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Communication, Conflict and Mental Health:
Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children

by

Nonghong Liu

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Faculty of Education and Academic Development
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Education at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

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Communication, Conflict and Mental Health:
Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children

by

Nonghong Liu

APPROVED BY:

Dr. Yuntong Wang, Outside Dept. Reader

Department of Economics

Dr. Yvette Daniel, Internal Dept. Reader

Faculty of Education and Academic Development

Dr. George Zhou, Advisor

Faculty of Education and Academic Development

June 8, 2015

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been published or submitted for publication.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the potential conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents and their children. Data were collected through survey and interviews. A total number of 170 surveys were analyzed and nine pairs of Chinese Immigrant parents and their high school children were interviewed. The exploration into the participants revealed that Chinese immigrant parents and their children experienced conflicts in education, career choice, and daily behaviors because of cultural differences, different expectations in education and career, language barriers, different ways of thinking, child rebellion, generation gaps, and a lack of communication. These conflicts had made their children unhappy, depressed, angry, and stressed. When confronting conflicts, these parents and children often failed to remain calm or reasonable and tended to argue against each other. In describing an ideal parent-child relationship, almost all parents and children described respect, understanding, and communication as the most important factors.

Key words: Chinese immigrant parents and children, communication, conflicts, mental health, parent-child relationship

DEDICATION

To myself

To my husband and my children

To all immigrant parents and their children

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My heartfelt thanks go to Professor Yunlong Shi, who encouraged me to pursue my studies in Canada, to professor Zaiqiang Zhong, who supported me throughout, to Drs. Nobuko Fujita, who helped me in learning educational research methods, to Dr. Cam Cobb, who introduced me to special education and curriculum studies, and to Drs. Xiaomei Song, who made statistics a fun to learn.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to the Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC, n.d.), an estimated 1.2 million Canadian children and youths are affected by mental illness. Stress and anxiety disorder are great concerns for youth mental health. Yet, over 80 percent of respondents to the MHCC's School-Based Mental Health Substance Abuse Project indicated that Canadian students have unaddressed mental health needs. According to a recent national survey of 3,900 teachers, Canadian Teachers' Federation (2012) reported that many Canadian schools were ill-equipped and under-resourced to adequately support the mental health of students.

It is believed that the conflicting values between family and school could increase the risk of stress for immigrant students because "children from immigrant families must find their place in two potentially conflicting worlds: that of their parents and ethnic community and that of their peers and North American society" (Lee & Zhan, 1998). Chinese immigrant parents often hold onto many of the values they bring into Canada, which will influence their perspectives and actions in regard to their involvement in their children's education. This will possibly generate gaps between immigrant parents and their children since the children are exposed daily to a different set of values in Canadian schools. The conflicting values between parents and children who are influenced by their teachers at school can lead to the tension between parents and children and result in significant stress among immigrant students. The stress from family often negatively affects these children's mental health.

There is no evidence of research that has explored the conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents and their children from their own voices. In addition, the available research on the immigrant families does not include the children's voices. This study therefore aims to assess the impact of this phenomenon on the Chinese-Canadian community.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore the existence and the nature of the potential conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents and their children by examining the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children. This was done in order to gain insights about how immigrant children and their parents coped with such conflicts, and explore some ways to improve their relationships through communication. The following research questions guided this study:

1. What is the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children?
2. What are the potential conflicts/disagreements between Chinese immigrant parents and their children?
3. What causes the conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents and their children?
4. What effects do these conflicts have on the children's mental health?
5. How do immigrant parents and their children cope with these conflicts?

The first question studies the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children. Although their communication covers a wide range of their life, the focus of this research is on their communication about the children's education and future career. The second question is designed to find out existing and potential conflicts between parents and children. The third question aims to investigate the causes behind the conflicts. The fourth question discusses the effects of these conflicts on the children's mental health. The last question tries to discern various coping strategies employed by parents and children in order to cope with the conflicts.

Significance of This Study

The significance of this study is that it provides a deep understanding of the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children and the conflicts between them. The study has both quantitative and qualitative components. The quantitative aspect of this study provides

a general situation of the communication between the Chinese immigrant parents and their children. The qualitative part allows the participants' voices to be heard and explores their experiences by giving them an opportunity to share their stories and perspectives (Creswell, 1998). The findings from this research aim to help four groups of people: Chinese immigrant parents, their children, relevant educators, and concerned scholars.

Chinese Immigrant Parents

This study was designed to benefit the Chinese immigrant parents who are struggling with their children's disobedience by helping them understand the reasons that their children do not listen to them while simultaneously teaching parents to respect their children. The findings from this study will raise awareness among parents and teachers of the potential conflicts in immigrant families so that home and school can provide children with a better support for their existing and potential mental health issues.

Chinese Immigrant Children

Immigrant children will benefit from this research by learning to appreciate their parents' intentions and to seek a balance between the values of their schools and the values of their families.

Educators

Educators working with Chinese immigrant students will find the research findings insightful. Administrators, school support staff, and the board of education will also find the results from this research beneficial. The findings will help them increase their knowledge and understanding of the Chinese immigrant students in their schools.

Scholars

Scholars and researchers in the field of education will find this study rewarding because it adds to the body of knowledge in certain scholarly community, especially the study of immigrant family

relations and the like. An interest in investigating the conflicts between immigrant parents and children from other countries, or Chinese immigrant families in different locations, will be aroused.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on immigrants is not difficult to find; however, the literature on the conflicts of Chinese immigrant parents and their children is rare, especially from the perspective of the voices of relevant parents and their children. Since the literature pertaining to Chinese immigrant parents and their children is scarce, I, therefore, have included literature on immigrants from different cultural backgrounds and nationalities. To better understand the influences of these conflicts, I also include some literature on immigrant children's mental health studies. To dig into the root of these conflicts, I studied the literature on Chinese immigrants' cultural values, especially the values that differ from those commonly held by Canadian teachers.

The literature review will explore three key themes: (1) Mental health and immigrant children, (2) Immigrant family relation and conflicts between parents and children, and (3) Chinese immigrants and the cultural conflicts between Chinese parents and Canadian teachers.

Mental Health and Immigrant Children

Mental health is the product of interactions among personal factors such as age, gender, and ethnicity, as well as ecological influences such as household characteristics, income, parental mental health, family functioning, and neighborhood quality (Bronfenbrenner, 1995). Mental health problems influence and co-occur with problems in many domains of the adolescent's life (DeSocio & Hootman, 2004).

Some scholars probed into the relationship between school performance and mental health. Because school represents an important domain in which children achieve developmental milestones and interact with peers, children with language and learning difficulties are predisposed to heightened

psychosocial stress, which can lead to mental health problems (AACAP, 1998). Mental health problems and school performance relate to each other closely. Not only are children with mental health problems at risk for poor school adjustment, but children who begin school with learning difficulties are at greater risk for developing mental health problems (DeSocio & Hootman, 2004). Anxiety disorders may contribute to school avoidance and academic underachievement (Woodward & Fergusson, 2001).

Researchers also revealed that individual, family and environmental factors all contribute to children's mental health. Frequent school absences for vague and nonspecific physical health problems may be related to underlying mental health needs and family problems (DeSocio & Hootman, 2004). Research on child well-being reveals that individual, family and environmental factors interact to affect children's development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Clarke-Stewart & Dunn, 2006; Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Grizenko & Fisher, 1992).

Immigrant children's mental health may face even greater challenges. Immigrant youth face difficulties integrating into school; feelings of isolation and alienation, combined with a weak sense of belonging to Canada, have been shown to be linked to perception of cultural differences as well as experiences of discrimination and racism (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). At the same time, as newcomers to this country, their families are often confronted with many of the same socioeconomic realities experienced by their economically disadvantaged native-born peers (Oxman-Martinez et. Al., 2012). During their childhood, newcomer immigrant children simultaneously experience both the resettlement challenges and integration opportunities associated with family migration and those associated with the developmental trajectory itself (Oxman-Martinez et. Al., 2012).

