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Coping with Intergenerational Conflict Among Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults: Testing a  
Cultural and Contextual Model with a Mixed-Methods Approach

By

Siqi Huang

A Dissertation  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
through the Department of Psychology  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2020

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Coping with Intergenerational Conflict Among Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults: Testing a  
Cultural and Contextual Model with a Mixed-Methods Approach

by

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## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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## ABSTRACT

This study examined coping with intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults who were permanent residents or citizens of Canada. A mixed-methods design was used; 218 participants completed online questionnaires and 10 participants completed 50-minute individual interviews. In line with previous research, intergenerational conflict was negatively associated with psychological, physical, and relational well-being in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. Engagement coping and private emotional outlets mediated the relation between intergenerational conflict and well-being. Lower intergenerational conflict severity was related to more engagement coping, which was associated with greater well-being. Conversely, higher intergenerational conflict was associated with more usage of private emotional outlets (e.g., professional help or anonymous online support), which was related to poorer well-being. While greater intergenerational conflict was related to more avoidance coping, there were no associations with well-being. Collective coping, surprisingly, was unrelated to intergenerational conflict or well-being. While collective and avoidance coping were associated with interdependent self-construals, engagement coping was associated with a combination of independent and interdependent self-construals. Private emotional outlets, on the other hand, were primarily associated with the severity of intergenerational conflict. Qualitative results provided a more nuanced view of the coping process, with contextual influences being spontaneously mentioned by most participants. Furthermore, parents' reactions appear to play a role in participants' choice of coping strategies. Similarly, participants' acceptance or rejection of traditional Chinese values influenced the coping process. Overall, the results highlight the prominent yet nuanced role of culture in the coping process in Chinese Canadian emerging adults responding to intergenerational conflict. Implications for research and intervention are discussed.

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### **Acknowledgement of Friends and Family**

A case study was conducted where the author examined her experiences with a focus on 2015 to 2020 (i.e., “the grad school years”). A mixed-methods design was used; quantitative questionnaires (e.g., Who Is Your True Friend?) were utilized along with qualitative narratives (e.g., writing in a secret diary). In line with her experience pre-graduate school, the author’s friends and family positively contributed to her psychological, physical, and relational well-being. Significant predictors (all  $p < .001$ ) include: 1) her parents, who provided top cuisine and inspirational stationery (a significant contributor to the author passing her comprehensive exams); 2) her partner, Justin (“Dr. Dr. Tong” in some circles), for his patient support honed by the millennia he spent in school; 3) her graduate school seniors, Shayna and Katherine, with whom the author formed a fearsome trio known for fervent discussions of all things psychology; 4) her childhood friend Nicole, a formidable ally in their 10-year quest to free the fruits (at last!); 5) her childhood friend Anna, who came to Windsor on a cold winter day to remind the author of

life outside of school; and 6) the fellow crew members of the graduate school boat. Overall, the results highlight the prominent role of friends and family in the completion of this dissertation, and in the author's psychological, relational, and physical well-being. Implications for research and intervention will be discussed in a forthcoming publication (Huang, in press).

人之相识, 贵在相知, 人之相知, 贵在知心

The value of acquainting others is the chance for mutual understanding. The value of mutual understanding is the opportunity to know one other's hearts.

(Or, as Google Translate would say: Knowing each other, knowing each other, knowing each other, knowing each other)

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### Objectives of the Proposed Study

The goal of this study was to examine how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational (parent-child) conflict, which has been found to be a common and persistent stressor for Chinese Canadian and Chinese American emerging adults (R. M. Lee et al., 2000; R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001; J. Li, 2001, 2004; Lui, 2015) that is related to poorer psychological and physical health (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Despite the significance and prevalence of this stressor, there has been relatively little research on how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict. Furthermore, psychological research has been dominated by Euro-American samples to the exclusion of other ethnic groups, including Chinese Canadians—Canada’s largest ethnic minority group (Chun et al., 2006). In addition, coping research typically neglects the critical role of culture and context in shaping coping responses and their effectiveness. As such, this study intended to examine Chinese Canadian emerging adults’ coping processes in response to intergenerational conflict using the framework of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping proposed by Heppner, Wei, Neville, and Kanagui-Munoz (2014). Specifically, this study examined: a) the relation between intergenerational conflict and psychological, relational, and physical well-being; b) the association between coping and these domains of well-being; and c) the cultural variables that relate to the coping process. This study employed a concurrent nested, mixed-method approach, using culturally informed quantitative measures developed on and for individuals of Chinese descent, coupled with qualitative interviews for a phenomenological understanding of how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict.



## **Significance of the Study**

### ***Intergenerational Conflict in Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults***

Intergenerational conflict is persistent in Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans, presenting even in emerging adulthood (R. M. Lee et al., 2000; R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001; J. Li, 2001, 2004). Intergenerational conflict is one of the most common presenting problems for Asian American university students receiving counselling services (R. M. Lee et al., 2005). Intergenerational conflict has been linked to poorer psychological and somatic health and academic problems for Asian American undergraduate students and immigrants in the United States (Bahrassa et al., 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), and to psychological distress in Chinese Canadian emerging adults (J. Li, 2001). However, there is a lack of research on how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict, which the current study intended to address. Elucidating how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict would contribute to the understanding of Chinese Canadian emerging adults' preferences for coping strategies, and the role of these coping strategies in mitigating the negative relation between intergenerational conflict and well-being. A mixed-methods design was adopted, and thus the research design was an additional contribution. The results have implications for mental health counseling and psychoeducation with Chinese Canadians. This study also aimed to broaden the understanding of the intergenerational conflict by examining its association with relational health, which has been largely omitted in the literature. In addition, this study added to the understanding of Canada's largest ethnic minority group (Lindsay, 2001) and helped to mitigate the under-representation of ethnic minority populations in psychology research.

### ***Cultural Considerations in Coping***

Most coping research have used a broad "Asian" category, despite the known differences

between Asian ethnic groups (Sandhu, 1997; Sue & Sue, 2003). As such, the current study only recruited Chinese Canadian participants, instead of Asian Canadians. Furthermore, findings from Western, European American cultures may not generalize to Chinese individuals because Chinese culture has distinct elements that can affect the coping process (Heppner et al., 2012; C. J. Yeh et al., 2006). Therefore, examining how Chinese Canadians cope with stress would allow for a better understanding of both the ethnic group and the construct of coping.

In addition, most coping research neglects the role of culture and context (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). However, coping necessarily involves an individual-environment interaction. To address this gap, the current study used the framework of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping (Heppner et al., 2012), designed to address the lack of cultural consideration in coping research. Additionally, this study is one of the first to use the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping, which may guide future researchers who wish to use the model.

Cultural considerations were also integrated into this study by using coping measures that include collectivist coping strategies. The collectivist nature of coping, such as seeking support or guidance from parents, friends, or elders, or using coping strategies influenced by Asian values (e.g., forbearance [minimizing or concealing a problem to maintain social harmony]) are absent from conventional coping measures. Not considering collectivist coping would limit our understanding of coping, and limit the generalizability of the findings (Heppner et al., 2012).

In addition, the current study introduced specific stressful scenarios and asked participants to select their preferred coping strategies. The scenarios were found to be relevant for Chinese Canadian emerging adults and may be used in further studies on intergenerational conflict with this population. Furthermore, using hypothetical scenarios addresses one of the most significant criticisms of coping questionnaires—that ratings are affected by retrospective

recall (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Additionally, the study's mixed-methods design follows the recommendation to use multiple methods since there is no "gold standard" in measuring coping (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004).

### ***Self-Construal: An Important Individual Variable in Coping***

Following the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping, this study also included self-construal, hypothesized to be related to coping. Self-construal helps to clarify Chinese Canadian emerging adults' collectivist and individualist values. Studies have found relations between self-construal and preference for coping strategies (A. G. Lam & Zane, 2004). The current study used a new measure of self-construal (S. Yang, 2018) validated in 13 countries that distinguishes self-construal as eight distinct independent-interdependent dimensions for a more nuanced understanding of its relation with coping.

### ***A Mixed-Methods Approach***

Finally, this study used a mixed-methods, concurrent nested design, with quantitative questionnaires and qualitative interviews. Interviews added depth to the results by complementing group patterns with the "lived experience" of Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

### ***Summary***

This study aimed to address the gaps in the current stress and coping literature by: 1) examining intergenerational conflict, an important and prevalent stressor for Chinese Canadian emerging adults and its relation with their well-being; 2) contributing to the understanding of how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict; 3) examining how coping relates to well-being in Chinese emerging adults; 4) examining Canada's largest ethnic minority group; 5) situating our understanding of coping within the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping; and 6) providing comprehensive results by using a mixed-methods approach.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

This section reviews literature on intergenerational conflict as well as key variables in this study (e.g., self-construal, coping). Participants in this study were emerging adults, aged 18 to 25. However, there is an overlap between age guidelines, with adolescents defined as individuals aged 10 to 19 (World Health Organization, 2013), and emerging adults as individuals aged 18 to 25 (Arnett, 2000). As a result, this study referred to literature on both adolescents and emerging adults, with a focus on the 18-to-25-year-old age group. When studies employ an age range broader than 18 to 25 years, information about age was provided whenever available.

### **Research with Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans**

Although the review aimed to focus on Chinese Canadian emerging adults, most research has been conducted with Chinese Americans. Thus, research on both Chinese American and Chinese Canadian emerging adults will be described. Although most research on Chinese individuals in North America have been conducted within the broad group of “Asian Americans,” this study attempted to present studies with Chinese Americans or Chinese Canadians when possible. The following section will compare Chinese Canadians with Chinese Americans and explain the relevance of research on Chinese Americans to the current study.

### ***Differences Between Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans***

There are about 1.8 million Chinese Canadians, corresponding to 5.1% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2016). Although there are 5.9 million Chinese Americans, they comprise only 1.8% of the American population (Pew Research Center, 2015). Further, though both being immigrant countries, Canada and the United States take different approaches to diversity. The U.S. uses a “melting pot” analogy where diversity is mixed to produce uniformity and national cohesion (D. M. Smith, 2012). In contrast, Canada endorses a “cultural mosaic”

where cultural differences exist alongside the “Canadian” identity (Garcea et al., 2008).

### ***Similarities Between Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans***

Despite the above differences, Canada and the United States share many similarities. Both countries are democratic (Forsey, 2016), wealthy, and at similar levels of economic development (Lipset, 2013). Both countries share individualistic values, such as equality, autonomy, and merit (Lipset, 2013). As such, Chinese Canadian and Chinese Americans likely face similar challenges of negotiating between individualist and collectivist values.

Both Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans also experience racism, though increasingly in implicit rather than explicit forms (Fernando, 2006). Although Canada touts itself as a country that welcomes immigrants, the contributions and history of Chinese Canadians have historically been neglected. At times, Chinese Canadians have been represented as a recent group of immigrants who are “taking over” rather than one that has contributed to Canada for decades (Fernando, 2006). The United States has been experiencing increasing political dissent that sees immigrants, including Chinese Americans, as the root of problems in the country (Arnold, 2011; Fernando, 2006). Furthermore, both Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans have historically experienced anti-immigration attempts (Fernando, 2006; D. C. Lai, 2016). Additionally, both Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans remain under-represented in politics and the media (Fernando, 2006). Therefore, Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans, despite official policies celebrating diversity, continue to experience discrimination that sets them apart from compatriots of European or American descent. Discrimination is particularly relevant with the current COVID-19 outbreak (originating in Wuhan, China), which has led to discrimination against Chinese Canadians (Jeffords, 2020) and Chinese Americans (Tavernise & Opiel, 2020). Attesting to the collective nature of Chinese culture, both Chinese Canadians and Chinese

Americans have long established and relied on groups for social and instrumental support for individuals who feel excluded from the mainstream (Fernando, 2006; D. C. Lai, 2016).

Related to racism and discrimination, Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans are also often stereotyped as the “model minority,” characterized by high academic achievement and educational attainment (Costigan et al., 2010; Qin et al., 2008). As a result, Chinese Canadian and Chinese American students can face intense pressure from their parents and teachers to live up to these expectations (Costigan et al., 2010; Qin et al., 2008).

In the mental health domain, both Chinese Canadian and Chinese Americans tend to report less major depressive episodes, with the 12-month prevalence being 3.6% for Chinese Canadian immigrants compared to 7.6% in White Canadians (Tiwari & Wang, 2008). The statistics are similar in the United States, with the 12-month prevalence of major depressive disorder being 4.6% in Chinese Americans, compared to 8.3% in White Americans (González et al., 2010). Furthermore, Chinese Canadian immigrants tended to use mental health services less than White Canadians (born in Canada), White Canadian immigrants, South Asian Canadian immigrants, or Southeast Asian Canadian immigrants (A. W. Chen & Kazanjian, 2005; Tiwari & Wang, 2008). Similarly, in the United States, foreign-born Asian Americans used mental health services less than native-born Asian Americans (Abe-Kim et al., 2007; Meyer et al., 2009), and Asian Americans used less mental health services compared to White Americans (Harris et al., 2005). Partially responsible for the lower rates of major depressive disorder may be the tendency to somaticize psychological distress (Ryder et al., 2008). Further, individuals of Chinese descent may be more likely to seek medical rather than mental health services, prefer indigenous healing methods over conventional Western medicine, or believe in supernatural explanations (Kirmayer, 2001). In addition, Chinese collectivist values of suppressing individual needs to maintain social

harmony may deter Chinese individuals from seeking Western, individualist interventions.

However, Chinese Americans typically rely more on private healthcare funding than Chinese Canadians, since there is more publicly funded healthcare in Canada (Lipset, 2013). This difference in national healthcare systems may present an additional barrier to seeking help for Chinese Americans. As such, the institutional differences in healthcare provision may limit the generalizability of findings with Chinese Americans to Chinese Canadians.

### ***Summary of Chinese Canadians in Comparison to Chinese Americans***

Although institutional, political, and societal differences exist between Canada and the United States, Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans share important experiences. Canada and the United States share similar political structures and representation of Chinese individuals. Ethnic and racial discrimination and stereotyping are experienced by both Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans. Importantly, Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans come from and are influenced by the same heritage Chinese culture. With intergenerational conflict, both Chinese Canadian and Chinese American emerging adults likely face conflicts stemming from academic pressure and having to balance independent versus interdependent values. Although the historical and political differences between Canada and the United States prevents the generalization of all patterns from one country to the other, given the numerous similarities, research on Chinese Americans are relevant to the current study and will be discussed.

### **The Context of Chinese Canadians**

Heppner et al. (2012) emphasized the importance of understanding the context of the research topic. Accordingly, this section will begin with a brief description of the sociopolitical history of China, Chinese Canadians in the present day, the sociopolitical history of Chinese Canadians, Chinese Canadian and Chinese American families, and characteristics of Chinese

culture. Then, research on intergenerational conflict in Chinese Americans and Chinese Canadians will be reviewed, followed by a discussion of how Chinese Americans and Chinese Canadians cope with intergenerational conflict.

### ***A Brief Introduction to China***

Before discussing Chinese Canadians, I will first review Chinese culture, the heritage culture for Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans.

**Diversity in China.** China is a large country with 56 ethnic groups and 23 provinces. Of the 1.3 billion Chinese in China, 91% are of the *Han* ethnic group, with the remainder belonging to 55 ethnic minority groups, with the largest being the *Zhuang*, *Manchu*, and *Hui* (Hasmath, 2010). However, there is great variability even in the *Han* group, which, similar to the terms “Caucasian” or “White,” seems to lack a unified identity (Hasmath, 2010).

Cultural differences also exist between Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China. Modernization and economic growth occurred later in mainland China compared to Taiwan or Hong Kong (K.-H. Yeh et al., 2013). Further, while mainland China has been ruled by the Communist Party of China since 1949, Taiwan was under the rule of the Kuomintang until the 1990 democratic reforms. In greater contrast, Hong Kong was a British colony from 1842 to 1997, thereby experiencing a much greater degree of westernization than mainland China.

There is also significant heterogeneity in mainland China. China has enjoyed tremendous economic growth in the past few years and has become one of the world’s economic powerhouses (Doctoroff, 2012). As a result of the massive economic changes, socioeconomic disparity has become particularly pronounced (F. Chen et al., 2010). Therefore, like in any country, differences exist on an individual level despite the overall culture of the society.

**Chinese Families.** Chinese families are heterogeneous, but the family is generally



extremely important to Chinese individuals (Choi & Peng, 2016). Traditional Chinese families value harmony in relationships, clear definitions of roles, hierarchy, and obligation to each other; emotional expressions of individual interests are less valued (E. Lee & Mock, 2005).

Confucianism and the collectivist nature of Chinese culture emphasizes respect for and obligation towards one's parents (Doctoroff, 2012). For instance, adult children may provide money to their parents long after moving out of the family home.

Furthermore, the traditional Chinese family is patriarchal (Xie, 2013). Sons are to carry the family name, inherit the family business, and take care of their parents in their old age. Daughters are viewed as temporary members before they are married into and "lost" to another family. Men are to provide for the family and act as the stern disciplinarians, while women are to be the affectionate and caring caretakers.

However, values in modern China have been heavily influenced by changes in the past few decades. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Confucian teachings were banned, and values such as filial piety and respect for authority and elders were openly challenged (E. Lee & Mock, 2005). Further, the one-child policy (in place from 1979 to 2015) challenged the traditional family system by dramatically limiting the size of the family. Additionally, Hong Kong and Taiwan experienced rapid economic growth after World War II, thereby experiencing industrialization and Westernization. Accordingly, the status of females has risen steadily in the recent decades, as can be seen in terms of educational achievement (Xie, 2013). Nonetheless, gender inequality still exist in pay and job opportunities (Xie, 2013). Whether rural or urban, many men are still expected to carry most of the financial responsibility (Choi & Peng, 2016). In the home, most of the household responsibilities tend to be taken by the women. Nonetheless, there are clear influences of modernization, such as the increased acceptability of premarital sex,

premarital cohabitation, and adult children moving away from their hometowns in search of better job opportunities (Choi & Peng, 2016; Doctoroff, 2012). Increasingly, Chinese people are adapting their traditional values to the changes in society.

### ***Chinese Canadians in the Present Day***

China has a population of 1.42 billion, which is 18.6% of the world's total population (Hackett, 2018). In 2011, it was estimated that an additional 40.3 million Chinese individuals live overseas (Poston & Wong, 2016). In Canada, Chinese Canadians are the largest ethnic minority group, which is growing more rapidly than the overall Canadian population (Lindsay, 2001). According to the latest Statistics Canada census, 1.8 million Canadians reported having Chinese ancestry, representing 5.1% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2016). More specifically, in 2016, 4.3% (or 37,892) of the Canadian population between the ages of 18 to 24 were Chinese<sup>1</sup>. Chinese Canadians mostly reside in urban cities, such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal (X. Li & Lee, 2005). Chinese Canadians are employed in many fields, such as professional services, healthcare, and business (X. Li & Lee, 2005). There is also a large international student presence in Canada. In 2017, there were 140,530 Chinese international students, comprising 28% of the post-secondary international student population in Canada (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2018). However, despite such large numbers, Chinese Canadians remain under-represented and under-studied in the psychology literature.

Findings from Western, European American cultures may not generalize to Chinese individuals because Chinese culture has distinct elements affecting the coping process (Heppner et al., 2012; C. J. Yeh et al., 2006). As such, examining how Chinese Canadians cope with stress would allow for a better understanding of both the ethnic group and the construct of coping.

## *The Sociopolitical History of Chinese Canadians*

Although most (72%) of Chinese Canadians were born outside of Canada (Lindsay, 2001), Chinese Canadians have had a long history in Canada. The first Chinese people set foot in Canada—then British North America—in 1788 (D. C. Lai, 2016). Chinese immigration began in 1858, composed mostly of people who were escaping hardships in China, such as floods and wars. Most early Chinese Canadians settled in British Columbia and worked in the gold mines or on the Canadian Pacific Railway (X. Li & Lee, 2005).

Early Chinese males who went overseas to work were expected to send money home, and the families in China helped to take care of each other. This community support persisted in Canada; Chinese immigrants provided logistical support (e.g., small loans, shelter) to each other. Chinese immigrants also congregated in Chinatowns, which included residential and commercial spaces. In addition to social support, Chinatowns were culturally familiar places where people visited religious structures, celebrated cultural festivals, and shopped for Chinese foods and produce. Chinese Canadians have had a history of coping based on collectivistic means.

However, Chinese Canadians have also had a history of experiencing racial/ethnic discrimination. Chinese Canadians were the biggest source of cheap labour in Canada during the 1800s (D. C. Lai, 2016; P. Yee, 2017). Chinese Canadians were involved in building roads and railways, and working in coal mines, gold mines, and on farms. An estimated 600 to 2,200 Chinese workers died during railway construction due to poor safety, medical care, and lack of food. However, Chinese Canadians at the time had limited employment opportunities because anti-Chinese organizations actively petitioned against Chinese individuals working in other industries, preferring to save those opportunities for White European immigrants.

Heavy discrimination against Chinese immigrants continued for decades. Racism was so

pervasive that it was in early Canadian laws. When the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885, the Canadian federal government passed the *Chinese Immigration Act (1885)* which instated a \$50 head tax for each Chinese person who wanted to immigrate to Canada. At the time, the average yearly earnings for a Chinese immigrant was \$225 (D. C. Lai, 2016). Consequently, the number of Chinese immigrants dropped dramatically from 8,000 in 1882 to 124 in 1887. Chinese individuals remain the only racial/ethnic group in Canada to have been subject to a head tax. Anti-Chinese sentiments rose steadily after World War I; Chinese immigrants were blamed from taking jobs away from White individuals (D. C. Lai, 2016). As a result, the *Chinese Immigration Act (1923)* completely banned Chinese immigration. Municipal, provincial, and federal legislations limited Chinese Canadians' political and civil rights, which resulted in some Chinese Canadians returning to China (X. Li & Lee, 2005).

Hostility against Chinese Canadians persisted until World War II. Despite initial resistance to accepting Asian Canadians into the army, over 600 Chinese Canadians served in the military by the end of the war. Further, lobbying by Chinese communities and the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 prompted Canada to reconsider its anti-Chinese legislations (X. Li & Lee, 2005). In 1947, the *Chinese Immigration Act (1923)* was repealed and voting rights were granted to all Chinese Canadians. The number of Chinese immigrants rose to 5,178 in 1966 (D. C. Lai, 2016). In 1967, the merit-based immigration system replaced the race-based policy, resulting in an influx of more educated Chinese immigrants (X. Li & Lee, 2005). In 1980, the Canadian government formally recognized the contribution of Chinese Canadians (D. C. Lai, 2016). In 2006, the Canadian government officially apologized for the maltreatment of Chinese Canadians over Canadian history.

As with any large group, there is heterogeneity within Chinese Canadians (X. Li & Lee,

2005). Social stratification is visible (X. Li & Lee, 2005); some Chinese Canadians are in the low-income class, yet there is a small number of extremely affluent and wealthy investor immigrants, primarily from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Similarly, Chinese Canadians who were born in Canada are more likely than foreign-born Chinese Canadians to hold professional or white-collar jobs, and thereby enjoy better financial prospects (X. Li & Lee, 2005).

### ***Chinese Canadian and Chinese American Families***

Early Chinese Canadian families tended to be patriarchal and communal. However, the Canadian context challenged their way of life; both boys and girls attended school, and Chinese women worked in war relief activities in the 1930s and 1940s (X. Li & Lee, 2005). Therefore, early immigrant Chinese Canadian girls and women experienced a more active role in both education and employment. Familial relationships faced another wave of change beginning in the 1970s (X. Li & Lee, 2005). More Chinese women immigrated to Canada in 1981 when immigration policies became less stringent (X. Li & Lee, 2005). Nonetheless, Confucian values still affect Chinese Canadians, and especially first-generation families. Chinese Canadian parents work to provide their children with the best opportunities. Many Chinese Canadian parents emigrated to pursue better education for their children and continue to prioritize their children's academic achievements in Canada. Accordingly, one study found that Chinese Canadians (aged 16 to 21) often feel indebted to their parents for their numerous sacrifices (C. M. Lam, 2001).

In modern Chinese American families, the family unit has shrunk to a nuclear unit rather than the traditional multi-generational system (E. Lee & Mock, 2005). Wives have taken a less subservient role and tend to share decision-making with their husbands. Relatedly, fathers are not typically expected to be the sole earner of income for the family. A review of research and clinical work with Asian American families suggest that the role of filial piety has decreased

while the husband-wife relationship has become more important. It is also becoming more acceptable for adult children to leave the family home. Indeed, Chinese American families may be moving towards more individualistic units where independence and equality are becoming more prominent as the traditional system recedes (E. Lee & Mock, 2005).

Nonetheless, traditional Chinese cultural values continue to affect modern Chinese American families. Chinese American parents tend to use more authoritarian parenting styles, rather than the warmer authoritative style prized in most families of European descent (Lui & Rollock, 2013). However, parental control in Chinese families is thought to be reflective of care and concern. Similarly, the expectation for obedience reflects Confucian values of respect for elders and authority, and maintaining harmonious relationships (Lui & Rollock, 2013).

Indeed, the family unit remains key to Chinese Americans. As a result, Chinese Americans tend to try to solve their psychological problems within the family (E. Lee & Mock, 2005). Maintaining the health of individual family members is seen as a collective duty and speaking about psychological struggles outside of the ingroup may be seen as bringing shame to the family. Typically, visiting a mental health professional is considered a “last resort.”

### **Chinese Canadian and Chinese American Intergenerational Conflict in Context.**

Although racial/ethnic discrimination towards Chinese Canadians has diminished, discrimination is far from being eradicated. As a result, many Chinese parents feel that their children must try harder than their White counterparts to have a good life (J. Li, 2009; Samuel et al., 2001; Zhou et al., 2003). In addition, the collectivist nature of Chinese families can translate into parents viewing their offspring’s success as a reflection of the family (Lui & Rollock, 2013). Therefore, Chinese Canadian or Chinese American parents are more likely to exert pressure on their offspring to succeed to bring honour to the family (Lui & Rollock, 2013). These high parental

expectations and the emphasis on academic achievement are often sources of intergenerational conflict for both Chinese Canadian and Chinese American emerging adults (Qin et al., 2008).

### ***Distinct Elements of Current Chinese Culture***

Sociopolitical history provides the context for Chinese Canadians, while the current state of Chinese culture sets the foundation for Chinese Canadian culture. As with any culture, there is variability. However, as a whole, Chinese culture is collectivistic when compared with Western industrialized societies such as Canada (Matsumoto et al., 2008; Suh et al., 1998; Triandis, 1989). While Western cultures tend to emphasize individualistic thinking and independence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), Chinese culture underscores social harmony, hierarchy, and group belongingness. In traditional Chinese culture, being mature means sacrificing personal needs for the benefit of the group (Chun et al., 2006). Chinese culture tends to value being reserved and self-controlled, particularly in terms of emotional expression (Uba, 1994). Confucius explained that strong emotions are detrimental to the health of oneself and others (Ames & Rosemont Jr., 1999). As such, while coping strategies that promote the fulfilment of individual goals and personal expression (e.g., assertiveness; advocacy) may be appropriate in Western individualistic societies, Chinese culture favours coping strategies that maintain relationship integrity.

Compared to Western industrialized societies, Chinese culture places less value on controlling and changing the stressor—which reflects personal agency (an individualistic value: Gelfand, Nishii, & Raver, 2006). Collectivist cultures are more “tight” rather than “loose” in terms of control, such that obedience, acceptance, and behavioural inhibition are needed and expected in these societies (Gelfand et al., 2006). Western individualist societies tend to have more “loose” control such that more behaviours, values, and attitudes are acceptable. As such, coping strategies that emphasize changing and controlling the stressor may be tolerated and

effective in loose, individualist societies, while coping strategies that focus on acceptance and maintaining social harmony are more appropriate for tight, collectivist societies. Additionally, widespread and time-honoured Chinese belief systems such as Buddhism and Taoism emphasize the virtues of adjusting to and accepting, rather than changing reality (Szabo et al., 2017).

Until recently, measures of coping were dominated by individualist coping strategies. However, in the past few years, coping scales that assess collectivist coping strategies have been developed and validated, such as the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale (Kuo et al., 2006) and the Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory (Heppner et al., 2006). These scales allow researchers to examine coping strategies that are more common and important in collectivist cultures, thereby increasing the validity and generalizability of coping research.

### **Intergenerational Conflict in Chinese American and Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults**

This study focused on intergenerational conflict because it is a common and significant stressor that has received relatively little attention. Further, intergenerational conflict is unique in that the stressor concerns the ingroup (i.e., the family), compared to acculturative stress or discrimination (both involving outgroups). Therefore, while Chinese Canadian emerging adults may feel the negative effects of intergenerational conflict, there should also be a strong desire to resolve the conflict in a culturally appropriate manner to protect family cohesion. In addition, intergenerational conflict necessarily involves interpersonal interactions, and as such, collectivist coping strategies should be particularly relevant.

### ***Emerging Adulthood***

The current study examined emerging adults, i.e., individuals between the ages of 18 to 25 (Arnett, 2007). Arnett (2007) explained that emerging adulthood is often distinct from adolescence and adulthood in terms of: 1) identity exploration (i.e., exploring one's values and



beliefs to form a coherent identity); 2) instability (i.e., changes in living situation, cognition, and emotions); 3) self-focus (i.e., preoccupation with one's development and identity); 4) feeling in-between (i.e., between a child and an adult); and, 5) possibilities (i.e., feeling optimistic about future prospects). Unlike adolescents, emerging adults are no longer going through puberty, have typically completed secondary school, and have often moved out of their parents' homes. Yet, unlike adults in their 30s to 40s, many emerging adults have not solidified important decisions, such as their careers and living conditions. Many individuals make career choices and begin committed romantic relationships in emerging adulthood, thereby intensifying the re-negotiation of their relationships with their parents, particularly regarding autonomy and norms in romantic relationships. Both of these developmental issues are influenced by cultural standards (Rasmi, Daly, & Chuang, 2014). In addition, as mentioned previously, intergenerational conflict remains a common and stressful occurrence for Chinese American and Chinese Canadian emerging adults (R. M. Lee et al., 2000; R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001; G. Li, 2004; J. Li, 2009). Indeed, a meta-analysis of studies of intergenerational conflict in Asian Americans found that the negative relation between intergenerational conflict and mental health was stronger for young adults (age 18 or above) compared to adolescents (age 12 to 17; Lui, 2015).

There are also few studies comparing intergenerational conflict in adolescents versus emerging adults. Studies with European American adolescents have found that early adolescents become less accepting of parental authority and fight for autonomy and freedom (Phinney et al., 2005), resulting in an increase in intergenerational conflict from early to mid-adolescence (Laursen et al., 1998). Intergenerational conflict decreases as adolescents use more mature conflict resolution strategies and negotiate more egalitarian relationships with their parents (Reese-Weber, 2000). However, the trajectory is less clear for ethnic minority groups, given the

strong interdependent values in their cultures and the emphasis on harmony and obedience.

European American adolescent-parent conflicts are more likely to be about dating partners or career choices, which adolescents see as their own prerogative (Phinney et al., 2005). However, it is less clear how these conflicts present in collectivist families. A study of Korean, Armenian, Mexican, and European American adolescents and emerging adults found that the three ethnic minority groups complied with their parents more than the European Americans. The ethnic minority participants cited respect for elders as a specific motivator, highlighting the role of cultural influences (Phinney et al., 2005). Interestingly, Phinney et al. (2005) found that all four groups asserted their autonomy to similar degrees, particularly in terms of choosing a romantic partner or a university major, suggesting that despite their collectivist roots, autonomy is still an important goal for ethnic minorities in the United States.

Intergenerational conflict is likely to be relevant to Chinese Canadian emerging adults, who must balance individualist and collectivist values. Indeed, a study examining White, Asian, African, and Latino American adults (age 18-29) revealed that all four groups viewed independence (e.g., autonomy to make decisions, responsibility for one's actions) as an important marker of adulthood. However, the three ethnic minority groups placed a greater emphasis on developing one's capacity to support a family financially, complying with social norms, and achieving milestones (e.g., marriage, employment). Therefore, although ethnic minority adults endorsed the individualistic value of independence, they nonetheless remained influenced by collectivist values that emphasized obligations to others (Arnett, 2003).

The need to negotiate individualist and collectivist values likely applies to Chinese Canadian emerging adults, who are influenced by Canadian and Chinese cultures. The increased emphasis on independence, without lowering interdependence, may result in distress and coping

for Chinese Canadian emerging adults. Therefore, Chinese Canadian emerging adults are appropriate for the study of intergenerational conflict.

### *The Influence of Culture on Chinese Canadian and Chinese Americans*

Cultural norms, values, and attitudes affect Chinese Canadian and Chinese American emerging adults' experiences with their parents. However, value differences inevitably exist between parents and their children. An important task for adolescents and emerging adults in most Western individualist societies is to establish autonomy from their parents (Kagitcibasi, 2013). Adolescents' attempts to redefine their relationships with their parents into a more egalitarian one often leads to friction and conflict (Branje et al., 2009), which is typically viewed as normative in most Western industrialized countries (Steinberg, 2001). However, achieving independence is not as highly valued in most non-Western cultures. Indeed, Asian American adults were more likely to live with their parents after establishing their own families, compared to Black, Hispanic, or White Americans, with one in four Asian Americans in such an arrangement (Pew Research Center, 2010). More traditional Asian cultures have more hierarchical, authoritarian parenting styles and place less importance on children's independence from their parents (X. Chen et al., 2010). Furthermore, Chinese cultural values of obedience and respect for elders may reduce the tolerance for parent-child conflicts (Phinney et al., 2000). Unfortunately, research on emerging adult development in non-Western cultures is sparse (Persike & Seiffge-Krenke, 2016).

Thus, the current study addresses the gap in the research by examining coping in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. In this study, intergenerational conflict refers to conflict between parents and their children (Wu & Chao, 2005). Intergenerational conflict is common for many Chinese American and Chinese Canadians because there is generally an acculturation gap (i.e., a

discrepancy in the extent to which individuals adapt to the norms and values of the host country; Lim et al., 2009) between Chinese American and Chinese Canadian parents and their children, which contributes to conflicts due to differences in cultural beliefs, values, and norms (Gim Chung, 2001; X. Li & Lee, 2005; Phinney et al., 2000; Ying et al., 2001). Not surprisingly, when Chinese American parents and children are both highly acculturated, there is less conflict compared to parent-child dyads with more acculturative differences (R. M. Lee et al., 2000). Indeed, research shows that Chinese American university students experience more intergenerational conflict than their European Americans or Hispanic American counterparts (R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001). These parent-child differences are especially prominent for immigrant Chinese American families (R. M. Lee et al., 2000; Uba, 1994). While immigrant parents generally wish to pass down heritage cultural values and traditions (Ruth K Chao, 2000), their children often struggle to balance the expectations of their parents and those of Western society which they experience outside of the home (A. J. Fuligni et al., 1999). In ethnic minority families in New Zealand where parents abided by more traditional heritage parenting values, children reported feeling a lack of trust, low privacy, and excessive parental control in areas such as romantic relationships (Stuart et al., 2010). Results from individual interviews suggest that intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian families typically manifest as disagreements rather than violent conflicts (Y. Lai, 2011).

### ***Common Areas of Intergenerational Conflict for Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans***

**Parental Warmth.** One common area that leads to intergenerational conflict for Chinese American and Chinese Canadians is lack of parental warmth (Wu & Chao, 2005). While immigrant parents tend to express the parenting norms of their heritage culture, their adolescent children tend to adopt the norms of the dominant culture (Hyman, 2000; Pyke, 2000). Dominant-

culture American parents tend to show affection more explicitly, through physical gestures (e.g., hugging) or praise (Wu & Chao, 2005). In contrast, Chinese American parents have been found to express their love predominantly through instrumental support such as financial assistance (R. K. Chao & Tseng, 2002). Consequently, some Asian American and Chinese Canadian adolescents and emerging adults perceived their parents to be less warm than they desire (R. K. Chao, 2001; R. K. Chao & Tseng, 2002; G. Li, 2004; J. Li, 2009). For Chinese American adolescents, a discrepancy in ideal versus perceived parental warmth was associated with internalizing and externalizing symptoms. Given the European influence on both the United States and Canada, it is expected that Chinese Canadians would also see parental warmth as lacking, and there is qualitative research supporting this view (J. Li, 2001, 2004).

