternal warmth and group type in predicting school status

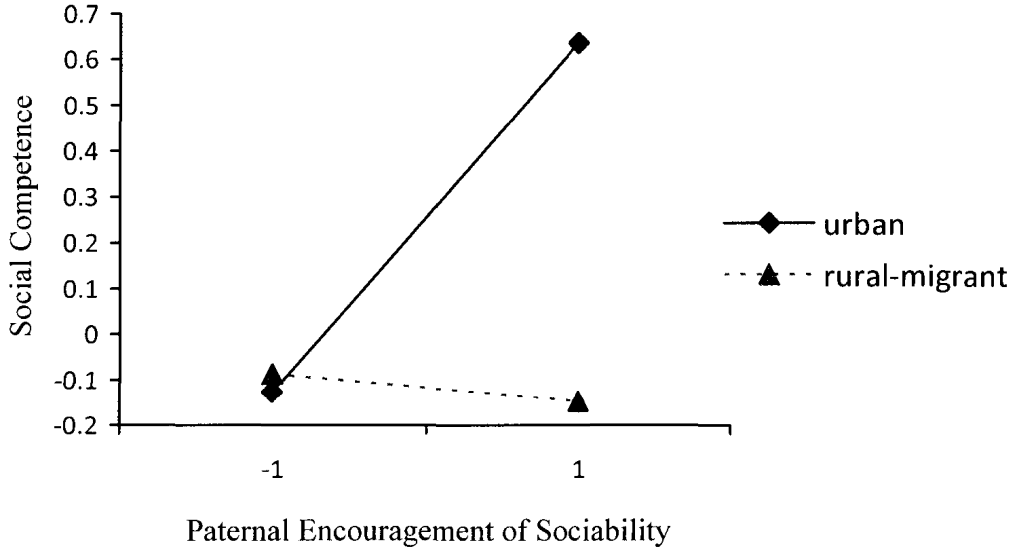

Figure 5. Interactions between paternal encouragement of sociability and group type in predicting social competence

Discussion

Developmental theorists and researchers have long recognized the importance of parenting for child social and psychological adjustment (Baumrind, 1967; Chao, 1994; Chen et al., 2000; Eisenberg & Valiente, 2002; Ladd & Pettit, 2002; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). However, the processes and factors that are involved in parenting processes have received relatively less attention. Recent cross-cultural and longitudinal research has shed some light on the impact of socialization goals on parenting and its relation to child socio-emotional adjustment (Chen & Uttal, 1988; Chao, 1995; Greenfield et al., 2000; Kagitcibasi, 1996). However, more empirical evidence is needed to better understand contextual effects on parenting (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002). In the present study, I examined specific childrearing attitudes and their relation to child social, school, and psychological adjustment in urban versus rural-migrant families in China. The results indicated that urban parents endorsed the value of intimate relationship as well as autonomy, whereas rural-migrant parents were more in line with traditional childrearing attitudes. Moreover, these attitudes had different adaptive values in child adjustment. The findings constituted an important contribution to understanding the contextual effect of socioeconomic change on parenting.

Child Social, School, and Psychological Adjustments

Rural-migrant families have encountered difficulties in almost every aspect of living in cities, including health care, housing, job opportunity, child education, and social support. A number of researchers have found that rural-migrant children adopt less efficient learning methods, report greater loneliness and depression, have lower self-esteem, and sometimes show resentment to social discrimination and inequality (Chen &

Zhang, 2005; Guo et al., 2005; Tao et al., 2004; Zhao et al., 2005). However, all of these studies were conducted in special migrant schools and the results were compared to the general norms in public schools. The special migrant schools are usually in poorer conditions in terms of facility for instruction and social interaction, which may contribute to the negative feelings of rural-migrant children.

The current study examined urban and rural-migrant children's social, school, and emotional adjustment in the same school setting, thus largely eliminating the confounding of unequal quality of education and school condition. The results showed that rural-migrant children were not different from urban children in peer preference, academic achievement, or self-perceptions. Researchers have argued that rural-migrant children's learning problems are due to deficiency in learning method rather than intelligence, and these children show great readiness to learn, hoping to improve their life through higher academic achievement (Du, 2002; He, 2002). The results of this study indicated that when the same educational condition was provided, rural-migrant children could perform equally well academically and hence feel good about themselves and their school performance.

Nevertheless, rural-migrant children were viewed by peers to be lower in social competence. It seems that education at school alone is not enough for children to learn interpersonal skills and prosocial behaviours. When the child is less competent in self-control, assertiveness, and prosocial behaviours, he or she is less likely to be selected as class representative or distinguished student, which is reflected in the rural-migrant children's lower school status. In addition, consistent with previous findings (Tao et al., 2004; Chen & Zhang, 2005), rural-migrant children reported greater loneliness. In

summary, these results indicated rural-migrant children's weakness in social competence and emotional adjustment and called for further examination of other determinants in child development, such as parental influence.