The academic performance of immigrant and refugee children in Canada has also been examined and found to vary according to age, sex, time since arrival, mother tongue, mastery of an official

language, ethno-cultural background, and region of settlement across diverse populations, with visible minority status being an important factor in educational trajectory and attainment (Rummens, 2009). Ensuring that newcomer children adapt to their schools, integrate with the larger society, and stay happy and healthy are important goals for immigrant receiving countries (Beiser et al., 2011). Nevertheless, the study of factors that either promote or jeopardize immigrant children's adaptation, integration and well-being has been neglected (Canadian Task Force, 1988).

Immigrant Family Relation and Conflicts between Parents and Children

Immigrants live out much of their lives in the context of families. Unfortunately the family is not just a haven in a challenging world, but a place where conflicts and negotiation also take place (Foner, 1997). Within the immigrant family, the parent-child relationship may be most affected by the stress associated with the acculturation experience (Dinh, Sarason, & Sarason, 1994).

Acculturation has been defined as a process of change when groups and individuals from different cultures come into continuous contact with one another (Redfield et al., 1936). The increased distress that may be experienced by members of immigrant families stems not only from the challenges of adjusting to a new cultural environment, but also from a sense of familial disconnection as a result of differential experiences of acculturation, especially between parents and children (Ying, 1999). Children are exposed to the host culture's behaviors and values through schools, media, and contact with classmates from different backgrounds, and may feel a greater need for peer acceptance than parents (Okagaki & Bojczyk, 2002). Therefore, immigrant children may have greater opportunities and motivations to adapt to the host culture than their parents (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). Integrating two cultures may be particularly complex during these developmental periods, as children

are also beginning to actively explore issues of identity and independence (Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992).

The perceived disconnection between parents and children can have a significant impact on the quality of parent-child relationships, which may have adverse psychosocial consequences on individual family members (Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom, 2003; Dinh, Roosa, Tein, & Lopez, 2002). The differences in motivation and adaptation between parents and children, as well as age-related differences in learning a new language, may have a significant impact on parent-child relationships (Dinh & Nguyen, 2006). While parents and older adults may value the preservation of traditional cultural values, especially those pertaining to family roles and obligation, younger individuals may give more emphasis to fitting in with and being accepted by their peers (Booth, Crouter, & Landale, 1997; Saldana, 1994). Children may increasingly challenge their parents' authority and disagree with traditional family roles and expectations (Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rumbaut, 1991).

Another study evaluated similarities and differences in acculturation in multiple domains among mothers, fathers, and children in 88 immigrant Chinese families in Canada and disclosed that parents and children differed most in host culture domains, which included public Canadian behaviors and private Canadian values, and were most similar in such ethnic private domains as Chinese identity and values. Mother-father differences were also evident across different domains (Costigan & Dokis, 2006).

In their study, Ho and Birman (2010) examined the degrees and patterns of acculturation differences between 104 first generation Vietnamese immigrant adolescents and their parents, and whether acculturation gaps affected family relationships. They found out family cohesion and satisfaction were predicted by gaps in Vietnamese identity acculturation. Dinh and Nguyen's study investigated acculturation and the perceived parent-child acculturative gap as predictors of the quality

of parent-child relationships among 172 Asian American college students and their parents. Their results showed that only perceived parent-child acculturative gap was significant across all assessed dimensions of the mother-child relationship, which included depth, supports, conflicts, and satisfaction, whereas both acculturation level and perceived parent-child acculturative gap were significant in only two dimensions of the father-child relationships: conflicts and satisfaction (2006).

Linguistic differences, combined with other differences in acculturative experiences between parents and children, may undermine the foundation and quality of parent-child relationships, which, in turn, may undermine the supportive nature and cohesion of the whole family network (Dinh & Nguyen, 2006). Tseng and Fuligni (2000) studied the differences in the quality of relationships between immigrant parents and their adolescent children as a function of the languages with which they spoke to one another. This research found out that adolescents who spoke in different languages with their parents reported less cohesion and discussion with their mothers and fathers than did their peers who spoke the same language with their parents. It also found out that adolescents who mutually communicated in the native language with their parents reported the highest levels of cohesion and discussion.

Researchers and clinicians who work with immigrant families have suggested that children's lack of native language fluency is linked to their experiences of frustration and emotional distancing issues because these affective experiences are associated with difficulties in expressing themselves and comprehending their parents' communications in the native language (Lee, 1983; Fillmore, 1991). For adolescents and parents who communicate in different languages, greater feelings of emotional distance may correspond to fewer discussions regarding adolescents' personal problems and future plans (Fillmore, 1991; Lee, 1983).

In a study that empirically linked language indices to family conflicts, Rumbaut (1994) found out that adolescents who preferred English and who were less proficient in their parents' native languages also reported greater conflicts with their parents. More acculturated English-speaking families may experience higher levels of overt disagreements and conflicts than native-speaking family members from Asian Pacific or Latin American backgrounds who retain a language structured around respect toward parents (Shon & Ja, 1983).

Across time, frustrations and miscommunications and emotional distances are likely to be associated with children's reluctance to discuss their classes, personal problems, and the future with their parents. Alternatively, youths who have difficult relationships and who do not wish to engage in discussions with their native-speaking parents may use English as a means to further distance themselves from their parents (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). For parents who have not shifted to English as rapidly as their children, language differences within the home may hamper not only on their relationships with their children, but potentially on the effectiveness of their parenting and children's emerging sense of ethnic identity (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000).

In contrast, the greater linguistic comprehension and expressions between parents and adolescents who draw on the same language may be associated with more frequent discussions regarding youths' concerns and experiences (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). In general, the literature suggests that different rates of acculturation result in increased stress and conflicts in the family (Lee & Zhan, 1998; Ying, 1999).

Cultural Conflicts between Chinese Parents and Canadian Teachers

In the past two decades, there has been a rapid growth of Chinese immigration in Canada. For example, from 2001 to 2006, over 466,940 Chinese changed their home residence from China to

Canada. Chinese people have become the second largest immigrant population in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). As a result of Canada's immigration policy, most recently-arrived Chinese immigrants were highly educated professionals and financially independent before they moved to Canada (Guo & DeVoretz, 2006). Chinese immigrants contribute to Canada's economic growth by bringing potential opportunities, including business and employment. However, Chinese immigrants still experience different economic outcomes in the Canadian labor markets compared to members of the general population of Canada (Wang & Lo, 2005). In general, the economic performance of the Chinese immigrants increases with their length of residence in Canada. For instance, new Chinese immigrants face difficulties finding jobs that match their education (Tian, 2000). What Canadian employers are looking for is country-specific skills and work experience obtained in Canada. As a result, Chinese immigrants experience downward occupational mobility (Li, 2000; Zong, 2004). Many of them have to work as laborers for basic survival (Li, 2001). Consequently, many new Chinese immigrants are disappointed and even frustrated (Tian, 2000; Yu, 2002).

Due to the differences in cultural and educational values, Chinese immigrant parents and Canadian teachers usually treat the children differently. Over the last three decades, researchers have conducted studies on the impacts of parental involvement in children's education (Brough & Irvin, 2001; Epstein, 1995; Taylor & Lopez, 2005; Zellman & Waterman, 1998). These studies have documented that effective parental involvements lead to students earning higher grades and test scores (Fan & Chen, 2001; Jeynes, 2007), reducing the achievement gap between high and low performing students (Lee & Bowen, 2006), and increasing positive behavior and emotional development of children (Taub, 2008). Parents' socio-demographic factors, such as family income, occupational status, educational level, and relationships, influenced the ways parents get involved in their children's education (Coleman, 1998; Entwisle & Alexander, 1995; Perna, 2004).

More than one-third of adult immigrants speak neither English nor French on arrival in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008). Research (Ying & Han, 2008) suggests that parental inability to speak the language of the receiving society jeopardizes children's mental health. And what's worse, one possible danger that immigrant parents have to face is that their lack of linguistic fluency impedes their ability to take part in their children's socialization, most particularly in their schools. Most Chinese immigrant parents face challenges in making direct contacts with schools and in monitoring their children's schoolwork due to the language barrier (Constantino, Cui, & Faltis, 1995; Ma, 1998). In the study of acculturation and parental involvement of Chinese immigrant mothers, Ma (1998) found out that Chinese mothers had problems communicating with their children's school teachers and helping their children with their homework. In the study by Constantino, Cui, and Faltis (1995), both parents and teachers reported that language barriers resulted in Chinese parents' lack of communication with their children's schools.

