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Reconceptualizing Parental Control and Its Determinants: The Notion of "Guan"

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by

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Abstract

This paper conceptualizes parental control on the basis o f notion of "guan" first presented by Chao (1994) and applies empirical data to investigate how indigenous parental belief and activity as well as child's and parent's factors determines parental control practices.

The data to be used in this study is derived from Taiwan Youth Project conducted by the Institute of Sociology, Academic Sinica, Taiwan. This project is a longitudinal research with eight-wave surveys scheduled from 2000 to 2007. The sample for our analyses consist 2689 parents at the first wave and 1945 parents at the fourth wave.

The results indicate parental monitoring is associated with indigenous concepts of "guan" and also determined by child's and parent's characteristics.

Key words: *parental control, guan, parental monitoring, child's characteristics, parent's characteristics*

I. Introduction

Chinese immigrant parents have been often described as “controlling”, “restrictive” or “authoritarian” in the western literature on parenting. Paradoxically, while these parenting styles have been found to be associated with poor academic achievement in European Americans, Chinese and other Asian students have achieved academic success above the other ethnic groups (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg, et al., 1992). Many resolutions to the paradox have been attempted but the results are quite inconsistent (Chao & Sue, 1996; Bean et al., 2006). The differential effect of parental control among ethnical groups has not only been found in academic success but also in other aspects of child’s outcomes. For example, research interested in adolescent psychological well-beings revealed that the impact of parental control is not cross-cultural. It is moderated by the association between parental gender, child’s gender and ethnicity (Finkelstein et al., 2001). These results highlight the importance for culturally sensitive conceptualization of parental control. The current paper conceptualizes parental control on the basis o f notion of “guan” first presented by Chao (1994) and applies empirical data to investigate how indigenous parental belief and activity as well as child’s and parent’s factors determines parental control practices.

Parental Control: Conception and Determinants

Parental control, in the broadest sense, consists of a wide range of parenting behaviors aimed at shaping or restricting a child’s behavior. It is commonly identified as a concept with two distinctive dimensions due to the consideration of domain-specificity in child’s outcomes (Smetana and Daddis, 2002). According to Barber his associates (1994), behavioral control refers to parent’s awareness of their

adolescent's day-to-day activities and rules, regulations, and limits parents set for their adolescent. Whereas psychological control is seen as inhibiting adolescent development through parental intrusiveness, guilt induction, or love withdrawal, behavioral control is thought to be positive in promoting adolescent outcomes.

Although much parental socialization of the young occurs through non-intentional modeling and identification, but parental control is conceptualized to be attempted and intentional behaviors based on parental authority (Smith, 1970; 1988). According to differential goals, the conception of parental control can be categorized into two approaches. The first represented by Rollins and Thomas (1979) focuses on parents' exertion of outcome-control power to direct their child's behaviors in a manner desirable to parents. There are three control techniques are commonly focused in previous literature: coercive control, love-withdrawal, and inductive control. Coercive control refers to parental behaviors that result in considerable external pressure on the child's behavior, e.g., physical punishment. Love-withdrawal control pertains to behaviors manifested by the parent indicating disapproval of the child's behavior with the implication that love will not be restored until the child changes his behavior. Inductive control is defined as behaviors by a parent with intent to obtain voluntary compliance with parental desires by avoiding a direct conflict of wills with the child. For example, parents explain why the curfew is set. The three attempts are quite commonly used for delinquent adolescents (Barnes and Farrell, 1992) and by parents with young children and early adolescents but not appropriate for middle or late adolescents who expect the psychological independence from their parents.

The second approach conceptualizes parental control as parents' interests and involvement in children's day-to-day activities and focuses on the skills used to

protect children from negative influence and prevent their involvement in risky behaviors. Among the various control attempts under this approach, parental monitoring has received the most attention and found to be the most effective way parents can carry out their protective function (e.g. Crouter, 1990; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber , 1984; Small, 1993 & 1994, Laird et al., 2003). Effective parental monitoring of adolescents does not mean that parents must always be present or that parents should be overly intrusive in their child's lives. Rather, it implies that parents have sufficient information and knowledge of child's daily activities. It denotes parent's keeping track of children's activities, whereabouts, and companions even when the parent and child are not together.