Childrearing Attitudes between Urban and Rural-migrant Parents

Consistent with the hypotheses, the results showed significant group differences in childrearing attitudes between urban and rural-migrant parents. First, urban parents were more likely to encourage children to have their own opinions, make their own decisions, and do things independently. This finding supported the trend of increasing autonomous orientation in Chinese families in recent years (Chen et al., 2005; Liu et al., 2005). Three possible explanations may be offered. To begin with, occupations in the city require increased self-direction and individual responsibility in dealing with various tasks. Parents as educators of social norms and expectations are preparing their children for future competitions. Next, nuclear families are becoming the mainstream in contemporary Chinese society, and family size is further shrinking with the one-child policy (Wang, 2006). Decreased childcare support from extended families or older children leads to earlier expectation of independence in the child. Finally, the influence of Western values and ideologies such as individualism and democracy has introduced new parenting styles and practices that Chinese parents can adopt or integrate into traditional childrearing practices. Research on transnational immigrant families has shed some light on the change in parenting during acculturation (Berry, 2003). It may be interesting for future research to look at the relation between parents' receptiveness to Western values and their childrearing attitudes in the modernization process.

Second, compared with rural-migrant parents, urban parents displayed more warm and affective attitudes towards their children, even after controlling for parents' educational levels and family income. The radical socioeconomic development in Chinese society necessitates children to develop the ability to make their own decisions and work independently as well as to develop sociable and interpersonal skills. Parental warmth and sensitivity can promote the child's acceptance of parents' advice and guidance and create a positive atmosphere in the parent-child relationships that serve as a "secure base" for children to explore in new environments. It seems that urban parents are more aware of the shift in socialization goals in the new competitive society. Consequently, urban parents are more likely than rural parents to facilitate parent-child affective relationships in parenting.

Kagitcibasi's (2005) *model of family change* about how societal changes influence the value of children in the family may also help us understand the group differences. With improved social security in health care, income, and pension plan, urban parents have less need for material support from their children. Instead, parents may seek more psychological support from close and intimate parent-child relationships. Moreover, decreasing material interdependencies leave room for the development of autonomy and independence. Autonomous orientation can become part of childrearing not only because of reduced attention to relatedness and family loyalty, but also because of the increasing adaptive value of autonomy in the society (Okagaki & Steinberg, 1993). Due to the lack of social security for non-citizens, rural-migrant parents still depend on their children for future material needs and care. In fact, rural-migrant parents have reported to hold overly high academic and occupational expectations for their children, with the hope to improve

social status of the family through their offspring's achievement (Li, 2004). As a result, the demand for compliance to parents' expectation may outweigh the need for psychological intimacy and autonomy in rural-migrant families. The significant main effect of family income on parents' encouragement of independence that was found in the study may support the important role of material security in parents' childrearing attitudes.

Consistent with other findings in rural families (Li et al., 2000; Li et al., 2005), rural-migrant parents reported more intrusive control and power-assertive parenting styles. More specifically, rural-migrant parents allow children little choice in their actions, discourage verbal give-and-take, and tend to use verbal criticism and physical punishment. Apparently, rural-migrant parents are still in line with the traditional childrearing attitudes to maintain filial piety and familism. Filial piety requires children to subordinate their wishes to their parents. Familism expects that personal interest always gives way to the success, unity, and reputation of the family (Luo, 1996; Fung, 1983). In brief, the traditional values emphasize the absolute power of parents and the obedience of children. Furthermore, traditional values consider the experience of deliberately inflicted pain character-building and vital to the development of strength and endurance (Wu, 1981). Therefore, rural-migrant parents' power-assertive childrearing attitudes might be their way of expressing parental responsibility.

The difference between urban and rural-migrant parenting on power assertion may also be related to China's one-child policy that was implemented in the late 1970s. It has been suggested that parents of only children have more tolerance of assertive children who may disobey or talk back when parents discipline them (Wu, 1996). In the current

study, 86% of the urban family had an only child, while only 38% of the rural-migrant family did. As such, it was possible that the lower power-assertive parenting in urban group was due to its higher percentage of only children. Although preliminary analyses in the present study showed a nonsignificant main effect of only-child status on parental power assertion, this possibility should be investigated further in future research.