Another challenge that Chinese immigrants encounter is the gap between their home culture and the host culture. This gap may influence on their parental involvement in school activities and lead to conflicts between parents and children. The Chinese usually see education as the most important means to acquire personal advancement such as high social status, wealth, and respect. They particularly place great emphasis on academic achievement as a means to achieve such social mobility as mentioned in the above (Dyson, 2001; Li, 2001; Zhou, 2000). This value about education is carried into their new places of residence. They not only actively re-educate themselves, but also hold high expectations for their children's education. Kao (1995) indicates that Asian parents promote high levels of educational attainment for their children to compensate for the anticipated discrimination in the job market.

A number of recent studies have confirmed that Chinese parents' high expectations on children's education, and these expectations are often manifest in an emphasis on grades achieved in school (Jiang, Zhou, Zhang, Beckford, & Zhong, 2012; Zhong & Zhou, 2011; Zhou, 2012; Zhou, 2013). In a study on Chinese immigrant parents' communications with school teachers (Zhou, 2013), one of the teacher participants reported that parents wanted to know how their children's grade could improve from 85%, to 95%, and were upset if their children made mistakes, were not working hard enough, or were not listening. This resulted in Chinese immigrant students' unhappiness, even crying when they received a grade of 82% or lower, because they are under pressure to achieve grades that will get them into Ivy League schools. The teacher participants concluded that stress on the kids was enormous. Such conflicting values about school marks between parents and teachers can lead to the tension between parents and children and result in great stress among immigrant students. Yet there seems to have been no literature that touches this particular field so far. However, there is some literature that demonstrates the existence of family conflicts in immigrant families (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002).

Besides the different values regarding school marks, other factors may contribute to Chinese family's conflicts as well. For example, some Chinese parents tend to have an authoritarian parenting style in children's education while their children may request more autonomy like their Canadian peers. Many Chinese immigrant parents want their children to learn Chinese, which may not seem to be interesting to their children (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). In order to address conflict between Chinese immigrant parents and their children, it is vital to know how they deal with tensions. There is no evidence that any research on the communication between Chinese immigrant parents and their children has been conducted.

Thus, this study will shed light on immigrant children's mental health and a better communication between parents and children.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology in this study. The following sections include: research design, participants, instrumentation, data collection, and data analysis.

Research Design

Identifying an approach to take in answering the research questions is one of the most important decisions in the research process (Stage & Manning, 2003). To address the research questions, the methods that combine qualitative and quantitative approaches seem most appropriate as far as this study is concerned. A mixed study involving the collection of analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single research in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, is given a priority, and concerns the integration of the data at one of more stages in the process of the research. (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson's, 2003). Mixed methods research offers the ability to integrate quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell, 1999; 2009), while allowing for a more complete analysis of the relevant problem (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). In general, a mixed methods approach generates a better understanding of social phenomena, values pluralism and different views, increases validity and triangulation, and creates a more insightful view than if quantitative or qualitative is used exclusively. A sequential mixed-methods procedure allows the researcher to expand on the findings of one method through the use of another method (Creswell, 2009). The explanatory design allows the researcher to collect and analyze quantitative data, followed by using qualitative data to check and refine the quantitative findings (Briggs & Coleman, 2007). This study employs a sequential explanatory mixed-methods design composed of two phases, quantitative phase and qualitative phase, in a five-step process: 1) quantitative data collection, (2) quantitative data

analysis being used for qualitative sample selection, (3) qualitative data collection, (4) qualitative data analysis, and (5) entire corpus of data interpretation.

The quantitative part of this study was comprised by the survey data collection and analysis. The goals of the quantitative phase were to determine whether there were conflicts between the Chinese immigrant parents and their children, whether and to what degree factors like cultural difference, expectation in academic achievements caused or influenced the conflicts, and the relationship between the conflicts and children's mental health. In addition, this phase allowed for purposeful selection of interviewees for the second phase of the study. A survey was used to collect quantitative data regarding ways Chinese immigrant parents communicate with their children, the challenges they face, the possible reasons for the tensions between parents and their children, and the effects of these tensions on their children. The survey also collected demographic data including gender, family income, educational background and years of being in Canada.

In the second phase, a qualitative approach was used to collect text data via semi-structured one-on-one interviews to help explain the results from the quantitative data. Since the literature on family conflicts among Chinese immigrants is sparse, the methodology needed to reflect an open-ended, explorative, and inductive procedure of data collection and analysis. A qualitative component was needed to meet the explorative nature of this study. Through listening to and re-telling the parents and their children's experiences in many aspects of adolescent lives, such as school academics, social networking, and life in the domestic sphere, we got to know how children behaved and how parents acted and reacted accordingly. It was anticipated that potential value conflicts would emerge out of these stories. One-on-one interviews were used to get qualitative data for an in-depth understanding of the issues covered in the survey and particularly to explore the factors and perspectives that mediate the tension between parents and children and how parents and children dealt with this tension. Nine

sets of parents and their high school aged children in Windsor were recruited for my study. (Here a set of parent and child means a parent and his or her child.)

Participants

Selection of Participants

Windsor, Ontario is the fourth most ethno-culturally diverse city in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006), and an increasing number of Chinese immigrants settle in Windsor due to the relatively mild winter, the opportunities to commute to the United States, and the city's large Chinese community. The researcher had been living in Windsor for two years and had encountered many Chinese parents when the study was first proposed. She was interested in the study of this particular population group. The participants for the survey could be any Chinese immigrant parents in Windsor who have at least one child attending school or having graduated from school.

The participants for the interviews were nine pairs of Chinese immigrant parents and their high-school children in Windsor. (Here a pair means a parent and his or her child.) Participants for the interviews were chosen from those immigrant parents with their high school-aged children because, based on quantitative analysis, high school students were at more crucial age than any other group of students in terms of mental health. A purposeful sample was chosen "because they [purposeful samples] have particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study" (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Only those participants who were willing and able to describe their experiences and thoughts were selected (Becker, 1992). The criteria used to select interview participants from Chinese immigrants included four key elements: (1) having at least one child in high school; (2) the high-school child/children is/are attending school in Windsor; (3) at least one of the parents and one of the

high school children being accessible and volunteers to participate in this study; and (4) being willing and able to describe their experiences and thoughts either in Chinese or in English or in both languages.

Recruitment of Participants

Upon receiving an approval letter from the Research and Ethics Board of the University of Windsor, I started the process of recruiting participants. A recruitment letter was used to explain the purpose of this study and provide detailed information concerning the study process. The letter was written in both Chinese and in English. The researcher asked the Chinese Association of Great Windsor (CAGW) for help in order to circulate an electronic copy of relevant invitation letter to Chinese immigrants. The researcher also approached the priest of Windsor Chinese Alliance Church in Windsor, Ontario, where many Chinese people worship, to distribute letters of invitation and to make an announcement about this study. The survey was administered during the cultural activities organized by the CAGW. Any Chinese immigrant parents could fill the survey. Along with the survey, a recruitment letter for an interview was distributed to the participants. The researchers' contact information was provided on the recruitment letter and it invited the participants of the survey who also qualified for the interview to contact the researcher for further study and suggested survey participants pass the information about the research onto friends who might qualify for the research. Once all possible respondents were obtained, the selected participants were informed of the detailed activities. A letter of consent to participate in the research was sent to ensure that each participant understood the purpose of this study, the procedures, the duties they were expected to fulfill, their rights to withdraw at any time, and the way to access prospective research results. Then time and location of interviews were arranged to the convenience of these participants.

Demographic Data

Survey Participants

A total number of 178 surveys were collected throughout this study. Due to the missing of some information, 8 surveys were excluded from the study. So the number of surveys analyzed was 170. Among the 170 participants, around 60 percent of the survey participants were mothers and 40 percent of the participants were fathers. Among the participants, 73% were over 40 years old and 27% below 40. With regard to the years of residency in North America, 63.3% participants said they had been living in Canada and/or the USA for more than 10 years. 10.1% reported that they had been living in North America for 7-10 years. The participants' spouses had a similar years of residence in North America. About 88% participants had at least a bachelor degree, and 43% parents reported that they had also received education in North America. As to English proficiency, about 53.1% thought their English was good or excellent, but 9.7% admitted their English was poor or they were illiterate in English. The participants reported that their spouses' English level was 54.9% good or excellent, 37.3% average, and 7.7% poor or zero. In terms of employment, 74.7% participants had jobs: 42.9% full-time, 12.3% part-time, and 19.5% self-employed. When they were in China, 89.8% participants were working in such field as government (9.5%), education (32.1%), or corporations (48.1%). The figure of their spouses' working status was similar to that of the participants.