Although parental monitoring has been recognized to be the most effective aspect of parental control, few studies have paid attention to the question why parents are inclined to involvement in child's everyday activities. Nor empirical studies have concentrated on the investigation for the determinants of parental monitoring. As Darling and Steinberg (1993) have argued, any parenting behavior is not a simple parental practice but a complex relationship between parents and children. Both parent and child contribute to the monitoring process. For example, gender effect may be inevitable. Parental control declines as an adolescent grows older, but boys experience a greater drop across time than girls do because of lower normative expectation (Freeman and Newland, 2002). Parent's gender is also regarded as a key factor affecting parenting behaviors. Mothers are found to be more likely to involve in child's everyday life and they are stricter than fathers in eyes of contemporary Chinese adolescents (Shek, 2005).

Stattin and Kerr strongly criticized the conception of parental monitoring in the literature to be dominated by the parenting skills or direct supervision

interpretation (Kerr and Stattin, 2000; Stattin and Kerr, 2000). They argued that the effectiveness of monitoring for adolescents was not only dependent on parents' own efforts to find out what their children are doing but rested on child's disclosure. Adolescents who are involved in antisocial behaviors may not likely to disclosure upon their activities outside the home and then result in a low level of parental monitoring knowledge (Laird et al., 2003). Briefly, the growing evidence suggests that associations between monitoring and adolescent outcomes may not be unidirectional and child's performance needs to be considered in explanation of parental control behaviors. Since parental control is a multidimensional construct and the nature of each dimension is not identical, this paper focuses on the most prominent one, parental monitoring. Furthermore, we assume not only parent's personal characteristics but also child's factors determine parental knowledge of child's whereabouts and activities.

The Notion of "Guan": Parental Expectation and Devotion

As stated, research on Chinese and immigrant Chinese populations has shown that most Chinese parenting does not fit into Baumrind's prototypes, and attempts at interpreting research data using such prototypes are confusing. The disturbance brings about one relevant question that we should ask, that is, whether the concept of parental control developed in Western contexts can be used to understand parenting behavior and its effects in non-Western cultures, such as Chinese culture. Chao in her later work (2001) reviewed current studies of parenting style focusing on Asian school performance. She concluded that authoritarian parenting was relatively more advantageous for Asian youth than it was for European Americans, whereas authoritative parenting was the optimal style for European Americans. She referred the variation to different cultural meanings of parental control for Asian Americans

and for European Americans. One possible explanation for the divergence is goal of parental control between two cultures. Chinese parents regard education to be very important for their children's future success, then they usually set a high standard for child's performance in school (Chao, 2001; Chao and Sue, 1996; Steinberg, et al., 1992). Obviously, the goal of parental control for Chinese is oriented to educational success. For Chinese, the excellence of academic performance may be not attributed to the fact how parents supervise or monitor their child but due to whether their child perceive and recognize parent's educational expectation. The fact calls for more research devoting to study antecedents of parenting behaviors such as parenting beliefs or expectation.

Parental control is called "guan" in Chinese and it has different cultural meaning from what it has been understood in the Western. Chao (1994) is the researcher first used "guan" to describe Chinese parenting style. "Guan" is equal to *training* and refers to a set of values and beliefs that are essential to Chinese culture. Basically, *training* emphasizes the importance of parental control in infusing the need to work hard, be self-disciplined, and do well in school. It also implies parent's devotion and sacrifice for promoting child's success. Since the parent-child relationship in Chinese is characterized as hierarchically structured, "guan" is also recognized to be the role responsibilities or requirements of parents. In contrast with "democratic control" which requires communication and affective expression and is highly praised in western culture, "guan" claims parent's guidance, accommodation to child's goal for success and child's understanding and obedience.

Chao's (1994; 2001) attempts at defining parenting style in culturally relevant ways for the Chinese population are a start in the right direction. A number of studies subsequently paid their attention to "guan" and indigenous concepts to capture

the uniqueness of Chinese parenting. They have either regarded “guan” or training as a dimension equivalent to parental warmth or parental control (e.g. Stewart et al., 1998) or defined as a distinguishing style from those styles mostly considered in previous literature such as authoritative and authoritarian style (e.g. Huang and Prochner, 2004). These comparative studies have facilitated our understanding for the differences in parental control among ethnic groups. However, they failed to answer the question how cultural beliefs and indigenous concepts determine parents’ exerting their control over children.