Finally, the results also showed group difference in parental encouragement of sociability. However, this group difference became nonsignificant after controlling for family income and parents' educational levels. Although the main effects of family income and parents' educational levels were nonsignificant, further analyses revealed that parents' educational levels were significantly correlated with parental encouragement of sociability (rs = .20 and .12, $p < .001$ and $p < .05$ for mothers and fathers respectively), suggesting that this group difference was largely due to the difference in parents' educational levels. Indeed, group orientation and relatedness to others have always been a part of Chinese traditional values. A popular saying, "depend on parents at home, depend on friends outside," describes the importance of friendship and social networks in Chinese society. Accordingly, urban and rural-migrant parents may have similar expectations for children's sociability. The effects of parents' educational levels, however, may be explained by parental efficacy beliefs (Brody, Flor, and Gibson, 1999). Specifically, lower-educated parents are less likely than higher-educated parents to believe that they have influence on their children's sociability and therefore are less likely to engage in parenting practices that promote sociability.

Paternal and Maternal Childrearing Attitudes

In addition to the group effects, I hypothesized that mothers and fathers would differ on warmth and power assertion. However, the effects were only found in parental warmth: mothers reported significantly higher warmth than did fathers. This is consistent with the Western literature in which fathers are described as less involved in affective childrearing behaviours (Parke & Buriel, 2006). Based on the assumption that socioeconomic development has facilitated more equal gender roles in the urban family, I also hypothesized that the difference between maternal and paternal childrearing attitudes would be smaller in the urban sample. The results indicated only a marginal significant interaction between parent gender and group type for power-assertive parenting. However, a careful examination of this interaction revealed interesting trends.

As can be seen in Table 3, fathers used slightly higher power assertion than mothers in the urban group, while in the rural-migrant group mothers used much higher power assertion than fathers. In other words, rural-migrant mothers displayed the highest level of power assertion in the study. As indicated earlier, urban parents may be more aware of power assertion's detrimental effect on parent-child relationships, whereas rural-migrant parents may consider power assertion a part of their parental duty. In this case, the similar power assertion between urban parents may be a result of their consensus on discipline, while the higher power assertion in rural-migrant mothers may indicate rural-migrant fathers' lesser involvement in childrearing.

Another explanation may be drawn from the immigrant experience itself. According to Ho (1986), although mothers are traditionally characterized as "soft-hearted", decreasing support from extended families may urge mothers to take on a more

active and decisive role in disciplining children. If this is the case, rural-migrant mothers' high power-assertive parenting may be due to the decreased social support after moving out of the village.

In general, the current study found that urban parents had higher parental warmth and encouragement of independence and that rural-migrant parents had higher power assertion. There was a trend of larger difference in paternal and maternal attitudes in rural migrant parents than in urban parents. Given that the two groups were living in the same community and that the urban parents in the study mainly represented blue-collar workers in the city, it is possible that gender roles in the families were not significantly different. Nevertheless, the existing results indicated meaningful between-group differences in childrearing attitudes.

Socioeconomic Status and Child Adjustment

In the present study, one of the purposes was to examine the effects of parenting attitudes on child adjustment over and above socioeconomic status. Before I discuss parenting attitudes, it is necessary to first look at the effects of family income and parents' educational levels. The results indicated that a) family income had significant contributions to peer preference and social competence, b) both parents' educational levels had significant contributions to school status, and c) father's educational levels significantly contributed to social competence. In general, parents with higher income and educational levels are more capable of providing material support and social guidance to their children (Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardif, 2002). In turn, better performance and interpersonal skills may help children gain peer preference and school status. Interestingly, only father's educational levels were associated with child social

competence, which might due to Chinese father's childrearing focus on children's performance and problems in social areas (Ho, 1986). In addition, no interactions were found between income and parenting or educational levels and parenting, suggesting that SES does not moderate the relations between childrearing attitudes and child adjustment.

Parental Warmth and Child Adjustment

With regard to the relations between parental warmth and child adjustment, the results confirmed and extended the previous findings (Chen et al., 1997; Chen et al., 2000; Lamborn & Nguyen, 2004). Specifically, maternal warmth had positive contributions to social competence, school status, and academic achievement, while paternal warmth had positive contributions to academic achievement. The differential significance of maternal and paternal warmth for social and academic achievement partly supported the argument that parental warmth was manifested differently in fathers and mothers' behaviours and in father-child and mother-child interactions (Chen et al., 2000). In Chen et al.'s study (2000), maternal warmth had unique contributions in predicting later psychological adjustment, while paternal warmth had unique contribution in predicting later social and school adjustment. Unexpectedly, the present study showed no significant association between maternal warmth and psychological adjustment including loneliness and self-perceptions. It is possible that parental warmth derived from child reports in Chen et al.'s study was a better indicator of child's perception of parent's love and care that prevented children from developing negative feelings and self-regard.