Interview Participants

The participants in the qualitative phase included 9 pairs of parents and children. A pair was a parent and his/her child. Nine parent interviewees were all mothers around 47 years old. Seven mothers had been here in Canada for more than 10 years, and two had been here for 20 years or more. These mothers had ever received education in China and had earned technical degrees

from secondary school or junior college, or had a Bachelor's or Master's degree. Only three of them had received education in Canada. They all had jobs like doctors, teachers, accountants, and librarians, and one was an editor for a television station in China. However, 6 of them were housewives when interviewed in Canada. Their spouses, the fathers of these families, all had formal education in China and 6 of them had also received education in Canada. Only one father's degree was below master, four fathers had PhD and four had MS. Fathers all had jobs in China. Seven of them had jobs in Canada and the remaining two were still working in China. These participants immigrated to Canada out of three major reasons: Child, Living environment and Spouse.

Child interviewees' age varied from 15 to 18 and their level of education ranged from grade 9 to 12. Four of them were boys and five were girls. Six of them had been staying in Canada since they were born or since they were about three years old. Most children were good at their studies. Six of them were A+ students, only one child was reported by her mother as a D student.

Instrumentation

Survey

For the first phase of this study, the researcher designed the survey, Survey for Chinese Immigrant Parents (Appendix A), to investigate the research questions. Fogelman & Comber (2007) stated that survey research in education is one of the most frequently used research methods. A survey is recommended to be employed when the goal of the study is to obtain general information about opinions, attitudes, or characteristics and quantifiable data is required to explore differences between groups (Briggs & Coleman, 2007).

The survey (Appendix A) was designed in Chinese with an English translation. It was in a paper-pencil format and contained four sections: demographics, such as gender, age, educational experience, level of education, work experience; communication experience with their children; questions specific to children's mental health; and questions about parents' expectation on children's academic achievements and career goals. The survey was used to get the information about the overall trend of the communication between parents and their children: what they generally communicated about, items that they disagreed on, the effects conflict had on children's mental health, and how parents and their children dealt with the disagreements respectively.

The survey was tested for validity and reliability before distribution by conducting a field test of seven parents. These parents had been living in North America for 5-20 years with at least one child attending school and had at least a bachelor's degree. The feedback from the field test was utilized to rework the survey questions for clarity and style. For the convenience of the participants, the survey was distributed in the Chinese version for the participants' first language was Chinese.

Interview Protocol

Semi-structured interviews were used to get qualitative data for an in-depth understanding of the issues covered in the survey and particularly to explore the factors and perspectives that mediated the tension between relevant parents and children, how parents and children dealt with this tension and so on, their experiences, challenges, and expectations. The purpose of the qualitative phase of this study was to provide a better understanding of the findings of the quantitative phase of this study from both the parents' and the children's point of view. The interview protocols (Appendix B for parents & Appendix C for children) included a number of questions developed from the results of the quantitative study. The researcher structured the questions in a follow-up format and selected one pair of parent and child to test the protocol. This pair of parent and child was excluded from the final study.

The researcher debriefed the participants to decide whether the interview questions were relevant and clear to the study.

Different from this survey, which only focused on parents, the interview expanded its participants to include both parents and their high school children. As a result, two sets of interview questions were designed based on the quantitative analysis. Both parents' and children's interview guides (Appendix B & C) consisted of five parts: demographics, communication experience, disagreements, academic and career, and expectation on an ideal parent-child relationship. The participants were recruited from the Windsor Chinese immigrant families with at least one child at high school. The parents were interviewed in Chinese. The children were interviewed mostly in English.

Data Collection

Data collection were collected sequentially with quantitative data being collected first, followed by the qualitative data.

Survey

Surveys were used to collect quantitative data regarding the ways in which Chinese immigrant parents communicated with their children, the challenges they faced, and possible reasons of the tension between the parents and their children. The survey also collected demographic data, including gender, family income, educational background and years of being in Canada. The survey was in a paper-pencil format.

Before the distribution of the survey, the researcher secured a permission letter from the Chinese Association (Appendix I) and the approval of the Research Ethics Board (REB). The participants were recruited in Chinese and the survey was presented in Chinese. Brief information about this project was

announced before survey administration. The verbal announcement and the information letter (Appendix E) both clearly indicated that the return of survey should imply participants' consent. The participants were informed that the survey would take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

The survey was administered during the cultural activities organized by the CAGW. At the beginning of the cultural activity, the organizers distributed the survey package, including the recruitment letter (Appendix D), the information letter (Appendix E), and the survey (Appendix A), and asked the participants to complete the survey as soon as possible on the spot. Any Chinese immigrant parents could take part in the survey. The participants did the survey during the cultural activities and returned the survey when they finished it. The organizers helped the researcher distribute around 270 surveys and 178 surveys were returned.

Interview

Open-ended interviewing was used as an important method of data collection in the second phase of the qualitative study. The benefit of open-ended interviewing is that it provides enough room for participants to interpret questions asked and express their general views or opinions in details freely, and it also allows the researcher to have some control over the flow of the topics (Berg, 2007).

The information about interview participant recruitment was released on and after the cultural activity. After this, some parents contacted the researcher and volunteered to participate with their children. The interviews were held, one at a time, by appointment, and took approximately one hour for each participant. Interview locations were chosen based on convenience, comfort and privacy of the participants with the researcher, mostly at the homes of these participants. All interviews were audio-taped for transcription. Before the interview, a letter of information (Appendix F) was distributed to the participants. Consent for participation (Appendix G) and consent for audio-taping (Appendix H) were a must to sign. Participants were informed that they could choose to speak either

in English or in Chinese to ensure that questions and answers were fully understood by both the interviewees and the researcher. This also ensured that participants were able to express themselves as clearly as possible. Based on the responses from each participant, the researcher followed up with probe questions, allowing participants to freely express their perceptions, experiences and interpretations in more details.

The researcher also kept field notes during the research process. After finishing an interview, the researcher recorded detailed descriptions of the interviewees, time, location, and specific conversations. Field notes served as a reminder to recall what happened in the interview when the researcher transcribed the interview tapes and analyzed the transcripts.

Data Analysis

The sequential explanatory design of this mixed methods study used different instrumentations for the quantitative and qualitative sections, so the data were analyzed differently in each respective phase.

Survey Data

The data of the surveys were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics by SPSS to understand the overall trend of the communication between the parents and their children. The test and survey results of the survey given Specific information can be found in Chapter 4.

Interview Data

The qualitative data of the study were analyzed using a coding process. Coding is beneficial in the qualitative research because it assists researcher in finding patterns, establishes themes, and identifies relationships (Hatch, 2002). Interviews were transcribed and coded. Data analysis began immediately after completing the first interview and continued throughout the study. Thus, the themes

in early interviews could be clarified with more probing in later interviews. Based on Creswell's (2005) suggestions on steps of data analysis to analyze data, the researcher first read the transcribed manuscripts in their entirety several times to obtain a general sense of the data. Afterwards, statements which were overlapping, repetitive, and vague were reduced. The researcher then clustered the invariant constituents that were related to each other into a thematic label. Specific information can be found in Chapter 5.

Researcher's Role

The researcher strictly followed research ethics principles to protect the participants' anonymity and confidentiality. The survey (Appendix A) was anonymous and all participants in the interviews were asked to sign the informed written consent form (Appendix G) in order to participate in the study. For the sake of the participants, all names were changed and specific locations were not named.

The researcher developed a positive and supportive role in the research process to actively engage with the participants so that honest answers could be given by the participants. As the researcher is the primary instrument in a qualitative study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), it is acknowledged that the researcher's personal experiences and beliefs cannot be separated from the phenomenon investigated, but rather have an effect on the research process, from data collection to their analysis and interpretation (Creswell, 2005; Mishler, 1986; Robin & Robin, 2005). In the process of the interview data collection, the researcher was a questioner, an active listener, and an observer. While analyzing and interpreting, the researcher, based on the participants' narrations, merges her own knowledge, experiences and understanding into relevant analysis and interpretation.