More than twenty years ago, Belsky (1984) has indicated the lack of research devoted to studying why parents parent the way they do. He advocated the importance of investigation for the antecedents or determinants of parenting. There are two domains found to be important antecedents of parental control in previous literature. Parental authority is one determinant for parenting. Parents exert less control over children as they judge their legitimate authority decrease and they alter domains of parental control when they perceive their power change (Smetana, 1988; Smetana and Daddis, 2002; Smith, 1970). Parental belief is another important antecedent and has been found to be associated with indigenous and cultural beliefs. Most literature posited beliefs determine behaviors. Lin (2003) argued parental beliefs are multileveled rather than parallel and there is an inconsistency between what parents believe and what parents behave. Her argument indicates a new direction for conceptualizing “guan”. In the current study, we define “guan” as two distinctive categories, ideological guan and behavioral guan. The former refers to what parents believe to be essential and important training for their adolescent child and the latter pertains to parental activities in favor of child’s advancement to a higher goal. Both are hypothesized to be antecedents of parental control practices.

II. Data and Methods

The sample

The data to be used in this study is derived from Taiwan Youth Project conducted by the Institute of Sociology, Academic Sinica, Taiwan. This project is a longitudinal research with eight-wave surveys scheduled from 2000 to 2007. At the first wave, it consists of 2852 ninth grade students who were selected on a school-based, multi-stage stratified sample scheme. The sample schools of this project are located in Taipei city, Taipei county, or Yi-lan county. Survey questionnaire were not only administrated for student respondents but also for their parent and the head master of the class. There are 2800 parents or their substitutes completed the questionnaire at first wave.

Since we conceptualize parental control to be academic success oriented and attempt to examine how parents determine their assertion of control over their adolescent child, analyses for the current study is based on reports of parents at both first and fourth waves. At the first wave, student respondents were ninth graders taking entrance examination for senior high school; their parents' reports are used for our analysis to represent data for the stage of junior high school (or called "junior stage"). Respondents who are neither mothers nor fathers were deleted from the dataset. This sample of junior-high-school stage consists 1797 mothers and 892 fathers. Data from the fourth wave are also based on parents' reports and collected at the year student respondents were entering into college. Respondents whose child was not more a student were deleted from the dataset. Data based on this sample (called "senior stage") consists 1420 mothers' and 525 fathers' reports.

Variables and Measurement

1. Measure of Parental Control

Parental monitoring. Parental monitoring was assessed by three items adapted from a measure by Small and Kerns (1993). It refers to the extent to which parents know their adolescents' daily activities. The following questions were used to ask parents:

1. How much do you know the child's daily whereabouts?
2. How much do you know the child's companions when he/she was not at home?
3. How much do you know whether the child was home?

The possible responses for these questions are "never " (1), "rarely " (2), "sometimes" (3), "most of the time" (4), and "always" (5). The average score is used to indicate the degree of parental monitoring. Alpha reliability for the measure was .749.

Parental knowledge for child's daily whereabouts is always thought the most important aspect of parental monitoring (Small, 1993; 1994). Adolescents at stage of senior high school may need more privacy in the field of social life than they were at stage of junior high school, we therefore use "How often do you know the child's daily whereabouts?" instead of the composite measure to assess parental monitoring.

The data (see Table 1) show that Taiwanese parents monitored their adolescent child intensively at both stage of junior and senior high school. The degree of monitoring did not decrease from junior to senior high stage.

(Table 1 about here)

2. Child's Characteristics

Gender. It is recoded into a dummy variable. Since girls have been found to receive more parental control than their male counterparts (Shek, 2005), female is coded as 1.

Mental health. The measure was united by six items selected from the scale

conducted by Center of Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977). The scale is a self-report measure designed for use in general population survey. At junior stage, we asked respondents whether the child had such a symptom. Responses were scored on a 5-point Likert scale, with lower scores indicating high degree of depression. Alpha reliability for the measure was .746. A higher score indicates parents perceived their child was healthier. In this study, parents tended to perceive their child to be healthy. At senior stage, the six items along with two extra symptoms ("I talked less than usual." and "My sleep was restless.") were used. Differently, responses scale was changed to dichotomous form ("1" indicates "no such symptom; "0" indicates "have such symptom"). A higher score indicates parents perceived their child have less depression symptoms. In other words, a higher score demonstrates the child was in better condition of mental health.

Academic performance. It is assessed according to parent's perception by asking *whether you are satisfied with the child's academic performance*. The possible responses are scored from 1 (not at all) to 6 (very satisfied). The sample shows a moderate degree of satisfaction (Mean=3.79 at junior stage; Mean=3.76 at senior stage).