Nevertheless, the present study found additional positive associations between maternal warmth and child social and school adjustment, indicating that new gender roles of parents following the socioeconomic change in urban China may lead to more equal

childrearing responsibility in the family. As mothers are more involved in social activities, they are more capable of providing children guidance in interpersonal and social skills and thus promote children's social performance. The results seem to indicate that maternal warmth had relatively more pervasive effects on child adjustment than paternal warmth. Given that mothers are more involved in affective parenting behaviours and fathers are more likely to express care through providing guidance and assistance (Chen et al. 2000), it is not surprising that maternal warmth had stronger effects on child adjustment. In other words, fathers may facilitate children's social and school adjustment through more direct instruction and guidance. Of course, this issue needs to be investigated further in the future.

I expected that the associations between parental warmth and child adjustment would be stronger in the urban group than in the rural-migrant group. The significant interactions between group type and maternal warmth in predicting peer preference, social competence, and school status clearly supported this hypothesis (see Figure 2 - 4). Specifically, maternal warmth had positive contribution to children's peer preference, social competence, and school status in the urban group; the relations were nonsignificant in the rural-migrant group. These findings were maintained even after controlling for the effects of gender, family income, and parents' educational levels. The results appear to suggest that mothers' warm and supportive attitude is less important, or less relevant to children's social and school adjustment in rural-migrant families than in urban families.

This contextual moderation effect may be attributed to two factors. First, parental warmth may not have the same adaptive value in the two groups. The literature I reviewed earlier on relations between parenting and child adjustment indicates that

socialization beliefs and goals may not only affect the prevalence of specific parenting practices but also the meaning these practices carry with them (Chao, 1994; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg et al., 1992). Warm and affective childrearing attitudes are generally more endorsed by the urban parents than the rural parents. Urban parents put more emphasis on having a warm and intimate parent-child relationship, which may help the child develop positive attitudes toward others and further develop prosocial behaviours (Booth et al., 1994). As such, parental warmth and sensitivity may be more relevant to child adjustment. Consequently, parental warmth, especially maternal warmth, may predict positive child adjustment in the urban family. In contrast, the warm and responsive parenting attitudes may not be of equal importance in the rural-migrant family. Obedience is still the prior childrearing goal in the rural-migrant family, and intimate relations may interfere with parents' authority. In addition, the parental warmth measured in the present study may have failed to capture the most relevant aspects of the parenting that is beneficial for the adjustment of rural-migrant children. For example, material reward, monitoring children's activities, or concerning about children's school performance may be considered parental warmth in the rural-migrant family. To better understand the issue, further qualitative study in rural-migrant families may be beneficial.

Second, I suspect that there was report bias in parenting attitudes. It is possible that some rural-migrant parents rated their own parental warmth based on the comparison with their extended families who were more emotionally restrain and conservative back in the village. If this is the case, rural-migrant parents might display less affective parenting behaviours in real life even if they reported the same level of warmth as urban parents did. As such, equivalent parental attitudes in the two groups may actually reflect

varying parenting behaviours that further contribute differently to child adjustment. More specifically, some rural-migrant parents may overrate their parental warmth but fail to contribute to corresponding positive effects on child adjustment. Thus parental warmth was less relevant to child adjustment in the rural-migrant family. Future research with additional observational data in parenting may help to verify this argument.

Parental Power Assertion and Child Adjustment

As indicated earlier, rural-migrant parents' high power assertion may reflect their way of socializing children according to the traditional values. In the literature, high levels of power-assertive parenting have been linked to externalizing and internalizing problems, difficulties with academic achievement, low self-esteem, and self-derogation (Barber & Harmon, 2002; Frye & Garber, 2005; Mills, 2003). Consistent with this literature, the regression analyses in this study revealed that parental power assertion negatively attributed to peer preference, social competence, academic achievement, and self-perceptions and positively attributed to loneliness. There results are in accordance with other studies concerning the association between power-assertive parenting and children's socio-emotional adjustment in Chinese culture (Chang et al., 2003; Chen et al., 2000; Hart et al., 1998). High level of control without explanations from parents makes it hard for children to willingly follow parents' advice regarding appropriate behaviours and social skills (Chamberlain & Patterson, 1995). Parents' verbal criticism and physical punishment interfere with children's self-esteem, lead to poor parent-child relationship, and set bad examples for social interactions (Mills, 2003; Nolan et al., 2003; Strassburg et al., 1994). Taken together, it is not surprising that high power control with verbal and physical punishment would lead to children's maladjustment in every aspect.