Personal experiences counted in the study. The researcher's personal experiences in China and Canada helped her share and understand the tension between Chinese immigrant parents and their

children, as well as the parents' behaviors and perspectives regarding their children's education, social life, and career plan. The researcher's educational experience in China allowed her a better understanding of the Chinese educational system and its strengths and weaknesses. As a Chinese herself, the researcher understands the traditional cultural values of China. As an international student from China, the researcher also has experienced cultural conflicts and the feeling of being lost and confused in the host country. These experiences not only motivated the researcher to conduct this study, but also provided her with great potential for an in-depth understanding of the issues of the study. On the other hand, the researcher always reminded herself not to let her personal perspectives overwrite relevant participants' experiences from data collection to data analysis and interpretation.

CHAPTER 4

SURVEY RESULTS

Using a sequential explanatory mixed methods model, the researcher examined the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children and explored the conflicts between immigrant parents and their children. This chapter presents the quantitative results of the study. It begins with the demographic characteristics about the participants, followed by the quantitative findings. These findings include five key categories: (1) the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children; (2) the potential conflicts/disagreements between Chinese immigrant parents and their children; (3) the potential factors contributing to these conflicts; (4) the effects of these conflicts on the children's mental health; and (5) the ways in which immigrant parents and their children coped with these conflicts respectively. The chapter is concluded with a summary at last.

A total number of 178 surveys were collected throughout this study. Three participants did not fill out the information about their perception of their kid's mental health, and another 5 participants did not respond to items of the parent's expectation and behavior. So the number of surveys analyzed eventually was 170.

Demographics

Gender

Approximately 57.6% of survey participants were mothers while 38.2% of the participants were fathers; 4.1% of participants did not respond to this question. So the valid percentage was 60% mother and 40% father.

Age

In terms of age, 28% of participants were older than 50; about 45% were between 40-50 years old; and 17.9% were 35-40. Only 8.9% of participants were under 35.

Years of Residence in North America

With regard to the years of residing in North America, 63.3% of participants said they had been living in Canada and/or the USA for more than 10 years, while 10.1% reported that they had been in North America for 7-10 and 4-6 years respectively. 10.7% responded that their length of residence was 1-3 years, and only 5.9% had been living in Canada and/or the USA for less than one year. The participants' spouses had a similar length of residence in North America.

Education Background

About 40.6% of participants had a bachelor's degree, 32.4% had a master's degree and 14.1% had a doctoral degree. Only 11.9% of participants reported that they had a high school degree or had failed to complete high school. Similar level of education were found about their spouses: 43.1% had a bachelor's degree, 29.2% a master's degree, 16.7% a doctoral degree, and 11.1% reported that they had a high school diploma or had failed to complete high school.. About 56% of participants reported that they had received their education in China, and 43% reported that they had also received education in North America. The percentage of the participants' spouses' education places was similar to the participants' education places.

English Proficiency

Among those who had responded to this question, about 53.1% thought their English was good or excellent, 37% thought their English level was among average, and 9.7% admitted their English was poor or they were illiterate to English. The participants reported that their spouses' English level was 54.9% good or excellent, 37.3% average, and 7.7% poor or zero.

Working Background

The total response rate for the question “my working status in North America” was 90.6%, and 74.7% participants who responded to this particular question had jobs, including 42.9% full-time, 12.3% part-time, and 19.5% self-employed. Alternately, 25.3% of participants were not working: 14.9% of these participants were intending to look for a job, and 10.4% did not want to work at all. When they were in China, 89.8% participants were working in fields like government (9.5%), education (32.1%), or corporations (48.1%). Only 10.2% worked in other fields or were unemployed.

The total response rate for the question “spouses’ working status in North America” was 78.8%. Among those who answered this question, 83.5% said that their spouses were working: 53.7% were employed full-time, 6.7% part-time, and 23.1% were self-employed. Of the remaining participants, 9.0% reported their spouses were looking for a job, and 7.5% had no intention to work. Similarly, 89.9% participants reported that their spouses had a job in various fields like government (12.6%), education (27.7%), and corporations (49.6%). Only 10.2% worked in other fields or were unemployed. A much higher employment rate could be seen in China then in Canada.

Annual Family Income

10% survey participants did not answer this question. Among those participants who responded to the question “total annual family income before tax”, around 30.1% had a total annual family income of over \$ 100,000, about 25.5% of families had an income of \$60,000-100,000, and 26.8% of families fell in the range between \$30,000 and \$59,999. The rest 17.6% of families had an annual family income of less than \$30,000.

General Information of Their Children

159 participants responded to the information about the number of the children they had.

Among these families, there were 12 with 3 children, 56 with 2 children, and 91 with 1 child.

155 participants answered the question whether they had any high school child, the result turned out to be half of the families had at least one high school child: 46.7% of children reported were female and 53.3% male. As to the question “whether the child was born in North America”, the valid percentage rate was 49.7% (born here) to 50.3% (not). Almost 50% of these children had been living in North America for more than 10 years.

Communication Experience

The communication experience shared between Chinese parents and their children’s were assessed through the general frequency of their communication, the extent of child’s likeness to communicate, and their communication contents. Some correlations were conducted to see the relationships between involved issues.

General Frequency

In answering the question “how often do you communicate with your child in general”, 60.1% chose the answer “at least once a day”. 24.2% of the participants said they communicated with their child 3-4 times a week. 12.4% reported 1-2 times a week. Very few parents reported that they communicated with their child 2-3 times a month (2.0%), or less than once a month (1.3%). The communication frequency of “at least once a day” predominantly outweighed all other options.

Child Fondness of Communicating

165 participants responded to the item “child likes to communicate with me”. Most participants reported that their children liked to communicate with them, with 47.9% of parents thinking this statement was “right” or “absolutely right”, and 39.4% of the participants agreeing

that this statement was “somewhat right”, and 9.7% thought it was “a little bit right”. Only 1.8% chose the answer “not at all right”. That is to say, half of the parents thought their children liked to communicate with them.

To find out whether communication frequency, parent role and child’s fondness of communicating with this parent correlated to each other, Pearson’s correlation coefficients were computed. The test results, as shown in Table 1, indicated that parent role, whether this parent be a mother or a father, and communication frequency were positively correlated ($r=0.23$, $p<0.01$), that is, mothers communicated more with their children than the fathers did. Parent role and child’s fondness of communicating were negatively correlated ($r=-0.203$, $p<0.05$), meaning fathers were more popular among their children in communication compared to mothers. The reasons for this were explored in interviews. Communication frequency and child’s fondness of communicating were negatively correlated ($r=-0.207$, $p<0.05$), which might imply the more parents communicated with the children, the less the children liked to communicate with them. That is, communication with children may be not “the more, the better”.

Table 1

Correlation coefficients of the parent role, communication frequency and child fondness of communicating with parent

		Parent role	Communication frequency	Like communicating with me
Parent role	Pearson Correlation	1	.230**	-.203*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.005	.010
	N	163	148	159
Communication frequency	Pearson Correlation	.230**	1	-.207*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005		.011
	N	148	153	149
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).				
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).				

Communication Language

Chinese was the dominating language in the communication between the parent and the child. 169 participants answered the question in regards to the communication language, with 45% participants reporting that they used Chinese almost all the time when communicating with their child; 26.6% of parents reported that they used Chinese more often than they used English; and 21.3% said Chinese and English were employed with equal frequency. Only 4.7% said they used English more often than Chinese and 2.4% reported they spoke English almost all the time in their communication with children.

Table 2

Correlation coefficients of communication language, English proficiency, communication frequency and child fondness of communicating with parent

Correlations					
		English proficiency-me	Language	Communication frequency	Like communicating with me
English proficiency-me	Pearson Correlation	1	-.346**	-.029	.054
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.731	.498
	N	162	161	146	157
Language	Pearson Correlation	-.346**	1	.068	.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.408	.690
	N	161	169	152	164
Communication frequency	Pearson Correlation	-.029	.068	1	-.207*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.731	.408		.011
	N	146	152	153	149
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).					
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).					