Conduct. It is assessed according to parent's perception by asking *whether you are satisfied with the child's conduct or behaviors*. The possible responses are ranged from *not at all* (1) to *very satisfied* (6). The sample shows a higher degree of satisfaction than those of academic performance (Mean=4.49 at junior stage; Mean=4.74 at senior stage).

3. Parent's Characteristics

Parent's status. It is recoded into a dummy variable. Since mothers have been found to exert more parental control than fathers (Shek, 2005), respondents who are mothers are coded as 1.

Educational level. There are three levels of education defined in this study. Almost forty-five percent of parents in this study were junior high school or lower level (coded as 1). Respondents with college or higher education (coded as 3) are only 17.6% among all respondents at junior stage.

Parent's mental health. The measure of parental mental health was united by items selected from The Symptom Checklist-90-Resvised (SCL-90-R, Derogatis, 1983). Responses were scored from 1 (very serious) to 5 (not at all). Alpha reliability for the measure was .923. Respondents with higher scores are more healthy. Table 1 shows that parents in average are mental healthy at both junior and senior stage.

4. Ideology and Practices of "Guan"

Ideololgy. Three aspects of Chinese parenting ideology interviewed at the first wave are used by the current study. There are *shiao-shun*, *obedience to parents and teachers*, and *capacity of self-care*. Respondents were asked to assess how important each aspect was for disciplining their child. The possible responses are ranged from 1 (not important) to 4 (very important). Table 1 shows Taiwanese parents tend to recognize the three aspects of parenting ideology as important.

Educational expectation. Previous studies have exemplified two different ways to measure parental education expectation toward their own child, degree of education at-least and at-most. In the current study, we adopt at-most approach. Respondents were asked to answer the educational level at most he or she expected the child finish (1: junior or senior high school, 2: college, 3: university, 4: master degree, 5: Ph.D. degree). A higher score indicates higher educational expectation a parent has toward his or her adolescent child.

Parental sacrifice. The measure of parental sacrifice includes three changes Taiwanese parents themselves usually made to accommodate child's advance to a

higher school. There are *reducing the amount of time for watching TV* and *for social and leisure activities*, and *increasing the amount of time to accompany the child.* Anyone change made is summed up to indicate the degree of parental sacrifice for child's advance to a higher school. The measure is scored up to 3. The same measure was used at both stages.

Home arrangement. The measure includes four kinds of arrangement Taiwanese parents usually made for their child's advance to a higher school. There are arrangement of healthy food and better space for studying, releasing from housework, and asking family for their consideration and forbearance. Anyone kind of arrangement made is summed up to indicate the degree of home arrangement for child's advance to a higher school. The same measure was used at both waves.

III. Results

Parenting Changes From Junior to Senior Stage

The first group of analyses in this study is to explore whether parenting changes during the adolescent transition from junior to high stage. Results of paired t-test for those respondents who participated in the survey at both junior and senior stage indicate that parenting attempts under the concept of *guan* including educational expectation, parental sacrifice and home arrangement, declines significantly as the child passes to the stage of senior high school (Table 2). Apparently, parents devote less to their adolescent child's educational activities when the adolescent grows older. Surprisingly, the degree of parental monitoring is advanced as an adolescent enters into stage of senior high school.

(Table 2 is here)

Determinants of Parental Monitoring

The main purpose of this study is to investigate whether the degree of parental monitoring is determined by child's characteristics, parent's factors and *guan's* ideology and related practices. Two multiple regression analyses are employed separately for junior and senior stage. In order to examine potential problems of multicollinearity, the correlations among hypothesized determinants for parental monitoring (independent variables) are tested. As shown in Table 3-1 and 3-2, the majority of bivariate relationships are not strong (the correlation coefficients are below .5), so not any independent variable needs to be removed from the regression analyses. Results of the regression analyses are presented as follows.

(Table 3-1 & 3-2 is here)

1. Child's Characteristics

The multiple regression analysis for junior stage shows, child's gender, condition of mental health, and their conducts are significantly associated with degree of parental monitoring (Table 4). Adolescents who are female, in better condition of mental health, and their parents are more satisfied with their conducts receive higher degree of parental monitoring. Adolescent academic performance, however, is not significant. At senior stage, conduct is still significant in predicting degree of parental monitoring, but gender and mental health become insignificant. It seems child's conduct is a critical determinant for parental monitoring.