**Parental Control.** Known in the media as “tiger parenting,” Chinese parenting has a reputation for being harsh and restricting; children are seemingly denied much “fun” so they can focus on their studies (Juang et al., 2013). Though not always as extreme, ethnic minority parenting style in the United States has been found to be characterized by high control and demandingness, high responsiveness to the child’s needs, and low responsiveness to the child’s interests (Heath, 2012). In Western cultures, however, the authoritative parenting style, with high control and demandingness, and high responsiveness to the child’s needs and interests, tend to be desired (Huang & Gove, 2015). Unfortunately, research shows that the greater the discrepancy between parents and their children on perceptions of appropriate parental control, the more perceived intergenerational conflict and depressive symptoms in the children (Juang et al., 2007).

Asian culture is also highly influenced by Confucian values, which prescribe a system of hierarchy (Huang & Gove, 2012). “Good” children obey the wisdom of their parents. Therefore, conflicts surrounding parental control can be difficult for Chinese American and Chinese

Canadians to navigate given that filial piety and respect for elders would push one in the direction of obeying one's parents, yet Western individualistic values emphasize freedom and autonomy. Such a discrepancy in parents' and their children's values can be also problematic in that assertive behaviour can be interpreted as disrespect by parents (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008).

**Academic/Vocational Expectations.** Ethnic minority and immigrant parents tend to emphasize academic achievement and obtaining a good education to improve future prospects (Costigan et al., 2010). Although there is no research on Chinese Canadians specifically, the value of learning is deeply rooted in Confucian teachings and centuries of ancient Chinese history where success was associated with social class, which was in turn connected to occupation (Huang & Gove, 2015). Many Asian families continue to believe that attaining higher education will enable one to have a good life with a stable job, good social standing, and satisfying relationships (Louie, 2004).

In addition, academic and vocational achievements reflect on both the individual and the family (Huang & Gove, 2012). Parents feel obliged to help their children succeed, and children feel responsible for bringing prosperity to the family. Compared to other ethnic groups, Chinese Canadian and American students do tend to excel academically (Samuel et al., 2001; Xu et al., 2007), have higher grades, and attend university more often (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; J. Li, 2001; Xu et al., 2007).

However, high academic expectations can be detrimental. Chinese American parents typically hold extremely high standards—equivalent to standards for gifted students—regardless of their children's academic performance (W. Yang, 2007). Yang (2007) found that 55% of immigrant Chinese American parents expect their children to achieve all A's, and 85% indicated that at minimum, an undergraduate degree should be obtained. Similarly, 80% of Asian

Americans expect their children to attain a Bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 66% of non-Hispanic White American parents (Lippman et al., 2008). A contributor to the high expectations is the sense that Chinese immigrants must overcome perceived disadvantages, such as language barriers and racial/ethnic discrimination. As one Chinese Canadian father relayed:

*You ask Chinese immigrant students if they behave like those white people, can they get the same benefit as they do? Nobody will answer yes. They know there is a race issue here. They know that we must do better than white Canadians..." (J. Li, 2004, p. 174).*

Accordingly, Chinese American and Chinese Canadian adolescents and emerging adults tend to feel pressured to excel academically, especially offspring of immigrant families who have witnessed their parents' sacrifices (J. Li, 2009; Samuel et al., 2001; Zhou et al., 2003). Chinese American and Chinese Canadian parents also tend to see science-oriented careers, such as medicine, computer science, or engineering, as more desirable careers due to their good job prospects and relatively high income (J. Li, 2004). Chinese parents may also view these as domains where their children can be competitive despite ethnic discrimination (J. Li, 2004).

Accordingly, Chinese Canadian parents may discourage their children from pursuing less "practical" careers, which can again be a source of intergenerational conflict. Indeed, while Chinese Canadian parents may wish to help their children achieve a good future by guiding them to "realistic" careers, their children can feel stressed and resentful about being "assigned" a future (J. Li, 2004). The latter is likely to be particularly upsetting given that Chinese Canadian children are more likely to be acculturated, and value the freedom to make their own choices and to pursue their individual passions.

**Obligation to the Family vs. Self-Interest.** Obligation to the family over pursuing one's goals is a strong component of Chinese culture (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008). However, this value

clashes with the general Western ideology that prioritizes individual pursuits. As such, differences in how much Chinese American and Chinese Canadian parents and their children value obligation versus self-interest can lead to intergenerational conflict (Kwak, 2003). For instance, it can be difficult for Chinese American emerging adults to balance spending time with their family versus their peers.

### ***Persistence of Intergenerational Conflict for Chinese American and Chinese Canadians***

As reviewed, differences in values and norms exist between Chinese American and Chinese Canadian parents and their children that contribute to intergenerational conflict. In addition, the interdependence that is valued in Chinese culture generally leads to more emphasis on the parent-child relationship (B. W. K. Yee et al., 2007). Indeed, for Asian American families, intergenerational conflict appears more persistent, presenting even in emerging adulthood (Cheng et al., 2015; R. M. Lee et al., 2000; R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001). A study examining intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian parent-child dyads revealed that 59% of the parents endorsed experiencing intergenerational conflict, and 84% of children between the ages of 18-22 indicated that they experienced intergenerational conflict (Y. Lai, 2011). A dissertation examining Asian American adults found that intergenerational conflict was the most prevalent among adults between the ages of 18 to 22 (compared to those between the ages of 23 to 28), particularly in terms of education- and career-related conflict (Nguyen, 2010). This is contrary to the fact that the rate of parent-child conflicts tend to decrease from early/mid-adolescence (age 10-16) to late-adolescence (age 17-22) in European American families, though to a fairly small degree (Laursen et al., 1998). This difference may be partially due to the collectivistic and family-focused nature of Asian families, where parents expect their children to delay seeking autonomy (A. Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002). As such, intergenerational conflict may be exacerbated



when Chinese Canadian or Chinese American children enter college and begin to experience more freedom and autonomy (R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001). Indeed, intergenerational conflict is one of the most common presenting problems for Asian American university students seeking counselling services (R. M. Lee et al., 2005). Therefore, intergenerational conflict is likely to be an important stressor to Chinese American and Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

### ***Intergenerational Conflict and Well-Being in Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans***

Intergenerational conflict has been linked to psychological and somatic problems (Lim et al., 2009) in 12 to 23-year-old Chinese Americans, and lower first-semester GPA in Asian American university students (Bahrassa et al., 2011). Intergenerational conflict has also been found to negatively affect Chinese American parents, who reported feeling ashamed and anxious in response to “aberrant” behaviours in their children (Chung, 2006). Furthermore, the negative relation between intergenerational conflict and mental health was comparable to the relation between racial discrimination and mental health in a meta-analysis of studies examining intergenerational conflict in Asian American adolescents and young adults (Lui, 2015).

### ***Coping with Intergenerational Conflict in Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans***

Coping is the active process (e.g., cognitive and behavioural) of responding to a stressor that is perceived as challenging or exceeding one’s capabilities or resources (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Skinner et al., 2003). Coping is critical; stress is inevitable, but coping mitigates the negative impact of stressors on psychological, relational, and physical well-being (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Somerfield & McCrae, 2000). Indeed, coping is one of the most widely studied topics in psychology (Skinner et al., 2003). However, there remains a critical need for cultural considerations in coping research. The central role of culture in coping was emphasized by Lazarus and Folkman in 1984, yet cultural context has been under-addressed or ignored

(Coyne & Racioppo, 2000; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Most coping studies were conducted with European American participants (Chun et al., 2006), despite the large numbers of non-European individuals. Accordingly, there is a lack of research on coping and intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans.

**Coping with Intergenerational Conflict in Chinese Canadian and Chinese American Emerging Adults.** Of the limited research available, R. M. Lee et al. (2005) examined problem solving and social support seeking in 117 Asian American university students in response to mild to moderate family conflict. Intergenerational conflict was associated with increased somatic symptoms and negative affect, decreased positive affect, and lower satisfaction in the family relationship (R. M. Lee et al., 2005). Participants used problem-solving and social support equally. However, problem-solving was more effective at a low level of family conflict, while social support was more effective at a higher level of family conflict. R. M. Lee et al. (2005) explained that with high family conflict, children may have less control over the situation, rendering attempts to problem-solve less effective.

Another study examining 10,151 adolescents around the age of 15 in 18 different countries (in Europe, North America, Latin America, and Asia) found different coping strategies in response to conflict with parents (Persike & Seiffge-Krenke, 2016). Adolescents in all 18 countries reported a strong preference for active coping strategies, followed by internal coping strategies (i.e., cognitive activities, such as reflecting on possible solutions to the problem). Withdrawal coping strategies were the least likely to be used (Persike & Seiffge-Krenke, 2016).

On the other side of intergenerational conflict, interviews with Chinese Canadian parents show that they were most likely to remove themselves from the situation (e.g., walk away from the argument) in response to intergenerational conflict to avoid having the argument become

“too heated,” suggesting a desire to protect the parent-child relationship (Lai, 2011).

Additionally, some parents consulted their friends and family, showing the referencing of culturally similar others. Although a few parents benefitted from support groups or individual counselling, others were reluctant to seek help outside of the family due to shame. Additionally, parents who sought professional help emphasized the importance of the counsellor sharing the same cultural background because they felt that culturally different counsellors would not be able to understand them (Lai, 2011). In this case, seeking professional help seemed to involve an element of collectivist coping, i.e., referencing culturally similar others. In sum, Chinese cultural values also influence how Chinese Canadian parents cope with intergenerational conflict.

### **Acculturation and Coping in Chinese Canadians**

Related to the influence of cultural values, it appears that as Chinese immigrants acculturate to Canada, their coping preferences become more akin to those of European Canadians. In one study, Chinese Canadians, Chinese immigrants, and Chinese sojourners were compared in terms of their coping behaviours (Kuo et al., 2006). The groups who had been in Canada for fewer years used more collective coping and avoidance coping, along with increased engagement coping (i.e., attempting to change or confront the stressor), possibly due to a lack of social support and therefore decreased opportunity for collective coping.

### ***Culturally Distinct Features of Coping in Chinese Americans and Chinese Canadians***

Culture is a fundamental aspect of coping—values, beliefs, and norms affect the appraisal of the stressor, the selection of coping strategies, and the effectiveness of coping strategies (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Coping is a person-environment interaction. For instance, most stress-coping theories emphasize individualistic values such as personal agency and control, thereby assuming that active, direct coping strategies are universally adaptive (Folkman &

Moskowitz, 2004). However, in cultures that value harmony, such coping strategies may be limited. Indeed, cross-national studies reveal broad differences in coping (e.g., Frydenberg & Lewis, 2003; O'Connor & Shimizu, 2002). Generally, more collectivist societies (e.g., Palestine, Japan, Korea) employ interpersonally oriented coping strategies (e.g., seeking social support), emotion-focused strategies, or passive/avoidance coping more than problem-oriented strategies (e.g., Bjorck, Cuthbertson, Thurman, & Lee, 2001a; Lam & Zane, 2004; Persike & Seiffge-Krenke, 2016; Yoshihama, 2002). However, the link between ethnicity, nationality, and coping is not always clear and consistent (Sinha & Watson, 2007; Tweed et al., 2004).

Accordingly, recent research emphasizes that individuals demonstrate coping flexibility (Heppner et al., 2006). For instance, Taiwanese students identified some coping strategies to be helpful for some stressors but not others (Heppner et al., 2006). Furthermore, several studies show that individualist and collectivist coping strategies are not mutually exclusive. Rather, individuals, including Chinese Canadians, tend to use both types of strategies (e.g., Kuo & Gingrich, 2004; Kuo et al., 2006; Wester, Kuo, & Vogel, 2006). Consequently, coping preferences vary flexibly with the context. For instance, an individual may use problem-solving (i.e., a type of individualist coping) in response to conflict with a colleague, but seek guidance from family (i.e., a type of collectivist coping) when responding to conflict a close friend. As such, the current study examined Chinese Canadian emerging adults' coping process in response to intergenerational conflict specifically.

To further expand upon the rationale for choosing Chinese Canadians, this section will briefly discuss the differences in coping between Asian collectivist cultures. The "Asian" group encompasses over 50 countries, including diverse countries such as China, Cambodia, India, Iran, Korea, and the Philippines (Şengör et al., 2019). One of the most notable differences is in

the emotional expressivity of various Asian groups. For instance, while Chinese individuals typically value emotional reservation (Uba, 1994), Arabic individuals are much more emotionally expressive (Fernández et al., 2008). These differences in emotional expressivity can have important implications for coping in terms of the social appropriateness of help-seeking behaviour and the expression of certain emotions. A study comparing Chinese, Korean, Filipino and Indian American undergraduate and graduate students coping with mental health challenges found that despite an overall tendency to keep problems within the family, Korean American students were more likely to seek support from religious leaders, while East Indian Americans were less likely to seek religious support (C. J. Yeh & Wang, 2000). Further, Korean Americans were more likely to use substances (e.g., drugs, alcohol) to cope (C. J. Yeh & Wang, 2000). No other differences were found in coping strategies between the four Asian ethnic groups. Nonetheless, differences among Asian groups have been observed for intergenerational conflict as well (Gim Chung, 2001; Nguyen, 2010). One study found that Vietnamese American emerging adults reported the most, while Korean Americans reported the least, intergenerational conflict (Nguyen, 2010). Another study found that Japanese Americans reported the least intergenerational conflict among the Asian American participants (Gim Chung, 2001).

Further supporting evidence that Chinese individuals are distinct from the “Asian” umbrella comes from a study comparing the endorsement of Confucian values in 1,631 university students of Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Taiwanese descent (Zhang et al., 2005). Chinese students most strongly endorsed interpersonal harmony and relational hierarchy (i.e., maintaining and protecting social hierarchies in and outside of the family) compared to the other ethnic groups, while Japanese females provided the highest ratings for traditional conservatism (i.e., reducing one’s desires, moderation, being reserved). The strong endorsement of

interpersonal values in the Chinese group lends support to the focus on Chinese Canadian emerging adults in the current study, since these interpersonal values may result in stronger collectivist influences on coping with intergenerational conflict, an interpersonal stressor. As such, the important differences between Asian ethnic groups call for the examination of specific ethnic groups rather than an aggregate of “Asian Canadians.”

### **Categorization and Measurement of Coping**

Studies have identified two broad types of coping strategies: individualistic and collectivistic coping (Kuo et al., 2006). As their names suggest, the two types of coping strategies roughly align with individualist and collectivist values. Individualistic cultures (e.g., Canada and the United States) focus on the individual as a separate entity, emphasizing values such as agency, personal autonomy, and self-fulfillment (Hofstede, 1980). Individualist coping strategies reflect these values and include confronting the stressor or thinking of potential solutions (Kuo et al., 2006). In contrast, collectivist cultures (e.g., China, Japan, and India) view the ingroup (e.g., family, classmates, colleagues) as the central unit, and value duty to the ingroup, social harmony, and fulfillment of social roles (Hofstede, 1980). Collectivist coping strategies include looking to culturally similar others for support or guidance (Kuo et al., 2006). Western individualist societies tend to emphasize coping strategies that focus on the individual taking control of the situation, while collectivist societies value coping strategies where individuals adjust to the situation (Kuo et al., 2006; A. G. Lam & Zane, 2004). Indeed, O’Connor and Shimizu (2002) found that perceived personal control over the stressor predicted stress and coping strategies for university students in England, but not for university students in Japan—showing that perceived personal control is less impactful for the Japanese students.

To further understand individualist and collectivist influences on coping, Kuo et al.

(2006) developed a culturally informed measure of cultural coping strategies, the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale. Three types of coping are quantified: Engagement Coping, Avoidance Coping, and Collective Coping. Engagement coping involves strategies where the individual confronts the stressor and tries to change it or prepares oneself for the stressor. Engagement coping is infused with more individualistic values (e.g., agency, autonomy). Avoidance coping involves physical and/or emotional withdrawal from the stressor, or emotional suppression and acceptance of the situation. While avoidance coping is typically seen as maladaptive due to its lack of action and agency in Western psychology research, avoidance coping strategies might be more reflective of Asian values such as forbearance and fatalism. Collective coping involves group-referencing and other-oriented behaviours, such as seeking advice and support from family, friends, or wise figures (e.g., teachers, elders).

The current study also measured private emotional outlets, which refer to coping with emotions in a confidential or anonymous manner (Heppner et al., 2006). Private emotional outlets are expected to be influenced by Chinese values of harmony and keeping one's problems private. However, perhaps even seeking help from outside of the family would be a shameful act. Indeed, Asians Americans were more likely to seek support from family members than mental health professionals in crises (C. J. Yeh & Wang, 2000). Nonetheless, private emotional outlets help to assess coping when individuals are unable, or do not feel comfortable seeking help in a non-confidential manner.

### **The Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping**

The Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping (Heppner et al., 2012) was developed to further infuse context into coping research. Using a model addresses Kuo's (2013) call to incorporate relevant models into coping research. Heppner et al. (2012) described the Cultural

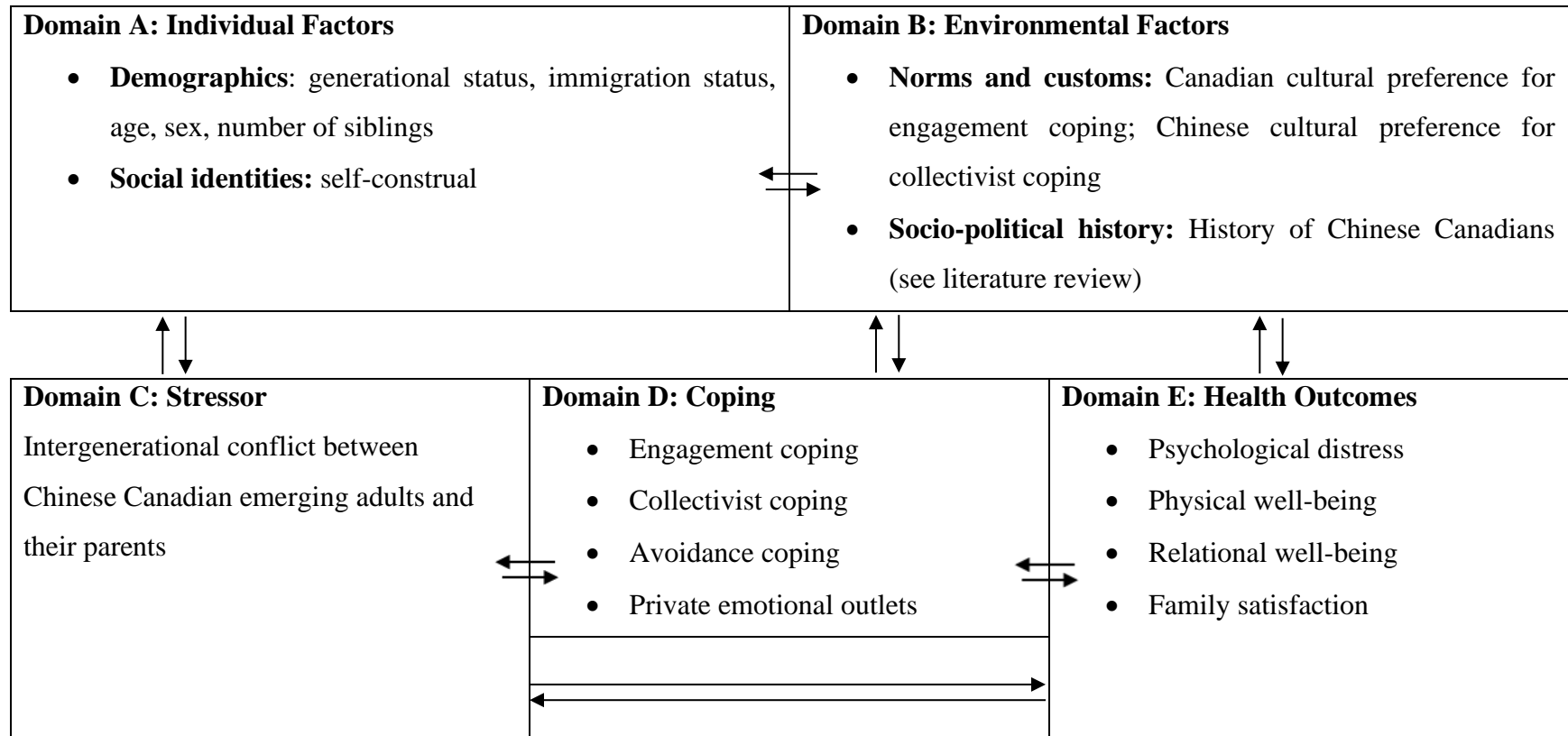
and Contextual Model of Coping as “an individual × environmental ecological coping model for American racial and ethnic minorities that emphasizes coping as an act within a cultural context.” The Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping has five domains: 1) Domain A: Individual Factors, 2) Domain B: Environmental Factors (i.e., Immediate Relationships, Working and Living Environments, and Macro Sociocultural Context), 3) Domain C: Stressors, 4) Domain D: Coping, and 5) Domain E: Health Outcomes (see Figure 1).

There are other culturally informed models of coping that emphasize culture in the stress-coping process. However, compared to the Transactional Model of Stress and Coping (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984) and Moos’ Context and Coping Model (Moos, 1984; 2002), the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping provided a more comprehensive overview of the coping process. Furthermore, unlike the Biopsychosocial Model of Coping with Racial/Ethnic Stress, which was developed to contextualize the experience of racism in African Americans (Clark et al., 1999), the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping can be applied to a variety of stressors for ethnic and racial minorities. Though similar to the five panels in Chun et al.’s (2006) Transactional Model of Cultural Stress and Coping, The Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping also provided research directions and relations between the variables. Therefore, the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping was selected because it is comprehensive, up-to-date, and theoretically sound.



**Figure 1**

*The Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping Applied to the Current Study*



→ Direct effect and mediation effect

*Note.* Figure based on Heppner et al. (2012)

### ***Domain A: Individual Factors***

Individual factors include, but are not limited to: i) demographic characteristics (e.g., age, sex, ethnic identification, generation status, number of siblings), ii) personality traits and dispositions, iii) social identities (e.g., ethnic identity, acculturation and enculturation, independent and interdependent self-construal), iv) social and cultural competence (e.g., cultural sensitivity), v) personal cultural values and beliefs (e.g., religious beliefs, filial piety), and vi) cognitive and affective processes (e.g., emotion regulation: Heppner et al., 2014). These areas have been found to influence an individual's reaction to stressful events (Heppner et al., 2012).

### ***Domain B: Environmental Factors***

Domain B is divided into three nested categories: Level 1 Immediate Relationships, Level 2 Working and Living Environments, and Level 3 Macro Sociocultural Context (Heppner et al., 2012). Immediate Relationships include relationships with family members, friends, romantic partners, teachers, employers, and peers, which can be supports and/or stressors. The second level, Working and Living Environments, includes the social, cultural, and economic environments, which can also be a source of support and/or stress. The Macro Sociocultural Context refers to the norms and customs of the individual's society, macro cultural values (e.g., ideologies about difference races, genders, and sexualities), discriminatory attitudes and policies (e.g., institutional racism), and socio-political history (e.g., history of ethno-political conflict).

### ***Domain C: Stressors***

Stressors are described in terms of type and characteristics. The type of stressor can be generic (e.g., personal illness), unique to racial or ethnic minority groups (e.g., racism), or unique due to factors other than race or ethnicity (e.g., sexism). Multiple stressors from several domains can combine to result in greater stress. For instance, Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, and Tekeuchi

(2007) found that perceived racial discrimination predicted psychological distress in Asian Americans above and beyond perceived generic stress.

### ***Domain D: Coping***

Coping is conceptualized as a process that involves four steps. First, the individual perceives the stressor. Then, the problem is appraised (e.g., severity or meaning) and coping goals (e.g., problem-focused) are formulated. Then, coping strategies are selected and employed, and these strategies are influenced by personal disposition and cultural norms and values. Then, the coping strategy is evaluated in terms of function and outcome, such as its effectiveness, impact on stressors, or congruence with the cultural context. Heppner et al. (2014) emphasize four areas in research with ethnic minorities: i) contextualizing stressors and coping goals within the cultural context (e.g., personal meaning of the stressor), ii) including culturally-congruent coping strategies, iii) conceptualizing coping as a bi-directional and transactional process (i.e., that coping and the environment interact), and iv) including situation-specific coping strategies.

### ***Domain E: Health Outcomes***

Health outcomes includes a range of areas that contribute to well-being, including psychological health, adjustment at work, general well-being, quality of life, and physical health. Including health outcomes in addition to examining the negative effects of the stressor allows the buffering effect of coping on these negative associations to be analyzed (Heppner et al., 2012).

### ***Integrating the Domains***

As far as the author is aware, only one study has used the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping explicitly as the framework. In this study, the factor structure of the Problem Solving Inventory (Heppner, 1988) and the construct validity of problem solving appraisals were examined in China and the U.S. (Tian et al., 2014). However, this study did not describe

interactions between domains of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping.

Nonetheless, other studies can be interpreted within the framework of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. For instance, a study of 189 Chinese international students at a university in the United States revealed that low maladaptive perfectionism buffered the effect of acculturative stress on depression, but only for students who had been in the United States for a longer period of time (Wei et al., 2007). Similarly, in a study on Asian American university students, social support was used more if there was high family conflict, but problem-focused coping was utilized more frequently given low family conflict (R. M. Lee et al., 2005). Clearly, the components of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping interact.

### ***Applying the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping***

Based on the framework of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping, Heppner et al. (2012) described a series of potential interactions between domains. As such, variables included in this study were chosen based on their coverage of the domains in the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping as well as their relevance to intergenerational conflict. For example, Heppner et al. (2014) explained that coping should mediate the relation between the stressor and the outcome. As follows, the current study hypothesized that the coping strategies would mediate the association between intergenerational conflict and well-being.

### **Well-Being Outcomes (Domain E)**

The following section will describe the well-being domains included in the current study.

#### ***Psychological Distress***

Despite the ubiquity of the term “psychological well-being,” there is a lack of consensus regarding its definition or measurement (Cooke et al., 2016; Linton et al., 2016). The hedonic approach to well-being defines psychological well-being in terms of subjective well-being,

conceptualized as satisfaction with life and feeling positive rather than negative affect. By contrast, the eudaimonic lens sees psychological well-being as self-actualization and fulfilling one's values. Not surprisingly, measures of psychological well-being tend to be broad, often encompassing relational and physical health. To ensure clear interpretation of how intergenerational conflict and coping relate to well-being, the current study focused on non-specific psychological distress. Non-specific psychological distress (e.g., fatigue, nervousness, depression) is not associated with particular stressors or mental disorders, but tends to be high in individuals who are struggling to cope (Kessler et al., 2002). Further, the study focused on internalizing rather than externalizing symptoms because intergenerational conflict in Asian Americans has been found to be more strongly correlated with the former (Lui, 2015).

### ***Physical Well-Being***

Physical well-being refers to one's bodily functioning, and includes having the energy to enjoy life, functioning sensory capacities, and minimal experiences of pain and discomfort (Linton et al., 2016). The current study focused on somatic symptoms likely to occur with psychological distress (e.g., headaches, stomach pain), since the stressor of interest, intergenerational conflict, is not directly a physical stressor. The inclusion of physical well-being is relevant given the observation that some Chinese individuals tend to "somaticize" psychological distress, partially as a result of mental health stigma (Ryder et al., 2008).

### ***Relational Well-Being***

Relational well-being, or social well-being, measures one's connection to others and satisfaction with personal relationships (Linton et al., 2016). A person who has strong relational well-being is also concerned about others' welfare, and can be empathic, affectionate, and giving (Ryff, 2014). In contrast, a person with low relational well-being is likely to feel a lack of

satisfying relationships, and feels isolated and frustrated in their relationships (Ryff, 2014). However, perhaps reflecting the influence of individualistic culture on research conducted in Europe or North America, relational well-being tends to be under-studied compared to psychological or physical well-being, which relate more to with individual functioning. Indeed, Folkman and Moskowitz (2004) called for the examination of how coping affects social, in addition to individual functioning. Relational well-being was also included in the study given the importance of belonging and social harmony in Chinese culture. Given the emphasis on the family in Chinese culture and its relevance to intergenerational conflict, this study also included family satisfaction as an exploratory outcome. Family satisfaction includes general satisfaction with family members and family life, feeling a sense of affection and acceptance, and being committed to one's family (M. D. Carver & Jones, 1992).

### **An Additional Individual Variable (Domain A) that Affects Coping**

As highlighted in the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping, individual variables (Domain A) are essential in delineating how ethnic minority groups cope with stressors.

#### ***Self-Constraint***

Self-construal measures the degree to which individuals orient towards independent and interdependent values, which are not mutually exclusive (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and generally correspond to individualist and collectivist values. A person with a strong independent self-construal aims to be unique, expresses their personal thoughts and opinions, and navigates life based on their own values, opinions, and goals. In contrast, someone with a strong interdependent self-construal values a sense of belonging and social harmony, and chooses their actions based on norms and expectations of the situation. Interdependence differs from dependence in that dependence can include reduced autonomy and self-efficacy, while

interdependence involves mutual support and responsibility rather than a poor ability to take care of oneself (Reindal, 1999). To illustrate the utility of self-construal, consider findings on coping with interpersonal stressors. Asian American university students reported using more passive coping strategies while White American students endorsed more active coping (A. G. Lam & Zane, 2004). The preference for passive coping strategies was mediated by having a higher interdependent self construal, and the weaker preference for active coping strategies was mediated by having a lower independent self-construal (A. G. Lam & Zane, 2004). Further, Kuo and Gingrich (2004) found that Asian Canadians with stronger independent self-construals preferred engagement coping for a stressful interpersonal situation, while participants with stronger interdependent self-construals used collective, avoidance, and engagement coping. These results were found regardless of participants' ethnicity (i.e., Asian or Caucasian Canadian), highlighting the utility of self-construal over ethnicity. Further, avoidance coping was positively correlated with interdependent self-construal but had no relation with independent self-construal (Kuo et al., 2006). Thus, avoidance coping may have collectivist elements.

Similarly, a study comparing Chinese, South Korean, Taiwanese, and Japanese international students and American graduate students (i.e., students who were born in the United States of any ethnicity) in the United States found further evidence for the relations between self-construal and preference for coping strategies (Cross, 1991). East Asian students did not differ from American students in terms of independent self-construal but provided higher ratings for interdependent self-construal. Regardless, direct coping mediated the relation between independent self-construal and perceived stress. East Asian students who provided higher independent self-construal ratings used direct coping more often, which reduced perceived stress.

Taken together, participants' self-construal was examined to clarify the link between self-

construal and coping in the current study in both quantitative and qualitative portions.

## **The Mixed-Methods Approach**

### *Rationale for a Mixed-Method Design*

Mixed methods designs have existed for decades, dating back to prominent figures such as Jean Piaget (Müller et al., 2009). However, until recently, qualitative methods were largely disregarded in psychology research, and qualitative and quantitative methods were argued to be “inherently incompatible” (Karasz & Singelis, 2009). There has been increased interest in and acknowledgment of mixed-methods research in the past decade, where the “compatibility hypothesis” superseded the “inherently incompatible” hypothesis (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The use of multiple methods addresses the limitations of each individual method (Creswell et al., 2003). For instance, using both qualitative and quantitative data allows the researcher to obtain both group-level patterns and contextualized understanding of individuals. Further, while causality is difficult to establish in quantitative analyses, qualitative analyses allows one to directly ask about participants’ perceptions of cause and effect (Karasz & Singelis, 2009). In sum, mixed methods research allows the researcher to examine a construct with both breadth and depth (Bartholomew & Brown, 2012).

The addition of a qualitative component is particularly useful in research on ethnic minorities to allow an understanding of lived experience, and to give voice to under-represented groups (Karasz & Singelis, 2009). Furthermore, while culture is often treated as a grouping variable in quantitative analyses, qualitative analyses allow researchers to focus on the content and process of culture (Karasz & Singelis, 2009). Qualitative methods and their more flexible nature allow for open-ended responses, which allows the researcher to explore personally and culturally meaningful constructs that arise in the participants’ responses. The qualitative



approach is particularly appropriate when there is a relative lack of information, which is the case with intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. However, the quantitative component allow for a less “biased” set of analyses, particularly when using culturally valid measures (Bartholomew & Brown, 2012). Indeed, it has been recommended for cultural psychology research to use mixed-methods designs to obtain a comprehensive understanding of a construct situated within a particular context (Diaz-Loving, 2005).

### ***Constructivist-Interpretivist: The Theoretical Paradigm***

One of the first steps in a mixed-methods study is to select a theoretical lens. Some of the most common perspectives in mixed-methods research include: Positivist/Post-Positivist, Transformative, and Constructivist-Interpretivist (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012; Ingham-Broomfield, 2015). The Constructivist-Interpretivist paradigm was selected because it emphasizes the understanding of how people view and interpret their experiences (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012; Ingham-Broomfield, 2015). The Constructivist-Interpretivist paradigm emphasizes the relativity of perspectives. “Reality” depends on the person and society, and personal and cultural values, beliefs, and experiences, which aligns with the study’s objectives.

### ***The Concurrent Nested Design***

After selecting a paradigm, logistical decisions were made regarding data collection order and priority. The current study adopted the concurrent nested design (Creswell et al., 2003; Hanson et al., 2005). Quantitative and qualitative data were collected independently and concurrently. Then, quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed, and the results compared. There was a greater emphasis on the quantitative data, with the qualitative data nested within the quantitative portion. The concurrent nested design is useful for gaining a comprehensive understanding of the topic and was therefore chosen for the current study. Specifically, the

qualitative component focused on cultural values and how they may have influenced the coping process in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. On the other hand, the quantitative analyses sought to understand the coping process in terms of the relations between intergenerational conflict, coping strategies, self-construal, and well-being.

### ***Phenomenology: The Qualitative Research Design***

Phenomenology assumes that different people attribute different meanings to the same phenomenon, and thus have diverse experiences (Ingham-Broomfield, 2015). The goal is to describe, rather than explain, the phenomenon of interest. Since the current study is one of the few to examine how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict, the focus was on describing, rather than explaining the coping process. More specifically, interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), a type of phenomenological analysis, was chosen, and will be described in the method section.

### **The Present Study**

The present study examined intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults, the coping process, and the relations between coping and psychological, relational, and physical well-being, using a mixed-methods, concurrent nested design. Heeding the call for cultural considerations in psychological research (Cheung, 2012), this study examined the relations between cultural values and the coping process. The quantitative measures in this study were selected for their validity in Chinese or Asian samples. The qualitative component asked participants to identify their Chinese cultural values and how they affected the coping process. The conceptual framework of the research was grounded in the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. The variables were selected based on the domains of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping, and are as follows: Domain A, individual factors (self-construal); Domain C,

stressor (intergenerational conflict); Domain D, coping (engagement, collectivist, and avoidance coping, and private emotional outlets); and Domain E, health outcomes (psychological distress, physical and relational well-being).

This study aimed to contribute to the literature on how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict by: 1) examining how intergenerational conflict, a persistent yet relatively understudied stressor, relates to well-being; 2) analyzing how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict while considering the relations to cultural factors; 3) examining how coping relates to well-being; 4) providing an in-depth and specific examination of coping in Chinese Canadian emerging adults to help address the lack of ethnic diversity in the psychology literature; 5) contributing to the understanding of coping through using a culturally and contextually specific and informed framework, i.e., the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping; 6) using a mixed-methods approach to offer a comprehensive picture; and 7) developing intergenerational conflict scenarios that can be used in future studies.

### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

**Research question 1:** How is intergenerational conflict related to Chinese Canadian emerging adults' psychological distress, and relational and physical well-being?

Studies have found negative relations between intergenerational conflict and Chinese American emerging adults' psychological and somatic health (R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001; Lim et al., 2009). These patterns were expected to be replicated in the present study. In addition, this study extended to the relational realm for Chinese Canadian emerging adults. Relational well-being was expected to be important for collectivist cultures, including the Chinese Canadian culture, but is understudied in the literature.