The test results of Pearson's correlation coefficients indicated that communication language was negatively correlated with a parent's English proficiency ($r=-0.346$, $p<0.01$), which means the lower the English level was, the less they communicated in English, but the more in Chinese. However, no correlation was found between communication language and communication frequency and child fondness of communicating. English proficiency was not correlated to

communication frequency and the child's fondness of communicating either. That is to say, the parents' English proficiency and in what language they communicated with their children did not influence their communication frequency and the degree of the child's fondness of communicating with them. (Table 2)

Communication Contents and Frequency

Table 3, which employs the 5-point Likert scale (1=almost never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=often and 5=almost always), illustrates that in response to the question "how often do you communicate with your child about the following topics", the most frequent communication content was about daily behavior, with 69.9% of participants choosing "often" or "almost always". The second most frequent subject was school education (63.3%), the third was moral values (58.2%), followed by social networking (47.3%) and career plan (45.4%). In general, all these topics were talked about by the parents and their children at least "sometimes".

Table 3

Communication frequency (CF) in each topic

	CF in school education	CF in Daily behavior	CF in moral values	CF in career plan	CF in social networking
Almost never	1.2	2.4	1.8	16.1	3.1
Rarely	5.3	4.2	7.3	16.8	12.3
Sometimes	30.2	23.5	32.7	31.7	37.4
Often	37.9	41.6	36.4	22.4	30.1
Almost always	25.4	28.3	21.8	13.0	17.2

Conflicts in Communication

Content and Conflict

To investigate whether there are disagreements in parents and children's communication, participants were asked how often they disagreed with their children on education, daily behavior, moral values, career plans, and social networking. Table 4 indicates that almost no parents

admitted that they conflicted with their children “almost always”, and only a few reported that they “often” conflicted with their children (8.6% on school education, 12.7% on daily behavior, 9.6% on social networking, 7.5% on moral values, and 5.3% on career plan). However, the participants did report that they “sometimes” conflicted with their children on the subjects of school education (52.8%), daily behavior (48.1%), social networking (47.1%), moral values (38.4%) and career plans (38.2%). Although some parents reported that they rarely or only sometimes conflicted with their children in certain topics, the disagreement between parents and their children was still seen from the survey results. Interviews were conducted and results will be displayed in the next chapter.

Table 4

Disagreement frequency in each topic

	Valid percent of				
	DF in school education	DF in Daily behavior	DF in moral values	DF in career plan	DF in social networking
Almost never	6.1	6.3	12.6	13.8	6.4
Rarely	31.3	31.0	40.3	41.4	35.7
Sometimes	52.8	48.1	38.4	38.2	47.1
Often	8.6	12.7	7.5	5.3	9.6
Almost always	1.2	1.9	1.3	1.3	1.3

Pearson correlation was conducted to explore the relationship between different topics in Communication Frequency (CF), in Disagreement Frequency (DF) and each topic in CF and DF. All CFs were positively correlated and so were DFs. However, as to the correlation between corresponding CF and DF, only the topic of career plan was positively correlated ($r=0.414$, $p<0.01$). In general, parents did communicate frequently with their children about school education, social networking, career plan, moral values and daily behavior, but they reported much less disagreement with their children. Communication frequency was positively correlated with disagreement frequency in career plan, which indicated disagreement often accompanies

their communication when they talked about the children's career plans. In other topics, no significant correlation between communication frequency (CF) and disagreement frequency (DF) had been found.

Table 5
Correlation of CF and DF in career plan

		DF in career plan
CF in career plan	Pearson Correlation	.414**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	152

School Stage and Conflicts

Assuming that conflicts intensity vary while children progress from lower to higher grades, the question "During what school stage does disagreement between parents and children exist most?" was asked. Survey results illustrated conflict at high school stage (76.8 %) was overwhelmingly higher than other stages primary (7.3 %), university (7.9 %) or other stages (7.9 %). According to this result, participants for the qualitative research were finally decided to be parents with at least one child at high school and their high school children.

Dealing with Conflicts

Parents' Dealing with Conflicts

Facing disagreements in school education, 38.6% parents reported they would try their best to convince their children, 32.5% would "put it down for later", 18.1% would "yield appropriately", but only 7.8% would "compromise" and 3% would "force to agree". In terms of moral values, 53.4% parents reported they would "try their best to convince" their children, 10.6% would "yield appropriately", and only 2.5% would "compromise". In regards to children's future career, 46.5% participants responded they would "put it down for later", 19.4% would "try best

to convince”, but only 1.9% would “force to agree”. In general, more parents reported “try to convince” or “put it for later” than “yield” or “compromise”; the least frequent answer was “force to agree”.

Table 6
Parent reaction to disagreement

	Valid percent of reaction to disagreement about				
	Education	Socialization	Career	Moral values	Daily behavior
Compromise	7.8	9.3	13.5	2.5	7.2
Yield appropriately	18.1	17.3	18.7	10.6	22.3
Put it down for later	32.5	38.9	46.5	27.3	29.5
Try best to convince	38.6	30.9	19.4	53.4	35.5
Force to agree	3.0	3.7	1.9	6.2	5.4

Table 7
Correlation coefficients of parent high expectation and reaction to disagreement

		Parent reaction to disagreement on				
		Education	Socialization	Career	Moral values	Daily behavior
Expect high and push much	Pearson Correlation	.362**	.287**	.215**	.283**	.256**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.010	.000	.001
	N	152	150	143	150	152
Strong opinion in child career	Pearson Correlation	.326**	.172*	.267**	.126	.084
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.032	.001	.118	.296
	N	158	156	149	156	158
Send to training class even if child not willing	Pearson Correlation	.244**	.072	.090	.215**	.155*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.366	.271	.007	.049
	N	161	158	151	158	161

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Results from Pearson’s correlation coefficients indicated that parent’s high expectation and pushing much was positively correlated with parents’ reaction to disagreement in education ($r=0.362$, $p<0.01$), in socialization ($r=0.287$, $p<0.01$), in career ($r=0.215$, $p<0.01$), in moral values ($r=0.283$, $p<0.01$), and in daily behavior ($r=0.256$, $p<0.01$). Parents having strong opinions was positively correlated with parents’ reaction to disagreement in education ($r=0.326$,

$p < 0.01$), in socialization ($r = 0.172$, $p < 0.05$), and in career ($r = 0.267$, $p < 0.01$). Forcing children to attend training classes was positively correlated with parents' reaction to disagreement in education ($r = 0.244$, $p < 0.01$), in moral values ($r = 0.215$, $p < 0.01$), and in daily behavior ($r = 0.155$, $p < 0.05$). (Table 7)

Children's Dealing with Conflicts

The mode of parent-reported children's reaction to disagreement was "1", meaning "willing to listen to me". Almost no parents reported that their children did "not listen to me at all". Table 8 showed children generally would "listen to" their parents either willingly or reluctantly in moral values (74.5%), daily behavior (69.4%), education (65.9%), socialization (62.8%) and career (55.7%). The data implied that most children finally yielded to their parents.

Table 8

Child dealing with disagreement

	Valid percent of child reaction to disagreement				
	Education	Socialization	Career	Moral values	Daily behavior
Willingly listen to me	37.9	36.5	36.9	52.2	39.4
Reluctantly listen to me	28.0	26.3	18.8	22.3	30.0
Put it down for later	17.4	19.9	28.9	15.3	17.5
Try best to convince me	15.5	17.3	14.1	10.2	12.5
Does not listen to me at all	1.2	0	1.3	0	.6

Pearson's correlation was computed to find the relationship between parent-reported children's reaction to disagreement and child mental health. Results from Pearson's correlation coefficients indicated that child mental health was only positively related with child's reaction to disagreement in education ($r = 0.166$, $p < 0.05$). No statistical significance had been found in children becoming depressed with children's reaction to disagreement.