(Table 4 is here)

2. Parent's Characteristics

The multiple regression analyses also indicate that mothers rather than fathers exert higher degree of parental monitoring (Table 4). In other words, mothers have more knowledge about child's whereabouts than fathers do. At junior stage, parents

at higher educational level and in better condition of mental health are more likely to monitor their adolescent child. The effect of education on parental monitoring, however, reverses as child enters to senior stage. Parents at lower educational level become more active in keeping watch for their child's whereabouts. The effect of mental health remains significant but reduced. The result indicates that parental status and their mental health condition are relatively important for determining the degree of parental monitoring.

3. Guan's Contribution to Parental Monitoring

The multiple regression analyses allow us to examine whether parenting attempts under the concept of guan have a positive association with parental monitoring after controlling for child's and parent's characteristics. The results show that *parental sacrifice* and *educational expectation* are positively associated with parental knowledge for child's whereabouts across junior and senior stage. In other words, the more changes parents themselves made to accommodate child's advance to a higher school and the higher educational expectation parents have toward their child, will bring higher parental monitoring. These effects remain significant from junior to senior stage. *Home arrangement* specific for child's entering into a higher school is slightly significant at junior stage but insignificant at senior stage. Three aspects of Chinese parenting ideology are not associated with parental monitoring at both junior and senior stage. The hypotheses about *Guan's* contribution to parental monitoring are partially supported.

IV. Discussion

There are several conclusions and research suggestions derived from the findings. First, parents decrease educational expectation toward their child and

apparently devote themselves less to accommodate child's advancement to a higher education as the child grows from junior high school to senior high school stage. However, the degree of parental monitoring remains the same. As Stattin and Kerr (2000) claimed that the quantity of parental monitoring reflects quantity of relationship between parent and child rather than what parents have practiced. Parental monitoring alters only if parent-child relationship changes. The future studies need to pay more attention to properties of interaction and relationship between child and parent.

Second, in addition to child's and parent's gender and condition of mental health, parent's assessment of the child's conduct are significant predictors for parental monitoring. Parents have more knowledge for those children who are female, better condition of mental health, and have less misconduct. This finding is also quite consistent with Stattin and Kerr's argument. Child's willingness and reaction toward parental behaviors should be the emphasis for conceptualizing parental monitoring and its effectiveness.

Third, parental monitoring is associated with educational expectation a parent has toward his or her child. It's clear that Chinese parenting is education-oriented. A higher educational expectation will advance parental monitoring. Parental sacrifice is another significant predictor. Dedicated parents who change their own activities to accommodate their child's advancement to a higher educational goal is more likely to devote themselves to parental monitoring. The effects of these two indicators of "guan" are not only significant at the early adolescent stage but remain at the latter stage. The results confirm that parent's willingness of self-sacrifice is an indigenous and unique concept of Chinese parenting.

Finally, Home arrangement is associated with parental monitoring at early stage but not longer at latter stage. Unfortunately, three aspects of parenting ideology

(shiao-shun, obedience to parents and teachers, and capacity of self-care) have no significant effect on parental monitoring. These insignificance echo the findings from Shek's empirical studies (2003; 2007) in Hong Kong. It may reflect some indigenous concepts remain but some are changed. Further studies need to be more sensitive for the impact of social change.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Major Variables

	Junior Stage (N=2689)				Senior Stage (N=1945)			
Variables	**Freq**	**%**	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Freq**	**%**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
Parental monitoring			4.26	.88			4.43	.89
Child's gender								
0: male	1337	49.7			979	50.3		
1:female	1336	49.7			960	49.4		
Child's mental health			4.20	.66			6.82	1.50
Academic performance			3.79	1.13			3.76	1.23
Conduct			4.49	.93			4.74	.95
Parent's status								
0:father	892	33.2			525	27.0		
1:mother	1797	66.8			1420	73.0		
Education level								
1: junior below	1255	46.7			867	44.6		
2:senior high	917	34.1			656	33.7		
3:college above	473	17.6			404	20.8		
Parent's mental health			4.48	.55			4.52	.55
Shiao-shun ideology			3.61	.54			3.60	.54
Obedience ideology			3.40	.62			3.38	.63
Capacity ideology			3.47	.60			3.47	.59
Educational expectation			3.24	1.17			3.76	1.01
Parental sacrifice			1.73	1.20			.97	1.16
Home arrangement			1.69	1.09			1.40	1.14