**Hypothesis 1a:** Intergenerational conflict (Domain C) will have a positive relation with the

psychological distress (Domain E) of Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

**Hypothesis 1b:** Intergenerational conflict (Domain C) will have a negative relation with the relational well-being (Domain E) of Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

**Hypothesis 1c:** Intergenerational conflict (Domain C) will have a negative relation with the physical well-being (Domain E) of Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

**Research question 2:** How are the coping strategies used by Chinese Canadian emerging adults related to intergenerational conflict and well-being outcomes?

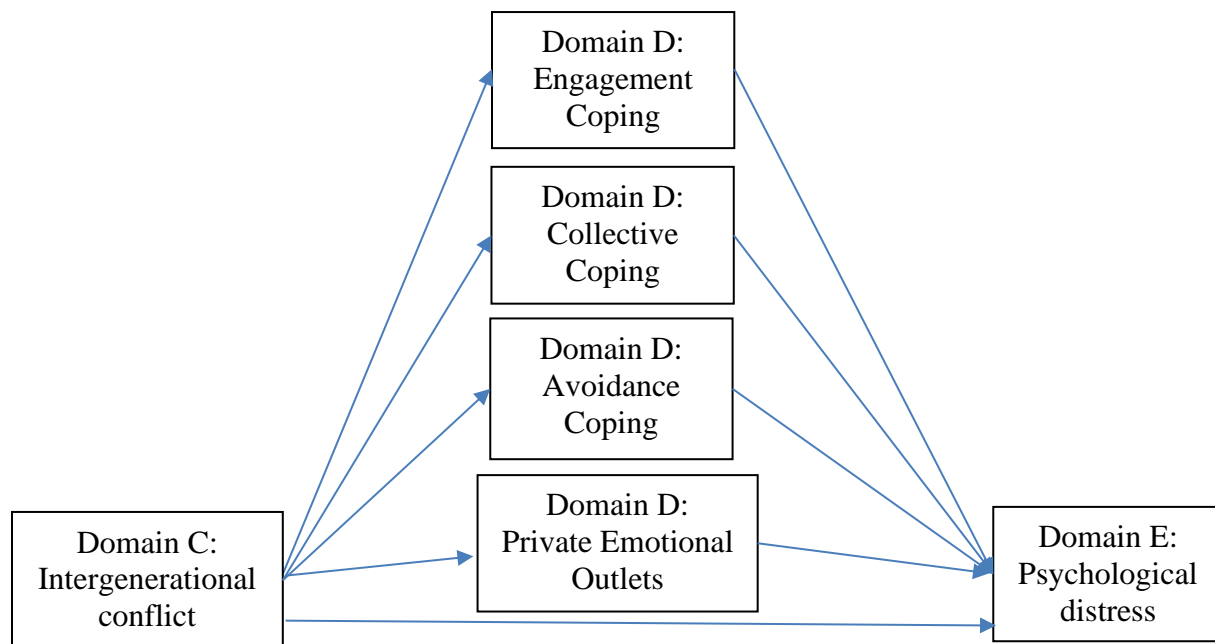
Research question 2, addressing coping in response to intergenerational conflict, was tested using the following multiple mediational models (Figures 2 to 4). As mentioned, there are two common ways of categorizing coping strategies in the conventional coping literature: 1) active, internal, and withdrawal coping (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007); and 2) problem-focused, emotion-focused, and avoidance coping (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). In addition, the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale (Kuo et al., 2006) presents three coping strategies: Engagement, Collectivist, and Avoidance Coping. A comparison of the coping strategies across the three categorization systems shows that active, problem-focused, and Engagement Coping all reflect cognitive or behavioural attempts to change or directly deal with the stressor. Similarly, avoidance coping across all three measures involve denying the existence or impact of the problem or distracting oneself from the stressor. Some differences emerged between emotion-focused and collectivist coping; although the two coping strategies overlapped, collectivist coping focuses on referencing important or culturally similar others in response to stress, while emotion-focused coping not only includes seeking help from family and friends, but also turning to religion and spirituality, as well as cognitive reinterpretation strategies. However, there remains significant overlap between emotion-focused coping with Engagement Coping and

Collective Coping in terms of seeking social support and trying to reappraise the situation in a more positive light. Furthermore, the emotion-focused coping scale appears heterogeneous in terms of item content. Therefore, the current study primarily adopted the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale to measure coping behaviours given that the scale was developed and validated on an Asian Canadian sample with attention to Asian cultural influences on stress and coping. In addition, the private emotional outlets scale from the Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory (Heppner et al., 2006) was included to measure coping with one's emotions without relying on one's ingroup. The private emotional outlets subscale was chosen given its relevance to collectivist values (e.g., saving "face" or the reputation of the family), but also its specificity and distinctiveness from the Collective Coping subscale items.

**Hypothesis 2a:** Engagement, Collective, and Avoidance Coping, as well as private emotional outlets (Domain D) will mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict (Domain C) and psychological distress (Domain E).

**Figure 2**

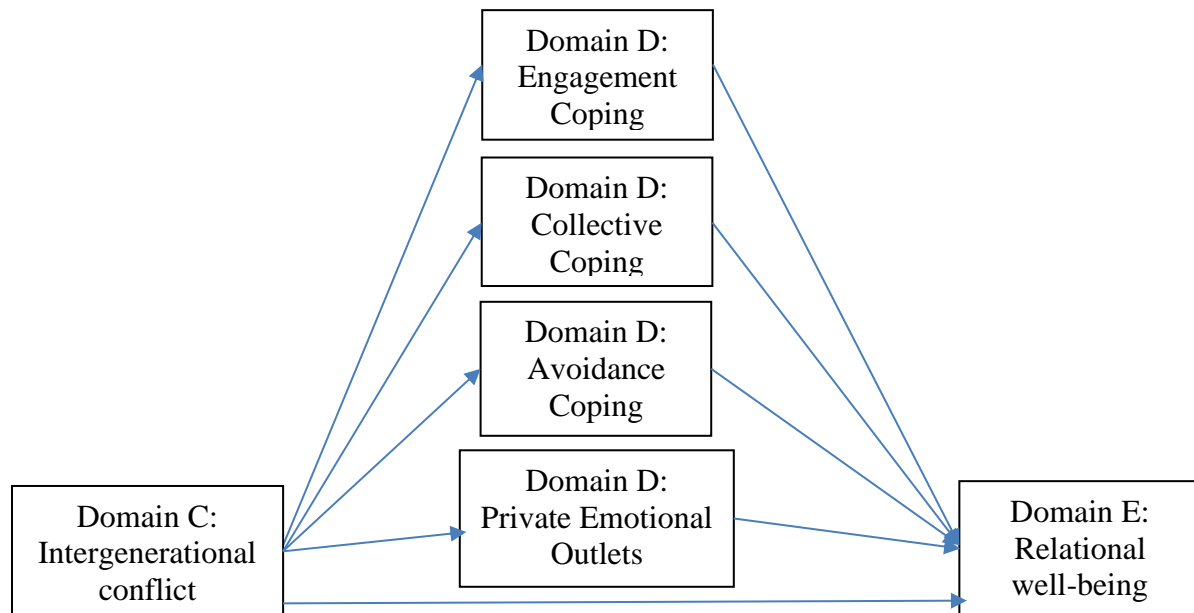
*Multiple Mediation Model for the Relation Between Intergenerational Conflict and Psychological Distress*



**Hypothesis 2b:** Engagement, Collective, and Avoidance Coping, as well as private emotional outlets (Domain D) will mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict (Domain C) and relational well-being (Domain E).

**Figure 3**

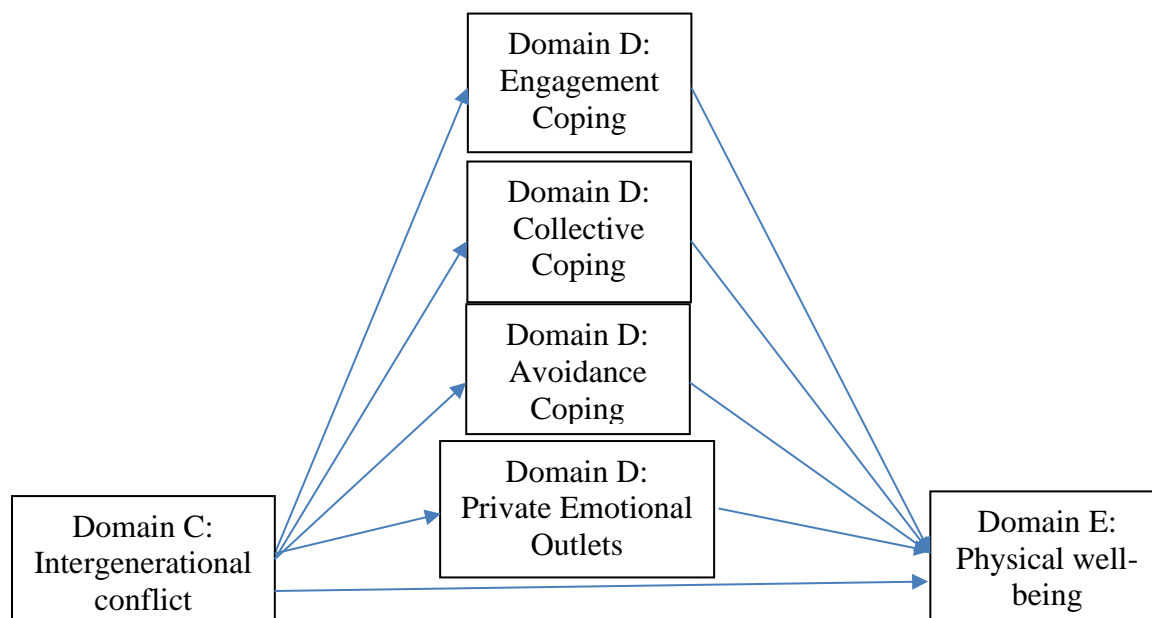
*Multiple Mediation Model for the Relation Between Intergenerational Conflict and Relational Well-Being*



**Hypothesis 2c:** Engagement, Collective, and Avoidance Coping, as well as private emotional outlets (Domain D) will mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict (Domain C) and physical well-being (Domain E).

**Figure 4**

*Multiple Mediation Model for the Relation Between Intergenerational Conflict and Physical Well-Being*



**Research question 3:** What is the relation of cultural values with Chinese Canadian young adults’ experience of intergenerational conflict, the selection of coping strategies, and the effectiveness of coping?

As discussed previously, culture is an essential, yet understudied, component of and contributor to the coping process (Heppner et al., 2012). Therefore, the current study attempted to address this gap through both quantitative analyses of the relations between self-construal domains and the selection of coping strategies, and through the qualitative analyses of the



interview transcripts (detailed in the Method section).

However, the eight-dimensional conceptualization of self-construal used in this study is very new and have not yet been used frequently in research. Therefore, tentative hypotheses are put forth regarding the associations between coping strategies and these self-construal domains.

**Hypothesis 3a:** Higher self-direction, self-reliance, and self-interest will predict engagement coping in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

Engagement coping refers to the individual contemplating or taking action to deal with the problem. Therefore, higher self-reliance is expected to be relevant given that Engagement coping strategies involve individual action (e.g., “I hold firmly to my position and face the problem” or “I rely on myself to take action to deal with the situation” or “I trust my personal strengths and believe in myself in resolving the problem”). Although not as clearly related, higher self-direction (i.e., being directed by one’s opinions) may also be positively related to engagement coping, since it may reflect an approach where the individual attempts to problem-solve by themselves. Similarly, greater self-interest may be related to engagement coping such that the individual can employ strategies that would work best for their interests.

**Hypothesis 3b:** Lower self-containment, lower self-direction, and lower self-interest are expected to predict collective coping in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

Collective coping refers to an individual looking to the norms, values, and opinions of their in-group in deciding how to cope. Therefore, self-construals that reflect an emphasis on interpersonal relationships and seeing oneself as connected to others are likely to be relevant while independent self-construals are expected to be weaker. Lower self-direction is likely to be apply since individuals are asking for others’ opinions or advice regarding possible actions or

decisions. Similarly, lower self-reliance is expected because collective coping involves relying on others in times of need. Further, lower self-containment should be a predictor since the individual would value others' opinions regarding their coping, and avoid upsetting others. Similarly, lower self-interest is expected so that the individual can seek others' opinions and determine the effects of coping on important relationships.

**Hypothesis 3c:** Higher self-reliance, lower self-interest, and lower self-expression would predict Avoidance Coping in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

Avoidance Coping refers to strategies that distracts oneself from the stressor. Higher self-reliance is expected because some avoidance coping strategies (e.g., "I tell myself that my problems will go away on their own") reflect attempts to deal with the stressor on one's own. On the other hand, some avoidance coping strategies reflect a lack of attempt to solve the problem (e.g., "I give up on trying to solve the problem") but also self-reliance reflecting a lack of dependence on others. However, Kuo et al. (2006) found a positive correlation between avoidance coping and interdependent self-construal. A tentative hypothesis is put forth that lower self-interest and self-expression, both reflecting the individual repressing their own interests or feelings to preserve the quality of their relationships, may be related to the passive nature of avoidance coping. For instance, with an interpersonal stressor such as intergenerational conflict, an individual may feel that not acknowledging the problem and avoiding confrontation may be the best way to preserve the parent-child relationship.

**Hypothesis 3d:** Lower self-expression, self-interest, and self-reliance will predict the use of private emotional outlets in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

Private emotional outlets involve individuals trying to cope with negative emotions without involving people that they know. They may seek professional or anonymous online help rather than going to family or friends. Therefore, lower self-expression and self-interest, reflecting a desire to maintain harmonious relationships, even by withholding one's own expressions, are expected to predict the use of private emotional outlets. However, since the individual is still seeking support, private emotional outlets is expected to be associated with lower self-reliance.

## CHAPTER 3: METHOD

### Power Analysis

G\*Power was used for *a priori* power analyses to estimate the sample size required for each planned statistical test. For all tests, the alpha level was set at .05 and power was set at .80.

Hypothesis 1 was tested using correlations. Effect sizes in the literature are generally small to medium in terms of the relations between intergenerational conflict and well-being in Chinese Americans (e.g., Hwang et al., 2011; Lim et al., 2009). However, given the small number of studies examining intergenerational conflict in Chinese American or Chinese Canadian emerging adults, a more conservative effect size estimate of 0.20 was used, resulting in an estimated sample size needed of 150.

Hypothesis 2 involved mediation models; partial mediation was expected rather than full mediation. A review of the literature revealed that the relation between intergenerational conflict and indirect coping strategies was 0.40 according to Lee and Liu (2001), thereby providing an estimate of the size of the  $\alpha$  path. The strength of the association between coping and well-being ranges from 0.27 to 0.60, providing an approximation of the size of the  $\beta$  path. Given the lack of reported correlations, a conservative estimate of 0.26 was used for both the  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  paths, resulting in an estimated required sample size of 162 needed for the mediation analyses.

For Hypothesis 3, multiple regression analyses (MRAs) were used. Although there is no research linking coping to the eight-dimensional conceptualization of self-construal, past research linking the two-dimensional independent-interdependent conceptualization of self-construal with coping strategies found small-to-medium effect sizes (e.g., Kuo & Gingrich, 2004; Lam & Zane, 2004). A conservative estimate was used resulted in a required sample size of 160. In sum, the minimum sample size required for all the statistical analyses was 162 prior to the

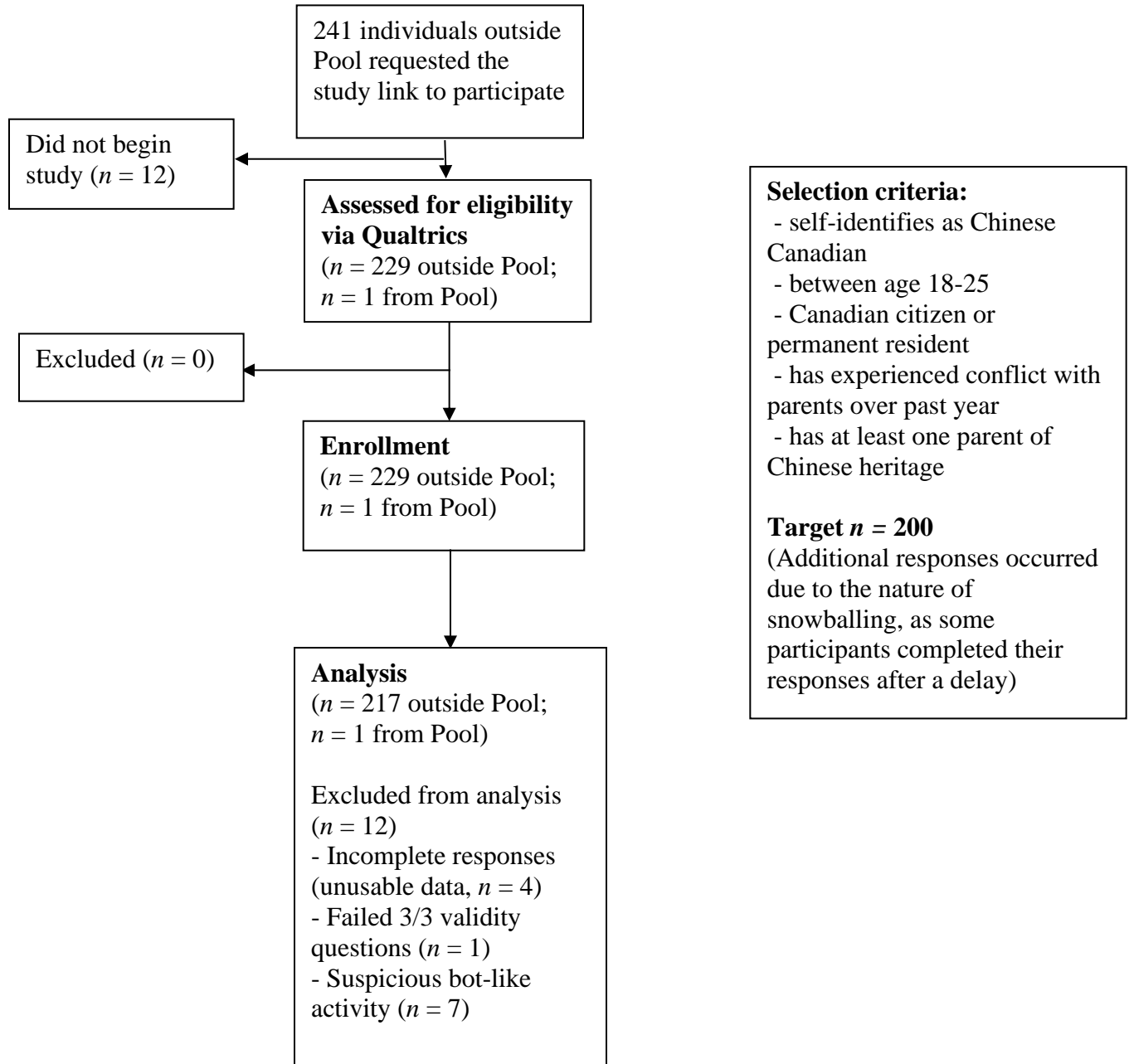
start of data collection. To account for potential incomplete and invalid responses, the target sample size was 200 participants for this study.

### **Recruitment of Participants**

Figure 5 and Figure 6 show the flow of participants through the quantitative and qualitative portions of this study, respectively.

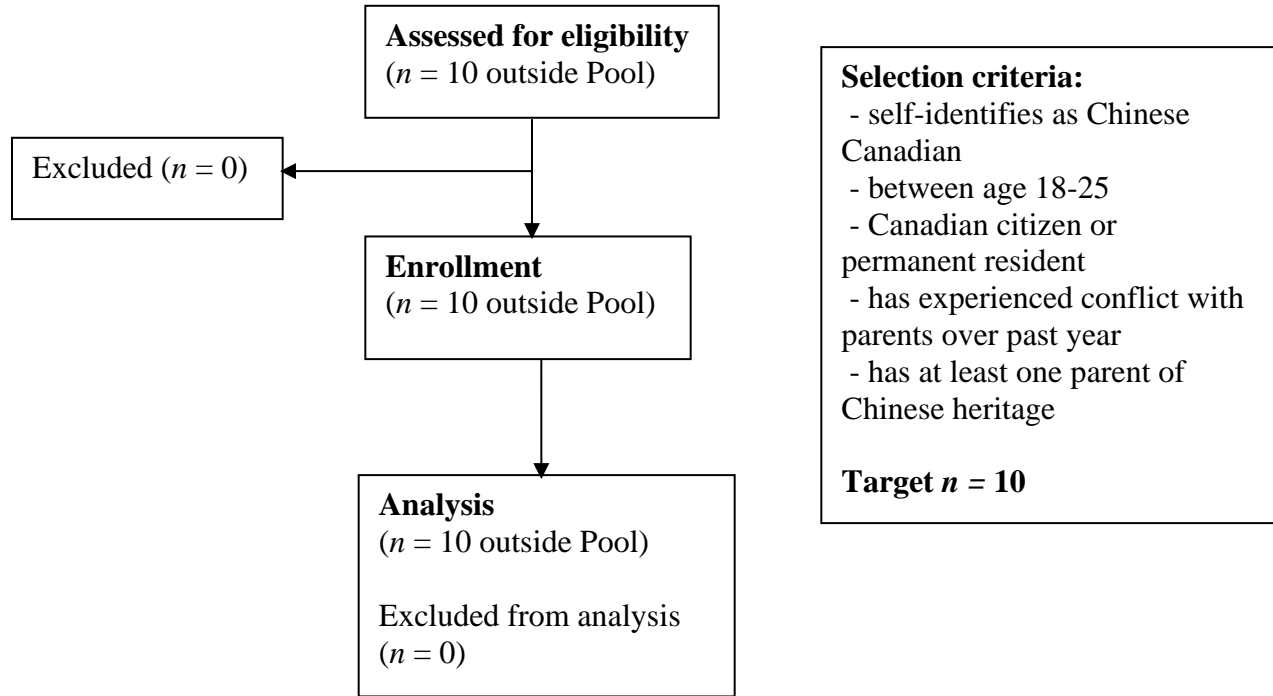
**Figure 5**

*Flow of Participants Through the Quantitative Component of the Current Study*



**Figure 6**

*Flow of Participants Through the Qualitative Component of the Current Study*



### ***Participant Recruitment Criteria***

The same eligibility criteria applied to both the quantitative and qualitative portions. Chinese Canadian emerging adults aged 18 to 25 were recruited. This age range coincides with emerging adulthood, which has been recognized as a distinct period in identity development (Arnett, 2000). Participant recruitment excluded younger adolescents to ensure sufficient homogeneity in the sample for interpretable results, particularly given the lack of research on Chinese Canadian emerging adults coping with intergenerational conflict.

The study also limited participation to Chinese Canadian emerging adults who were permanent residents or Canadian citizens to increase the homogeneity of the sample in terms of participants' experience with intergenerational conflict. For instance, international students likely interact with their parents less because they are less likely to live with or close to their parents. Furthermore, the qualitative interviews may be more difficult for Chinese international students due to a lower English mastery.

Participants also needed to have experienced intergenerational conflict in the past year. Specifically, Chinese Canadian emerging adults were selected based on the following screening process. In the University of Windsor Psychology Participant Pool, the study was visible to participants who selected "Chinese" as the answer to the standard screening question, "what is your ethnic background?" The Participant Pool ad specified that participants must have experienced conflict with their parents in the past year. Advertisements of the study posted outside of the University of Windsor Psychology Participant Pool asked individuals who identify as Chinese Canadian and have experienced intergenerational conflict in the past year to consider participating. In addition, the online survey began with the questions: "Do you identify as Chinese Canadian?"; "Have you experienced conflicts with your parents in the past year?"; and



“Are you a Canadian citizen or permanent resident?” Only participants who select “Yes” to all three questions could continue. The one-year interval was chosen so that the experience would be recent, but long enough for conflict to have likely occurred.

Participation was open to Chinese Canadian emerging adults regardless of generation or immigration status since findings were mixed in the literature. Generation status was divided into four categories: 1<sup>st</sup> generation (born outside of Canada, immigrated after age 12); 1.5 generation (born outside of Canada, immigrated at or before age 12); 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (born in Canada, at least one parent was born outside of Canada); and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation and beyond. The use of age 12 was based on the conventional guidelines in the literature, given findings suggesting that 1.5 generation immigrants more easily adapt to Canada compared to 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants due to their earlier age of arrival (e.g., Jones, 2012; Van Hook & Balistreri, 2007). Immigration status only included Canadian citizen and permanent resident due to the eligibility criteria of the study. Although poorer parent-child relationship quality was found in early-immigrant groups (i.e., children arrived in the U.S. before age 12) compared to late-immigrant (i.e., children arrived after age 12) in Chinese American families (Ying et al., 2001), another study found more intergenerational conflict among second- and third-generation compared to first-generation immigrant families (Bui, 2009). Furthermore, mixed and inconclusive results were found in a study examining generation status and parent-child relationship satisfaction in Chinese and Filipino American adolescents (Willgerodt & Thompson, 2002), and a study of Chinese Canadian immigrant parents did not find any associations between time in Canada and intergenerational conflict (Lai, 2011). Therefore, generation and immigration statuses were potential exploratory variables. In addition, participants’ report of theirs and their parents’ acculturation (see Appendix B) were included to provide descriptive data for the main analyses.

Although the severity of intergenerational conflict was measured as part of the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (Lee et al., 2000), all levels of intergenerational conflict severity were included because intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults is a relatively understudied field that needs to begin with broader recruitment criteria. Further, the study recruited from a difficult-to-reach population; therefore, stringent inclusion criteria could further reduce the sample that can be obtained (Yancey et al., 2006).

### ***Participant Recruitment Procedure***

After obtaining approval from the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board, an advertisement of the study was posted on the University of Windsor Psychology Participant Pool. Only one participant was recruited from the Psychology Participant Pool and was awarded .5 bonus point towards eligible psychology courses for completing the quantitative portion of the study. Recruitment materials are presented in Appendix C. For brevity, only the materials for participants outside of the Pool were included, since only the compensation information differs between materials for participants in versus outside of the Pool.

An additional 229 participants for the quantitative portion were recruited by sending emails and study flyers to Chinese student clubs at the University of Windsor and other Canadian universities, non-university and non-college Chinese associations across Canada (e.g., the Windsor-Essex County Chinese Canadian Association), the researcher's personal contacts, and through the snowballing method. The email and study flyer for the quantitative portion included 1) a brief description of participant eligibility, 2) an outline of the study, 3) a request for participation by eligible participants, and 4) a notification that participants who complete the survey will be given a \$5 Amazon gift card. Most participants were recruited through snowballing. Participants were asked to email me at [ChineseCanadianConflict@gmail.com](mailto:ChineseCanadianConflict@gmail.com) to

obtain the link to participate. (A non-university email was used to prevent potential participants' emails from being marked as spam).

A separate advertisement was used for the qualitative study. The advertisement asked Chinese Canadian emerging adults to consider participating in an hour-long Skype interview about their experiences with parent-child conflict, and how they coped with such conflict. I sought to recruit ten participants, and the first ten participants who met eligibility criteria (which did not include gender requirements) were interviewed. All ten participants were from outside the Pool, and each participant was given a \$10 Amazon gift card for their participation.

### ***Participants in the Quantitative Portion***

In the quantitative analyses, 230 responses were collected. Four were removed for being mostly incomplete (insufficient data for analyses). One case was removed for failing all three validity questions (Appendix E). Only participants who passed at least two of the three validity questions were included in the final sample. The data were analyzed for suspicious bot-like activity by examining IP addresses, GPS coordinates, and the quality of text-entry answers. Seven cases were removed for sharing the same IP address and GPS coordinates, along with having much lower inter-item reliabilities than the rest of the sample, suggesting a repeated responder. The final sample size was 218. Most variables were complete, with the highest percentage of missing data being 1.4%. Demographics for the quantitative component are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1***Demographic Characteristics of the Quantitative Sample*

Variable	<i>N</i>	%	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Sex					
Male	159	73.3			
Female	55	25.3			
Age			18-25	22.1	1.1
Number of siblings			0-4	1.14	.7
Country of birth					
Canada	60	27.6			
China	154	69.6			
Hong Kong	3	1.4			
Other	3	1.5			
Years in Canada			2-25	13.7	6.5
Immigration status					
Canadian citizen	199	91.7			
Permanent resident	17	7.8			
Generation status					
1 <sup>st</sup> generation	62	28.6			
1.5 <sup>th</sup> generation	96	44.2			
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	58	26.7			
3 <sup>rd</sup> generation or beyond	1	.5			
Culture of identification					
Canadian	108	49.8			
Chinese	84	38.7			
Chinese Canadian	6	2.8			
Other (e.g., Asian, North American, none)	6	2.8			
Not sure	3	1.4			
Identification with Canadian culture					
Not at all	2	.9			
Slightly	16	7.4			
Moderately	67	30.9			
Very	115	53.0			
Extremely	17	7.8			
Identification with Chinese culture					
Not at all	7	3.2			
Slightly	26	12.0			
Moderately	65	30.0			
Very	101	46.5			
Extremely	18	8.3			
Parents' ethnicity					
Both Chinese	217	100.0			
Mother's identification with Canadian culture					
Not at all	11	5.1			

Slightly	34	15.7
Moderately	90	41.5
Very	67	30.9
Extremely	11	5.1
Mother's identification with Chinese culture		
Not at all	0	0.0
Slightly	5	2.3
Moderately	39	18.0
Very	116	53.5
Extremely	54	24.9
Father's identification with Canadian culture		
Not at all	14	6.5
Slightly	15	6.9
Moderately	81	37.3
Very	72	33.2
Extremely	27	12.4
Father's identification was Chinese culture		
Not at all	1	0.5
Slightly	5	2.3
Moderately	57	26.3
Very	69	31.8
Extremely	72	33.2
Frequency of interaction with parents in past year		
A few times a year	18	8.3
A few times a month	94	43.3
A few times a week	74	34.1
Every day	31	14.3
Typical type of interaction with parents		
In person	77	35.5
Video call	124	57.1
Phone	159	73.3
Email	51	23.5
Text messaging	44	20.3
Physical mail	4	1.8
Checking each other's social media	4	1.8

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Surprisingly, most (73.3%) participants were male, which is atypical in psychology research. The reason for the abundance of male participants is unclear. It may be coincidental since many participants were recruited through the snowballing method. Furthermore, it has been found that males are more motivated by monetary incentives than females (Gerstein et al., 2004).

In terms of other demographic variables, most participants (69.6%) were born in China, with most of the remaining participants being born in Canada (27.6%). Accordingly, most participants (44.2%) belonged to the 1.5<sup>th</sup> generation, with the next largest group being 1<sup>st</sup> generation (28.6%), followed by 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (26.7%) and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation or beyond (.5%). All participants indicated that both of their parents were Chinese. An open-ended question about participants' culture of identification was included to account for potential non-ethnic cultural identities (e.g., LGBTQ+). However, all respondents provided ethnic identifications. Most participants self-identified as Canadian (49.8%), with the next largest group identifying as Chinese (38.7%). 83.9% of the participants indicated moderate to strong identification with Canadian culture. Similarly, 76.5% of participants indicated moderate to strong identification with Chinese culture. As such, identification with Chinese values remain prominent for the participants. Furthermore, there appears to be emphases on both Canadian and Chinese cultures.

A cursory analysis of parents' cultural identifications showed that 72.4% of the participants rated their mothers as identifying moderately to strongly with Canadian culture, compared to a similar 70.5% for their fathers. However, 78.4% of the participants rated their mothers as identifying strongly to extremely strongly with Chinese culture, with a slightly lower 65.0% for their fathers. Compared to themselves, it appears that participants generally perceived their parents to identify more strongly with Chinese values and less so with Canadian culture.

In terms of parent-child interactions, 14.3% of participants interacted with their parents

daily, 34.1% a few times per week, and 43.3% a few times per month. There seems to be regular and frequent contact between most of the Chinese Canadian participants and their parents. The type of contact was variable, however, with the most common being phone calls, video calls, and in-person interaction.

### ***Participants in the Qualitative Portion***

Ten participants were interviewed in the qualitative portion, and their demographic characteristics are summarized in Table 2.

**Table 2***Demographic Characteristics of the Qualitative Sample*

Variable	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Sex			
Male	2		
Female	8		
Age		24.9	.57
Number of siblings		.60	.70
Country of birth			
Canada	4		
China	3		
Other (Germany, Argentina, USA)	3		
Years in Canada		20.5	3.7
Immigration status			
Canadian citizen	10		
Generation status			
1.5 <sup>th</sup> generation	6		
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	4		
Culture of identification			
Canadian	5		
Chinese	2		
Chinese Canadian	3		
Identification with Canadian culture			
Moderately	2		
Very	6		
Extremely	2		
Identification with Chinese culture			
Slightly	2		
Moderately	5		
Very	3		
Mother's identification with Canadian culture			
Moderately	2		
Very	5		
Extremely	1		
Mother's identification with Chinese culture			
Very	5		
Extremely	1		
Father's identification with Canadian culture			
Moderately	1		
Very	3		
Extremely	2		
Father's identification with Chinese culture			
Slightly	1		
Moderately	1		



Very	4
Extremely	1
Frequency of interaction with parents in past year	
Less than once a year	1
A few times a week	5
Every day	1
Typical type of interaction with parents	
In person	7
Video call	6
Phone	6
Email	3
Text messaging	7
Checking each other's social media	4

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Interviewees consisted of eight females and two males, with a mean age of 24.9. Four participants were born in Canada, three were born in the United States, and three were born in other countries. Participants spent most of their lives ( $M = 20.5$  years) in Canada and all were Canadian citizens. Six participants belonged to the 1.5 generation while four participants were second generation Chinese Canadians. Most participants indicated that they identified with Canadian culture “very” much, and Chinese culture to a “moderate” extent. Most participants identified that their parents identified with both Canadian and Chinese culture “very” much, suggesting that they perceived their parents as having stronger identification with Chinese culture than themselves. Participants had frequent contact with their parents, generally a few times a week, and the type of contact varied (e.g., in person, phone calls, text messaging).

Participants were also asked about perceived cultural differences with their parents at the beginning of the interviews. Half of the participants indicated that they shared core values with their parents. Five participants identified themselves as more independent, while two participants saw themselves as more interdependent than their parents. All participants reported good (7-8 out of 10) subjective well-being.

## **Measures**

### ***Demographic Questionnaire***

The demographic questionnaire (Appendix B) included questions about the participant’s age, sex, country of birth, years in Canada, generational status, immigration status, and ethnocultural identification (of themselves and their parents). Items were presented in short-answer or multiple-choice format.

### ***The Cross-Cultural Coping Scale***

The Cross-Cultural Coping Scale (Kuo et al., 2006) is a culturally informed coping scale

developed with Asian and European Canadians and integrates the concepts of individualism-collectivism. The scale was developed based on a review of coping and Asian values and beliefs. After pilot studies and focus groups, the final form of the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale included 10 items describing individualistic coping strategies, and 19 items for collectivist coping strategies. The individualistic coping strategies were referred to as Engagement Coping (eight items) and involve attempts to address the stressor. The Collective Coping subscale (eight items) includes coping strategies that involve referencing the norms, behaviours, and opinions of one's culture, family, or significant others. The Avoidance Coping subscale (10 items) includes strategies that involves physically and/or emotionally disengaging with the stressor, whether by accepting the stressor or distracting oneself.

The Cross-Cultural Coping Scale (26 items) presents several hypothetical stressful scenarios and asks participants to rate the likelihood of using the given coping strategies. This format is based on research showing that scenario-based assessments are more useful than rating scales (Peng et al., 1997). Coping strategies are rated from 1 (very inaccurate) to 6 (very accurate). The Cross-Cultural Coping Scale had good 4-week test-retest reliability, as well as criterion, convergent, and discriminant validities (Kuo et al., 2006). In the current study, two scenarios (Appendix D) describing conflicts with parents about career choices and parental warmth were written with consultation of the primary author of the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale (Ben Kuo, personal communication, February 4, 2019). The two scenarios were chosen because they are likely to be relevant to the participants given their age and developmental stage (Nguyen, 2010). In this study, Cronbach's alphas were .70 for Collective Coping, .75 for Avoidance Coping, and .76 for Engagement Coping.