I hypothesized that power assertion among rural-migrant parents would lead to stronger negative effect on rural-migrant children's adjustment. However, nonsignificant interactions were found between group type and power assertion, suggesting that high power assertion had the same detrimental effects on child adjustment in both urban and rural-migrant groups. Although some researchers have argued that controlling, punitive, and authoritarian parenting styles may be beneficial for children to cope with life challenges (Baldwin et al., 1993; Baumrind, 1972), and that punishment may be considered a legitimate form of parenting by the child if it is acceptable in the cultural context (Holden, 2002), the current findings clearly show that the power-assertive parenting that falls into the more negative end of authoritarian parenting was only associated with negative child outcomes.

Finally, there was a gender difference in the relations between paternal power assertion and academic achievement (see Figure 1). In general, girls had higher academic achievement than boys regardless of their fathers' power-assertive parenting, whereas boys' academic achievement was negatively associated with fathers' power assertion. The link between parental power assertion and children's academic problems are not well-established. First, given that boys tend to look up to their fathers in terms of social and school performance (Bryant & Zimmerman, 2003), I could only speculate that fathers' high-power control and punishment had stronger negative effects on boys' self-esteem and sense of competence. As a result, boys may not try hard to achieve academic success if their fathers use more power-assertive parenting. Second, it is possible that boys who have academic problems are more likely to illicit paternal power assertion. In

other words, the causal direction is from the child to the father; fathers tend to use high power control or punishment with their sons if they fail to achieve academically.

Encouragement of Independence and Child Adjustment

Concerning the relations between parental encouragement of independence and child adjustment, it was found in the regression analyses that maternal encouragement of independence had positive contribution to social competence and school status. The result was consistent with the findings in both Western and Chinese cultures (Silk et al., 2003; Wang et al., 2007), suggesting that allowing children to take initiative, make independent decisions, and think through problems on their own can promote children's social skills and school performance. Indeed, Deci and Ryan's (2000) self-determination theory emphasizes autonomy as a basic, psychological need for humans, and meeting this need will facilitate individuals' internalization, well-being, and health. When children have the feeling that they are responsible for their own actions and that they have input into determining their own behaviours, they are more likely to have high self-esteem and sense of competence that can assist them in achieving social and school success (Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991). Nevertheless, nonsignificant interactions between group type and encouragement of independence were found for child adjustment. Thus, although encouragement of independence was more prevalent in the urban group, it had similar beneficial effects on children's competence across contexts.

Encouragement of Sociability and Child Adjustment

Although parental encouragement of sociability had nonsignificant main effects on children's social, school, and psychological adjustment, there was a moderation effect of group type on the relations between paternal encouragement of sociability and social

competence (see Figure 5). Specifically, paternal encouragement of sociability had positive relations with children's social competence in the urban group; the relations were nonsignificant in the rural-migrant group. Given the group differences that were already found in the present study, it seems plausible to argue that whereas urban and rural-migrant fathers make the same effort in encouraging children's sociability, the motives behind the encouragement may be different. Rural-migrant fathers may consider having friends as an indication of belonging to a group; thus encouraging children's sociability is for the purpose of promoting relatedness. Urban fathers, however, may encourage sociability because of their awareness of the importance of social network in achieving social success. Urban fathers may provide specific guidance in interpersonal skills and leadership when they encourage their children to be sociable. Therefore, urban children's social competence is congruous with fathers' emphasis on sociability.

In summary, the current study supported the hypotheses that there would be group differences in childrearing attitudes and the relations between childrearing attitudes and child social, school, and psychological adjustment. It should be noted that the significant correlations between parenting and child adjustment were not consistent across parenting variables. Both parents' power assertion has significant negative effect on child adjustment. Parental warmth, especially maternal warmth, has significant positive effect on child social and school adjustment. However, both encouragement of sociability and encouragement of independence lack of positive association with child social adjustment. It seems that future research should examine how Chinese parents' encouragement of sociability and independence contribute to children's adaptive social behaviours and further influence child social adjustment.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several noticeable limitations and weaknesses in this study. First, I used parents' self-reports to measure childrearing attitudes because parental reports might be a more direct and accurate assessment of parents' socialization attitudes and beliefs (Chen et al., 1997; Chen & Rubin, 1994). However, parents' self-reports may not be as predictive of child behaviours and adjustment as some other measures due to parental understanding and social desirability issues (Paulson, 1994). Future studies may benefit from using other methods such as open-ended interviews to assess parental attitudes and views.