Table 2: Changes in Parenting Practices
From Junior to Senior Stages

variables		Junior Stage	Senior Stage	t value
Parental monitoring	Mean	4.34	4.44	-3.92***
	S.D.	.82	.89	
	N	1789	1789	
Educational expectation	Mean	4.35	3.76	14.26***
	S.D.	1.13	1.01	
	N	1590	1590	
Parental sacrifice	Mean	1.79	.97	22.25***
	S.D.	1.19	1.16	
	N	1534	1534	
Home arrangement	Mean	1.72	1.39	9.27***
	S.D.	1.06	1.13	
	N	1527	1534	

Table 3-1: Bivariate Correlations Among Child's and Parent's Characteristics and "Guan" Variables (Junior Stage)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
1. child's gender (female=1)	--												
2. child's mental health	-.13***	--											
3. academic performance	.11***	.07***	--										
4. conduct	.08***	.16***	.49***	--									
5. parent's status (mother=1)	.11***	-.02	.00	.02	--								
6. parent's education level	-.00	.00	.05*	.09***	-.00	--							
7. parent's mental health	-.06**	.35***	.14***	.19***	-.12***	.03	--						
8. shiao-shun ideology	.03	.05*	.03	.11***	-.01	-.06**	.03	--					
9. obedience ideology	-.00	.01	-.00	.05*	-.07***	-.19***	.05*	.45***	--				
10. capacity ideology	-.03	.05*	.03	.10***	.04*	-.01	.02	.28***	.27***	--			
11. educational expectation	-.01	.02	.28***	.19***	.06**	.33***	.01	-.01	-.07**	.05*	--		
12. parental sacrifice	-.01	-.08***	.07**	.12***	.07**	.18***	.01	.02	.03	.01	.14***	--	
13. home arrangement	.00	-.15***	.04*	.04*	.04	.17***	-.01	.03	.01	-.01	.13***	.37***	--

* P<.05

** P<.01

*** P<.001

Table 3-2: Bivariate Correlations Among Child's and Parent's Characteristics and "Guan" Variables (Junior Stage)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
1. child's gender (female=1)	--												
2. child's mental health	-.11***	--											
3. academic performance	.19***	.03	--										
4. conduct	.06*	.10***	.39***	--									
5. parent's status (mother=1)	.05	-.08**	-.05	.05	--								
6. parent's education level	.01	-.11***	-.08**	-.02	-.01	--							
7. parent's mental health	.03	.28***	.05	.10***	-.17***	.01	--						
8. shiao-shun ideology	.02	.03	.01	.06*	.01	-.12***	-.05	--					
9. obedience ideology	-.04	.07**	-.00	.04	-.03	-.22***	.01	.46***	--				
10. capacity ideology	-.02	.03	-.00	.08**	.08**	-.04	-.01	.26***	.27***	--			
11. educational expectation	-.05	-.06*	.15***	.17***	-.03	.20***	.06*	-.04	-.05	.01	--		
12. parental sacrifice	-.01	-.15***	.00	-.02	.07*	.19***	-.03	.04	-.02	.07**	.05	--	
13. home arrangement	.04	-.16***	.01	-.01	.03	.19***	-.05	.04	-.03	.05	.12***	.41***	--

* P<.05

** P<.01

*** P<.001

Table 4: Multiple Regressions on Parental Monitoring

	Junior High Stage (N=2210)				Senior High Stage (N=1311)			
	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p
intercept	1.10	.22	5.11	.000	2.82	.30	9.41	.000
Child's characteristics								
gender (female=1)	.15	.03	4.46	.000	.08	.04	1.72	.085
mental health	.06	.03	2.22	.027	.00	.02	.08	.933
academic performance	-.01	.02	-.27	.787	.01	.02	.53	.596
conduct	.23	.02	10.82	.000	.17	.03	6.50	.000
Parent's characteristics								
status (mother=1)	.27	.04	7.34	.000	.17	.05	3.41	.001
education level	.12	.02	4.77	.000	-.06	.03	-2.01	.045
mental health	.13	.03	4.02	.000	.10	.04	2.26	.024
"Guan" ideology and practices								
shiao-shun ideology	.02	.04	.51	.613	-.01	.05	-.21	.835
obedience ideology	.03	.03	1.00	.315	-.01	.04	-.28	.779
capacity ideology	.02	.03	.67	.506	-.04	.04	-.98	.325
educational expectation	.09	.02	5.62	.000	.11	.02	4.95	.000
parental sacrifice	.13	.02	8.77	.000	.10	.02	4.59	.000
home arrangement	.03	.02	2.02	.044	-.01	.02	-.44	.660
F	49.63				11.28			
R^2	.227				.102			

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