An additional question, "To what extent do you relate to this scenario?" was added. The

average of the responses in this study corresponded to “somewhat relatable.”

### ***Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory – Private Emotional Outlets***

Aside from the aforementioned coping scale, this study also included the Private Emotional Outlets subscale from the Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory (Heppner et al., 2006).

The Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory was designed to be a situation-specific coping measure (Heppner et al., 2006). The initial pool of items were selected based on a review of the literature on coping and Asian values, focus groups conducted with Asian Americans, and input from East Asian graduate students on the research team (Heppner et al., 2006). The scale was constructed with a sample of 344 Taiwanese university and college students and was validated with a sample of 2,889 university students in Taiwan. Concurrent, construct, and discriminant validities were established.

The Private Emotional Outlets subscale includes four items measuring attempts to cope with one’s emotions in a confidential or anonymous manner, and include seeking professional help, chatting anonymously on the internet, and eating in excess. Items are rated from 1 (not important) to 5 (extremely important). Cronbach’s alphas were .60 and .76 in the scale development studies, and the 2-week test-retest reliability was .73 (Heppner et al., 2006). In this study, Cronbach’s alpha was .92. (In this study, the items were changed to be in future tense to align with the verb tenses of the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale and the hypothetical scenarios).

### ***Asian American Family Conflicts Scale***

The selection of intergenerational conflict scales for Chinese individuals was guided by Lui’s (2015) review. The Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (R. M. Lee et al., 2000) assesses 10 typical family conflicts in Asian American families, and participants are asked to rate the frequency and severity of such conflicts in their experience, resulting in 20 questions total.

Example items include “You have done well in school, but your parents’ academic expectations always exceed your performance,” and “Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family, but you feel this is unfair.” The scale was developed and validated on three samples of Asian American university students. The scale had good internal reliability (with alphas of .89 to .91 for the Likelihood and Seriousness subscales, respectively), stability (3-week test-retest reliabilities of .80 and .85 for the Likelihood and Seriousness subscales, respectively), and construct validity (R. M. Lee et al., 2000). A later study established the factorial invariance of the Likelihood subscale of the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale using eight samples of 1,012 Asian American and Chinese National participants (Miller & Lee, 2009). The results of the study suggested that items on this scale were interpreted in comparable manners across both male and female participants of different generational statuses (i.e., first generation vs. second generation). A meta-analysis of 68 studies on intergenerational conflict in Asian and Latinx Americans found the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale to be one of the most reliable and frequently used scales to assess intergenerational conflict, particularly for adult populations (Lui, 2015). In the current study, Cronbach’s alpha was .79 for the frequency subscale, .89 for the severity subscale, and .91 for all the items combined.

### ***Self-Construal Scale-48***

Vignoles et al. (2016) posed strong criticisms of the traditional, two-factor self-construal measure by Singelis (1994). Citing mixed findings regarding the levels of independent and interdependent self-construals across cultures (e.g., Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2011; Levine et al., 2003; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002), Vignoles et al. (2016) proposed a more nuanced understanding of selfhood based on seven dimensions, with a sample of late-adolescent participants from 16 countries. Although the popular Singelis (1994) measure inspired

a two-factor (i.e., independent vs. interdependent) approach, the original conceptualization of self-construal by Markus and Kitayama (1999) described that while culture prescribes “cultural mandates,” these mandates manifest in individuals in varying manners. That is, although there may be broad differences in the levels of independent and interdependent self-construal across cultures, these differences are nuanced on the individual level (Kitayama et al., 2009).

Through personal correspondence (March 11, 2019), the main developer of the scale, Dr. Vignoles, recommended the use of the most recent, yet unpublished 48-item revision of the self-construal scale (S. Yang, 2018), which is a revision of the Self-Construal Scale-22 (Vignoles et al., 2016). The scale has additional items to allow individual-level analyses and improved psychometrics. Further, the item pool for this revision of the scale was developed over several years through consulting representatives from various cultures (S. Yang, 2018). The Self-Construal Scale-48 has eight dimensions, including: 1) self-reliance vs. dependence on others (e.g., “being able to depend on others is very important to you”); 2) self-containment (e.g., “your happiness is independent from the happiness of your family”) vs. connectedness to others (e.g., “if a close friend or family member is sad, you feel the sadness as if it were your own”); 3) difference (e.g., “you try to avoid being the same as others”) vs. similarity (e.g., “you see yourself as similar to others”); 4) self-interest vs. commitment to others (e.g., “you would sacrifice your personal interests for the benefit of your family”); 5) consistency (e.g., “you behave in the same way even when you are with different people”) vs. variability (e.g., “you see yourself differently when you are with different people”); 6) self-direction (e.g., “you usually decide on your own actions, rather than follow others’ expectations”) vs. reception to influence (e.g., you usually ask your family for approval before making a decision”); 7) self-expression (e.g., you show your true feelings even if it disturbs the harmony in your family relationships”)

vs. harmony (e.g., you try to adapt to people around you, even if it means hiding your feelings”), and 8) decontextualized self (e.g., “someone could understand who you are without needing to know about which social groups you belong to”) vs. contextualized self (e.g., “if someone wants to understand who you are, they would need to know about the place where you live.”) Although each subscale presents two opposite poles of independence and interdependence, only the name of the independent pole will be used to ensure clarity of writing. Each of the domains represent mutually exclusive decisions between an independent versus interdependent mode of thinking and being (e.g., being similar to versus being different from others). However, the eight domains are not mutually exclusive (e.g., one can be similar to others but still be reliant on oneself).

The Self-Construal Scale-48 was validated in 13 countries (e.g., in North America, Europe, the Middle East, East Asia, and Southeast Asia). Although the scale had not been used in Canada, Cronbach’s alphas in US samples ranged from .69 to .84. Items are rated in half-unit increments (i.e., 1, 1.5, 2) from 1 (doesn’t describe me at all) to 5 (describes me exactly). However, except for a Cronbach’s alpha of .73 for the Self-Reliance subscale, all other alphas were low in the current study. Specifically, Cronbach’s alphas were .60 for Difference, .61 for Self-Containment, .62 for Self-Direction, .60 for Self-Expression, .56 for Self-Interest, .65 for Consistency, and .68 for Decontextualized Self.

After consulting with Dr. Vignoles, the main developer of the Self-Construal Scale-48, and reviewing relevant literature, I decided to retain the subscales in the analyses despite the lower alpha values for the following reasons. First, the alpha values are within the lower end of the range found in the development study of the scale. Second, the construction of the scale necessitated a trade-off between the scale reliability for one cultural group versus comparability across cultural groups. Third, each subscale only has six items, and a small number of items per

subscale has been found to lower alpha values (Field & Miles, 2010). Fourth, the commonly accepted .70 alpha cutoff has been criticized (Lance et al., 2006), and it has been suggested that alphas below .70 may be acceptable in psychology where constructs are broader, which is relevant in that half of the items in each subscale measures independent self-construal, while the other half measure interdependent self-construals. Finally, this study is among the first to use the Self-Construal Scale-48. However, due to the lower alphas, self-construal domains that were not part of *a priori* hypotheses were not subjected to any exploratory analyses.

### ***Kessler Psychological Distress Scale***

The Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (Kessler et al., 2002) is a 10-item screener for non-specific psychological distress over the past month, including common symptoms of anxiety and depression. Items are rated from 1 (all of the time) to 5 (none of the time). Symptoms include “depressed” and “restless or fidgety”. The Kessler Psychological Distress Scale was initially developed with 1,401 individuals from the U.S. general population. Item Response Theory was used to reduce the pilot items to 10 questions, which were validated in a clinical sample of 153 individuals. The Kessler Psychological Distress Scale demonstrated high precision (90-99<sup>th</sup> percentile range), a strong ability to distinguish between individuals who met criteria for anxiety or depression from those who did not, and Cronbach’s alpha of .93 in the development study (Kessler et al., 2002). Further studies demonstrated the scale’s concurrent validity in an Australian adult sample (Andrews & Slade, 2001), and good reliability and criterion validity along with little item bias in Dutch, Moroccan, and Turkish adults (Fassaert et al., 2009). Cronbach’s alpha was .92 in the current study.

### ***Patient Health Questionnaire-15***

The Patient Health Questionnaire-15 (Kroenke et al., 2002) is a widely used screener for



common somatic symptoms, such as headaches, stomach pain, and trouble sleeping over the past month. The scale focuses on symptoms that are associated with psychological distress without a medical cause (Kroenke et al., 2002). Each symptom is rated from 0 (not bothered at all) to 2 (bothered a lot). Total scores of 5, 10, and 15 correspond to the cutoff scores for low, medium, and high symptom severity, respectively. The development study included 6,000 patients and established construct, convergent, and discriminant validities. Cronbach's alpha was .80 in the scale development study and .89 in this study.

### ***Ryff's Scales of Psychological Well-Being***

The 14-item Positive Relations with Others subscale of Ryff's Scales of Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1989, 2014) was employed to measure relational well-being. Items are rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). For consistency with the timeframe of the other outcome questionnaires, participants were asked to consider the past month when responding. The Ryff's Scales of Psychological Well-Being is a widely used scale to measure psychological well-being. The current study employed only the Positive Relations with Others subscale, a measure of relational well-being. The internal consistency of the Positive Relations with Others subscale was .88, with a correlation of .98 with the full 20-item subscale as reported by Ryff (2014). In this study, the scale had an alpha of .74.

### ***Family Satisfaction Scale***

The Family Satisfaction Scale (M. D. Carver & Jones, 1992) includes 19 items measuring attitudes and feelings towards one's family of origin. Criterion and construct validities were established, with an alpha of .98 for the overall scale in 675 college students (M. D. Carver & Jones, 1992). To be consistent with the other questionnaires, participants were asked to consider the past month when responding. Statements are rated from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly

disagree). In the scale development study, Cronbach's alpha was .95 in 120 university students, and .95 in 168 adults from the general population. Two-month test-retest reliability was .88. In the current study, the scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .84.

A summary of the key variables and measures are presented in Table 3.

**Table 3***Variables of Interest and Corresponding Questionnaires in the Current Study*

Questionnaire	Questionnaire Subscales	Variables of Interest
Demographic questionnaire (18 items)	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sex</li> <li>• Age</li> <li>• Generation status</li> <li>• Immigration status</li> <li>• Cultural identification</li> <li>• Parents' ethnicities</li> <li>• Parents' cultural identification</li> <li>• Frequency of interaction with parents</li> <li>• Number of siblings</li> </ul>
The Cross-Cultural Coping Scale (26 items)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Engagement Coping</li> <li>• Collective Coping</li> <li>• Avoidance Coping</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Engagement Coping</li> <li>• Collective Coping</li> <li>• Avoidance Coping</li> </ul>
Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory (4 items)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private Emotional Outlets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private emotional outlets</li> </ul>
Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (20 items)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likelihood (of conflict)</li> <li>• Seriousness (of conflict)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intergenerational conflict</li> </ul>
Self-Construal Scale-48 (48 items)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difference</li> <li>• Self-containment</li> <li>• Self-direction</li> <li>• Self-reliance</li> <li>• Consistency</li> <li>• Self-expression</li> <li>• Self-interest</li> <li>• Decontextualized self</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Domains of independent-interdependent self-construal</li> </ul>
Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (10 items)	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Psychological distress</li> </ul>
Patient Health Questionnaire-15 (15 items)	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical well-being</li> </ul>
Ryff's Scales of Psychological Well-Being (14 items)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positive Relations with Others</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relational well-being</li> </ul>
Family Satisfaction Scale (19 items)	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family satisfaction</li> </ul>

## **Quantitative Procedure**

Ethics approval was obtained from the Research Ethics Board at the University of Windsor. Participants completed all questionnaires online via Qualtrics. The informed consent form was displayed, and participants who agreed to proceed with the study completed the questionnaires described above for approximately half an hour. First, participants completed the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale. Subsequently, participants read two scenarios describing intergenerational conflict regarding career choices and parental warmth (Appendix D). After reading each scenario, participants were asked to keep the scenario in mind and complete the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale and the Private Emotional Outlets subscale. The procedure was repeated for participants to rate their responses for both scenarios. This procedure was based on existing research on coping with intergenerational conflict in Asian Americans (R. M. Lee et al., 2005; R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001). Then, participants completed the rest of the questionnaires in random order. Three validity check questions (Appendix E) were interspersed between the questionnaires to ensure that participants were attending to the questions.

## **Qualitative Procedure**

The qualitative portion of the current study was designed to supplement the quantitative results of this research, and was guided by Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska, and Creswell (2005) and Turner (2010). The main objective of the qualitative component was to triangulate the results and to add to the richness of the quantitative data. Moreover, the individual interviews aimed to answer different research questions from those of the quantitative portion. Specifically, the qualitative component examined how participants' cultural values related to their experience of intergenerational conflict, their coping strategies, and the effectiveness of their coping strategies.

### ***Individual Interviews***

To address the above questions, individual interviews were conducted. The first ten participants who met the eligibility criteria for the study were interviewed. One-on-one individual interviews were chosen: 1) to increase participants' comfort and openness (Gill et al., 2008); and 2) to gain an in-depth understanding of their experiences.

Skype interviews were used to facilitate participation, as many interested participants did not reside in the Windsor area. Interested participants emailed me at ChineseCanadianConflict@gmail.com, and received a Qualtrics link containing the consent form, which: 1) explained the purpose of the interview; 2) addressed confidentiality; 3) described the format and length of the interview; and 4) explained the need to audio record for transcription purposes. After obtaining informed consent, participants were asked to complete the demographic form (Appendix B) and to schedule a Skype interview with me. Each participant received an individualized Qualtrics link which allowed the demographic data to be linked to that participant. At the beginning of each interview, participants were asked if they had any questions, which were answered to their satisfaction before commencing. At the end of the interview, participants were thanked for their time, probed for additional thoughts, questions, or concerns, and a brief debriefing was provided.

### ***Interview Questions***

Initial questions were less personal to help build comfort and rapport (Gill et al., 2008). A semi-structured format (Turner, 2010) was used, where I asked all participants identical questions but different follow-up questions. Interview questions (Appendix F) were developed based on the study's research questions, a literature review, and the author's reflections on intergenerational conflict as a Chinese Canadian emerging adult. As suggested by Gill et al.

(2008), the interview concluded with a more positive question regarding the advantages of Chinese cultural values to ensure a relatively positive conclusion.

### ***Qualitative Analyses***

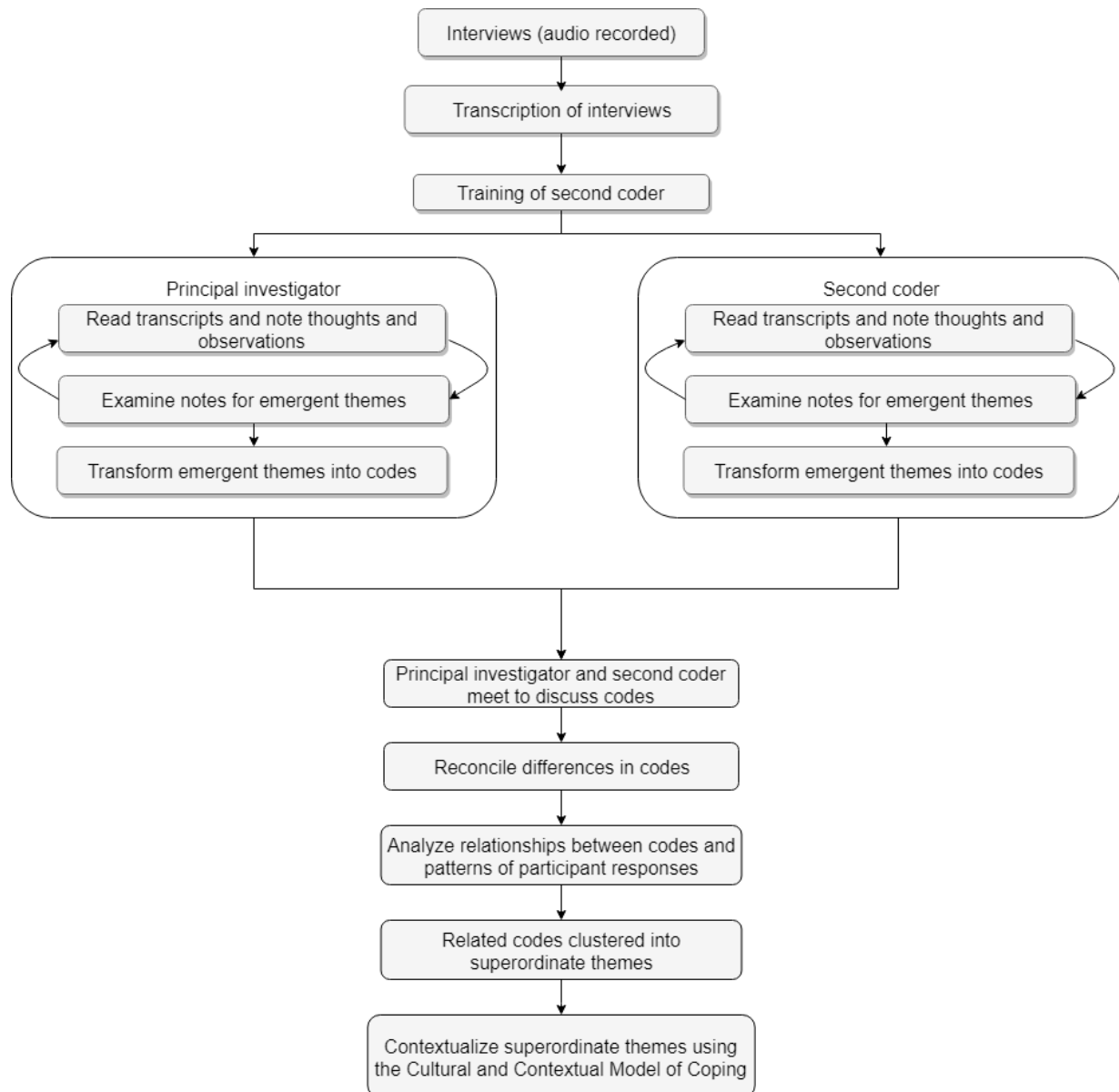
Interview data were analyzed using interpretative phenomenological analysis, which was chosen because it takes an idiographic approach that focuses on a participant's experience, rather than patterns between participants (Larkin et al., 2006). The descriptive analysis aimed to understand participants' coping in response to intergenerational conflict, and the interpretative analysis sought to position participants' experience with intergenerational conflict within their cultural contexts. Taking a "person-in-context" perspective (Larkin et al., 2006), the qualitative analyses focused on how a participant, in their specific context (e.g., the type, severity, and frequency of their intergenerational conflict with their parents), experienced intergenerational conflict. Further, the emphasis on participant homogeneity in interpretative phenomenological analysis was consistent with the characteristics of the current sample, which involved a relatively homogeneous population of Chinese Canadian emerging adults (Alase, 2017). The current study used the recommended sample size of 10 individuals, which is the point at which data saturation typically occurs (Creswell, 2013).

### ***The Coding Process***

A graph of the coding process is presented in Figure 7. Interviews were recorded using my computer for transcription purposes. I transcribed the interviews and added text in square brackets for clarification. Interpretative phenomenological analysis, which involved iteratively analyzing and re-analyzing the interview transcripts (Alase, 2017; Larkin et al., 2006), was conducted by me and a second coder. The second coder was a MA student in Applied Social Psychology at the University of Windsor who was familiar with research with East Asians.

**Figure 7**

*Graphical Illustration of the Qualitative Coding Process*



Training the second coder involved a discussion of this study, and reviewing book chapters and articles on interpretative phenomenological analysis, including Larkin and Thompson (2012), J. A. Smith and Osborn (2009), and Larkin et al. (2006). We compared the coding of the first transcript to ensure mutual understanding of the coding process. Afterwards, I and the second coder separately read and re-read each transcript and noted our thoughts, observations, and themes. Then, we looked for “emergent themes” that captured important aspects of the participant’s responses, with attention to statements that were elaborate and spontaneous (i.e., occurred without interviewer prompts). Then, themes were translated into codes, which summarized the central idea of the themes. The translation of themes into codes was informed by the relation of themes to topics discussed in the literature, as well as the depth of discussion around the themes. I met the second coder in person to discuss our codes. Most of our codes agreed, but when there were conflicting codes, we described our perspectives and reasoning and discussed how the different codes may be reconciled. For instance, one participant explained why she sometimes leaves her parents after an argument: “Because they [her parents] probably prefer that I go out for a little bit. I think it kind of gives them like opportunities to get away from me as well.” The second coder assigned a code of “tries to understand her parents’ perspective when she removes herself from a situation” while I noted a code of “removes herself from conflicts ‘for everybody’ to de-escalate.” We discussed how it was not explicit from the participant’s statement that she tries to take her parents’ perspectives when she leaves, so it seems closer to her account that she leaves to de-escalate the conflict, resulting in a resolved code of “removes herself from the situation to de-escalate the conflict.”

After reconciling the codes, the relations between codes, and patterns across participant responses were analyzed and described. Related codes were clustered to form superordinate



themes. Superordinate themes were contextualized within the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. Qualitative coding took approximately two months. An excerpt of the transcription and coding process is provided in Appendix F. The results of the qualitative analyses were used to supplement the interpretation of the quantitative results with a phenomenological perspective.

### *Positionality*

I am a 1.5<sup>th</sup>-generation Chinese Canadian in my twenties. My experience trying to balance the differences between my home, school, and larger society has repeatedly highlighted that people have different cultural lenses and contexts that influence their thoughts, behaviours, and experiences. This awareness was further emphasized in my experience as one of the few non-European Canadian students in clinical psychology. I experienced an upbringing that is markedly different from most of European Canadian peers, and I can see some of the Euro-American influences on the view of coping and conventional therapy practices. My personal connection to my dissertation topic, as well as the focus on exploring diverse experiences in clinical psychology, led me to be particularly interested in shedding light on an important yet under-studied topic in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

## CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

### Preliminary data cleaning

Mann-Whitney  $U$  and Kruskal-Wallis  $H$  tests were used to look for differences in intergenerational conflict based on immigration or generational statuses. No significant differences were found, and the analyses proceeded with the entire sample.

Descriptive statistics for the questionnaires are presented in Table 4, followed by intercorrelations in Table 5.

**Table 4***Questionnaire Descriptives for the Full Sample*

Questionnaire	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	Range of possible scores
CCCS (Collective Coping)	28.56	3.78	9	44	8-48
CCCS (Avoidance Coping)	35.76	4.75	17.5	49.5	10-60
CCCS (Engagement Coping)	30.42	3.98	15	42.5	8-48
CCI (Private Emotional Outlets)	10.87	4.74	0.00	18.00	0-20
SCS: Difference	.66	2.59	-7.00	10.50	
SCS: Self-containment	-.93	2.85	-11.9	5.25	
SCS: Self-direction	.55	2.58	-8.50	11.00	
SCS: Self-reliance	.98	3.13	-6.00	12.00	
SCS: Self-expression	-.30	2.69	-9.50	11.00	
SCS: Self-interest	-.00	2.47	-8.00	8.50	
SCS: Consistency	-.75	2.70	-12.00	9.00	
SCS: Decontextualized self	.73	3.11	-9.00	12.00	
K10	30.02	7.53	17.00	50.00	10-50
PHQ15	15.26	6.72	0.00	24.00	0-30
Positive Relations with Others	52.57	38.00	7.68	82.00	14-84
FSS	55.20	9.87	23.00	83.00	19-95
AAFCS frequency	29.74	6.21	10.00	41.00	10-50
AAFCS severity	28.67	7.54	10.00	46.00	10-50
AAFCS total	58.42	13.09	20.00	78.00	20-100

*Note.* N = 213-217; CCCS = Cross-Cultural Coping Scale; CCI = Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory; SCS = Self-Construal Scale 48 (higher scores indicate stronger independent self-construal while lower or negative scores indicate stronger interdependent self-construal); K10 = Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (higher scores meaning less psychological distress); PHQ15 = Patient Health Questionnaire-15 (higher scores meaning more physical symptoms); FSS = Family Satisfaction Scale (higher scores meaning lower family satisfaction); AAFCS = Asian American Family Conflicts Scale. The range of possible scores cannot be reported for the Self-Construal Scale 48 because the data had to be ipsatized for scoring, such that a standardized range was made unavailable.

**Table 5**

*Intercorrelations Among Theoretically Meaningful Study Variables*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. AAF <sub>f</sub>	1																		
2. AAF <sub>s</sub>	.58**	1																	
3. AAF	.85**	.89**	1																
4. Eng	-.19**	-.26**	-.21**	1															
5. Col	.18**	.13	.16**	.17*	1														
6. Avoid	.36**	.28**	.34**	-.05	.28**	1													
7. CCI	.46**	.53**	.52**	-.37**	.14*	.28**	1												
8. K10	-.48**	-.53**	-.53**	.40**	-.12	-.30**	-.58**	1											
9. POS	-.29**	-.34**	-.30**	.33**	-.08	-.29**	-.38**	.50**	1										
10. PHQ15	.51**	.56**	.56**	-.47**	.16*	.28**	.62**	-.68**	-.51**	1									
11. FSS	.35**	.44**	.41**	-.37**	.04	.29**	.49**	-.52**	-.40**	.44**	1								
12. SCS <sub>diff</sub>	-.06	-.08	-.07	.15*	.02	-.08	-.13	.08	.24**	-.14*	-.10	1							
13. SCS <sub>selfc</sub>	.20**	.25**	.23**	-.28**	-.07	.21**	.26**	-.31**	-.26**	.30**	.30**	-.17*	1						
14. SCS <sub>selfd</sub>	-.11	-.26**	-.18**	.13	-.22**	-.18**	-.17*	.15*	.15*	-.26**	-.15*	-.003	-.05	1					
15. SCS <sub>rel</sub>	-.27**	-.32**	-.29**	.26**	-.23**	-.16*	-.28**	.37**	.16*	-.37**	-.26**	-.04	-.16*	.13	1				
16. SCS <sub>exp</sub>	.06	.11	.10	-.02	-.07	-.16*	.20**	-.16*	-.07	.13	.08	-.01	.04	.20**	-.03	1			
17. SCS <sub>int</sub>	.12	-.02	.05	-.11	-.14*	-.02	.06	.02	-.02	-.01	.01	.02	.07	.21**	-.02	.07	1		
18. SCS <sub>cons</sub>	-.04	-.07	-.07	.04	.02	-.02	-.07	.10	.11	-.06	-.07	-.05	-.02	.08	-.01	-.01	.03	1	
19. SCS <sub>decon</sub>	-.21**	-.31**	-.28**	.03	-.24**	-.21**	-.21**	.31**	.24**	-.30**	-.24**	-.01	-.06	.25**	.11	.10	.10	.10	1

*Note.*  $N = 213-217$ ; AAF<sub>f</sub> = Asian American Family Conflicts Scale, frequency subscale; AAF<sub>s</sub> = Asian American Family Conflicts Scale, severity subscale; AAF = Asian American Family Conflicts Scale total; Eng = Engagement Coping; Col = collectivist coping; Avoid = Avoidance Coping; CCI = Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory; K10 = Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (higher scores meaning less psychological distress); POS = Positive Relations with Others subscale (higher scores meaning better relational well-being); PHQ-15 = Patient Health Questionnaire-15 (higher scores meaning more physical symptoms); FSS = Family Satisfaction Scale (higher scores meaning lower family satisfaction); SCS<sub>diff</sub> = Self-Construal Scale 48, difference; SCS<sub>selfc</sub> = Self-Construal Scale 48, self-containment; SCS<sub>selfd</sub> = Self-Construal Scale 48, self-direction; SCS<sub>rel</sub> = Self-Construal Scale 48, self-reliance; SCS<sub>exp</sub> = Self-Construal Scale 48, self-expression; SCS<sub>int</sub> = Self-Construal Scale 48, self-interest; SCS<sub>cons</sub> = Self-Construal Scale 48, consistency; SCS<sub>decon</sub> = Self-Construal Scale 48, decontextualized self. For the Self-Construal Scale 48, higher (positive) scores are indicative of stronger independent self-construal while lower (negative) scores are indicative of stronger interdependent self-construal.

## **Multiple Imputation for Missing Data**

Completion rates were excellent, with the percentage of missing data ranging from 0.0% to 1.4%, far below the 5% missingness typically considered problematic (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Missing values were dispersed throughout the dataset and deleting participants with any missing data would result in significant data loss. Further, Little's Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test was not significant,  $\chi^2 = 5706.19, p = .37$ ; providing evidence that there is no particular pattern of missingness in the data. Consequently, the average of five multiple imputations were used to estimate the missing data. The final percentage of missing data was 1.4% at maximum because missing data were not imputed when there were more than three missing answers per questionnaire.

## **Checking Statistical Assumptions**

### ***Comparability of Scenario Ratings***

Since there were two intergenerational conflict scenarios, paired-sample *t*-tests were conducted to examine whether there were significant and meaningful differences between the two sets of ratings. No significant differences were noted for Collective Coping or Private Emotional Outlets. However, significant differences were found for Avoidance Coping ( $M = 36.41, SD = 5.37$  for scenario 1;  $M = 34.96, SD = 5.84$  for scenario 2) and Engagement Coping ( $M = 30.00, SD = 4.70$  for scenario 1;  $M = 30.68, SD = 4.73$  for scenario 2). Despite the statistically significant differences, the mean differences (i.e., 1.45 and 0.68) were quite small, and given that Type I errors are more likely to occur with larger sample sizes, effect sizes were also calculated to quantify the magnitude of the mean difference. Cohen's *d* was 0.26 for Avoidance Coping, and 0.14 for Engagement Coping. As such, both are small effect sizes (with the conventional cutoff being 0.20). Furthermore, scenario-based rating scales are expected to

have greater variability and less inter-item reliability compared to Likert scales since the scenarios concern specific situations (Chan & Schmitt, 1997). Similar studies using scenarios to assess cultural orientation in business owners in China and Germany (König et al., 2007), cultural values in undergraduate students in China versus the United States (Peng et al., 1997), or individualism and collectivism in undergraduate students from Hong Kong and the United States (Triandis et al., 1998) have aggregated the data across scenarios. As a result, the ratings for coping strategies were pooled and averaged for the analyses.

In terms of stressfulness and relatability, the two scenarios had average ratings corresponding to “somewhat stressful” and “somewhat relatable.” Although *t*-tests showed significant differences between the two scenarios, with the parental warmth scenario being slightly less stressful than the career choice scenario,  $t(215) = -4.18$ , the effect size was small with a Cohen’s *d* of .06. As such, the statistically significant difference was not meaningful, and the two scenarios were similar in terms of their ratings of stressfulness and relatability.

### ***Normality***

The Shapiro-Wilks statistic was significant for all variables. However, given the increased sensitivity of normality tests with larger samples, histograms and boxplots were also examined. All Self-Construal Scale subscales, both subscales of Asian American family conflict, family satisfaction, and the Cross-Cultural Coping Scales subscales had relatively normal distributions. However, the distribution for the Patient Health Questionnaire-15 was somewhat negatively skewed, with 67.7% of participants exceeding the cut-off score of 15 for a high level of psychosomatic symptoms. The Kessler Psychological Distress Scale, and the Positive Relations with Others subscales were positively skewed. Private Emotional Outlets scores were roughly bimodal. However, due to the bootstrapping method used for the mediational analyses,

normality of the distributions are not assumed or required (Hayes, 2018).

### ***Outliers***

Boxplots were used to scan for univariate outliers. Extreme values were evaluated on a case-by-case basis. No participants were removed since a review of responses did not suggest any inattentive or invalid responding. Sixteen potential multivariate outliers were revealed using Mahalanobis distance. These were also examined individually, and one case was removed due to likely inattentive responding. The final sample size for the data analyses was 217, which exceeded the minimum required sample size of 162 for the study's analyses based on *a priori* power analyses.

### ***Multiple Regression Analyses Assumptions***

The sample size was 215, exceeding the minimum required of 162. Since data were collected online without interaction between the researcher and the participants or between the participants, independence of observations was expected. Residuals followed a normal distribution and there appeared to be approximate linearity between independent and dependent variables. An examination of the scatterplots of standardized residuals against predicted residuals did not reveal any patterns indicative of homoscedasticity.

Correlations between intergenerational conflict and coping strategies were computed. Greater intergenerational conflict was correlated with less Engagement Coping ( $r_s = -.21, p < .001$ ), more Collective Coping ( $r_s = .16, p = .02$ ), more Avoidance Coping ( $r_s = .34, p < .001$ ), and more Private Emotional Outlets ( $r_s = .52, p < .001$ ). Not surprisingly, greater intergenerational conflict was also correlated with more psychological distress ( $r_s = .53, p < .001$ ), poorer physical health ( $r_s = -.56, p < .001$ ), poorer relational well-being ( $r_s = -.30, p < .001$ ), and poorer family satisfaction ( $r_s = -.41, p < .001$ ). As such, intergenerational conflict

severity was added as a covariate for each hierarchical multiple regression analysis.

Intergenerational conflict was entered as the first step, and theoretically relevant variables were entered in the second step in the four multiple regression analyses (MRAs) conducted to test the respective hypotheses.

***Multicollinearity.*** Variance inflation factors were used to check for multicollinearity in the four coping strategies and the variables involved in the multiple regression analyses. No variance inflation factors were greater than 2, thus staying within the acceptable 1-10 range and showing that there was not significant multicollinearity.

## **Main Quantitative Analyses**

### ***Overview***

Quantitative analyses included correlational analyses (Hypotheses 1a, 1b, and 1c), multiple mediation models (Hypotheses 2a, 2b, 2c), and hierarchical multiple regression analyses (Hypotheses 3a, 3b, 3c, and 3d).

### ***Research Question 1: The Relationship Between Intergenerational Conflict and Well-Being in Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults***

Bivariate correlations, specifically Spearman's  $r$ , were calculated to examine the relationships between intergenerational conflict and well-being domains (i.e., psychological distress, physical well-being, relational well-being) in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

**Hypothesis 1a.** As predicted, intergenerational conflict was significantly correlated with greater psychological distress in Chinese Canadian emerging adults ( $r = .53, p < .001$ ).

**Hypothesis 1b.** As hypothesized, greater intergenerational conflict was significantly associated with lower relational well-being ( $r = -.30, p < .001$ ). Intergenerational conflict was



also significantly associated with lower family satisfaction in Chinese Canadian emerging adults ( $r = -.41, p < .001$ ).

**Hypothesis 1c.** As predicted, higher intergenerational conflict was associated with lower physical well-being ( $r = .56, p < .001$ ) in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.

***Research Question 2: Coping Strategies as Mediators Between Intergenerational Conflict and Well-Being Outcomes in Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults***

Hypotheses 2, the multiple mediation models, were tested using the PROCESS macro, described in Hayes (2013) and available on [www.processmacro.org](http://www.processmacro.org). PROCESS includes several pre-programmed models, from which the researcher can select. After entering the variables, PROCESS estimates the path coefficients, confidence intervals, standard errors, and  $p$ -values among other statistics (Hayes et al., 2017). Unlike structural equation modeling (SEM) which uses maximum likelihood to iteratively estimate the parameters in the model, PROCESS uses ordinary least squares regression (the basis of regression analyses) to estimate the regression equations in the multiple mediation model, and then bootstraps the parameter estimates across these regression equations to calculate the indirect effect between intergenerational conflict and the health outcome. Bootstrapping has been recommended because it does not assume that the sampling distributions are normally distributed (Preacher, Kristopher & Hayes, 2008).

Although one of the weaknesses of PROCESS, as a computational method that relies on ordinary least squares regression, is its susceptibility to random measurement error when estimating effects, this problem is not easily addressed by SEM (Hayes et al., 2017). For random measurement error to be addressed in SEM, the researcher needs to specify both a structural model (involving latent variables) and a measurement model that estimates the reliability of each indicator, which is not readily available. Furthermore, the ordinary least squares method is the

basis of regression analyses and the analyses of variance, both of which are susceptible to the same random measurement error but are widely accepted in research literature.