Second, it is important to consider children's perceptions and interpretations of parental attitudes and behaviours since children are active participants in the socialization process (Parke & Buriel, 2006). Especially in the study of parent-child relationships in a changing context such as migration or socioeconomic change, children may be faster in adopting new ideas or assimilating into the new environment. The discrepancy between parents and children's social belief and values may influence the efficiency of parenting practices. Thus, future research should take both parents and children's views into account.

Third, the working-class urban sample in the present study represented the population with modernized social values and beliefs, while the rural-migrant sample represented the population following traditional Chinese values. It would be interesting for future work to replicate the study with other samples on the continuum of the socialization process. For example, middle-class parents in the city may hold more liberal ideas on childrearing than working-class parents, while rural parents living in remote

areas may be more conservative and restrictive in childrearing than rural-migrant parents. Well-defined ecological settings in which families operate can contribute to the knowledge of contextual effects on parenting.

Finally, it should be cautious to draw any conclusion regarding causal effects about the relations between parental attitude and child adjustment in the present study given the correlational design of the study. Socialization in the family is a reciprocal process in which parental behaviours influence child performance and child characteristics and behaviours affect parenting (Parke & Buriel, 2006). Thus, the correlational findings concerning the relations between childrearing attitudes and child social, school, and psychological adjustment in the present study should be understood as demonstrating the relevance of these attitudes in different contexts within Chinese culture. Longitudinal research should be conducted to better understand the causal processes involved in parenting.

Contributions of the Study

The contextual effects on parenting have received increased interests in cross-cultural research and research concerning societal changes. The current study provided valuable information on this issue by examining childrearing attitudes of parents with urban and rural backgrounds. This study also demonstrated that context may have moderation effects on the relations between parenting and child adjustment. The results of this study may be useful for Chinese rural-migrant parents to develop adaptive parenting skills.

The present study not only shows differences of urban and rural-migrant parents on parenting attitudes and their relations with children's social, school, and psychological

adjustment, but also indicates the necessity to examine specific parenting attitudes beyond the broad authoritative-authoritarian framework (Chao, 1994). It seems that increased focus on personal initiative and competitiveness exert greater value in parental warmth, implant new meaning to encouraging children's sociability, and introduce adaptive attitude toward autonomy. Given that modernization and globalization have accelerated the exchange of social values and beliefs, it is important to consider the coexistence of diverse or even contradictive values in any cross-cultural and intra-cultural research. Specifically, exploring the functional meaning of specific childrearing attitudes within socio-cultural contexts may contribute to a thorough understanding of parents' role in children's socialization process.

In summary, the results suggest that rural-migrant parents are less involved or less successful in regulating children's social, school, and psychological adjustment. Their childrearing attitudes may be mostly derived from traditional Chinese values that emphasize emotional restrain, obedience, and group harmony. Rural-migrant parents are less aware of the adaptive parenting skills that may facilitate children's adjustment and success in the competitive society. Most intervention programs aimed at improving rural-migrant children's social skills, school performance, and psychological wellbeing have focused on providing them better academic skills (Jiang & Yan, 2006; Liang & Chen, 2007; Yan, 2005). The findings of the present study indicate that it will be important to promote rural-migrant parents' awareness of the essential qualities that are required for children to succeed in the modern society and to help parents develop effective parenting skills to facilitate these qualities in children.

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Appendix A: Revised Class Play

Name _____ Gender _____ Grade _____ Age _____ School ID# _____

Instruction: We are going to have a class play. There are a number of roles in the play. As the director, you need to find the person who can best play each of the roles. When you find this person, write down his/her number in the space after the role. If you think several people can play the same role, write down the numbers of these people (up to three). If you feel a person can play more than one role, that is fine. If you cannot find anybody to play a role, just leave the spaces blank. OK? Do not discuss with others.

Example: Someone who is taller than most of the others _____ _____ _____

1. A person who is a good leader _____ _____ _____
2. A person who everyone listen to him/her _____ _____ _____
3. Somebody who will expression his/her own opinion _____ _____ _____
4. Someone who everyone like to be with him/her _____ _____ _____
5. Somebody who can wait patiently when taking turns _____ _____ _____
6. A person you really like to be with at school _____ _____ _____
7. A person who tries to solve problem on his/her own _____ _____ _____
8. Somebody who makes new friends easily _____ _____ _____
9. A person who has a lot of good ideas _____ _____ _____
10. Someone who can persist until succeed _____ _____ _____
11. Someone who helps other people when they need it _____ _____ _____
12. Somebody who can focus attention when doing things _____ _____ _____
13. Someone who has high standard on him/herself _____ _____ _____
14. A person you would rather not be with at school _____ _____ _____
15. Someone who likes to play with others rather than alone _____ _____ _____
16. Someone who is polite to others _____ _____ _____
17. A person who can follow discipline in group activities _____ _____ _____
18. Someone who shows care and concern for others _____ _____ _____
19. A person who is modest, not arrogant _____ _____ _____
20. A person who can look for his/her own shortcoming _____ _____ _____
21. Someone who can voluntarily follow class discipline _____ _____ _____
22. Someone who has many friends _____ _____ _____