Factors Contributing to Conflicts

To investigate the possible factors that contributed to the conflicts between parents and children, a 5-point Likert scale question asked “How often does each of the following factors contribute to the disagreement between you and your child?” Among the six factors (cultural difference, different expectation on education, child being rebellious, lack of communication, different characteristic, and generation gap) listed on the survey, cultural difference was reported to be the most important factor contributing to conflict, with 28.9% of participants selecting “often or almost always”, and 29.5% selecting “sometimes”. This was followed by different expectation on education, where 22.1% of participants selected “often or almost always”, and 31.3% selected “sometimes”. However, around 50% of parents did not quite attribute the conflicts to cultural difference as 41.6% thought cultural difference “almost never” or “rarely” caused conflicts. 46.7% of participants thought different expectation “almost never” or “rarely” contribute to conflicts. To explore more about factors of conflicts, interviews were conducted and further information could be found in the next chapter.

Table 9
Factors of conflicts

	Valid percent of					
	Cultural difference	Different expectation on education	Rebellion us age	lack of communication	different characteristics	generation gap
Almost never	12.7	16.0	20.1	28.2	19.4	18.9
Rarely	28.9	30.7	29.3	34.4	40.0	38.4
Sometimes	29.5	31.3	32.3	31.3	27.3	29.6
Often	22.3	19.6	15.9	5.5	12.7	12.6
Almost always	6.6	2.5	2.4	.6	.6	.6

Cultural Difference

As shown in Table 9, cultural difference was the most striking factor that caused disagreements between parents and children. Approximately 30% of participating parents

responded that cultural differences often or almost always caused conflicts. Around 30% of parents reported that cultural difference sometimes was the reason. The percentage of parents who responded that cultural difference rarely caused conflicts was 28.9%. There were 12.7% of participants reporting that they thought cultural difference almost never was the reason for conflicts, but around 60% of parents considered cultural difference as a reason contributing to conflicts.

To find out the relationship between cultural difference and children's and parents' years of being in North America, parents' English proficiency, child's being influenced by teachers, Pearson's correlation was calculated. No statistical significance had been found in the correlation between cultural difference and parents' English proficiency, cultural difference and children's and parents' years in North America, or between cultural difference and child's being highly influenced by teachers.

Different Expectation on Education

Chinese parents often hold on to the value that people can find their bright future through outstanding academic success, so it is not surprising that they have high expectations in regards to their children's academic achievements and usually have higher expectations than their children. 22.1% of participating parents responded that this factor often or almost always led to conflicts. Around 31.3% of these parents reported that high expectation on children sometimes was the reason for conflicts, while 46.7% of these parents did not regard this aspect as a factor causing conflicts.

Since parents' expectation on their children's academic achievements was assumed to be higher than that of their children, the study sought to validate or refute this assumption. To see whether parents' expectation was higher than that of the children's, a series of statements about

parents' expectation being higher than their children's were examined. The participants were asked to check the answer that best described them (1=not at all right, 2=a little bit right, 3=somewhat right, 4=right, 5=absolutely right). The frequency of participants' responses to these statements were displayed in Table 10.

Table 10
Frequencies of parents' expectation on academics

	Higher expectation on academics	Think 85 is not good enough, 95 is	Push child to get better marks	Ask child to do extra academic work	Eager to know child's ranking	Show dissatisfaction	Ask about comparison with other kids
Not at all right	11.7	25.6	11.0	14.7	18.9	18.4	28.7
A little bit right	23.9	23.8	20.2	23.3	19.5	27.0	22.0
Somewhat right	31.3	21.3	31.9	30.1	24.4	29.4	26.8
Right	20.2	17.7	23.9	21.5	25.0	19.0	13.4
Absolutely right	12.9	11.6	12.9	10.4	12.2	6.1	9.1

The results of the responses to the statements were similar. The response to the statement "I have a higher expectation in my child's school academics than s/he does" is emblematic of the issue. Table 10 shows that 31.3% of the participants thought it was "somewhat right", and 31.1% thought it was "right" or "absolutely right". There were 23.9% of parents who considered it a "little bit right", but only 11.7% of participants did not agree with this statement. In total, almost 90% participating parents admitted to various extent that they held higher expectation on their children's academic performance.

To find out the relationship between parents' higher expectation and conflicts, Pearson's correlation was computed among the variables. Statistical significance was found between disagreement frequency in school education and factor-different expectation on education ($r=0.178, p<0.05$), and between parents' higher expectation on children's academics and factor-different expectation on education ($r=0.326, p<0.01$). No statistical significance had been found

between Disagreement Frequency in school in education and higher expectation. (Table 11)

Table 11

Correlation coefficients of factor expectation, DF in school in education and parents' higher expectation

		DF in school education	Factor-Different expectation on education	Higher expectation on academics
DF in school education	Pearson Correlation	1	.178*	.127
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.025	.112
	N	163	158	157
Factor-Different expectation on education	Pearson Correlation	.178*	1	.326**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.025		.000
	N	158	163	158

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Lack of Communication

Among the six factors on the survey, lack of communication was considered by most parents to be the least important factor causing conflicts. Only 6.1% of participants responded that lack of communication often or almost always contributed to conflicts, while 31.3% of parents reported it sometimes was the reason, and 62.6% of parents thought it never or rarely caused the conflicts.

Table 12

Correlation coefficients of factor lack of communication and child's like communicating and communication frequency

		Factor-lack of communication	Like communicating with me	Communication frequency
Factor-lack of communication	Pearson Correlation	1	-.380**	.266**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.001
	N	163	159	147
Like communicating with me	Pearson Correlation	-.380**	1	-.207*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.011
	N	159	165	149

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Pearson's correlation was computed to test the correlation coefficients of factor lack of

communication and the extent of child's fondness of communication and found they were significantly negatively correlated ($r=-0.380$, $p<0.01$), which indicates a positive correlation between children not liking communication and a lack of communication. Statistical significance was also found in the relationship between lack of communication and communication frequency ($r=0.266$, $p<0.01$). (Table 12)

Different Characters

Almost 60% of participating parents considered different characters almost never or rarely caused conflicts. 27.3% of parents thought different characters sometimes accounted for the conflicts. About 13% regarded this as an important factor to conflicts.

Child mental health status was positively correlated with disagreement frequency ($r=0.269$, $p<0.01$) and with child's mental problem ($r=0.365$, $p<0.01$).

Table 13

Correlation coefficients of factor different characters, disagreement frequency and child's mental problem

		Think child has mental health problem	DF general	Factor-different characteristics
Think child has mental health problem	Pearson Correlation	1	.218**	.365**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.007	.000
	N	160	153	156
DF general	Pearson Correlation	.218**	1	.269**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.007		.001
	N	153	163	159

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Generation Gap

The response rate for the question "To what extent is the generation gap a contributing factor to conflict?" was 93.5%. 57.3% of parents thought the generation gap was never or only to a tiny extent in influencing disagreements, while about 40% considered it a general factor in disagreements, or being a factor in disagreements "to a great extent".

Positive correlation was found between factor generation gap and DF general ($r=0.305$, $p<0.01$) and between generation gap and child age ($r=0.176$, $p<0.01$). However, no statistical significance had been found between factor generation gap and parents' age. (Table 14)

Table 14

Correlation coefficients of generation gap, DF and child's age and parent's age

		Factor-generation gap	DF general	Age	Child 1 grade
Factor-generation gap	Pearson Correlation	1	.305**	.135	.176*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.091	.035
	N	159	154	157	144
Child 1 grade	Pearson Correlation	.176*	.228**	.643**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.035	.005	.000	
	N	144	147	152	154

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Conflicts and Child Mental Health

Parent Report on Child Mental Health

To measure the children's mental health state, the participants were asked to report their agreement with a range of statements along five-point Likert scales. Some examples of these statements included such items as "my child is unhappy, sad or depressed", "my child seems nervous, high strung or tense", and "my child cries a lot". Only a few participants thought these statements were "right" or "absolutely right" while many more parents thought these statements were "not at all right" or only "a little bit right". The response to "my child is unhappy, sad or depressed", for instance, saw 62% of participants chose the answer "not at all right", and only 3.1% thought it was right. (Table 15)

Possible Influence of Conflicts

Some admitted that disagreement did influence their children's mental health by making them depressed, although some other parents did not agree that their children had got depressed

due to disagreement. Table 15 indicates that 27.3% of participants reported “not at all right”, 36.6% “a little bit right”, 21.1% “somewhat right” and 11.2% “right”.