Furthermore, although SEM offers more flexible model specification, the multiple mediator model in the current study aligns completely with model 4 of the PROCESS macro, and therefore not requiring flexibility to specify the model. In addition, although measures of model fit will not be available with PROCESS, the goal of the study is to examine the mediation paths from the intergenerational conflict, the coping strategy, and the health outcome, rather than testing the goodness-of-fit of the proposed model. Further, even though PROCESS cannot address missing data, this problem can be addressed by estimating missing data using multiple imputation prior to analyzing the data using PROCESS (Hayes et al., 2017).

Importantly, research has shown that for an observed variables model (which is the case for the current study, given the absence of latent variables and a lack of theoretical support for combining the observed variables into a latent variable), the difference in the output for SEM and PROCESS analyses are negligible (Hayes et al., 2017). Hayes et al. (2017) also provided an example for multiple mediation in their article showing that the results were comparable between SEM and PROCESS. There has been increasing recognition of PROCESS and its legitimacy and utility, especially for mediation models, including in the clinical psychology literature (Winer et al., 2016). Indeed, several articles in various areas in psychology have been published using PROCESS to test mediation models (e.g., Karazsia, Berlin, Armstrong, Janicke, & Darling, 2013; Martela & Ryan, 2015; Peer & Mcauslan, 2016; White & Turner, 2014).

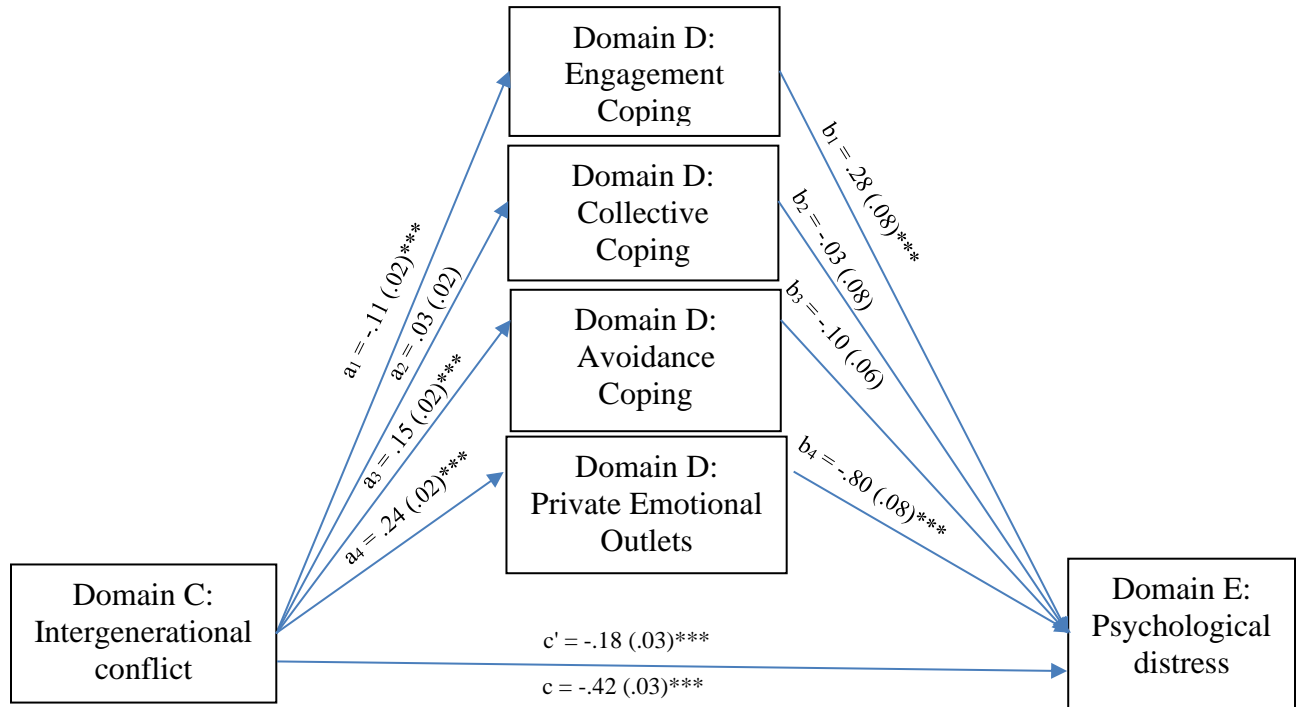
**Hypothesis 2a.** The relation between intergenerational conflict (independent variable) and psychological distress (dependent variable) was hypothesized to be mediated by Engagement Coping, Collective Coping, Avoidance Coping, and Private Emotional Outlets. The mediation

analysis was conducted using Hayes' SPSS macro, PROCESS model 4, using 5000 bootstrap samples. The sample size was 213. A Bonferroni correction was applied to account for the three separate mediation analyses, resulting in an adjusted  $p$ -value of 0.017.

The results of the analyses (Table 6) partially supported the multiple mediation model. As predicted, Engagement Coping and Private Emotional Outlets significantly mediated the relation between intergenerational conflict and psychological distress. As shown in Figure 8, greater intergenerational conflict was associated with less frequent Engagement Coping ( $a_1 = -.11, p < .001$ ), which was in turn related to greater psychological distress ( $b_1 = .28, p < .001$ ). On the other hand, greater intergenerational conflict was related to increased usage of Private Emotional Outlets ( $a_4 = .24, p < .001$ ), which was unexpectedly associated with greater psychological distress ( $b_4 = -.80, p < .001$ ). A 95% bias-corrected confidence interval using 5,000 bootstrap samples showed that the indirect effects of Engagement Coping (-.06 to -.01) and Private Emotional Outlets (-.29 to -.12) were significantly different from zero, even when holding all other mediators constant. On the other hand, the indirect effects of Collective Coping (-.01 to .01) and Avoidance Coping (-.05 to .01) were not significantly different from zero. In addition, greater intergenerational conflict was associated with higher psychological distress even when considering the indirect effects of all four mediators ( $c' = -.18, p < .001$ ).

**Figure 8**

*The Mediating Effects of the Four Coping Strategies for the Relation Between Intergenerational Conflict and Psychological Distress*



*Note.* \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Numbers represent the unstandardized coefficient with the standard error in brackets.  $c'$  is the direct effect of intergenerational conflict on psychological distress, and  $c$  is the total effect of intergenerational conflict on psychological distress.

**Table 6**

*Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and Model Summary for the Multiple Mediation Model with Psychological Distress as the Outcome Variable*

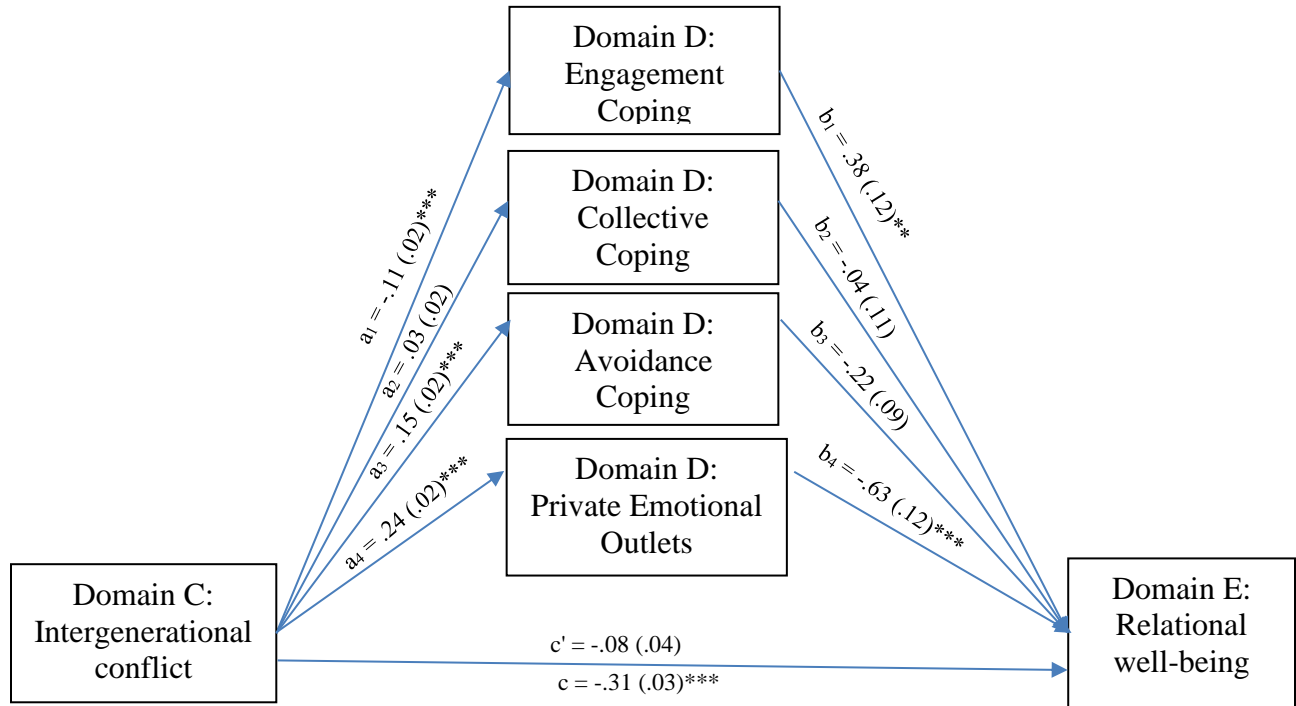
Antecedent	Consequent																			
	Engagement Coping			Collective Coping			Avoidance Coping			Private Emotional Outlets			Psychological Distress							
	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p					
Intergenerational conflict	<i>a</i> <sub>1</sub>	-.11	.02	<.001	<i>a</i> <sub>2</sub>	.03	.02	.18	<i>a</i> <sub>3</sub>	.15	.02	<.001	<i>a</i> <sub>4</sub>	.24	.02	<.001	<i>c'</i>	-.18	.03	<.001
Engagement Coping	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>1</sub>	.28	.08	<.001
Collective Coping	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>2</sub>	-.03	.08	.68
Avoidance Coping	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>3</sub>	-.10	.06	.12
Private Emotional Outlets	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>4</sub>	-.80	.08	<.001
Constant	<i>i</i> <sub>M1</sub>	-.11	.02	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M2</sub>	26.99	1.19	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M3</sub>	26.85	1.36	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M4</sub>	-3.13	1.12	.006	<i>i</i> <sub>Y</sub>	44.94	3.62	<.001
		<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .13				<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .01				<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .18				<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .43				<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .72		
		<i>F</i> (1,211) = 32.25, <i>p</i> < .001				<i>F</i> (1,211) = 1.83, <i>p</i> = .18				<i>F</i> (1,211) = 45.17, <i>p</i> < .001				<i>F</i> (1,211) = 162.37, <i>p</i> < .001				<i>F</i> (5, 207) = 108.65, <i>p</i> < .001		

**Hypothesis 2b.** The relation between intergenerational conflict and relational well-being was hypothesized to be mediated by Engagement, Collective, and Avoidance Coping, as well as Private Emotional Outlets. The sample size was 213.

The results (Table 7) partially supported the multiple mediation model. Similar to the hypothesis above, Engagement Coping and Private Emotional Outlets significantly mediated the relation between intergenerational conflict and relational well-being. As shown in Figure 9, greater intergenerational conflict was associated with less frequent Engagement Coping ( $a_1 = -.11, p < .001$ ), which was then related to lower relational well-being ( $b_1 = .38, p < .001$ ). On the other hand, greater intergenerational conflict was related to a higher usage of Private Emotional Outlets ( $a_4 = .24, p < .001$ ), which was associated with lower relational well-being ( $b_4 = -.63, p < .001$ ). A 95% bias-corrected confidence interval using 5,000 bootstrap samples showed that the indirect effects of Engagement Coping (-.10 to -.01) and Private Emotional Outlets (-.25 to -.07) were significantly different from zero, even when holding all other mediators constant. The indirect effects of collectivist coping (-.02 to .02) and Avoidance Coping (-.08 to .003) were not significantly different from zero. However, greater intergenerational conflict was not associated with lower relational well-being when considering the indirect effects of all four mediators.

**Figure 9**

*The Mediating Effects of the Four Coping Strategies in the Relation Between Intergenerational Conflict and Relational Well-Being*



*Note.* \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Numbers represent the unstandardized coefficient with the standard error in brackets.  $c'$  is the direct effect of intergenerational conflict on relational well-being, and  $c$  is the total effect of intergenerational conflict on relational well-being.

**Table 7**

*Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and Model Summary for the Multiple Mediation Model with Relational Well-Being as the Outcome Variable*

Antecedent		Consequent																		
		Engagement Coping			Collective Coping			Avoidance Coping			Private Emotional Outlets			Relational Well-Being						
		Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p				
Intergenerational conflict	<i>a</i> <sub>1</sub>	-.11	.02	<.001	.03	.02	.18	.15	.02	<.001	.24	.02	<.001	<i>c'</i>	-.08	.04	.05			
Engagement Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>1</sub>	.38	.12	.001			
Collective Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>2</sub>	-.04	.11	.72			
Avoidance Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>3</sub>	-.22	.09	.02			
Private Emotional Outlets		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>4</sub>	-.63	.12	<.001			
Constant	<i>i</i> <sub>M1</sub>	36.92	1.17	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M2</sub>	26.99	1.19	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M3</sub>	26.85	1.36	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M4</sub>	-3.13	1.12	.006	<i>i</i> <sub>Y</sub>	61.68	5.19	<.001
		<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .13			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .01			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .18			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .43			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .46						
		<i>F</i> (1, 211) = 32.25, <i>p</i> < .001			<i>F</i> (1, 211) = 1.83, <i>p</i> = .18			<i>F</i> (1, 211) = 45.17, <i>p</i> < .001			<i>F</i> (1, 211) = 162.37, <i>p</i> < .001			<i>F</i> (5, 207) = 34.61, <i>p</i> < .001						

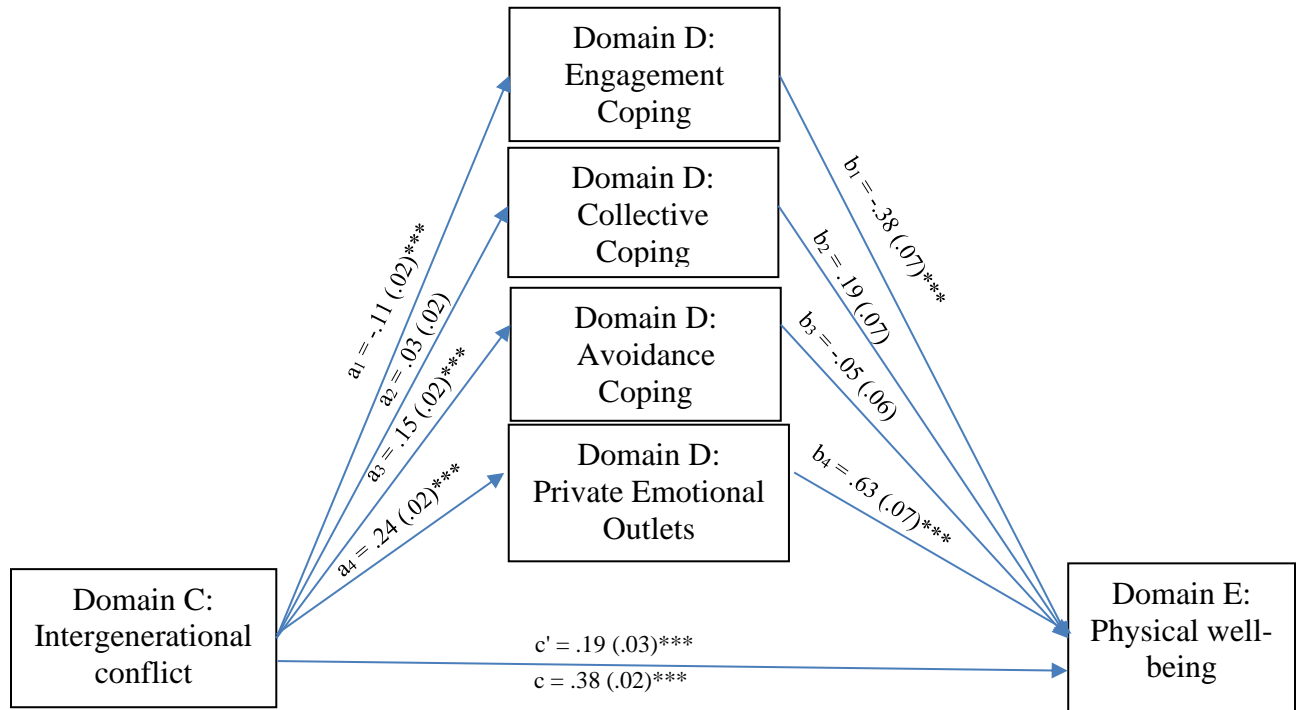


**Hypothesis 2c.** It was hypothesized that Engagement, Collective, and Avoidance Coping, and Private Emotional Outlets, would mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict and physical well-being. The sample size was 213 for the analysis.

The results of the analyses (Table 8) partially supported the multiple mediation model (Figure 10). Similar to the hypotheses above, only Engagement Coping and Private Emotional Outlets significantly mediated the relation between intergenerational conflict and physical well-being. Greater intergenerational conflict was associated with less Engagement Coping ( $a_1 = -.11$ ,  $p < .001$ ), in turn linked to lower physical well-being ( $b_1 = -.38$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In contrast, greater intergenerational conflict was related to more utilization of Private Emotional Outlets ( $a_4 = .24$ ,  $p < .001$ ), which was related to lower physical well-being ( $b_4 = .63$ ,  $p < .001$ ). A 95% bias-corrected confidence interval using 5,000 bootstrap samples showed that the indirect effects of Engagement Coping (.02 to .08) and Private Emotional Outlets (.09 to .24) were significantly different from zero, when holding all other mediators constant. The indirect effects of Collective Coping (-.01 to .02) and Avoidance Coping (-.03 to .02) were not significantly different from zero. Additionally, greater intergenerational conflict was associated with lower physical well-being even after considering the indirect effects of all four mediators ( $c' = .19$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

**Figure 10**

*The Mediating Effects of Four Coping Strategies in the Relation Between Intergenerational Conflict and Physical Well-Being*



*Note.* \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Numbers represent the unstandardized coefficient with the standard error in brackets.  $c'$  is the direct effect of intergenerational conflict on physical well-being, and  $c$  is the total effect of intergenerational conflict on physical well-being.

**Table 8**

*Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and Model Summary for the Multiple Mediation Model with Physical Well-Being as the Outcome Variable*

Antecedent		Consequent																		
		Engagement Coping			Collective Coping			Avoidance Coping			Private Emotional Outlets			Physical Well-Being						
		Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>				
Intergenerational conflict	<i>a</i> <sub>1</sub>	-.11	.02	<.001	.03	.02	.18	.15	.02	<.001	.24	.02	<.001	<i>c'</i>	.38	.02	<.001			
Engagement Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>1</sub>	-.38	.07	<.001			
Collective Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>2</sub>	.19	.07	.01			
Avoidance Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>3</sub>	-.05	.06	.37			
Private Emotional Outlets		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>4</sub>	.63	.07	<.001			
Constant	<i>i</i> <sub>M1</sub>	36.92	1.17	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M2</sub>	26.99	1.19	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M3</sub>	26.85	1.36	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M4</sub>	-3.14	1.12	.006	<i>i</i> <sub>Y</sub>	-6.68	1.44	<.001
		<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .13			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .01			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .18			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .43			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .73						
		<i>F</i> (1, 211) = 32.25, <i>p</i> <.001			<i>F</i> (1, 211) = 1.83, <i>p</i> = .18			<i>F</i> (1, 211) = 45.17, <i>p</i> <.001			<i>F</i> (1, 211) = 162.37, <i>p</i> <.001			<i>F</i> (5, 207) = 113.67, <i>p</i> <.001						

***Research Question 3: The Relationship Between Cultural Values and Coping with Intergenerational Conflict in Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults***

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to test the corresponding hypotheses, with the intensity of intergenerational conflict entered as a control variable in Step 1. Self-construal domains were entered in Step 2 of the models.

**Hypothesis 3a.** Hypothesis 3a indicated that higher self-direction, self-reliance, and self-interest would predict greater usage of Engagement Coping. Results of the MRA (Table 9) partially supported the hypothesis. All three self-construals were significant predictors of Engagement Coping, but not all in the expected direction. The overall model was significant,  $R = .51$ ,  $F(4, 207) = 18.05$ ,  $p < .001$ , explaining 24.4% of the variance in Engagement Coping. The change from step 1 to step 2 was significant,  $F(3, 207) = 11.71$ ,  $p < .001$ , with an additional 12.6% of variance explained. Greater self-direction ( $\beta = .23$ ,  $t = 3.41$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $sr^2 = .49$ ,  $r_s = .20$ ) and self-reliance ( $\beta = .25$ ,  $t = 3.65$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $sr^2 = .05$ ,  $r_s = .74$ ) were significant and positive predictors of Engagement Coping. Surprisingly, self-interest was a significant negative predictor of Engagement Coping ( $\beta = -.20$ ,  $t = -3.20$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $sr^2 = .04$ ,  $r_s = -.19$ ). In other words, lower self-interest predicted Engagement Coping.

**Table 9***Results of Hierarchical MRA for Variables Predicting Engagement Coping*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	$r_s$	$sr^2$	$R^2$	Adjusted $R^2$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1						.13	.13	.13***
AAFCS	-.11	.02	-.36**	-.41	.13			
Step 2						.26	.24	.13***
Self-direction	.35	.10	.23**	.59	.49			
Self-reliance	.31	.09	.23**	.74	.05			
Self-interest	-.32	.10	-.20**	-.24	.04			

*Note.*  $N = 212$ ; \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . AAFCS = Asian American Family Conflicts Scale;  $sr^2$  is the squared semipartial correlation, or the proportion of the outcome variable uniquely explained by the predictor variable;  $r_s$  is the structure coefficient, showing the relation between the predictor variable and the outcome variable when all other predictor variables are taken into consideration.

**Hypothesis 3b.** Hypothesis 3b stated that lower self-containment, lower self-direction, lower self-reliance, and lower self-interest would positively predict Collective Coping in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. Results of the MRA (Table 10) generally supported the hypothesis. The overall model was significant,  $R = .44$ ,  $F(5, 206) = 9.74$ ,  $p < .001$ , and explained 17.2% of the variance in Collective Coping. The change from Step 1 to Step 2 was significant,  $F(4, 206) = 11.62$ ,  $p < .001$ , with an additional 11.6% variance explained. Lower self-containment ( $\beta = -.23$ ,  $t = -3.17$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $sr^2 = .04$ ,  $r_s = -.22$ ), lower self-direction ( $\beta = -.22$ ,  $t = -3.13$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $sr^2 = .05$ ), and lower self-reliance ( $\beta = -.19$ ,  $t = -2.76$ ,  $p = .006$ ,  $sr^2 = .03$ ,  $r_s = -.19$ ) significantly predicted Collective Coping.

**Table 10***Results of Hierarchical MRA for Variables Predicting Collective Coping*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	$r_s$	$sr^2$	$R^2$	Adjusted $R^2$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1						.01	.004	.01
AAFCS	.03	.02	.09	.36	.01			
Step 2						.19	.17	.18***
Self-containment	-.30	.10	-.23**	-.40	.04			
Self-direction	-.32	.10	-.22**	-.70	.05			
Self-reliance	-.24	.09	-.19**	-.59	.03			
Self-interest	-.19	.10	-.13 <sup>†</sup>	-.56	.01			

*Note.*  $N = 212$ ; \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , <sup>†</sup> = .06. AAFCS = Asian American Family Conflicts Scale.  $sr^2$  is the squared semipartial correlation, or the proportion of the outcome variable uniquely explained by the predictor variable;  $r_s$  is the structure coefficient, showing the relation between the predictor variable and the outcome variable when all other predictor variables are taken into consideration.

**Hypothesis 3c.** Hypothesis 3c predicted that lower self-expression, self-interest, and self-reliance would be associated with Avoidance Coping. Results of the MRA (Table 11) provided partial support. The overall model was significant at Step 2,  $R = .56$ ,  $F(4, 207) = 23.85$ ,  $p < .001$ , with the model explaining 30.2% of the variance in Avoidance Coping. The change from Step 1 to Step 2 was significant,  $F(3, 207) = 13.97$ ,  $p < .001$ . As expected, lower self-expression ( $\beta = -.37$ ,  $t = -6.34$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $sr^2 = .13$ ,  $r_s = -.37$ ) predicted Avoidance Coping. Surprisingly, neither self-interest nor self-reliance had significant beta weights. However, an analysis of the beta weights and structure coefficients showed that self-reliance had a near-zero beta weight, but a sizeable structure coefficient ( $\beta = -.04$ ,  $t = -6.51$ ,  $p = .52$ ,  $sr^2 = .0002$ ,  $r_s = -.33$ ). That is, its predictive power overlapped with those of other variables and was arbitrarily assigned by SPSS to another variable. In sum, lower self-reliance was related to the use of Avoidance Coping.



**Table 11***Results of Hierarchical MRA for Variables Predicting Avoidance Coping*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	$r_s$	$sr^2$	$R^2$	Adjusted $R^2$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1						.18	.17	.18***
AAFCS	.15	.02	.42***	.60	.18			
Step 2						.32	.30	.14***
Self-reliance	-.06	.10	-.04	-.33	.0002			
Self-interest	-.03	.11	-.01	-.12	.0002			
Self-expression	-.67	.11	-.37***	-.58	.13			

*Note.*  $N = 212$ ; \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . AAFCS = Asian American Family Conflicts Scale.  $sr^2$  is the squared semipartial correlation, or the proportion of the outcome variable uniquely explained by the predictor variable;  $r_s$  is the structure coefficient, showing the relation between the predictor variable and the outcome variable when all other predictor variables are taken into consideration.

**Hypothesis 3d.** Hypothesis 3d predicted that lower self-reliance, self-expression, and self-interest would predict Private Emotional Outlets. Results of the MRA (Table 12) refuted the hypothesis. The overall model at Step 2 was not significant,  $R = .67$ ,  $F(4, 20) = 42.46$ ,  $p < .001$ . Similarly, the change in  $F$  from Steps 1 to 2 was not significant, with only an additional 1.5% variance explained, showing that most of the relation can be explained by the severity of intergenerational conflict.

**Table 12***Results of Hierarchical MRA for Variables Predicting Private Emotional Outlets*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	$r_s$	$sr^2$	$R^2$	Adjusted $R^2$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1						.44	.43	.44***
AAFCS	.24	.02	.66***	.77	.44			
Step 2						.45	.44	.02
Self-expression	.04	.10	.02	.14	.0004			
Self-interest	.05	.10	.03	.04	.0006			
Self-reliance	-.19	.09	-.13*	-.55	.01			

*Note.*  $N = 212$ ; \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . AAFCS = Asian American Family Conflicts Scale.  $sr^2$  is the squared semipartial correlation, or the proportion of the outcome variable uniquely explained by the predictor variable;  $r_s$  is the structure coefficient, showing the relation between the predictor variable and the outcome variable when all other predictor variables are taken into consideration.

A summary of the quantitative hypotheses and results are presented in Table 13.

**Table 13***Summary of Quantitative Results*

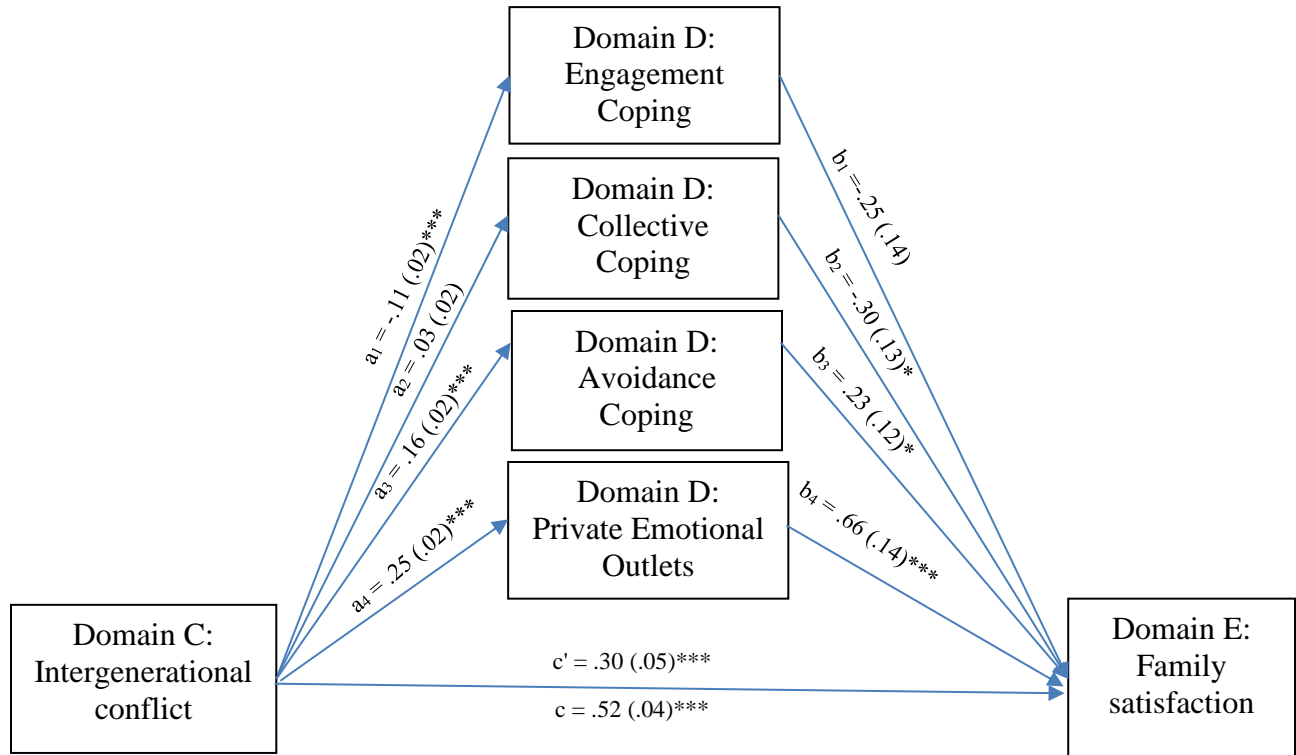
Study hypotheses	Supported?
<p><b>Research question 1:</b> How is intergenerational conflict related to Chinese Canadian emerging adults' psychological distress, and relational and physical well-being?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 1a:</b> Intergenerational conflict (Domain C) will have a positive relation with the psychological distress (Domain E) of Chinese Canadian emerging adults.</li> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 1b:</b> Intergenerational conflict (Domain C) will have a negative relation with the relational well-being (Domain E) of Chinese Canadian emerging adults.</li> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 1c:</b> Intergenerational conflict (Domain C) will have a negative relation with the physical well-being (Domain E) of Chinese Canadian emerging adults.</li> </ul>	<p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p>
<p><b>Research question 2:</b> How are the coping strategies used by Chinese Canadian emerging adults related to intergenerational conflict and well-being outcomes?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 2a:</b> Engagement, Collective, and Avoidance Coping, as well as private emotional outlets (Domain D) will mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict (Domain C) and psychological distress (Domain E).</li> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 2b:</b> Engagement, Collective, and Avoidance Coping, as well as private emotional outlets (Domain D) will mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict (Domain C) and relational well-being (Domain E).</li> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 2c:</b> Engagement, Collective, and Avoidance Coping, as well as private emotional outlets (Domain D) will mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict (Domain C) and physical well-being (Domain E).</li> </ul>	<p>Partial</p> <p>Partial</p> <p>Partial</p>
<p><b>Research question 3:</b> What is the relation of cultural values with Chinese Canadian young adults' experience of intergenerational conflict, the selection of coping strategies, and the effectiveness of coping?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 3a:</b> Higher self-direction, self-reliance, and self-interest will predict engagement coping in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.</li> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 3b:</b> Lower self-containment, lower self-direction, and lower self-interest are expected to predict collective coping in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.</li> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 3c:</b> Higher self-reliance, lower self-interest, and lower self-expression would predict Avoidance Coping in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.</li> <li>• <b>Hypothesis 3d:</b> Lower self-expression, self-interest, and self-reliance will predict the use of private emotional outlets in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults.</li> </ul>	<p>Yes</p> <p>Partial</p> <p>Partial</p> <p>No</p>

**Additional Analyses.** I hypothesized that Engagement, Avoidance, Collective Coping, and Private Emotional Outlets would mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict and family satisfaction. As explained in the introduction, family satisfaction was included given the importance of family to Chinese culture, as well as the relevance of the family to intergenerational conflict. Compared to relational well-being, family satisfaction was included as a more specific measure of satisfaction with and feelings about one's family.

The results of the analyses (Table 14) do not support the multiple mediation model (Figure 11). Unlike the results of the previous three mediation models, only Private Emotional Outlets significantly mediated the relation between intergenerational conflict and family satisfaction. Greater intergenerational conflict was related to a higher usage of Private Emotional Outlets ( $a_4 = .247, p < .001$ ), which was then associated with lower family satisfaction ( $b_4 = .66, p < .001$ ). A 95% bias-corrected confidence interval using 5,000 bootstrap samples showed that the indirect effect of Private Emotional Outlets (.05 to .29) was significantly different from zero, while none of the indirect effects of Avoidance Coping (-.01 to .11), Collective Coping (-.03 to .02), or Engagement Coping (-.01 to .09) were significantly different from zero. Greater intergenerational conflict was associated with lower family satisfaction even when considering the indirect effects of all four mediators ( $c' = .30, p < .001$ ).

**Figure 11**

*The Mediating Effects of Four Coping Strategies in the Relation Between Intergenerational Conflict and Family Satisfaction*



*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Numbers represent the unstandardized coefficient with the standard error in brackets.  $c'$  is the direct effect of intergenerational conflict on family satisfaction, and  $c$  is the total effect of intergenerational conflict on family satisfaction.

**Table 14**

*Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and Model Summary for the Multiple Mediation Model with Family Satisfaction as the Outcome Variable*

Antecedent		Consequent															
		Engagement Coping			Collective Coping			Avoidance Coping			Private Emotional Outlets			Family Satisfaction			
		Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	Coeff.	SE	p	
Intergenerational conflict	<i>a</i> <sub>1</sub>	-.11	.02	<.001	.03	.02	.15	.16	.02	<.001	.25	.02	<.001	<i>c'</i>	.30	.05	<.001
Engagement Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>1</sub>	-.25	.14	.08
Collective Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>2</sub>	-.30	.13	.03
Avoidance Coping		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>3</sub>	.23	.11	.046
Private Emotional Outlets		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>b</i> <sub>4</sub>	.66	.14	<.001
Constant	<i>i</i> <sub>M1</sub>	36.79	1.19	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M2</sub>	26.83	1.23	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M3</sub>	26.45	1.33	<.001	<i>i</i> <sub>M4</sub>	-3.67	1.15	.002	<i>i</i> <sub>Y</sub>
		<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .13			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .01			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .20			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .44			<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .55			
		<i>F</i> (1, 208) = 30.44, <i>p</i> <.001			<i>F</i> (1, 208) = 2.06, <i>p</i> = .15			<i>F</i> (1, 208) = 51.93, <i>p</i> <.001			<i>F</i> (1, 208) = 166.51, <i>p</i> <.001			<i>F</i> (5, 204) = 49.52, <i>p</i> <.001			



### ***Examining Gender Differences in Coping***

*Post hoc* analyses that were not hypothesis-driven were completed to explore relationships of interest. Exploratory *t*-tests, using an adjusted *p*-value of .01, found that male participants experienced more frequent ( $t(75.25) = 4.70, p < .001$ ) and more intense ( $t(70.73) = 5.36, p < .001$ ) intergenerational conflict. There were no differences in ratings for Collective Coping between males and females. However, female participants were more likely to use Engagement Coping,  $t(211) = -5.43, p < .001$ , and less likely to use Avoidance Coping,  $t(211) = 3.25, p = .002$  or Private Emotional Outlets,  $t(211) = 6.54, p < .001$ . Although Cohen's *d* could not be calculated due to violations of the homogeneity of variance assumption, differences between males and females were generally around one standard deviation for both intergenerational conflict and the coping strategies. All *t*-test results are presented in Table 15.