Appendix B: Self-Perception Profile for Children

Name _____ Gender: Boy/Girl

On the next few pages, there are several statements that may be true about you or not true about you. Read each sentence and decide whether or not the sentence is always true about you or not at all true about you or somewhat in between. Then circle a number beside each sentence that tells me your answer. There are not right or wrong answers, just what you think. Please be honest.

1 = Always true 2 = True most of the time 3 = Sometimes true 4 = Hardly True 5 = Not at all true

EXAMPLE: I like playing ping-pong.	1	2	3	4	5

---

1. I'm good at remembering things that I have learnt.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I have confidence in myself.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I have a lot of qualities to be proud of.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I'm quick in doing homework.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I don't think I'm as smart as other students.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I believe I will become successful in the future.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I like myself.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I sometimes do not understand the homework.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I'm satisfied with my life in general.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I'm good at study.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I think things with me are good in general.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I'm good at every subject.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C: Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire

People all have different ideas and feelings. Below is a list of different kinds of feelings. There are 14 groups in total and each group contains 3 sentences. Please read each sentence carefully and put a check mark beside the one that best describes you based on the situation in the past two weeks. There is no right or wrong answer, and the results are for research purpose only. Nobody except for the researcher can look at your questionnaire, so please be honest with your answer.

1. ____ I feel unhappy occasionally.
   ____ I often feel unhappy.
   ____ I'm always unhappy.

2. ____ My situation is so bad that it's never going to get better.
   ____ I'm not sure if my situation will get better.
   ____ I'm sure my situation will get better.

3. ____ I can do well in many things.
   ____ I often do wrong things.
   ____ I always do wrong things.

4. ____ I think I get bad luck at times.
   ____ I'm worried that I will get bad luck.
   ____ I'm sure I will get bad luck very soon.

5. ____ I hate myself.
   ____ I don't like myself.
   ____ I like myself.

6. ____ I feel like crying everyday.
   ____ I want to cry every few days.
   ____ I want to cry once in a while.

7. ____ I'm always upset about something.
   ____ I'm often upset about something.
   ____ I'm upset about something occasionally.

8. ____ I'm satisfied with the way I look.
   ____ Some change in my appearance that makes me look bad.
   ____ I look ugly

9. ____ I feel tired once in a while.
   ____ I sometimes feel tired.
   ____ I'm always tired.

10. ____ I don't feel lonely.
    ____ I feel lonely sometimes.
    ____ I always feel lonely.

11. ____ I don't like go to school at all.
    ____ I sometimes think it's interesting to go to school, sometimes not.
    ____ I often think going to school is fun.

12. ____ I have a lot of friends.
    ____ I have some friends.
    ____ I don't have any friends.

13. ____ I'm always not as good as others.
    ____ I can be as good as others if I want to.
    ____ I'm always as good as others.

14. ____ Nobody really likes me.
    ____ I don't know if anyone likes me.
    ____ I'm sure someone likes me.

Appendix D: Teacher-Child Rating Scale (T-CRS)

Child's name _____ Student's School ID#: _____

Child's duty at school: (e.g. team leader, subject representative, class executive, grade executive, school executive, etc.) _____

Child's award in the past school year: (e.g. distinguished student in three areas, progressive student, active class participant, etc.): _____

I. Current school performance – check appropriate column:

	1. Far below grade	2. Somewhat below grade	3. At grade level	4. Somewhat above grade	5. Far above grade
1. Chinese	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Mathematics	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. English	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Moral	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