**Table 15***Independent Sample t-Tests Examining Gender Differences in Coping Strategies*

Variable	Females <i>M (SD)</i>	Male <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>t</i> -test results
Intergenerational conflict frequency	26.00 (7.22)	30.99 (5.28)	$t(75.25) = 4.70, p < .001$
Intergenerational conflict intensity	23.38 (9.16)	30.49 (5.95)	$t(70.73) = 5.36, p < .001$
Engagement Coping	33.08 (4.41)	29.51 (3.41)	$t(211) = -5.43, p < .001$
Avoidance Coping	36.55 (3.38)	33.32 (7.03)	$t(211) = 3.25, p = .002$
Collective Coping	28.36 (4.64)	28.6 (3.48)	$t(211) = .38, p = .72$
Private Emotional Outlets	6.87 (5.37)	12.12 (3.72)	$t(211) = 6.54, p < .001$

### ***Number of Siblings and Intergenerational Conflict and Coping***

Exploratory analyses of correlations were conducted to examine the relations among the number of siblings, intergenerational conflict, and coping strategies. Having more siblings was significantly correlated with greater frequency of conflict ( $r_s = .22, p = .003$ ), greater severity of conflict ( $r_s = .23, p = .002$ ), more Collective Coping ( $r_s = .17, p = .02$ ), less Engagement Coping ( $r_s = -.15, p = .04$ ), and more Private Emotional Outlets ( $r_s = .21, p = .004$ ). However, it should be noted that all of these were small effects. Results of these correlations are noted in Table 16.

**Table 16**

*Two-Tailed Correlations Between Number of Siblings with Intergenerational Conflict and Coping Strategies*

Variable	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
1. Intergenerational conflict frequency	.22	.003**
2. Intergenerational conflict severity	.23	.002**
3. Engagement Coping	-.15	.04*
4. Avoidance Coping	.12	.11
5. Collective Coping	.17	.02*
6. Private Emotional Outlets	.21	.004**

## **Qualitative Results**

The study included individual interviews to complement group-level quantitative results. Superordinate themes will be briefly discussed. The links between the qualitative and quantitative results, and between the qualitative results and the literature will be expanded on in the discussion. An abbreviated list of superordinate themes is presented in Table 17. All participant names have been changed to protect their identities.

**Table 17***Abbreviated List of Superordinate Themes in the Current Study*

Domain	Superordinate Themes
Domain A: Individual Factors	1. Concurrent independent and interdependent values 2. Rejection of Chinese culture
Domain B: Environmental Factors	3. Context and upbringing shape beliefs and behaviours
Domain C: Stressor	4. Conflict with parents due to different expectations and values 5. Conflicts typically improve with age
Domain D: Coping	6a. Resignation and acceptance 6b. Distraction and avoidance 7. Problem-solving 8. Social support 9. Diversity and multiplicity in coping strategies
Domain E: Health Outcomes	10. Negative impact of intergenerational conflict 11. Positive impact of coping strategies 12. Negative impact of avoidance on psychological health

## *Superordinate Themes*

### **Theme 1: Concurrent Independent and Interdependent Values.**

#### **Domain A: Individual Factors**

Superordinate theme	Codes
1. Concurrent independent and interdependent values	Valuing both harmony and autonomy
	Valuing both family and autonomy

Almost all participants indicated that both independent and interdependent values (e.g., harmony, autonomy) were important. However, more participants prioritized independent values.

*AL: I think where the disconnect was growing up here. I believe in certain things that they [his parents] don't believe in. I believe in, more so my own happiness, more so than family happiness all the time. But I think overall, the goal is to be striving to like, your family, and your culture, in the sense of the Eastern way or whatever. The way I see getting there is different because I'm more willing to do things in a more Western way... I also believe in being happy for myself.*

One participant explained that he valued his family's happiness, but that he sometimes puts his own happiness first. Similarly, another participant expressed that although she valued her family, she also finds it important to maintain a private life that is not shared with others.

### **Theme 2: Rejection of Chinese Culture.**

#### **Domain A: Individual Factors**

Superordinate theme	Codes
2. Rejection of Chinese culture	Poor ability to recognize and express one's needs seen as a Chinese trait
	Chinese communication not effective
	Chinese emphasis on family pressures individuals to sacrifice themselves
	Does not want to be a stereotype

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## Silent suffering is detrimental

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Three participants described rejecting some aspects of Chinese culture, manifesting as frustration and even resentment. For instance, Riza saw Chinese culture as contributing to ineffective communication and a lack of understanding of emotions:

*RIZA: ... part of Chinese culture is that you don't really express your true feelings. You're expected to, especially if it's someone, like an elder, you're supposed to just follow and just take it. I personally feel like a lot of Chinese people, traditionally, Chinese people don't know how to process their emotions because of such a cultural aspect. I think that is why my mom personally has explosive reactions sometimes cause she doesn't understand why she's frustrated and only knows that she is stressed and to let it out in such a way.*

Similarly, Sasha described pressure and unwanted obligation from the Chinese emphasis on the family, and that she does not think that families are inherently valuable.

*SASHA: ... I see other people, other Asian people I know, with their families. And I think they feel a lot of pressure from their family, to contribute to the family unit, even at the expense of themselves, because of the expectation ... I don't think there's an inherent value to someone being my family member.*

*Not wanting to be “the stereotype”.* Al stated that he generally confronts conflicts to avoid being “the stereotype.” However, he does struggle internally between facing or avoiding conflict, demonstrating the push-and-pull of bicultural conflict. As he explained:

*AL: If you ask my friends, they would say I'm a very conflict facing person. But they don't know that it's generally a conflict within myself, of being okay with doing that, because I don't want to be a stereotype. So there's a lot of times when I'll avoid conflict.*



### Theme 3: Context and Upbringing Shape Beliefs and Behaviours.

#### Domain B: Environmental Factors

Superordinate theme	Codes
3. Context and upbringing shape beliefs and behaviours	Parents have more traditional Chinese values or beliefs due to upbringing in China or Hong Kong
	Shares core values with family

Nine of ten participants spontaneously identified context as an important factor that led to differences between themselves and their parents. Participants described how their parents' upbringing (i.e., in China and Hong Kong) shaped traits such as over-protectiveness, distrust of others, or habits such as boiling water before drinking. Participants were keenly aware how their upbringing in Canada contributed to cultural differences that resulted in conflict between themselves and their parents.

*ALICE: The mindsets that they've been brought up with, we can't change. We don't want to change who they are, what is wrong from our cultural standpoint doesn't necessarily mean that they're actually wrong.*

### Theme 4: Conflicts with Parents due to Different Expectations and Values.

#### Domain C: Stressor

Superordinate theme	Codes
4. Conflict with parents due to different expectations and values	Perceiving parents as overly controlling and restrictive
	Conflicts about expected life trajectory (e.g., age of marriage)
	Conflicts about expected communication style

Closely related to differences in upbringing between participants and their parents, almost all participants identified that their conflicts with their parents arise from having different expectations and values. Many of these expectations reflect the generational gap between parents

and their children, most often a pressure to get married and have children, as Sasha expressed.

*SASHA: My mom wants me to get married and have kids ASAP. And marry, a boy, who's not black. [laughs] I guess the conflict is that I don't want to be told that I need to do that. And that, and that she has expectations about who the person I'd be marrying and making kids with is... I'm not even sure if I want all those things.*

Other expectations are more specific to Asian cultures, such as an emphasis on education, or staying home with parents until marriage.

### **Theme 5: Conflicts Typically Improve with Age.**

#### **Domain C: Stressor**

Superordinate theme	Codes
5. Conflicts typically improve with age	Most conflicts are minor currently  Reduced conflict due to physical separation  Reduced conflict in emerging adulthood due to career success

Apart from one participant whose relationship with her parents worsened with age because she wanted to be more independent, all other participants identified a reduction of intergenerational conflict with age.

*RIZA: Now, if we argue, I would say there's not one thing that we argue about anymore. In the past, it was always about rigidity and education. But now because that's not, I'm past that period of my life, where I'm more of an independent adult. So she [her mom] doesn't typically... you know, try to control those aspects anymore.*

As illustrated by the above quote from Riza, while conflicts tended to be about academics (e.g., grades, time spent studying) when participants were younger, many indicated that moving away for university afforded them a better relationship with their parents. Their parents learned

to “loosen the reins” upon seeing their children have a “good life,” or had to adjust to their children having more freedom since they were out of the family home.

**Theme 6a: Resignation and Acceptance.**

**Domain D: Coping**

Superordinate theme	Codes
6a. Resignation or acceptance	Resignation (cannot win against elders; repeated failed attempts to resolve conflicts; see problems as unresolvable)  Accepting that intergenerational conflicts happen in parent-child relationships

Three participants voiced a strong sense of resignation in parent-child conflicts. They identified a history of highly emotional and unresolved intergenerational conflicts. For instance, one participant felt that his parents always dismiss his perspectives because he is their child. Similarly, another participant felt that conflicts could not be resolved because she and her parents do not agree on the problem.

On the other hand, some participants identified an acceptance of intergenerational conflicts. For instance, Emma explained that she chooses to move on from the conflict because it is not worth the effort to argue.

**Theme 6b: Distraction and Avoidance.**

**Domain D: Coping**

Superordinate theme	Codes
6b. Distraction and avoidance	Distracting oneself with more pleasurable or productive activities  Physical avoidance (of parents)  Cognitive avoidance (of discussing conflict, or topics with the potential to cause conflict)  Choosing to disengage from intergenerational conflict

Six participants reported distraction and avoidance as the primary coping strategy.

*ED: I distract myself more, because it's more readily accessible... Whereas if I try to talk to friends you have to wait, for them to get here. So I don't know, I think I get a pretty good response, but I might as well do something else in the meantime. So maybe get a workout or I could watch something.*

One participant explained that he prefers distraction because it is the most accessible.

Additionally, another participant relayed that removing herself from the situation helps her to see the conflict in perspective. That is, avoidance helps her to cognitively reframe the stressor.

#### **Domain D: Coping**

Superordinate theme	Codes
7. Problem-solving	Open communication of needs
	Lack of conflict avoidance
	Expects problem-solving to be ineffective

**Theme 7: Problem-Solving.** Three participants identified problem-solving as their primary coping strategy. Notably, these participants' parents responded well by also adopting open communication and foregoing the expectation that their children must defer to them. To illustrate, one participant explained that her mother welcomed a problem-solving approach, which led her to primarily employ engagement coping, confrontation, and problem-solving.

Furthermore, Alice explained that she is motivated to communicate conflicts with her parents because she wants to preserve and improve their relationship.

*ALICE: I think my values definitely help cope with, add on to how I cope with it [intergenerational conflict]. I think in China, family is a very important relationship, it's very much valued. So, in order to make it work out, you gotta communicate. So I think because I value those things, it helps me to look for strategies that help me to preserve*

*these relationships.*

Similarly, four participants indicated that they were not conflict avoidant. For example, Isabella indicated that avoiding conflict may lead to “suffering in silence.”

*ISABELLA: I believe that if there's a conflict, there's a way to handle it well, or to try to handle it well. You're still having a conflict, whether you're confronting them, or you're like silently suffering. It's weighing you back.*

In contrast, four participants indicated that they do not use problem-solving. These participants asserted that they do not expect problem-solving to be effective because it did not work in the past, or they and their parents do not agree on the problems. When asked about the barriers to using problem-solving as a coping strategy for intergenerational conflict, one participant explained that her parents are “irrational, so rational arguments will not make sense.” Another participant explained that he used to confront his parents when he was younger, which led to more conflict. He eventually shifted to avoidance to preserve harmony in the family.

**Domain D: Coping**

Superordinate theme	Codes
8. Social support	Not seeking social support
	Emotional support from friends
	Informational support from friends
	Emotional support from family members
	Informational support from family members
	Emotional support from strangers

**Theme 8: Social Support.** Participants had varied opinions about emotional or social support. One participant indicated that seeking emotional support from her friends is her primary coping strategy. Another described how she felt more comfortable venting to strangers at her

workplace. A third participant explained that she found support seeking to be unhelpful because it creates “drama,” and believes that family problems should be contained within the family.

Furthermore, Al indicated that he does not seek emotional or social support, but he was unsure as to whether it is due to him being male or being Chinese.

*AL: I think, not talking—I don't talk, I don't know if it's because I'm a guy, or because I'm Chinese. I feel like those are both kind of stereotypes. I don't really talk to people about my problems a lot. If something is bothering me, I tend to like bottle it up.*

Ed and Al also spontaneously indicated that they typically go to siblings or friends with similar backgrounds for support, underscoring the importance of sharing similar experiences with their supports.

**Theme 9: Diversity and Multiplicity in Coping Strategies.**

**Domain D: Coping**

Superordinate theme	Codes
9. Diversity and multiplicity in coping strategies	

Instead of using one coping strategy, all participants described a myriad of coping strategies. Participants indicated that they used acceptance, tried to understand their parents’ perspectives, sought support from friends and other family members, tried problem-solving, or used distraction and avoidance in various combinations. Interestingly, only one participant identified emotion management (i.e., having the goal to address and process her emotions) as a type of coping strategy that she employed. Other participants tended to either ignore their emotions or vent to their friends.

**Theme 10: Negative Impact of Intergenerational Conflict.**

**Domain E: Health Outcomes**

Superordinate theme	Codes
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10. Negative impact of intergenerational conflict	Frustration, unhappiness, stress Difficulty sleeping, poorer appetite, less exercise
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Participants readily identified negative impacts of intergenerational conflict, such as frustration, anger, depression, stress, and lower self-esteem. Physical consequences were also noted, such as difficulty sleeping, poorer appetite, or headaches.

**Theme 11: Positive Impact of Coping Strategies.**

**Domain E: Health Outcomes**

Superordinate theme	Codes
11. Positive impact of coping strategies	Exercise as a coping strategy Strengthens friendships due to help-seeking Strengthens parent-child relationship due to problem-solving and commitment to the relationship

Participants described benefits of coping strategies, as detailed below.

*ALICE: Um, I guess, feeling down. I do not take care of my body as much as I should. So I'm not... I'm less motivated to go to the gym. It negatively impacts me when I don't cope with it [intergenerational conflict]. So if I cope with it I'll be more motivated.*

Alice explained that trying to cope with intergenerational conflict helped to reduce the negative impacts of intergenerational conflict. Similarly, a participant spoke of channeling her anger from intergenerational conflict into exercise. In addition, another participant explained that seeking support from others helped her to gain a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of her experiences of intergenerational conflict and to strengthen her friendships. Additionally, one participant explained that intergenerational conflict allowed for an opportunity to ask her mother to be more straightforward in communicating her requests.

## Theme 12: Negative Impact of Avoidance on Psychological Health.

### Domain E: Health Outcomes

Superordinate theme	Codes
12. Negative impact of avoidance on psychological health	Avoidance leading to depression Avoidance leading to poor self-image (as a passive “doormat”)

Two participants who described more severe intergenerational conflict identified negative impacts of avoidance as their primary way to cope.

*SASHA: Sometimes I feel like I'm a broken doormat. No, just a doormat. I don't stand up for myself.*

*ELIZABETH: It's gotten better compared to last year. Last year there was a lot of running away and inability to deal with it [intergenerational conflict]. I had really bad depression [resulting from conflict with her parents].*

Elizabeth explained that “running away” from her emotions was ineffective, while she is coping better now by redirecting her emotional energy into other channels.

### ***Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Results***

Comparisons of key quantitative and qualitative findings are presented in Table 18, which allowed for the evaluation of fit between the two sets of findings in terms of points of agreement, partial agreement, and dissonance (i.e., disagreement) between key quantitative and qualitative results.



**Table 18***Paired Comparison of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings*

Key findings	Quantitative	Qualitative	Type of match
<b>Domain C (stressor)</b>			
“sometimes” experience “moderately” intense intergenerational conflict	++	+	Partial agreement
Subjects of conflict changes between adolescence to emerging adulthood		++	Silence
Intergenerational conflict may decrease with age		++	Silence
<b>Domain E (health outcomes)</b>			
Intergenerational conflict has a negative association with psychological well-being	++	++	Agreement
Intergenerational conflict has a negative association with physical well-being	++	++	Agreement
Intergenerational conflict has a negative association with relational well-being	++	+ -	Partial agreement and dissonance
<b>Domain D (coping)</b>			
Engagement coping mediates the relation between intergenerational	++	+	Partial agreement

conflict and well-being domains

Private emotional outlets mediate the relation between intergenerational conflict and well-being domains	++	+	Partial agreement
Avoidance coping	+	++	Partial agreement
Collective coping		++	Silence
Diversity of coping strategies	+	+	Agreement
The role of parents' reactions		++	Silence
Ethnic cultural values and intergenerational conflict	+	++	Partial agreement
Self-construals and intergenerational conflict	++	+	Partial agreement

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Note: ++ denotes exact supporting evidence for the finding; + denotes partial supporting evidence for the finding; - denotes contrasting information compared to the finding; a blank space identifies a lack of relevant information related to the finding. Agreement indicates that similar results were found in the two datasets; partial agreement indicates that there is complementarity between the two data sets; dissonance indicates the presence of conflicting results between the two data sets; silence indicates that only one dataset has results relevant to the finding.

To integrate the data, quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed and interpreted within the framework of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. Key findings were classified under domains of the model and compared. However, since the study employed a concurrent nested design with the qualitative component was nested within the larger quantitative portion, qualitative data was not always available for key quantitative findings. Nonetheless, most of the qualitative findings corroborated the quantitative results and provided accounts of the “lived experience” for group-level quantitative patterns. Key findings that included support from both quantitative and qualitative data include the experience of intergenerational conflict as moderately intense and frequent, the negative relation between intergenerational conflict and well-being domains, the role of coping strategies in dealing with intergenerational conflict, and the role of ethnic cultural values and self-construals in the coping process. For example, quantitative results revealed a negative correlation between intergenerational conflict and psychological well-being in Chinese Canadian emerging adults ( $r = .53, p < .001$ ), which was corroborated by Elizabeth’s account in the interview that she “*had really bad depression [resulting from conflict with her parents]*”. As such, the qualitative results provided a phenomenological account that complemented the negative correlation from the quantitative portion. The outcome of the integration of quantitative and qualitative results will be elaborated upon in the Discussion section.

## CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current research was to examine intergenerational (i.e., parent-child) conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. A mixed-methods approach consisting of online surveys and individual interviews was used to study participants' experience with intergenerational conflict, the association of intergenerational conflict with their psychological, relational, and physical well-being, along with the coping strategies they adopted and their relations with well-being. The design of the study and the research questions were guided by Heppner et al.'s (2012) Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. Interpretative phenomenological analysis was used to analyze the qualitative results, which resulted in 12 superordinate themes. The quantitative and qualitative results will be compared, contrasted, and integrated in the following sections. The discussion will first review the nature of the stressor, followed by its association with well-being, and finally, the coping process and its association with culture and context.

### **Domain C: Intergenerational Conflict in Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults**

The discussion will begin with an overview of the stressor (Domain C), intergenerational conflict, as examined in the qualitative and quantitative sections. Research has shown that intergenerational conflicts remain relevant to and prevalent in Chinese Canadian and Chinese American emerging adults (R. M. Lee et al., 2000; R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001; G. Li, 2004; J. Li, 2009). Intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults involves both generic and ethnic-specific stresses; all parents and children have conflicts, but the acculturation gap that typically exists between Chinese Canadian emerging adults and their parents adds another layer (Lui, 2015). Indeed, multiple layers of stress can accumulate to result in a greater impact of intergenerational conflict, when compared to non-ethnic or racial minority families for whom the

acculturation gap is likely less relevant (Heppner et al., 2012).

Following Heppner et al.'s (2012) recommendation to examine the characteristics of stressors experienced by ethnic and racial minorities, the intensity and frequency of intergenerational conflicts were examined. Quantitative results revealed that on average, Chinese Canadian emerging adults indicated that they “sometimes” experienced “moderately” intense intergenerational conflict, similar to past studies (e.g., Lai, 2011). A cursory review of item-level endorsements suggest that ratings are fairly evenly dispersed across the different conflict scenarios on the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale. In line with the “moderately” intense rating in the quantitative portion, the qualitative findings revealed that intergenerational conflict among Chinese Canadian emerging adults typically manifested as disagreements or heated conversations rather than loud and prolonged yelling.

The nature of intergenerational conflict for participants in this study also appeared to change from adolescence to emerging adulthood, as found in previous studies with European Americans (Phinney et al., 2005) and Chinese university students (Nelson et al., 2004). Qualitative results showed that the subjects of conflicts shifted in accordance with emerging adults' developmental trajectory. Participants reported that conflicts in adolescence surrounded academic achievement, in line with research showing parental pressure on Chinese Canadian adolescents to excel academically (J. Li, 2001). Interviewed participants identified that emerging adulthood conflicts involved parental pressure to marry and have children, to spend time with family members, or to live at home until married. The latter topic is reminiscent of the conflict between self-interest and obligation to the family as identified in a review of the literature on immigrant family relations (Kwak, 2003). Some participants described excessive parental control, which has been shown to be related to intergenerational conflict in Asian American

families (Juang et al., 2007). Interestingly, none of the participants mentioned parental warmth as an area of conflict, despite research showing its relevance in Chinese American adolescents (Wu & Chao, 2005).

Changes in intergenerational conflict were not measured in the quantitative portion, and qualitative results must be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size. However, nine out of ten participants indicated that their parent-child conflict improved with age. The reduction in conflict appeared to result from participants gaining more independence after moving out of the family home (and thereby reducing contact with parents and fulfilling participants' need for autonomy), or by obtaining a "good life" (often referring to a stable career and income) which reduces parental pressure to achieve. A study examining Chinese Canadian parents also observed a reduction in conflict between children's adolescence and emerging adulthood (Lai, 2011). Similarly, intergenerational conflict has been found to be less prevalent in 23-to-28 year-olds compared to 18-to-22-year-olds (Nguyen, 2010). These findings differ from Lee et al.'s (2005) suggestion that intergenerational conflict may be exacerbated as Chinese emerging adults experience and exert more freedom and autonomy. However, the trend was not applicable to all participants in the study, as one participant explained that conflict with her parents intensified as she desired more independence with age. Nonetheless, intergenerational conflict and coping are expected to evolve from adolescence to emerging adulthood based on the changes that accompany the developmental trajectory. For example, adolescents are legally considered children, while emerging adults are legally adults, which influences autonomy and coping strategies. Future studies might seek to verify whether adolescents, with less independence, have a greater motivation to maintain family relationships and avoid severe conflict with their parents.

## **Domain E: Intergenerational Conflict Negatively Impacts Psychological, Physical, and Relational Well-Being in Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults**

Domain E concerns health outcomes, which guided the research question: “How is intergenerational conflict related to Chinese Canadian emerging adults’ psychological distress, and relational and physical well-being?” Quantitative results showed that intergenerational conflict negatively affected Chinese Canadian emerging adults’ psychological, physical, and relational well-being, as well as family satisfaction. These findings are in line with previous studies on the negative impact of intergenerational conflict on Chinese Canadian emerging adults’ psychological well-being (J. Li, 2001) and Chinese American emerging adults’ psychological and physical well-being (R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001; Lim et al., 2009). Converging evidence was obtained from the qualitative portion, where participants identified feeling frustrated and depressed, having headaches or trouble sleeping, or feeling unhappy at home due to intergenerational conflict. However, a few participants in the qualitative portion identified that receiving emotional support from their friends strengthened their friendships, suggesting a potential positive outcome of intergenerational conflict.

Importantly, the inclusion of both negative and positive well-being domains provided a more comprehensive view of their relations with intergenerational conflict. Well-being domains included negative psychological symptoms (i.e., depression and anxiety) but also positive well-being facets, thereby answering the call to reduce the over-emphasis on pathology (e.g., Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003). Overall, given the clear and consistent negative relations between intergenerational conflicts and domains of Chinese Canadian emerging adults’ well-being, it is not surprising that intergenerational conflict is one of the most common areas of concern for Asian American emerging adults seeking counselling (R. M. Lee et al., 2005). Likewise,

intergenerational conflict could be a common and significant area of stress for Chinese Canadian university students and emerging adults as well. As such, it is important to examine how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with this stressor.

### **Domain D: Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults' Coping in Response to Intergenerational Conflict**

Domain D refers to coping, with the related research question: "How are the coping strategies used by Chinese Canadian emerging adults related to intergenerational conflict and well-being outcomes?" Coping is important because it can reduce the negative impact of stressors on well-being (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Heppner et al., 2004; Somerfield & McCrae, 2000).

Based on the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping and previous research, coping typically mediates or moderates the impact of stressors on psychological or physical well-being (Heppner et al., 2004; Somerfield & McCrae, 2000). Indeed, engagement coping and private emotional outlets emerged as significant mediators of the relation between intergenerational conflict and the well-being domains. However, different patterns between well-being domains and coping strategies were observed for the four coping strategies in the study.

#### ***Coping using Engagement Coping***

Quantitative results with engagement coping support the stressor-coping-outcome mediation path outlined in the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. The more intergenerational conflict, the less likely participants were to use engagement coping, which led to poorer psychological, physical, and relational well-being. In the opposite direction, engagement coping may alleviate the negative relation between intergenerational conflict and well-being. However, this finding is different from that of Lee and Liu (2001) who examined



Asian American university students and found no effects of approach-oriented coping strategies. The conflicting findings may be partially explained by the difference in populations as well as the measure of the coping strategies (e.g., approach-oriented coping strategies also include seeking emotional support, which is more like collective coping in the current study).

Despite the potential role of engagement coping as a protective factor, it is concerning that engagement coping becomes less frequently employed as intergenerational conflict intensifies. Qualitative results help to illuminate potential reasons for the reduction in engagement coping: the interpersonal nature of intergenerational conflict, parents' openness to engagement coping, and the severity of intergenerational conflict. First, intergenerational conflict involves an interpersonal interaction. Thus, engagement coping can involve participants confronting the source of the conflict—their parents. If participants used engagement coping (e.g., confrontation or problem-solving with their parents) in the context of intergenerational conflict, they would have to overcome additional potential emotional barriers (e.g., fear, anger). This contrasts with engagement coping in response to more logistical problems (e.g., academic burnout), which is more likely to involve a logistical, rational, and problem-solving approach that does not involve an emotional confrontation of the people contributing to the stressor. Furthermore, the two scenarios presented in the study (i.e., choice of career, wanting parents to be more affectionate) may be stressors that participants perceive to be difficult to change.

Second, participants described different parental reactions to engagement coping in the qualitative interviews, highlighting the dynamic interaction between family context and coping strategies. Some participants expressed learning that they cannot “solve” or change their parents' expectations or behaviours, thus rendering a problem-solving approach unrealistic. As such, as conflicts escalate, Chinese Canadian emerging adults might become less likely to use

engagement coping to avoid the emotional tolls of confronting their parents, or they simply feel that problem-solving would not result in any useful solutions. Further, Elizabeth and Sharon described that neither they nor their parents agree on the problem, which presents a significant barrier for problem-solving. Indeed, traditional Chinese values of obeying and deferring to one's elders likely reduces parents' tolerance of disagreement from their children (Phinney et al., 2000). As such, although engagement coping may help to alleviate the negative impact of intergenerational conflict, contextual factors may prevent its effective use. It appears that parents also need to be open to engagement coping for it to be effective, since problem-solving and confrontation are typically interpersonal processes.

Third, other research suggests that engagement coping may only be effective at lower, but not higher, levels of intergenerational conflict. A study of Asian American university students found that problem-solving was effective only when there was a low level of intergenerational conflict, but had deleterious effects when family conflict was high (R. M. Lee et al., 2005). Similarly, a problem-solving approach also exacerbated stress when family conflict was high for Hmong American university students (Su et al., 2005). Accordingly, in the current study, participants were less likely to use engagement coping as intergenerational conflict increased. The difference in effectiveness of engagement coping at different levels of conflict again highlights the context dependence of the coping process.

Fourth, the power differential between parents and their children may present another barrier to engagement coping. Even as emerging adults, children are typically more dependent on their parents than their parents are on them. Indeed, having and feeling that one has less power has been linked to a greater tendency to inhibit, rather than express, one's attitudes and emotions (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). As such, power and perceived power are likely related to the use of

both engagement and avoidance coping by Chinese Canadian emerging adults coping with intergenerational conflict. This is particularly relevant given the hierarchy in traditional Chinese families, where, influenced by Confucian values, children confronting their parents may be seen as a sign of disrespect (Doctoroff, 2012).

### ***Coping using Private Emotional Outlets***

Quantitative results with private emotional outlets also supported the stressor-coping-outcome mediation path—though opposite of the hypothesized direction. Participants with greater intergenerational conflict were more likely to use private emotional outlets, which was unexpectedly associated with lower psychological, physical, and relational well-being. The Private Emotional Outlets subscale was also the only significant mediator in the exploratory analyses with family satisfaction, with stronger intergenerational conflict leading to a greater utilization of private emotional outlets, and in turn lower family satisfaction. The negative association between private emotional outlets and well-being is surprising and concerning given that clinicians are likely to see Chinese Canadian emerging adults in this context. However, there is heterogeneity in the items that constitute the private emotional outlets subscale, ranging from professional help, to anonymous online support, to over-eating. Consequently, Chinese Canadian emerging adults' motivation to turn to private emotional outlets, as well as the specific method of coping, are important areas to assess in future research. Furthermore, the positive relation between the intensity of intergenerational conflict and private emotional outlets, combined with the Chinese cultural values of keeping family matters private (E. Lee & Mock, 2005), as well as stigma against seeking professional help for mental health or family concerns (E. Lee & Mock, 2005; C. J. Yeh & Wang, 2000), may result in private emotional outlets being used as a “last resort.” Indeed, the only participants in the interviews who indicated that she sought help from a

therapist had experienced intergenerational conflict severe enough to result in depression. In addition, results from the qualitative interviews show that Chinese Canadian participants generally preferred to speak to friends or family, again emphasizing the “last resort” nature of professional help, similar to past studies on Chinese Americans (E. Lee & Mock, 2005). Intense intergenerational conflict may also be qualitatively different from mild conflicts, such as those centered around logistical problems (e.g., timing of chores).

### ***Coping using Avoidance Coping***

In the quantitative portion of this study, stronger intergenerational conflict was linked to a greater use of avoidance coping. Avoidance coping had no significant associations with any well-being domains in the mediational model. The findings differ from Lee and Liu’s (2001) study on Asian American university students, which found that avoidance coping in response to intergenerational conflict increased psychological distress. Aside from the difference in the sample, coping strategies were also defined differently. Avoidance-oriented coping strategies in Lee and Liu’s (2001) study included substance use. Although group-level conclusions cannot be drawn, it was interesting to note that in the qualitative interviews, avoidance coping was the most commonly endorsed primary coping strategy. The selection of avoidance coping appears to be related to cultural beliefs or childhood experiences related to Chinese values. For instance, participants identified a desire to maintain harmony and avoid impairing their relationships with their parents, and interpersonal harmony has been found to be an important Chinese value (Chun et al., 2006; Doctoroff, 2012; E. Lee & Mock, 2005). Furthermore, the Chinese value of minimizing strong emotional expressions (Ames & Rosemont Jr., 1999) also aligns with avoidance coping. That is, the positive relation between intergenerational conflict and avoidance coping may be partially explained by a desire to avoid strong emotional expressions resulting

from more intense conflict.

While conflict avoidance is typically seen as passive in most Western societies, it may be congruent with collectivist cultural values and lead to better outcomes. Learning to accept intergenerational conflicts may align with the value of forbearance. For example, deferring to one's parents to avoid conflict was associated with the best outcomes for Arab Canadian emerging adults and their families when experiencing intergenerational conflict (Rasmi et al., 2014). Indeed, in the current study, Al and Emma explained that mild conflicts were not worth engaging in, and that it was better to avoid such conflicts. Sharon, for instance, described that she compartmentalizes her feelings so that she and her parents can continue to enjoy each other's company despite unresolved conflicts. This is especially important because some Chinese Canadian parents reported that spending quality time with their children acted as a buffer for the negative impact of intergenerational conflict on the parent-child relationship (Y. Lai, 2011). This form of coping is similar to acceptance and seems to have some positive effects.

Other participants in the qualitative portion of the current study described a sense of resignation. Even though they did not believe in deferring to their elders, their parents believed that children should not disagree with their parents. Parents' stances ultimately dictated the outcome of their parent-child conflicts. From a learning perspective, participants may elect to use avoidance coping or not based on past results. Consequently, these participants avoided arguing with their parents because they feel that they would always "lose." For instance, Ed stated that his parents would always retort with "you can't say that, because what exactly do you know of life?"—relaying a sense of resignation that his parents will not consider his opinions. This observation aligns with the finding that Chinese American parents tend to employ an authoritarian parenting style more than parents of European American descent who tend to value

a warmer, authoritative parenting style (Lui & Rollock, 2013). Differences in parents' and children's acculturation and parenting style preferences may lead to conflicts. Unfortunately, participants reported that such avoidance resulted in unresolved conflicts that can continue to fester, as well as a sense of passiveness and unassertiveness.

There may be two sub-types of avoidance coping with different circumstances and motivations. Some individuals may feel that they can choose to avoid conflict with their parents, while others seemed more resigned, with no choice but to avoid conflict. Thus, there might be forms of active avoidance to protect the relationship versus perceived involuntary avoidance coping. This is an area that may be fruitful for future research to examine, particularly given the importance of agency to Western cultures (Gelfand et al., 2006), where Chinese Canadian emerging adults reside. If two types of avoidance coping exist with opposite effects on well-being, it may partially explain the lack of association between avoidance coping and well-being in this study. This suggests the need to further parse out adaptive and maladaptive avoidant coping in measurement and research.

### ***Coping using Collective Coping***

Collective coping is another area of interest for future studies. Unexpectedly, collective coping was not a significant mediator, nor did it have any significant relations with intergenerational conflict or the well-being domains according to quantitative results. However, collective coping was mentioned in the qualitative interviews. For example, Ed explained how he goes to friends with similar intergenerational conflicts for information and support. Similarly, when asked about the role of others in coping, Al spontaneously highlighted the desire to seek family or friends with a similar background.

Although collective coping appears to play a role in the coping process according to the

qualitative interviews, its lack of associations with intergenerational conflict or well-being in the quantitative results is puzzling. Several explanations may be proposed for this finding given that collective coping was hypothesized to play a significant role due to the importance of collective values to Chinese Canadian emerging adults. First, some of the collective coping items involve going to one's parents, which may be difficult when the stressor is parent-child conflict. In this case, going to one's parents also involves an element of engagement coping (i.e., confronting the stressor). Indeed, a recent study examining a non-interpersonal stressor did find benefits of collective coping in response to academic stress (Kuo et al., 2017). Similarly, a study of Asian American university students found that perceived high familial support reduced the negative impact of racial discrimination on depressive symptoms (Wei et al., 2010). Since the Cross-Cultural Coping Scale used in the current study involved two Collective Coping items that specify parents as the support (e.g., "I deal with the problem by doing what my parents may do or say with regard to the situation") and two items that specified friends as the support, the averages were computed to compare the ratings for Collective Coping involving friends versus parents. The results show that endorsement was significantly higher for Collective Coping involving one's friends ( $M = 3.83, SD = .81$ ) compared to parents ( $M = 3.41, SD = .67$ ),  $t(215) = -5.80, p < .001$ . The results must be interpreted with caution because the four items used were not designed to be used as two separate subscales. Nonetheless, the trend supports the conjecture that Collective Coping in terms of intergenerational conflict may differ depending on the people involved in the "collective." Taken together, these findings show the differences in coping effectiveness across different contexts of the stressors.

Second, several participants explained in the interviews that they did not go to others because they felt that a solution could not be achieved. Additionally, some participants indicated

that they wished to keep family matters private. It should be noted that keeping family matters private and preserving family honour is a Chinese value (E. Lee & Mock, 2005). The current finding illustrates the complex influences of Chinese values on coping, and the interaction between the stressor and coping. Indeed, future research may benefit from examining subtypes of collective coping, such as referencing one's parents, or friends, or other important individuals (e.g., siblings, teachers, trusted elders) on various outcomes.

### ***Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults Use a Variety of Coping Strategies***

In addition to the discrepant patterns for each coping strategy in the mediational models, no single preferred coping strategy was identified in the quantitative results of the study. The average endorsement corresponded to “neither accurate nor inaccurate” for collective, avoidance, and engagement coping, along with slight tendency to utilize private emotional outlets. Although participants tended to endorse avoidance coping as their primary coping strategy in the qualitative interviews, they also described a variety of other coping strategies. This finding is contrary to previous research finding that Asian American university students were more likely to use direct, approach-oriented strategies than avoidance in responding to intergenerational conflict (R. M. Lee & Liu, 2001), though a different measure, the COPE (C. S. Carver et al., 1989), was used in the previous research. However, Lee and Liu (2001) found that approach-oriented strategies did not change the frequency of intergenerational conflict, showing that such strategies may not be effective. Nonetheless, results provide further evidence that a collectivist group cannot be assumed to employ primarily collectivistically-oriented coping.

One possible explanation for the diversity and multiplicity in coping strategies is that the selection of coping strategies varies with the context. As mentioned, the involvement of parents in intergenerational conflict confounds the measure of collective coping because confrontation is



necessary. Furthermore, the interpersonal nature of intergenerational conflict may render engagement coping and problem-solving approaches less effective because participants have less power and control over their parents' beliefs and behaviours compared to more logistical stressors (e.g., academic burnout, stress from seeking employment). Additionally, participants may elect to use engagement coping less and avoidance coping more as intergenerational conflict intensifies to maintain harmony and relationship integrity by avoiding further clashes. Indeed, research with Asian American university students has found problem-solving to be more effective at low levels of intergenerational conflict. In fact, a problem-solving approach reduced positive affect at higher levels of conflict (R. M. Lee et al., 2000).

Results from qualitative interviews also suggest that participants choose coping strategies based on their parents' beliefs and behaviours. The complex interaction between parents and their children precludes conclusions to be drawn from Chinese Canadian emerging adults' beliefs and behaviours alone, which provides additional support for the interaction between domains as proposed by the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. The context dependence of coping is further discussed below.

### **The Role of Parents' Reactions in Coping with Intergenerational Conflict.**

Qualitative results suggest that parents' reactions affect the relation between coping strategies and well-being outcomes in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. Although not tested in the current study, future research can examine whether parents' beliefs and behaviours moderate the association between coping strategies and well-being outcomes. For instance, the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping specified that the cultural context affects the acceptability of coping strategies, which was evident in parents' reactions to Chinese Canadian emerging adults' problem-solving or confrontational approaches. For interviewees whose parents reacted

negatively to engagement coping (e.g., refusing to listen to participants' perspectives), the coping strategy resulted in negative outcomes, such as increased conflict. On the other hand, participants whose families appeared to value harmony and conflict avoidance benefitted from avoiding conflicts. Of course, parents' reactions would be affected by their cultural values, showing again the importance of cultural influences on the coping process.

***The Relation Between Ethnic Cultural Values and Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults' Experience with Intergenerational Conflict***

Two research questions were posed in this study: "How are cultural values related to Chinese Canadian young adults' experience of intergenerational conflict, the selection of coping strategies, and the effectiveness of coping?" and "How will self-construal predict the selection of coping strategies in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults?" The results provide support for the main effects in the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping, that individual values are related to the nature of intergenerational conflict. Nine out of ten participants in the qualitative portion spontaneously identified the role of context in their experience of intergenerational conflict. All participants had parents who did not grow up in Canada, and they were aware that many of their parents' beliefs and behaviours (e.g., distrustfulness, overprotectiveness) stemmed from the environment that they experienced in their formative years. Additionally, participants' attempts to understand how their parents' beliefs and behaviours were formed may be viewed as a form of coping with intergenerational conflict through taking their parents' perspectives.

Participants also acknowledged the influence of Western culture on their values that tended to prioritize autonomy and openness to experience. Both qualitative and quantitative results showed that while most participants identified with both independent and interdependent

self-construals, they tended to believe their parents to be more interdependent and identifying more strongly with traditional Chinese values. For instance, many participants in the qualitative interviews reported that they respect but do not defer to their parents, which have resulted in conflict for participants when their parents believed in the need to obey one's parents as per traditional Confucian teachings (Doctoroff, 2012). This is in line with the acculturation gap that is often observed between emerging adults and their parents in ethnic Asian families (Ahn et al., 2008; Lui, 2015). These results also concur with a study examining Chinese Canadian parents (with children ranging from teenagers to adults in their early thirties), who generally reported themselves to be more collectivistic and less individualistic than their children (Y. Lai, 2011). Indeed, the current study, along with previous studies (e.g., Lai, 2011), show that there are differences between Chinese Canadians parents' and their children's attitudes and values.

Aside from cultural values, interviewed participants also spoke of broader generational differences, such as parental pressure to marry and have children early. Furthermore, cultural-specific values still permeate the nature of intergenerational conflict as some participants indicated that their parents expected them to reside with them until marriage. Previous research has shown that parents with more traditional Asian values place less emphasis on children achieving independence (X. Chen et al., 2010). Additionally, stage of life also plays a role in the nature of conflicts because emerging adulthood is often a time to solidify one's career choices, place of residence, and relationships.

Cultural and contextual factors appear to play a role in how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict. Chinese Canadian emerging adults consider: a) the fit between their coping strategies and their parents' reactions and cultural values; b) the nature and severity of the intergenerational conflict; and c) the anticipated outcomes of coping strategies on

themselves and the family (e.g., maintaining harmony; asserting their needs). As such, coping with intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults is not just intrapersonal.

### ***Rejection of Chinese Culture and Its Influences on the Coping Process***

Some Chinese Canadian emerging adults described a sense of rejection of Chinese culture and associated coping strategies (e.g., avoidance and acceptance to maintain harmony). For instance, Riza explained that she primarily employed engagement coping because she thought that the typical ways of communicating in Chinese culture were ineffective. She relayed that the more passive Chinese coping strategies (e.g., avoiding conflict) she used when she was younger was “not healthy.” Similarly, Al had identified that he tries to not be “the stereotype” (i.e., that Chinese people are conflict avoidant) and to engage with conflicts, despite also recognizing that a part of him is uncomfortable with confrontation. It appears that for some participants, Chinese culture is used to determine what not to do rather than as a reference point for one’s behaviour. However, it is important to consider that Chinese Canadian emerging adults may reject specific cultural values in terms of coping with parent-child conflict even if they identify with Chinese culture more broadly.

**Self-Construals and the Selection of Coping Strategies.** Culture and context relate to the selection of coping strategies in response to intergenerational conflict. Clear patterns of associations emerged between coping strategies and self-construals. As discussed in the Results section, the internal reliabilities for the self-construal subscales were relatively low, warranting caution in the interpretation of the results pertaining to coping and self-construal in the present study. These quantitative results map onto the main effects of Domain A (individual factors) on Domain D (coping) of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. Engagement coping was predicted by higher self-direction, self-reliance, and self-interest. It was expected that a desire to

make one's own decisions, and to rely on oneself would be associated with the active, problem-solving nature of engagement coping. However, it was surprising that lower self-interest predicted engagement coping. Perhaps, as Alice explained in the qualitative portion, avoiding one's parents (which is especially easy for participants who have moved out) may be an intuitive and self-centered response, while addressing problems within the parent-child relationship may require a greater commitment to the relationship. Therefore, it appears that engagement coping may not necessarily be related to coping strategies that are best for oneself, but instead, the focus may be on important relationships. These results illustrate that approach-oriented coping can potentially satisfy both independent and interdependent values, and that engagement coping is not simply a "selfish," self-focused manner of coping.

Collective coping was predicted by lower self-containment, lower self-direction, and lower self-reliance according to quantitative results. As hypothesized, collective coping was related to interdependent factors that highlight the importance of others and their opinions in one's life. As can be seen from the qualitative results, participants referred to an element of norm referencing—going to others with similar backgrounds or experiences to learn about what they have done or would do in a comparable situation, thus reflecting connectedness to others and receptiveness to their influences. The relations between interdependent self-construals and collective coping provides evidence for the collective coping construct as one that is relevant to collective, interdependent values.

Avoidance coping was predicted by lower self-expression and surprisingly, lower self-reliance according to quantitative results. The negative relation between self-expression and avoidance coping provides support for the idea that Chinese Canadian emerging adults use non-confrontational strategies to preserve social harmony. Indeed, avoiding future conflict aligns

with traditional Chinese values of social harmony (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) as well as prioritizing relationship integrity and others' needs over those of one's own (Chun et al., 2006). While avoidance might help to prevent conflict, at least in the short term, higher self-reliance was expected to be related to avoidance coping because avoidance implies less interaction with one's parents and hence fewer opportunities to address relationship problems. However, as Emma explained, avoidance may be used to avoid further impairing the parent-child relationship, particularly when no solution seems available. Indeed, avoidance can be a conflict de-escalation strategy that could benefit the parent-child relationship by allowing both parties to "cool off." Surprisingly, however, avoidance coping had no association with self-interest.

Severity of intergenerational conflict was the only significant predictor of private emotional outlets according to quantitative results. In light of participants expressing that they prefer to keep family matters private, and mental health stigma, it appears that the decision to seek private emotional outlets may be a "last resort." As such, self-construal may be less relevant because a more severe degree of conflict is required for this method of coping to be invoked.

**Summary of Culture's Relation with the Coping Process.** Overall, as the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping and previous literature suggest, culture plays a role in the coping process. The study found support for the stressor-coping-outcome mediation path for engagement coping and private emotional outlets, as well as the relation between Domain A (individual factors; self-construals), Domain B (environmental factors; country of upbringing), and Domain C (stressor; intergenerational conflict). The interaction between Chinese and Canadian cultures, parents' beliefs and reactions, as well as acculturation and generational gaps are a few of the contributors to differences in values between parents and their children that ultimately shape the nature of intergenerational conflict, the selection of coping strategies, and

the effectiveness of these coping strategies. Despite limiting the study sample to Chinese Canadian emerging adults, heterogeneity still exists within this group, highlighting the need for more research to illuminate the role of micro (e.g., family communication style, parents' beliefs and behaviours) and macro levels of cultural influences. Indeed, both micro and macro levels of influences on individuals and their coping processes were discussed in the Cultural and Contextual model of coping, in Domain B (Environmental Factors, including immediate relationships, as well as the sociocultural context).

### ***The Utility of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping in the Current Study***

Relatedly, one of the primary reasons for selecting the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping for the current study was its comprehensive nature. Furthermore, the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping was formulated to explain the coping process for ethnic and racial minorities in the U.S, which is reflected in the cultural and contextual dimensions, as well as in the suggested variables of interest (e.g., acculturative stress, collective coping). Research questions and variables were chosen with the guidance of the five domains in the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. Furthermore, the domains and proposed interactions between domains of the model formed a framework for the hypotheses as well as interpretation of qualitative and quantitative results. For instance, most participants in both quantitative and qualitative interviews identified stronger Chinese values in their parents due to spending more of their lives in China or Hong Kong. This can be interpreted as a reciprocal interaction between Domain A: Individual Factors (years in Canada, identification with traditional Chinese values) and Domain B: Environmental Factors (norms and customs in country of upbringing). Likewise, the superordinate themes from the qualitative analyses were clearly sorted under domains of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. Although it was not possible in the current study to

test every domain interaction posited by the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping, the results support the interactive nature of the model. However, a disadvantage of the model is that its comprehensive nature renders it difficult to choose specific variables of interest to study.

Results of the current study can also be linked to the Cultural and Contextual Coping Model. First, Heppner et al. (2014) indicated that coping can involve a dispositional coping style as well as situation-specific coping strategies. Although this was not examined in this study, qualitative results suggest that both do exist. Some participants indicated being generally conflict-avoidant or conflict-engaging, reflecting a dispositional coping style. However, they varied their coping strategies with different people (e.g., using problem-solving with friends, but not with family), thereby showing situation-specific coping strategies. The fact that participants varied their coping strategies despite potentially having a dispositional coping style may indicate a prominent role for situational coping strategies. Coping flexibility (Lester et al., 1994) is useful because the context affects the effectiveness of the same coping strategies; research has shown that the outcomes of problem-focused coping or seeking social support differ based on the context of the stressful situation (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Dispositional and situational influences likely interact to determine the resultant coping strategy. The existence of situational coping, however, aligns with the observation that context influences the coping process.

Second, Heppner et al. (2014) indicated that coping strategies can vary along the collectivist-individualist dimension, reflecting the influences of the cultural context. The inclusion of collective coping and avoidance coping, in addition to engagement coping, fit into this framework. Furthermore, all three types of coping strategies were discussed in the quantitative and qualitative components, showing that Chinese Canadian emerging adults employ both individualist and collectivist coping strategies.



## **Limitations and Future Directions**

This study aimed to contribute to the scarce literature on intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. However, there are several limitations that future studies may address.

### ***Using More Specific Measures***

As discussed, collective coping may be separated into coping strategies that involve one's parents, other family members (e.g., siblings, aunts, uncles), or friends. The utility of further decomposing collective coping strategies highlights the context dependence of coping—in this case, the involvement of parents in the stressor (i.e., intergenerational conflict) can deter collective coping strategies that involve one's parents. Similarly, avoidance coping appeared to have two subtypes in the current study—a resigned type of perceived forced “acceptance,” and one where participants chose to avoid and disengage from intergenerational conflict seemingly to protect the relationship. Likewise, private emotional outlets would benefit from a more nuanced analysis, since it ranges from seeking professional or online anonymous support, to turning to food. For example, future studies may distinguish between the various types of private emotional outlets by, for example, examining the link between coping and professional help-seeking specifically, or between coping and seeking anonymous support online. Additionally, qualitative interviews or focus groups may be used to explore the motivations for and outcomes of using private emotional outlets for Chinese Canadian emerging adults responding to intergenerational conflict. Clarifying the role of professional help in how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict would be especially useful in informing mental health policy, psychoeducation, and for counsellors and clinicians.

In addition, the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale, used to measure

intergenerational conflict, did not allow participants to specify which of their parents with whom they had conflicts. However, broadly speaking, mothers and fathers have different parenting styles, and parenting style further varies based on the gender of the child (Videon, 2005). For instance, females are typically socialized to be more nurturant, while males are raised to be more stoic. Furthermore, daughters and sons may also differ in terms of their involvement with their families. Daughters have been found to be key caregivers of Chinese Canadian parents, with 35.4% of caregivers being daughters, compared to 22.4% being the sons in a study conducted by Lai et al. (2007). These differences in gender-based emotional expressions and family involvement are likely to be related to the nature of conflict as well as the resultant coping process experienced by Chinese Canadians and are a fruitful area for further research.

### ***Adopting a Longitudinal Design***

Although the current study used a comprehensive, mixed-methods design, it remains cross-sectional in nature. Although there appears to be support for the stressor-coping-outcome mediation path for engagement coping and private emotional outlets, the directionality of the associations can only be inferred. Future studies employing a longitudinal design can provide evidence for the directionality of relations between the coping variables. For instance, Chinese Canadian emerging adults can complete questionnaires about their recent experience with intergenerational conflict and their coping strategies and report their health outcomes after a month. Or, a longitudinal, experimental design (e.g., an intervention involving psychoeducation about coping with intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults) can be used. Furthermore, a longitudinal design will be able to better clarify the interactions between the various coping domains and establish causality. As Heppner et al. (2012) explained, the employment of a coping strategy can change the nature of the stressor, which may then lead to a

different strategy being appropriate. Additionally, a longitudinal design with multiple points of assessment may provide a clearer trajectory of coping effectiveness, since some coping strategies may have short-term effects that differ from long-term effects. For instance, avoiding one's parents may lead to short-term relief, but impair the parent-child relationship over the long term.

### ***Addressing the Intention-Behaviour Gap***

The quantitative component of this study measured participants' intended coping behaviour by asking them to rate the likelihood of using certain coping strategies. However, intention-behaviour gaps (L. E. Smith et al., 2016) have been found in various domains, such as studying behaviours in US university students (Blasiman et al., 2017), adherence to antiviral medication in studies from thirteen countries (L. E. Smith et al., 2016), and physical exercise in a meta-analytic review (Rhodes & de Bruijn, 2013). As such, the discrepancy between intended versus actual behaviour can limit the accuracy of reported coping behaviour intentions. This limitation can be addressed with a longitudinal design as well, where participants first report their intended coping strategies, and after a delay, recall the coping strategies that they employed. This design can also allow the researcher to explore the barriers to intended behaviours, as well as the contextual factors in the decision-making process regarding which coping strategies to use.

### ***Studying Parents' Contributions to Coping with Intergenerational Conflict***

Parents are an essential part of parent-child conflict and influence how Chinese Canadian emerging adults cope with intergenerational conflict. However, the current study was limited to Chinese Canadian emerging adults. Consequently, future studies can examine Chinese Canadian parents' experience of intergenerational conflict—an even more under-studied field than intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. For instance, future studies can

examine parents' cultural values and beliefs, how these factors impact the nature of conflict, and how parents react to conflict. Additionally, the inclusion of parents would clarify how parents expect their children to react to conflict (e.g., deference or assertiveness), and how they in turn react to their children's actual coping strategies. A clearer idea of the parents' perspective would provide a more comprehensive understanding of intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadians.

Additionally, parent-child relationship quality may be another important factor in the coping process. For example, parent-child relationship quality is likely to affect the nature of intergenerational conflict, which is an under-researched area in the literature. If a parent-child relationship is already strained, additional conflicts would likely worsen the relationship. On the flip side, if parents and their children enjoy a positive relationship where they feel comfortable with each other, there may be more observable conflicts because they are more open in their communication. These conflicts may allow discussions and compromises that could further improve parent-child relationship quality. In addition, parent-child relationship quality may moderate the effect of coping on well-being. Given a strong parent-child relationship, engaging in avoidance coping may not result in significant negative impacts as parents and their children may still be able to enjoy time together. Conversely, with poor parent-child relationship quality, further avoidance may impair the relationship given even less interaction and lead to negative effects on the emerging adult's well-being. Alternatively, however, avoidance coping may be adaptive if the parent-child relationship is poor to avoid further conflicts or to prevent complete alienation between the parents and children.

Family expressiveness is another promising construct that may play a role in intergenerational conflict, which future studies may examine. Family expressiveness refers to the style of emotional expression in the family (Halberstadt, 1986), and can be divided along two

dimensions: positivity (how pleasant or unpleasant the affect is) and dominance (dominant or submissive expressive style). Clearly, family socialization of emotional expressiveness is likely to be relevant to how intergenerational conflict is expressed, and how the family copes with such conflicts. Furthermore, the dominant-submissive style may be related to more assertive or passive responses, which is likely associated with engagement or avoidance coping styles, as well as cultural values related to deference to parents.

### ***Distinguishing Between High Versus Low Intergenerational Conflict***

Different patterns of coping strategies were found for higher versus lower levels of intergenerational conflict severity in Chinese Canadian emerging adults in the quantitative results of the current study. Furthermore, private emotional outlets appear to be a “last resort” used when there is considerable conflict. Future studies can examine the potential dilemmas Chinese Canadian emerging adults may feel between seeking external help, versus traditional Chinese values of keeping family problems private. Thus, instead of treating conflict severity as a control variable, future studies may employ a larger sample to explore its role.

### ***Exploring Individual and Environmental Influences***

Some participants in the interviews were unable to distinguish between the influences of their personality or cultural values in terms of their preference for interpersonal harmony. Future studies can consider the influence of personality—agreeableness in particular—on the coping process. Similarly, environmental factors may receive further attention as well. As an example, the family dynamics (e.g., communication style with parents) should contribute to the experience of intergenerational conflict for Chinese Canadian emerging adults. Indeed, Lui (2015) highlighted the lack of consideration of the qualities of the familial relationships (attachment, perceived cohesion and closeness) in studies on intergenerational conflict.

### ***Gender Differences in Intergenerational Conflict and Coping***

Male participants reported more frequent and more intense intergenerational conflict than female participants. Interestingly, this is the opposite of previous research, such as a review of research with immigrant children by Suárez-Orozco and Qin (2006), which involved mostly studies with immigrant adolescent girls of various ethnic groups. Similarly, Lui's (2015) meta-analyses of intergenerational conflict in Asian and Latinx Americans found that females were more likely to have a greater acculturation mismatch with their parents, and thus were more likely to experience intergenerational conflict. Of note, the current quantitative sample had much more male participants than females compared to previous research. Future studies are needed to clarify how the gender imbalance might contribute to the discrepant findings.

Female participants were more likely to use engagement coping and less likely to use avoidance coping. Perhaps females are more likely to approach, rather than avoid, interpersonal conflict with their parents, which future studies should examine. These gender-differentiated results are also relevant to the current study in that most of the participants in the quantitative sample were male, while most of the interviewees in the qualitative portion were female. The aforementioned gender difference aligns with findings that in general males are more likely to repress, rather than express, their emotions when compared to females (Good et al., 2005). Therefore, the proportion of males may result in a higher endorsement of avoidance coping in the quantitative sample, compared to a gender-balanced or predominantly female sample. Although there were no obvious gender differences in the qualitative portion of the current study, perhaps the predominance of female participants lent itself to more discussion of engagement coping.

### ***Addressing Heterogeneity Within Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults***

Since the current study aimed to contribute to a relatively understudied area, Chinese

Canadian emerging adults were considered as a broad group. However, there is heterogeneity within Chinese Canadians, ranging from the local cultures from which they originated in China that may differ in terms of its collectivist or individualist nature (Talhelm et al., 2014), or the size of their families. Indeed, some participants stated that their parents were “forced” to become more independent and individualistic in Canada because they did not have any relatives there. As such, future studies might explore differences based on family size and composition.

### ***Studying a Broader Repertoire of Coping Strategies***

The coping strategies measured in the current study are reactive in nature. That is, participants were asked to imagine themselves in an existing intergenerational conflict or were asked to recall past instances of conflict and how they coped. However, there is increasing emphasis on future-oriented coping (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Proactive coping can include building resources (e.g., cognitive, social, financial) in anticipation of stressors and recognizing potential stressors (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). Preventative coping includes efforts to avoid the occurrence of a stressor, such as exercising to prevent health-related problems (Schwarzer & Knoll, 2004). The inclusion of these future-oriented coping strategies may be particularly relevant to the design of clinical interventions in teaching clients to not only cope with current stressors, but to prepare for future stressors.

### ***Clarifying the Interactions Between Coping Strategies***

Both the qualitative and quantitative portions of the study showed that Chinese Canadian emerging adults use a variety of coping strategies. However, the current study did not examine the interaction between coping strategies. Folkman and Moskowitz (2004) indicated that problem-focused coping and positive reappraisal are often used together, suggesting that the two strategies may facilitate each other. It is plausible that because both collective and avoidance

coping are related to the collectivist emphasis on interpersonal relationships, they may also be used in tandem. For example, participants might avoid topics that may incite further conflict with their parents, while at the same time seeking guidance from friends of a similar ethnic background regarding how to cope with conflict with their parents.

### ***Sampling and Procedural Limitations***

The sampling characteristics may limit the generalizability of the findings. As with most studies, participation was voluntary. Thus, participant self-selection bias was likely present, involving only participants who felt comfortable sharing their experiences with intergenerational conflict. It is plausible that Chinese Canadian emerging adults who experience intense levels of unresolved intergenerational conflict may not want to discuss their experiences. Further, all participants, and especially those who signed up for the interviews, had to be at a certain level of English mastery to complete the study. It is reasonable to expect that Chinese Canadian emerging adults with greater English mastery would have been in Canada longer and have acculturated to a greater extent. As such, these results may not apply to, for instance, recent immigrants who have not yet mastered English and/or have a stronger identification with traditional Chinese values.

Furthermore, the quantitative results must be interpreted within the specific demographic characteristics of the current sample. Most participants (44.2%) belonged to the 1.5<sup>th</sup> generation, with the remainder belonging to either the 1<sup>st</sup> generation (28.6%) or the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (26.7%). Accordingly, most participants (91.7%) were Canadian citizens. As reviewed, past studies (e.g., Bui, 2009; Ying et al., 2001) have found mixed and inconclusive results regarding the relations between immigration status, generation status, and intergenerational conflict. In the current study, no associations were found between the three variables. However, some ideas will be put



forth regarding potential influences of the sample characteristics on the results.

The high proportion of Chinese Canadian emerging adults in the 1.5<sup>th</sup> generation likely contributed to a sample of participants who had to navigate between the values of two cultures, which is supported by the observation that most participants endorsed having both independent and interdependent values. Furthermore, since the mean years spent in Canada is 13.7 for the entire sample, most of the participants have spent more of their lives in Canada. Therefore, greater acculturation may be expected, which is reflected in more participants indicating stronger identification with Canadian culture than their identification with Chinese culture. A stronger identification with Canadian culture may lead to more conflicts with their parents, who were reported to have relatively weaker identification with Canadian culture and relatively stronger identification with Chinese culture. Furthermore, Western values are likely to promote a preference for action-oriented engagement coping by the current sample of Chinese Canadian young adults. Therefore, a different sample of less acculturated Chinese Canadian emerging adults might have resulted in less endorsement of engagement coping. Additionally, only six participants were born in countries other than China or Canada. As reviewed, there are some sociopolitical and cultural differences between China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Thus, a sample that is not predominantly mainland Chinese Canadians may have led to different results as well.

Compared to the quantitative sample, the qualitative sample included participants who were older (24.9 versus 22.1) and who were predominantly female. Participants in the qualitative portion also have spent much more time in Canada on average than participants in the quantitative sample (20.5 vs. 13.7 years). Accordingly, all were Canadian citizens, with six participants belonging to the 1.5<sup>th</sup> generation and four participants to the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation. Therefore, the aforementioned influences of acculturation and Western values are expected to be

even more prominent.

### ***Number of Siblings***

In the current study, the mean number of siblings for the quantitative portion was 1.14 ( $SD = .68$ ), and 60 ( $SD = .70$ ) in the qualitative component. Therefore, most participants were from relatively small families with one or two children. This is not surprising given the history of the one-child policy in China, which was in effect between 1980 and 2016 (Pletcher, 2020), and the fact that 69.6% of participants in the quantitative sample were born in China. Exploratory analyses in the current study suggest a few weak relations between number of siblings with intergenerational conflict and coping strategies. It appears that having more siblings may be related to more intergenerational conflict. Future research is needed to clarify the reason, but it may be that negative family dynamics can be exacerbated when there are more members of the family (and therefore sources of conflict). For instance, adolescents who feel that their parents treat their children unequally in an unfair manner provide lower ratings for parent-child relationship quality (Kowal et al., 2004).

In terms of coping, not surprisingly, having more siblings was correlated with more collective coping. As mentioned in the discussion, and by participants in qualitative interviews, siblings may be a source of support since it could be difficult to confront one's parents about intergenerational conflict. Accordingly, this may lead to a reduced use of engagement coping as participants cope through support from their siblings. Interestingly, having more siblings was also related to using private emotional outlets more often, though the reason is unclear.

With the replacement of the one-child policy with the two-child policy in China in 2016 (Pletcher, 2020), family compositions are likely to change in the next few decades. Increasing family sizes are likely to change the nature of intergenerational conflict and coping as well.

**Procedural Limitations.** In terms of procedural limitations, both the quantitative and qualitative components used a self-report format. As is typical of self-report, data may be affected by social desirability and memory bias effects. A fruitful way to address this limitation is to examine parent-child dyads to gain both perspectives on the intergenerational conflict. Alternatively, informants (e.g., siblings, significant others) may also be interviewed to provide collateral data on the intergenerational conflict coping process.

Relatedly, although the qualitative interviews allowed rich accounts of participants' lived experiences, the nature of the online, face-to-face interactions may have led some participants to feel ashamed or embarrassed and thus uncomfortable revealing full details. Although interviewees appeared to become comfortable through the course of the interview, there is still a possibility that some information was omitted.

Limitations also exist in the measures employed. The current study is one of the first to employ the Self-Construal Scale 48, but some of the subscale internal reliabilities were low, ranging from .56 to .73, with many of the Cronbach's alphas being in the .60 range. As explained in the Measures section, the Self-Construal Scale 48 was retained in the analyses, but the low alphas were a clear limitation. Further, although it would not be self-construal per se, a factor related to conflicting desires may be a valuable addition to the measure. In the current study, many participants in the qualitative portion discussed conflicting desires to maintain interpersonal harmony but also assert their needs. Since Chinese Canadians often must navigate between two cultures, conflicts in norms and values are likely common and relevant. In addition, despite the advantages of scenario-based measures, both scenarios presented in the current study were rated, on average, to be "somewhat stressful" and "somewhat relatable." As such, there is room to improve the external validity of these scenarios, where a more relatable and stressful

scenario of intergenerational conflict may result in a clearer picture of participants' coping process. Nonetheless, there is often a trade-off between external and internal validity, and the priority will need to be gauged by future researchers. For instance, scenarios may be more relatable if participants are asked to recall a specific instance of intergenerational conflict (e.g., disagreements over career choice), but the variability in scenarios will also increase between participants.

**Statistical Limitations and Future Directions.** The current study took a variable-focused approach to statistical analysis. That is, analyses examined the relations between variables of interest. However, future studies may adopt person-centered analyses, which could complement the results of this study. Person-centered analyses are useful for identifying subpopulations within the sample based on variables of interest and examining how these subpopulations relate to predictors or outcomes (Howard & Hoffman, 2018). For example, using a person-centered approach, researchers could use cluster analyses to find “coping profiles” (e.g., Tam, 2008), and examine how each of these coping profiles relate to intergenerational conflict severity and well-being. The person-centered approach provides a more holistic view by finding patterns of variables that arise from the data, rather than examining hypothesized relations between variables. In addition, the person-centered approach is more accepting of variability in the data (i.e., identifying subpopulations instead of finding group averages), which is in line with the appreciation of the cultural and contextual influences on coping.

### **Implications for Research**

The current study is one of the first to examine intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults, thereby contributing to a relatively understudied field. Several implications of the current study on future research will be discussed.

### *Chinese Canadian Emerging Adults are Appropriate for Studying Cultural Influences*

Most research in coping has been conducted using participants of European origin (Chun et al., 2006). Therefore, studying Chinese Canadians adds to the diversity in psychological research. According to Heppner et al. (2012), “conducting culturally inclusive coping research has great potential to expand the depth and richness of the existing conceptual coping models and empirical knowledge bases” (p. 85). Chinese Canadians also form a sizeable ethnic minority group, i.e., 5.1% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2016), and thus the large number of Chinese Canadians can facilitate the recruitment of this ethnic minority group.

Additionally, Chinese Canadian participants in the current study endorsed both independent and interdependent values, with conflicting values, such as being assertive and maintaining interpersonal harmony. As Phinney et al. (2005) showed, autonomy remains important for various ethnic minority groups in the United States with collectivist heritage cultures. Indeed, Chinese Canadians may experience stress as they attempt to reconcile two cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Furthermore, Chinese Canadian parents and their children must navigate acculturation gaps in addition to generational gaps (Lui, 2015), such that there is additional inter-cultural conflict on top of intergenerational conflict. For example, some interviewees in the study expressed a desire to move out of the family home, which clashed with their parents’ expectations that they would live with their parents until marriage. The presence of conflicting cultural values makes Chinese Canadian emerging adults particularly interesting and appropriate for studying how culture affects coping.

Relatedly, a few participants in the qualitative interviews described a rejection of Chinese culture and associated coping strategies. Rather than using Chinese culture or individuals as a reference for values or behaviours, some participants seemed to use Chinese norms as a

reference for what not to do. The rejection of Chinese culture is reminiscent of Berry's (1997) acculturation statuses. As such, future studies may examine the potential link between different acculturation statuses (i.e., assimilation, marginalization, biculturalism, and separation) and Chinese Canadian emerging adults' coping process. For instance, Chinese Canadian individuals in the marginalization or assimilation statuses may be more likely to reject traditional Chinese ways of coping, and the opposite may be observed for those in the separation status. Indeed, the length of stay in Canada has been found to affect the choice of coping strategies in Chinese Canadians (Kuo, 2011), suggesting the coping preferences may change with acculturation. Examining the possible link between acculturation statuses and coping strategy preferences may be a useful way to further understand how cultural values affect the coping process, and to further distinguish between different coping preferences within the same ethnic group (i.e., Chinese Canadians). Although acculturation was not employed in the current study given that it is a much broader construct than self-construal, it can be used to measure identification with or rejection of the host or heritage cultures in future coping research on Chinese Canadians.

### ***The Utility of the Mixed-Methods Design in Cultural Research***

In the current study, qualitative, phenomenological descriptions complemented group-level patterns derived from the quantitative results. Given the relative lack of quantitative measures designed for Chinese Canadians or individuals of Asian descent, the addition of a qualitative component reduced the limitations of the quantitative measures. Furthermore, the richness of qualitative data (e.g., identifying two potential subtypes of avoidance coping) can inspire future quantitative measures. Additionally, the mixed-methods design allowed the combination of two common methods of assessing coping—a “checklist” method in the quantitative portion, and a narrative approach in the qualitative portion where participants were

able to describe personal examples of intergenerational conflict. Combining the two methods improved internal and external validities. Furthermore, studies using both quantitative and narrative methods to assess coping found that the results overlap, but not completely, providing evidence for the non-redundancy of the two methods (Moskowitz & Wrubel, 2000).

### ***The Use of Measures Developed on and Validated for Asian Participants***

The study used measures developed on and validated for Asian individuals. Indeed, Heppner et al. (2012) called for the study of coping strategies that highlight important cultural values of ethnic and minority groups. The results of the current study also provide evidence for the reliability of these measures in a Chinese Canadian emerging adult sample, apart from the Self Construal Scale-48, which had fairly low internal reliabilities.

### ***The Use of Intergenerational Conflict Scenarios***

The study used a scenario-based measure of coping strategies, with scenarios likely to be relevant to Chinese Canadian adults and can be adopted and improved by future researchers. Results showed that on average, participants found the scenarios to be “somewhat relatable” and “somewhat stressful.” Scenario-based measures have been found to be more useful than Likert-type rating scales (Peng et al., 1997).

### ***The Utility of the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping***

As discussed, the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping provided a comprehensive framework for the coping process, which helped in formulating the research questions, selecting appropriate variables, and contextualizing both qualitative and quantitative results.

### ***Intergenerational Conflict May Change with Age in Chinese Canadians***

The results of the qualitative portion of the study provided tentative evidence for the developmental trajectory of intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadians. Both qualitative and

quantitative results show that intergenerational conflict remains a relevant stressor for Chinese Canadian emerging adults. In accordance with developmental changes, conflicts in emerging adulthood are more centered around marriage and family life as opposed to academics in adolescence. Furthermore, there were clear cultural influences on these conflicts, such as parents expecting their adult children to live at home until marriage, or pressure to marry and have children. For nine out of ten participants in the qualitative interviews, intergenerational conflict reduced in frequency and intensity as they achieved academic and/or vocational success and independence, showing that the developmental trajectory may be more similar to that of European American individuals (Reese-Weber, 2000).

### ***Culture's Role in the Coping Process***

Culture and context must be considered in coping research. Using the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping (Heppner et al., 2012) as the framework, this study presented a culturally contextualized examination of intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults, heeding Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) call to consider the role of culture and context in coping, as well as Heppner et al.'s (2012)'s recommendation for research to "study how key individual and environmental variables [i.e., self-construal] affect stress, coping, and health outcomes for different racial and ethnic minority groups" (p. 109). Results reveal the relations between culture and the nature of intergenerational conflict, the selection of coping strategies, and the effectiveness of these strategies. Importantly, results also highlight the importance of micro levels of culture—namely, family communication style and parents' reactions to coping. Intergenerational conflict is an interaction between parents and their children, and parents' beliefs and behaviours affect those of their children, and vice versa. As such, future research and intervention should consider intergenerational conflict on both cultural



and family levels. Additionally, qualitative results show some findings contrary to conventional research, such as the positive relations between avoidance coping and well-being, or negative associations between engagement coping and well-being, that may be related to Chinese cultural values. Indeed, a lack of understanding can mislead clinicians into believing that avoidance coping is a sign of meekness, rather than a culturally sanctioned manner of maintaining harmony and respecting one's elders. Therefore, both macro (i.e., societal) and micro (e.g., familial) cultures are important.