II. Please circle the number which indicates how well each statement describes the child:

	Not at all	A Little	Moderately Well	Well	Very Well
1. Accepts things not going his/her way	1	2	3	4	5
2. Defends own views under group pressure	1	2	3	4	5
3. Underachieving (not working to ability)	1	2	3	4	5
4. Takes the lead in initiating activities	1	2	3	4	5
5. Able to focus attention when doing things	1	2	3	4	5
6. Has many friends	1	2	3	4	5
7. Ignores teasing	1	2	3	4	5
8. Modest and positive	1	2	3	4	5
9. Displays great initiative in self-criticism	1	2	3	4	5
10. Poor work habits	1	2	3	4	5
11. Comfortable as a leader	1	2	3	4	5
12. Shows care and concern for others	1	2	3	4	5
13. Able to look for one's own shortcoming	1	2	3	4	5
14. Persists until succeed in difficulties	1	2	3	4	5
15. Is friendly toward peers	1	2	3	4	5
16. Accepts imposed limits	1	2	3	4	5
17. Comforts and supports others who are suffering	1	2	3	4	5
18. Takes initiative in making friends	1	2	3	4	5
19. Participants in class discussions	1	2	3	4	5
20. Difficulty following directions	1	2	3	4	5
21. Obeys the rules in school	1	2	3	4	5
22. Independent in solving problems	1	2	3	4	5
23. Has high standard	1	2	3	4	5
24. Makes friends easily	1	2	3	4	5
25. Copes well with failure	1	2	3	4	5
26. Helps others when they need it	1	2	3	4	5
27. Poorly motivated to achieve	1	2	3	4	5
28. Difficulty focus attention in class	1	2	3	4	5
29. Expresses ideas willingly	1	2	3	4	5
30. Likes to play with others rather than alone	1	2	3	4	5
31. Has difficulty learning academic subjects	1	2	3	4	5
32. Strong independence	1	2	3	4	5
33. Others like to be with him/her	1	2	3	4	5
34. Well liked by classmates	1	2	3	4	5
35. Well-behaved in school	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix E: Child Rearing Practices

In trying to gain more understanding of children, we would like to know what is important to you as a parent and what kinds of methods you use in raising your child. Please read the statements below and put a check on the line that indicates how you agree or disagree with them. There are not right or wrong answers, just what you think. Please be honest.

1 = Strongly Disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neutral 4 = Agree 5 = Strongly Agree

1. If my child gets into trouble, I expect him/her to handle the problem mostly by himself/herself.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel a child should be given comfort and understanding when he/she is scared or upset.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I believe physical punishment to be the best way of disciplining.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I let my child make many decisions for himself/herself.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I teach my child that in one way or another punishment will find him/her when he/she is bad.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My child and I have warm, intimate times together.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I have strict, well-established rules for my child.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I believe that scolding and criticism makes my child improve.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I encourage my child to be independent of me.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I encourage my child to take part in social activities.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I will leave him/her some choices when I want my child to do something.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I encourage my child to speak out his/her own opinion at school or other places.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I encourage my child to make new friends.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I encourage my child to hold his/her ground rather than go with the stream.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I expect my child to do as I said.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I do not allow my child to question my decision.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I let my child to plan his/her own spare time.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I will scold my child when I'm angry.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I encourage my child to play with others rather than to play alone.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I make some rules for my child and expect him/her to obey.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I talk to my child in a kind and friendly way.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I encourage my child to take initiative in making friends.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I am very strict with my child.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F: Informed Consent Form

Study of Children's Personality, Psychological Health, and Social Competence

CONSENT FORM

I have read the letter concerning the research project on children's personality, psychological health, and social competence. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

SECTION I. Parent Consent Form for CHILD:

I give permission for my son/daughter _____ to participate in
(Please print name)
the study.

Parent's signature: _____ Date: _____

SECTION II. Child Consent Form for CHILD:

I agree to participate in the study.

Child's signature: _____ Date: _____

SECTION III.

We have chosen not to participate in the study.

Parent's signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix G: Ethics Approval Form

Office of Research Ethics

The University of Western Ontario
Room 00045 Dental Sciences Building, London, ON, Canada N6A 5C1
Telephone: (519) 661-3036 Fax: (519) 850-2466 Email: ethics@uwo.ca
Website: www.uwo.ca/research/ethics

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. X. Chen
Review Number: 09799S
Revision Number: 1
Protocol Title: Social Competence and Relationships in Chinese Children: Follow-up Studies

Department and Institution: Psychology, University of Western Ontario
Sponsor: W.T. GRANT FOUNDATION & SSHRC
Approval Date: 26-May-04
End Date: 30-Aug-05
Documents Reviewed and Approved: Additional Questionnaire for Follow-up in Gr 4

Documents Received for Information:

This is to notify you that the University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (REB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted full board approval to the above named reserch study on the date noted above.

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the REB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information. If you require an updated approval notice prior to that time you must request it using the UWO Updated Approval Request Form.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of monitor, telephone number). Expedited review of minor change(s) in ongoing studies will be considered. Subjects must receive a copy of the signed information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly also report to the REB:

a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;

b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to this office for approval.

Members of the REB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the REB.

[redacted]

Karen Kueneman, BA (Hons), Ethics Officer REB
E-mail: kueneman@uwo.ca

Chair of REB: Dr. Ben Forster

Faxed: (Y)N
Date: June 1/04

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.