Culture also has a nuanced role in the coping process. Engagement coping was predicted by a combination of independent and interdependent values. These results speak to the benefit of using a more nuanced, multi-dimensional measure of self-construal, as opposed to the classic independent-interdependent bidimensional conceptualization.

### ***Measuring Both Positive and Negative Outcomes***

One of the strengths of the current study is the inclusion of positive and negative outcome measures—that is, psychological distress, physical symptoms, and relational well-being. Future studies can further the balance by including measures of positive emotions as well. Studies have found that positive and negative emotions co-occur after individuals experience stressors, suggesting that positive and negative emotions are independent (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). For instance, adults grieving the deaths of their spouses felt both positive and negative emotions, which had different trajectories over time (Moskowitz et al., 2003).

### **Implications for Psychoeducation and Clinical Practice**

Although the current study does not directly involve clinical practice issues, the results contribute to an understanding of how Chinese Canadian emerging adults experience and cope with intergenerational conflict, which can inform clinical practice. This section is written to

maximize accessibility to the general audience.

### ***General Implications for Coping with Intergenerational Conflict***

1. Intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults had negative associations with psychological, physical, and relational well-being, as well as family satisfaction. Therefore, it is important to learn to cope effectively with the stressor.
2. Coping is a contextual and interactive process; there is no “correct” coping strategy. The effectiveness of coping strategies for intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults depends on various factors, such as the emerging adults’ values, family dynamics, the values and beliefs of parents, and the availability of certain coping strategies.
3. Intergenerational conflict may reduce the availability of coping strategies for Chinese Canadian emerging adults. They may be more reluctant to use collective coping (i.e., seeking their parents for support, or looking to their parents for guidance) because their parents are a part of the stressor. As such, developing other supports (e.g., other family members, friends) may be especially important and relevant.
4. Engagement coping (e.g., problem-solving, trusting oneself to be able to solve the problem) was positively related to psychological, relational, and physical well-being in response to intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian young adults. However, the effectiveness of this coping strategy appears to be highly dependent on how receptive parents are to a problem-solving approach. This coping strategy may also be less effective when intergenerational conflict is more severe and frequent.
5. Avoidance coping (e.g., distracting oneself, physically avoiding parents, avoiding topics that may raise conflicts) may have a positive association with well-being when Chinese Canadian emerging adults choose to spend their time and energy elsewhere or to preserve relational

harmony with their parents. On the other hand, avoidance coping may have a negative association with psychological and physical well-being for participants who feel as though there are no other ways to cope, and that they must resort to avoidance.

6. While the preference for collective and avoidance coping was linked to a variety of interdependent self-construals, engagement coping was related to a combination of independent and interdependent self-construals. As such, there is no straightforward link between independent and interdependent values with Chinese Canadian emerging adults' preferred coping strategies.

### ***Psychoeducation for Immigrant Parents and Their Children***

1. For most Chinese Canadian emerging adults in the qualitative interviews, intergenerational conflict improved with age as they achieved academic or vocational success. However, a minority of participants experienced increased conflict with age as their desire for independence increased with time.
2. The cultural context of one's upbringing shapes one's values and beliefs. Although Chinese Canadian emerging adults reported sharing many values and beliefs with their parents, the fact that Chinese Canadian emerging adults have generally spent more of their formative years in Canada means that they are likely to have different values (generally more individualistic) compared to their parents, in line with the acculturation gap that is often seen between Chinese Canadian parents and children. In turn, different expectations and values between parents and their children can lead to conflict. Therefore, expecting differences (e.g., children valuing autonomy and assertiveness), understanding the origin of these differences, and discussing these differences can help to ameliorate intergenerational conflict.
3. While some sources of conflicts are more obvious (e.g., age of marriage or preferred living

conditions), communication style can be a more subtle source of contention. The results of the current study show that some Chinese Canadian emerging adults, when compared to their parents, are more likely to prefer open, direct communication, and may find it frustrating when their parents expect them to be able to intuit others' needs. Openly discussing each other's expectations and communication styles can help to bridge this gap.

4. Intergenerational conflict necessarily involves a parent-child interaction. Therefore, even if Chinese Canadian emerging adults typically look to their parents for support and guidance, it is likely more difficult for Chinese Canadian emerging adults to seek support from their parents for parent-child conflict. Results from the qualitative interviews show that other coping strategies, such as seeking support or guidance from friends, thinking about possible solutions, or distraction, may be helpful.

### **Implications for Counselling and Therapy**

1. Since Chinese individuals tend to be reluctant to seek professional, psychological help (Abe-Kim et al., 2007; A. W. Chen & Kazanjian, 2005; Haris et al., 2005; Klimidis, McKenzie, Lewis, & Minas, 2000), most clinicians are not likely to see many Chinese Canadian clients. Therefore, research contributing to understanding Chinese Canadians' coping process helps to address the gap.
2. Private emotional outlets (seeking professional help, anonymous support in online forums, or turning to food) appears to be a "last resort" for Chinese Canadian emerging adults coping with intergenerational conflict. Participants were more likely to use private emotional outlets as the intensity and frequency of intergenerational conflicts increased. Therefore, clinicians should be aware of the general cultural stigma against help-seeking, the preference to keep family matters private, and watch for possible reluctance or ambivalence in Chinese

Canadian emerging adults seeking professional help to cope with intergenerational conflict.

3. The family dynamic (e.g., parents' reactions to Chinese Canadian emerging adults' coping strategies) affects the effectiveness of coping strategies. Some participants in this study reported a sort of "learned helplessness" avoidance, which seemed to have negative outcomes (e.g., frustration). Therefore, assessing family interaction and parents' reactions to intergenerational conflict is important for understanding intergenerational conflict.
4. Many Chinese Canadian emerging adults in the current study endorsed both independent and interdependent values, such as autonomy and family connectedness. These values can clash, including during intergenerational conflict. It will likely be informative to help Chinese Canadian clients explore their conflicting values as a first step to reaching a compromise. Chinese Canadian emerging adults' acceptance or rejection of heritage or host cultural norms and values around intergenerational conflict (e.g., the importance of establishing autonomy, or what "adulthood" entails) may engender additional distress or topics of discussion.
5. Some Chinese Canadian emerging adults in this study identified that they do not want to be "the stereotype," and seem to use Chinese culture as a metric of what not to do. Therefore, Chinese Canadian clients cannot be assumed to hold traditional Chinese values (e.g., avoiding conflict to maintain harmony). These Chinese Canadian emerging adults may also feel reluctant to disclose information (e.g., being conflict avoidant) that correspond to the stereotype of Chinese Canadians.
6. Chinese Canadian emerging adults in this study reported using a variety of coping strategies to cope with intergenerational conflict, including engagement coping (e.g., problem-solving, thinking about the conflict), collective coping (e.g., seeking emotional and/or informational support from friends or other family members), avoidance coping (e.g., distraction,

physically avoiding parents, avoiding the discussion of potential topics of conflict, acceptance), and private emotional outlets (e.g., seeking professional help or online support). It appears that rather than having a single effective strategy, participants preferred to use a variety of strategies, depending on the context of the intergenerational conflict, showing that they can flexibly use combinations of coping strategies.

7. It is important to be aware of current sociopolitical events concerning Chinese or Asian Canadians, which are likely to influence the nature of intergenerational conflict. The current COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in increased anti-Asian sentiments and hate crimes (Jeffords, 2020). A recent report showed that 79% of the Chinese Canadians surveyed felt that Canadians blamed Chinese people for the pandemic (Kurl et al., 2020). Similarly, 55% of respondents expected Asian Canadian children to be bullied when they return to school. The increased hostility against Asian Canadians is likely to exacerbate Chinese Canadian parents' belief that their children must excel to overcome discrimination, which may result in intensified parental pressure to study and achieve.

## **Conclusion**

The current study is one of the first to examine intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian emerging adults. Intergenerational conflict was negatively associated with psychological, physical, and relational well-being. With more intense intergenerational conflict, participants were more likely to use private emotional outlets and less likely to use engagement coping, which were both related to poorer outcomes. As such, understanding intergenerational conflict as experienced by Chinese Canadian emerging adults remains an important and relevant topic of study .

Additionally, the study used a mixed-methods approach with a culturally contextualized

model, the Cultural and Contextual Model of Coping. The role of culture can be seen in the coping process in response to intergenerational conflict. The cultural context of participants and their parents' upbringing shaped their values, attitudes, and behaviours, which then interacted to influence topics of intergenerational conflict. Furthermore, micro-level contexts (e.g., communication style, the relationship dynamic between parents and their children) related to participants and their parents' response to intergenerational conflicts, and the effectiveness of the coping strategies. Cultural influences were subtle rather than straightforward, with engagement coping being predicted by a combination of independent and interdependent values. Future studies can address many of the remaining gaps, for instance, by providing a more nuanced view of intergenerational conflict at different levels of intensity, Chinese Canadian parents' experience of intergenerational conflict, and the interaction between parents' and children's cultures. Given the complex and fluid nature of coping, more in-depth understanding of how Chinese Canadians cope with this significant stressor in future studies will benefit both empirical understanding and clinical intervention.

The current study highlighted the association between culture and coping. However, culture is constantly changing. The current COVID-19 pandemic, the resulting economic damages, changes to family and job situations, and increased anti-Asian sentiments will affect intergenerational conflict in Chinese Canadian families. Continued research that incorporates relevant cultural considerations is needed to ensure the well-being of Chinese Canadian families.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Permission for Study Measures

Measure	Permission obtained from	Permission obtained on
The Cross-Cultural Coping Scale (Kuo et al., 2006)	Ben C.H. Kuo, Ph.D.	March 10, 2019 via email
The Collectivist Coping Styles Inventory (Heppner et al., 2006)	Puncky P. Heppner, Ph.D.	April 3, 2019
The Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (Lee et al., 2000)	Richard M. Lee, Ph.D.	March 10, 2019 via email
Self-Construal Scale-48 (S. Yang, 2018)	Vivian L. Vignoles, Ph.D.	March 11, 2019 via email
Kessler Psychological Distress Scale (Kessler et al., 2002)	Ronald C. Kessler, Ph.D.	March 10, 2019 via email
Patient Health Questionnaire-15 (Kroenke et al., 2002)	Patient Health Questionnaire Website ( <a href="https://www.phqscreeners.com">https://www.phqscreeners.com</a> ) indicating that the measure is in the public domain and does not require permission to be used	March 10, 2019 via scale website
Positive Relations with Others Subscale of the Ryff's Scales of Psychological Well-Being (Ryff, 1989; 2014)	Carol Ryff, Ph.D.	March 12, 2019 via email
Family Satisfaction Scale (M. D. Carver & Jones, 1992)	Alexandra Cheyne (managing editor of Social Behavior and Personality)	March 28, 2019 via email

## Appendix B: Demographics Questionnaire

1. Sex: \_\_\_\_
2. Age: \_\_\_\_
3. Country of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Years in Canada: \_\_\_\_\_
5. What is your generation status in Canada?
  - a) 1<sup>st</sup> generation (born outside of Canada, immigrated after age 12)
  - b) 1.5 generation (born outside of Canada, immigrated at or before age 12)
  - c) 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (born in Canada, at least one parent is born outside of Canada)
  - d) 3<sup>rd</sup> generation and beyond
6. What is your immigration status?
  - a) Canadian citizen
  - b) Permanent resident
  - c) Other
7. What culture do you most identify with?  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. How much do you identify with Canadian culture?
  - a) Extremely
  - b) Very
  - c) Moderately
  - d) Slightly
  - e) Not at all
  - f) Don't know
9. How much do you identify with Chinese culture?
  - a) Extremely
  - b) Very
  - c) Moderately
  - d) Slightly
  - e) Not at all
  - f) Don't know

10. Parent/guardian 1's ethnicity:
- a. Chinese or Chinese Canadian (including mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan)
  - b. Other Chinese heritage, please specify \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Other non-Chinese
11. Parent/guardian 2's ethnicity: \_\_\_\_\_
- a. Chinese or Chinese Canadian (including mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan)
  - b. Other Chinese heritage, please specify \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Other non-Chinese
12. How much does your mother/father (choose one) identify with Canadian culture?
- a) Extremely
  - b) Very
  - c) Moderately
  - d) Slightly
  - e) Not at all
  - f) Don't know
13. How much does your mother/father (choose one) identify with Chinese culture?
- a) Extremely
  - b) Very
  - c) Moderately
  - d) Slightly
  - e) Not at all
  - f) Don't know
14. How much does your mother/father (choose one) identify with Canadian culture?
- a) Extremely
  - b) Very
  - c) Moderately
  - d) Slightly
  - e) Not at all
  - f) Don't know
15. How much does your mother/father (choose one) identify with Chinese culture?
- a) Extremely

- b) Very
- c) Moderately
- d) Slightly
- e) Not at all
- f) Don't know

16. How often did you talk to your parents/guardians over the past year?

- a) Every day
- b) A few times a week
- c) A few times a month
- d) A few times a year
- e) Once a year
- f) Less than once a year

17. How did you typically interact with your parents/guardians over the past year? (check all that apply)

- In person
- Video call (e.g., Skype, FaceTime)
- Over the phone
- Email
- Text messaging (or an equivalent app, such as Facebook Messenger)
- Physical mail
- Checking each other's public updates on social media apps (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram)

18. How many siblings do you have? \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C: Recruitment Materials for the Study

### *Quantitative Study Consent Form (Outside Participant Pool)*



University  
of Windsor

### CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: **Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict**

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Siqui Huang and Dr. Ben Kuo from the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. The results of the study will contribute to Siqui's Ph.D. dissertation. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact Siqui at [huang14p@uwindsor.ca](mailto:huang14p@uwindsor.ca).

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict, how they were affected by parent-child conflict, and how they coped with parent-child conflict. The role of cultural values will be examined as well.

#### PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey, taking 30-40 minutes, during which you will provide demographic information and complete questionnaires measuring your cultural values, experiences with parent-child conflict, how you coped with parent-child conflict, and how you were affected by parent-child conflict.

#### POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

One possible adverse effect of participation is the experience of fatigue and/or boredom given the general nature of completing questionnaires. Additionally, some items in the self-report measures concern your thoughts, feelings, and behaviours in relation to parent-child conflict. It is possible that you could become distressed when reflecting about these.

You can skip any questions for which you do not wish to provide a response. Further, you can stop your participation and withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

#### POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

There is no direct benefit of completing this study, but when completing these measures, you may gain some insight into yourself.

This study is intended to further our understanding of how Chinese Canadian young adults experience, are affected by, and cope with parent-child conflict, while taking a culturally informed perspective.

#### COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

This study will take 30-40 minutes of your time, and you be given a \$5 Amazon gift card.

## CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Your identifying information needs to be recorded to provide the \$5 Amazon gift card. Your identifying information will be deleted from the data collected for the study before analysis of the data is undertaken, following retrieval of all data from the online survey site. All electronic data will be deidentified and saved on password protected computers in Dr. Kuo's secure lab. The data will be kept for a minimum of 10 years after the last publication associated with this data set has been published. Paper materials and signed consent forms will be stored separately from each other in locked filing cabinets in Dr. Kuo's secure lab for a period of ten years and then destroyed.

## PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You may withdraw at any time during the study by closing the browser and emailing Siqi that you wish to withdraw. The data for participants who withdraw from the study will be deleted and therefore excluded from any analyses. You will be able to withdraw your data from the study up until February 15, 2020. After this day, the data will be anonymized. At that point, you will not be able to withdraw your data from the study.

The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

At least 90% of the study items must be completed for the \$5 Amazon gift card. Participants who complete less than 90% of the items will not receive any compensation. Note that the check to determine percentage of completed items will not involve us checking your responses to any individual items. All data will be analysed only in aggregate (that is, as group data, not on an individual basis).

## FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The study results will be posted to the University of Windsor REB website as soon as they are available. It is anticipated that the results will be available in the summer of 2021.

## SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

The data will be used in analyses in one or more manuscripts for submission to peer reviewed journals or edited books, and one or more posters or oral presentations at conferences.

## RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: [ethics@uwindsor.ca](mailto:ethics@uwindsor.ca)

## SERVICES/RESOURCES

If you're having any emotional difficulties after participating in this study, it is important to access the resources that are available to you on campus.

For help addressing mental health concerns, contact:

- Teen Health Centre (Windsor), at (519) 253-8481



- Canadian Mental Health Association (Windsor), at 519-255-7440
- Good2Talk, a 24/7 helpline for Ontario college and university students (not affiliated with University of Windsor): 1-866-925-5454.
- Crisis Services Canada, a 24/7 distress, crisis, and suicide prevention helpline: 1-833-456-4566

**SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE**

I understand the information provided for the study **Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict** as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study.  
Please consider printing this form for your records.

[I agree] (button)

[I disagree – withdraw from the study] (button)

## *Qualitative Study Consent Form*



### **CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

Title of Study: **An interview study of Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict**

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Siqu Huang and Dr. Ben Kuo from the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. The results of the study will contribute to Siqu's Ph.D. dissertation. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact Siqu at [huang14p@uwindsor.ca](mailto:huang14p@uwindsor.ca).

#### **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this study is to explore Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict, how they were affected by parent-child conflict, and how they coped with parent-child conflict. The role of cultural values on how Chinese Canadian young adults cope with parent-child conflict will be examined as well.

#### **PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a 50-minute online Skype video interview with Siqu Huang. Prior to the interview, you will be asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire online. During the interview, you will be asked to discuss your cultural values, experiences with parent-child conflict, how you coped with parent-child conflict, and how you were affected by parent-child conflict.

The interview will be audio recorded for the purpose of transcription for data analysis.

#### **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

One possible adverse effect of participation is the experience of fatigue given the length of the interview. Additionally, some interview questions concern your thoughts, feelings, and behaviours in relation to parent-child conflict. It is possible that you could become distressed when reflecting about these.

You can skip any questions for which you do not wish to provide a response. Further, you can stop your participation and withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

## POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

There is no direct benefit of completing this study, but when answering the interview questions, you may gain some insight into yourself.

This study is intended to further our understanding of how Chinese Canadian young adults experience, are affected by, and cope with parent-child conflict, while taking a culturally informed perspective.

## COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

This study (including the completion of the brief online demographic questionnaire) will take no more than 60 minutes of your time, and you will be given a \$10 Amazon gift card after completing the interview.

## CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Your identifying information needs to be recorded to provide compensation. Identifying information collected for the purpose of assigning compensation will be deleted once compensation has been provided. All electronic data will be deidentified and saved on password protected computers in Dr. Kuo's secure lab. The data will be kept for a minimum of 10 years after the last publication associated with this data set has been published. Paper materials and signed consent forms will be stored separately from each other in locked filing cabinets in Dr. Kuo's secure lab for a period of ten years and then destroyed.

The audio recording will be stored in the form of encrypted files on a password-protected computer. The audio files will be stored for a minimum of two weeks, after which they will be transcribed and the audio recording files will be deleted. The transcription of the interview will be stored as password-protected files on a password-protected computer. Only Siqi and Dr. Kuo will have access to the audio recording files. The transcriptions will only be accessible to Siqi, Dr. Kuo, and any trained assistants in Dr. Kuo's lab who may become directly involved in the project. Any information from the transcriptions reported in papers or other publications will be in de-identified form.

## PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You may withdraw at any time during the study by informing Siqi of your intent to withdraw. The data for participants who withdraw from the study will be deleted and therefore excluded from any analyses. You will have two weeks from the day of the interview to email Siqi to withdraw your data. After the two-week period, the audio recording will be transcribed and the audio recording file will be deleted. At that point, you will not be able to withdraw your data from the study.

The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

At least 90% of the questions must be answered to be eligible for the \$10 Amazon gift card. Participants who answer between 50-89% of the interview questions will receive a \$5 Amazon gift card. Participants who answer less than 50% of the questions will not be eligible for any reimbursement.

#### FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The study results will be posted to the University of Windsor REB website as soon as they are available. It is anticipated that the results will be available in the summer of 2021.

#### SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

#### RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: [ethics@uwindsor.ca](mailto:ethics@uwindsor.ca)

#### SERVICES/RESOURCES

If you're having any emotional difficulties after participating in this study, it is important to access the resources that are available to you on campus.

For help addressing mental health concerns, contact:

- Teen Health Centre (Windsor), at (519) 253-8481
- Canadian Mental Health Association (Windsor), at 519-255-7440
- Good2Talk, a 24/7 helpline for Ontario college and university students (not affiliated with University of Windsor): 1-866-925-5454.
- Crisis Services Canada, a 24/7 distress, crisis, and suicide prevention helpline: 1-833-456-4566

#### SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study **An interview study of Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict** as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

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Name of Participant

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Signature of Participant

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Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

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Signature of Investigator

---

Date

***Participant Pool Ad (Quantitative Portion)***

Study Name: Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict

Researchers: Siqi Huang ([huang14p@uwindsor.ca](mailto:huang14p@uwindsor.ca)) and Dr. Ben Kuo ([benkuo@uwindsor.ca](mailto:benkuo@uwindsor.ca))

Duration: 30-40 minutes

Credits: 1 bonus point

**Eligibility Criteria:**

- (1) Registered in the pool and registered in one or more eligible courses.
- (2) Self-identifies as Chinese Canadian
- (3) Between the ages of 18 to 25
- (4) Is a Canadian citizen or permanent resident
- (5) Has experienced conflict with parents over the past year
- (6) Has at least one parent of Chinese heritage

**Detailed Description:** The purpose of this study is to explore Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict, as well as how they are affected by and cope with parent-child conflict.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey, taking 30-40 minutes, during which you will provide demographic information and complete questionnaires about your personal cultural values, your experience with parent-child conflict, how you coped with parent-child conflict, and how you were affected by parent-child conflict.

*Email request to distribute study flyer(s)*

Hello members of [name of Chinese Canadian association],

My name is Siqu Huang, and I am a Ph.D. student in Clinical Psychology at the University of Windsor. As part of my doctoral research, I am conducting two studies (Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict) examining Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict, how they are affected by and cope with parent-child conflict, and how their cultural values affect their experience and coping. Therefore, I am looking for participants who are Chinese Canadian young adults between the ages of 18 and 25 to participate in my studies. Participants must also be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident, and have experienced conflict with their parents in the past year.

I am wondering if you would be willing to share either or both of my study flyers (see attached) to the members of [name of Chinese Canadian association]. I am conducting two studies: a 30-to-40-minute, online questionnaire study that participants can complete anywhere, and a 50-minute Skype interview at the University of Windsor. For the online questionnaire study, participants would be compensated with a \$5 Amazon gift card for completing at least 90% of the survey items. For the in-person interview study, participants will receive a \$10 Amazon gift card for answering at least 90% of the interview questions. Participants may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Please let me know if you would be open to distributing either or both of my study flyers. If you have any questions or concerns about participating in my studies, please feel free to contact me or my research supervisor

Siqu Huang: [huang14p@uwindsor.ca](mailto:huang14p@uwindsor.ca)

Dr. Ben C.H. Kuo: [benkuo@uwindsor.ca](mailto:benkuo@uwindsor.ca) (519) 253-3000 Ext. 2238

The use of email to recruit participants for this study has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Windsor.

Thank you for your time!



University  
of Windsor

**Are you a Chinese Canadian citizen or permanent resident between the ages of 18 to 25? Have you experienced conflict with your parents in the past year? Do you have at least one parent of Chinese heritage?**

I am looking for participants for my study examining parent-child conflict, coping with parent-child conflict, and how parent-child conflict affects well-being.

If you choose to participate, you will be asked to complete **an online questionnaire taking 30-40 minutes**. You will be asked for your demographic information, your cultural values, your experience with parent-child conflict, and how you cope with and are affected by parent-child conflict. You may complete the entire study on any computer with internet access.

If you are interested in participating, or have any questions or concerns, please contact **Siqi Huang** at **ChineseCanadianConflict@gmail.com**.

For your participation, you will be given a **\$5 Amazon gift card**.

\* This research has been cleared by the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board.

**To be eligible to participate, you must:**

- (1) Identify as Chinese Canadian
- (2) Be 18 to 25 years old
- (3) Be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident
- (4) Have experienced conflict with parents in the past year
- (5) Have at least one parent of Chinese heritage





University  
of Windsor

**Are you a Chinese Canadian citizen or permanent resident between the ages of 18 to 25? Have you experienced conflict with your parents in the past year? Do you have at least one parent of Chinese heritage?**

I am looking for participants for my study examining parent-child conflict, coping with parent-child conflict, and how parent-child conflict affects well-being.

If you choose to participate, you will be asked to complete a **50-minute Skype interview**. You will be asked for your demographic information, and to describe your experiences of conflict with your parents, how you coped with parent-child conflict, and how you were affected by the conflict. Your cultural values and how they affected how you coped with parent-child conflict will also be explored.

Upon completing the interview, you will be provided a **\$10 Amazon gift card**.

If you are interested in participating, or have any questions or concerns, please contact **Siqi Huang** at **ChineseCanadianConflict@gmail.com**.

\* This research has been cleared by the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board.

**To be eligible to participate, you must:**

- (1) Identify as Chinese Canadian
- (2) Be 18 to 25 years old
- (3) Be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident
- (4) Have experienced conflict with parents in the past year
- (5) Have at least one parent of Chinese heritage

*Email to participants to distribute study link*

Dear participant,

Thank you for your interest in participating in my study, **Chinese Canadian young adults' experience with parent-child conflict.**

Please use this URL to complete the survey: [individualized Qualtrics URL].

If you know anyone who may be eligible for and interested in this study, please consider sharing the attached study flyer. You are under no obligation to share this information and whether or not you share this information will not affect you in any way.

Please let me know if you have any questions or concerns. You can email me at [huang14p@uwindsor.ca](mailto:huang14p@uwindsor.ca) or [ChineseCanadianConflict@gmail.com](mailto:ChineseCanadianConflict@gmail.com).

Thank you very much,

Siqi Huang

## **Appendix D: Intergenerational Conflict Scenarios**

Scenario #1: Compared with your friends' parents who are non-Chinese (e.g., white Caucasian parents), you find your Chinese parents to be less warm and supportive of you. You see your friends' parents being verbally and physically supportive and affectionate towards their children, but your parents insist that they show their care for you sufficiently by taking care of your basic needs, such as providing food and shelter, and supporting your educational and vocational pursuits. As a result, you feel frustrated and stressed over your relationship with your parents and also at a loss for what to do. If this were to happen to you, how likely would you use the following methods to deal with this situation?

Scenario #2: Lately you have been feeling very confused and stressed out because you are struggling with choosing your future career path. You have talents and passions for certain fields that would best suit you to go into particular occupations. However, your parents believe that you should settle for a different job that they believe will lead you to a "good life." You are passionate about pursuing your own dream, but you also want to respect and honour your parents' wishes. Due to these differences, you have been having numerous intense arguments with your parents over this issue, so much so that it has led to considerable stress and distress for you. If this were to happen to you, how likely would you use the following methods to cope with this situation?

### **Appendix E: Validity Check Questions**

Please select “6” as the answer to this question. 1 2 3 4 5 6

Please select “3” as the answer to this question. 1 2 3 4 5

Please select “1” as the answer to this question. 1 2 3 4 5

## Appendix F: Interview Guide

1. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole?
2. What traditional Chinese values do you identify with? How are these values that you identify with similar to or differ from your parents' values? (Traditional Chinese values can include an emphasis on the family as a collective, maintaining harmony with other people, and respecting elders [Domain A]).
3. People who consider themselves to be interdependent value having meaningful relationships and feeling connected with others. Others who see themselves as independent value having personal goals and autonomy. How do you see yourself? How do you see your parents on this continuum? (Domain A)
4. Most children have disagreements and quarrels with their parents. Many describe this as “intergenerational conflict.” Can you share with me your experience with intergenerational conflict with your parents? (For example, have you ever had this kind of experience? If so, what was the nature of the conflicts? How often do you fight with your parents? What do you usually argue about? How intense are these arguments? How long are these conflicts? (Domain C)
5. When you have arguments or conflicts with your parents, how do you usually cope (i.e., what methods do you use)? What do you do to try to resolve the conflict with your parents? (Domain D)
6. How have your coping strategies (Domain D) affected your psychological well-being (Domain E)? How about your relationships with your parents and other important figures (Domain E)? Did your coping strategies affect your physical health (Domain E)?
7. Some people like to think about the stressful situation and think about what they can do. What role has problem-solving (Domain D) played in your experiences with conflict with your parents? How helpful was a problem-solving approach for you in dealing with conflicts with your parents?
8. Some people try to manage their negative emotions, for example, by trying to look at the situation from a positive light, or accepting the situation. What role has emotion management (Domain D) played in your coping with conflict with your parents? How helpful was an emotion-focused approach in dealing with conflict with your parents?
9. Some people turn to their friends or other important figures to cope with conflict with

- their parents. What role have your friends or other important figures (Domain D; e.g., siblings, relatives, teachers, etc.) in your life played in helping you to cope with conflict with your parents? How helpful do you find it to defer to the opinions/views/suggestions of your friends or other important figures? How helpful do you find it to seek support from friends or other important figures in coping with conflict with your parents?
10. Some people try to avoid the problem or distract themselves. What role has avoidance or distraction (Domain D) played in your experience with conflict with your parents? How helpful did you find an avoidance-oriented approach to be in coping with conflict with your parents?
  11. Thinking back to our discussion earlier of what Chinese cultural values mean to you, to what extent do your Chinese cultural values affect your ways of coping with conflict with your parents? (Domains A x D)
  12. What are some positive ways in which Chinese cultural values have influenced your interactions with your parents? (Domains A x B)
  13. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

### Appendix G: Sample Interview Transcript with Codes

Emergent themes	Interview transcript	My codes	Second coder codes	Resolved codes
<p>Conflicts stem from different values and ethical beliefs between her and her parents</p> <p>Parents try to push their expectations on her</p> <p>Wants to move out but is restricted by the idea of having to get married first.</p> <p>Wants more</p>	<p>SH: So most children have disagreements and quarrels with their parents. We describe that as intergenerational conflict. Can you share with me your experience with intergenerational conflict with your parents?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: Different values, and ethical belief systems.</p> <p>SH: What are some examples?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: Like we disagree on a lot of things. So one example is relationships. Like in this day and age, it's very different from what they did. The implication was to get married and have children early. That's something they still try to push.</p> <p>SH: Uh huh. Is there another example that you can think of?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: Oh, like one thing is about moving out. They, um, it's just like a Chinese thing that they want you to stick together until you are married. I think it is a Chinese thing. So that's one thing, like I've been very interested in</p>	<p>Conflicts due to different expectations and beliefs</p> <p>Values</p>	<p>Different values and ethical beliefs lead to conflict with parents</p> <p>No code</p>	<p>Conflicts with parents due to different expectations and beliefs</p> <p>Values</p>

<p>autonomy</p> <p>Wants to be away from nagging, values freedom</p> <p>Conflicts begin as disagreement</p> <p>Conflicts stop with someone walking away or changing the topic</p> <p>Avoidance</p>	<p>moving out. [laughs] But my parents are like "no, you can't, stay here until you're married."</p> <p>SH: Right, and what drives your motivation to move out?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: The independence, from the nagging, and freedom?</p> <p>SH: So when you have, obviously you have some different values than your parents, how do those conflicts come out?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: Usually, like in the form of arguments. It will start off like as a chat, but then like the disagreement grows. And then one person raises their voice and then the other person raises their voice, and it just keeps going. Eventually, either somebody will walk away, or just stop and then usually we, we'll talk, for a bit. [laughs]</p> <p>SH: Uh huh. And how long would you say it usually goes for?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: It goes for pretty long, normally... I would say three, four to five months.</p> <p>SH: Oh, wow! And how often would you say that you have these conflicts</p>	<p>autonomy, independence</p> <p>Values freedom</p> <p>Avoidance of conflict</p>	<p>Wants to feel free</p> <p>Avoidance</p>	<p>autonomy, independence</p> <p>Values freedom (associated with autonomy)</p> <p>Avoidance of conflict</p>
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<p>Infrequent but major conflicts</p>	<p>with your parents?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: It comes in waves. Like the major conflicts, I'm not going to talk to them for that long, it's, that was - for me last year, it came in like a few months, every few months.</p>			
<p>Highly emotional conflicts</p>	<p>SH: And how intense would you say they get?</p>			
<p>Conflicts are ignored, not resolved</p>	<p>ELIZABETH: Sometimes it goes to like, screaming at each other. Like, on a scale, I guess 7 or 8 out of 10?</p> <p>SH: So when you have conflict with your parents, how do you cope with it, what do you do to try to resolve the conflict?</p>			
<p>Pretends conflicts never happened</p>	<p>ELIZABETH: I honestly, like it never actually gets resolved. It just gets like pushed away. And then, and then like, eventually, eventually you speak to each other and pretend nothing happened.</p> <p>SH: And how does it go away, how does it get pushed away?</p>			
<p>Conflicts are</p>	<p>ELIZABETH: Like we just pretend it never happened. If the topic, if it ever comes up again, like that topic, we sort of pretend we never had a conversation about it.</p> <p>SH: It just sort of comes back a few months, where</p>			

not resolved, but recur when triggers arise again	<p>there's some trigger?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: Yeah!</p> <p>SH: How do you think the way you cope with conflict with your parent affects your psychological well being?</p> <p>ELIZABETH: Sometimes, I cry. If - I had depression last year for a bit.</p> <p>SH: Oh... Was that because of, conflict with your parents, or...?</p>	Conflicts avoided, not resolved	Conflicts are not resolved	Conflicts avoided, not resolved
Conflicts with parents led to depression	<p>ELIZABETH: Yeah, it, like, it grows into depression. Cause, like every day there will be an argument - like you come home and you're not happy!</p>	Conflicts with parents led to depression	Conflicts with parents led to depression	Conflicts with parents led to depression
Unhappy at home	<p>SH: Right. [sighs] Yeah. I think everyone would find it hard to be happy. You come home and argue every day.</p>	Conflicts led to unhappiness	Unhappy at home due to conflict with parents	Unhappy at home due to conflict with parents
Physically avoided parents	<p>ELIZABETH: Yeah! So, so my coping mechanism was live with my friends! Really I just avoided them.</p>	Physical avoidance as coping strategy	Coped by avoiding parents	Physical avoidance as coping strategy
Turned to friends for support	<p>SH: And how did that affect your relationship with your parents or other important people?</p>	Support from friends	Turns to friends for support	Coping with support from friends
Possible distress due to conflicts never being resolved	<p>ELIZABETH: See, the thing is it never really gets talked about like, the door's always open. Like I have the key, I just come home, it never gets addressed. And</p>			

<p>Avoidance of conflict had no effect on relationship with parents</p>	<p>eventually everything's just okay again.</p> <p>SH: Yeah, so it doesn't get better or worse.</p> <p>ELIZABETH: It's just like, pretending it was never there.</p> <p>SH: How do you think the way you cope affect your physical health?</p>			
<p>Conflicts can lead to insomnia</p>	<p>ELIZABETH: Sometimes I can't sleep. Or I think and I'm angry, but physically it doesn't really affect me. I'll eat fine. But if I'm thinking about the issue, then, I guess that causes insomnia too.</p>	<p>Conflicts with parents led to insomnia</p>	<p>Conflicts with parents led to sleep deficits</p>	<p>Conflicts with parents led to impaired sleep</p>

## VITA AUCTORIS

NAME: Siqi Huang

PLACE OF BIRTH: Zhuhai, China

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1993

EDUCATION: Dr. Norman Bethune C.I., Toronto, ON, 2011

McMaster University, H.B.Sc., Hamilton, ON, 2015

University of Windsor, M.A., Windsor, ON, 2017