Table 15
Parents report on child mental health

	Too timid	Unhappy, sad or depressed	Nervous, high strung or tense	Too fearful or anxious	Cry a lot	Depressed due to disagreement
Not at all right	31.5	62.0	57.3	62.2	58.3	27.3
A little bit right	32.7	21.5	28.0	22.0	25.2	36.6
Somewhat right	26.7	13.5	12.2	12.2	11.7	21.1
Right	6.7	3.1	2.4	3.7	4.9	11.2
Absolutely right	2.4					3.7

Table 16
Correlations of depression, mental health and expectation

		Like communicating with me	Depressed due to disagreement	Child has mental health problem	Parent expectation on academic work is high
Like communicating with me	Pearson Correlation	1	-.127	-.219**	-.210**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.109	.005	.007
	N	165	161	164	165
Depressed due to disagreement	Pearson Correlation	-.127	1	.469**	.244**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.109		.000	.002
	N	161	161	161	161
Child has mental health problem	Pearson Correlation	-.219**	.469**	1	.202**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.000		.009
	N	164	161	165	165

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Statistical significance had been found in Pearson’s correlations (Table 16). Child’s mental health state was positively correlated with child getting depressed due to disagreement ($r=0.469$, $p<0.01$), positively correlated with parents’ high expectation ($r=0.202$, $p<0.01$) and negatively correlated with child fondness of communicating with parents ($r=-0.219$, $p<0.01$). Children’s willingness to communicate was negatively correlated with depression due to disagreement ($r=0.127$, $p<0.01$) and with parent’s high expectation ($r=-0.210$, $p<0.01$). Parents’ high expectation was positively correlated with depression due to disagreement.

Summary

Communication Experience

Sixty percent of participants reported that they communicated with their children “at least once a day”. At least 50% of parents thought their “children like to communicate with them”. Parents’ roles and children’s willingness to communicate were negatively correlated. Fathers were more popular among children than mothers. Chinese was the dominating language used by parents in the communication. As to communication contents, daily behavior and school education were the most frequently talked topics, followed by moral values and social networking, while career plan was the least talked.

Conflicts in Communication

Although the majority of parents reported that they “rarely” or “almost never” conflicted with their children, the disagreement between parents and their children was still seen from the survey results. Communication frequency was positively correlated with disagreement frequency only in career plan. 76.8% participants reported that high school was the period when children conflicted with them most.

Dealing with Conflicts

In general, more parents reported “try to convince” or “put it for later” than “yield” or “compromise”; the least frequent answer was “force to agree”. Parents’ high expectations and pushing much, or having strong opinions on career plans and forcing child into training classes were all positively correlated with parents’ reaction to disagreement. About 70% children would “listen to” their parents either willingly or unwillingly. Child mental health was positively correlated to disagreement in education.

Factors Contributing to Conflicts

Among the six factors listed on the survey, cultural difference is the most striking factor contributing to conflict, followed by different expectation on education, children being rebellious, different characteristics, generation gap, and lack of communication. About 90% of participants admitted to various extents that they held higher expectation on their children's academic performance. Statistical significance was found between Disagreement Frequency in school education and different expectation on education.

Conflicts and Child Mental Health

Many participants admitted that disagreement did influence their children's mental health by making them feel depressed. Child's mental health state was positively correlated with children becoming depressed due to disagreements and positively correlated with parents' high expectation.

CHAPTER 5

INTERVIEW RESULTS

For the qualitative part of this study, nine parents and their relevant children were interviewed, for a total of eighteen participants. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. This chapter narrates the qualitative results of the study. The results of the one-on-one interviews performed with the Chinese immigrant parents and their high school children were classified into seven themes that emerged from the data collected: background information, communication experience, potential conflicts, contributing factors, effects of conflicts, dealing with conflicts, and ideal parent-child relationship.

Background Information

Parent Interviewees

Parent interviewees' background information included: their sex, age, education, working status, reasons for immigration, and work and education information of the other parent in each family (Table 1).

Sex, age and years in North America. The nine parent interviewees were all mothers around 47 years old. Seven mothers had been here in Canada for more than 10 years, two for 20 years or more and two for less than 5 years.

Education and working status. These mothers had received education in China and got degrees from technical secondary schools, or junior colleges, or had Bachelor's or Master's degrees. Only three of them had been reeducated in Canada. They all had jobs like doctors, teachers, accountants, or librarians, and one was an editor at a television station in China, but 6 of them were housewives in Canada at the time when they were interviewed.

When being asked the question “do you regret giving up your job and life in China”, several parents said that they sometimes did regret that choice. Parent 1 was a doctor in a big hospital in Beijing, the capital of China, and she had a respectable income and high social status. However, she was a part-time therapist and sometimes had to work in a restaurant to earn a living in Canada. She recounted her experience: “There is no medicine for regret, so now I just look forward.” Parent 3 was an employer in a state-owned enterprise in China, but was a self-employed barber here in Canada: “I have not thought about whether I should regret or not because I have been staying here for so many years and I can’t imagine what would have happened if I stayed in China.” Only parent 4 was satisfied with her present job as a technician in a big company and earned good money. The rest 6 mothers were all exclusively housewives, either willingly or unwillingly. Parent 2 reported that she was a technician in China, but when she came to Canada she could not find any jobs except for those in the restaurants or on farms. She was distraught about her situation because she had to stay at home to take care of her children and as a result, even her son looked down upon her.

As to why these mothers could not find a job, the reasons were primarily due to their poor English and lack of local work experience. Parent 2 offered an account of her experience: “I could not find a good job other than a laborer because I have no degree, and no English skills. I have never worked in a factory. You are just like a machine. It’s difficult to earn money. I was tired to death.” There were also some mothers who became accustomed to being a housewife after some struggles. Parent 5 shared her insights on this experience: “At first, I felt upset because I had to retire when I was less than thirty years old, but I am now used to being a housewife because I have to take care of the children and my husband. If I work, nobody cooks for them. Language is a problem and work makes me feel uneasy. I don’t want to work anymore.

I feel good in this way.” Parent 6 shared a similar sentiment: “I can’t find a job for my age, lack of experience, low degree, and poor English. However, it is not necessary for me to work and my husband does not want me to work. I have no economic pressure. My job is taking care of my child.”

Table 1
Parent Interviewees' Background Information

ID	Sex	Age	Yeas in Canada	Work in China	Work in Canada	Why some mothers not work	Degree	Education-Canada
1	F	53	20	Doctor	Part-time therapist	Lack of experience Poor English Not willing to work because work is tiring No economic pressure, not necessary to work Want to take care of the family	BM	PSW
2	F	44	13	Technician	No (Unwilling housewife)		Junior college	No
3	F	50	21	Enterprise employee	Self-employed barber		BS	Hairdressing
4	F	48	16	Enterprise employee (in Japan)	Technician		MS	No
5	F	44	14	Accountant	No (Willing housewife)		Junior college	No
6	F	46	2	Librarian	No (Willing housewife)		Junior college	No
7	F	45	15	TV station editor	No (Willing housewife)		BA	Computer BS & CMA
8	F	44	12	Kindergarten teacher	Housewife		Technical secondary school	No
9	F	46	4	Bank staff	No (Willing housewife)		BE	No
	F	47	13	9 work	2 work	1M, 4B, 3J, 1T	3	

Parent 7 valued child Education as the mission in her life, so she put her heart and soul in her children. In general, only one out of nine parent interviewees had found a job comparable to

the previous jobs. Although some mothers were willing to be a housewife, it was more or less unwillingly somehow because they had had no other choice but to yield to the situation in which it was difficult for them to find a job, rather than the fact that they enjoyed being a housewife.

Education and working status of their Spouses. Table 2 summaries the working status and education of the other parent in each family. Fathers all had formal education in China and 6 of them also received education in Canada. Only one father's degree was below a master's degree, four fathers had a PhD, and four had MS. Two fathers were still working in China and seven fathers all had jobs before they moved to Canada and still had jobs in Canada. Compared to mothers, fathers apparently enjoyed a better working status in Canada.

Table 2

Spouses' Background information

ID	Education in China	Education in Canada	Work in China	Work in Canada	Residence	Annual Income
1	MS	PhD	Chief Engineer	N/A	China	\$20,000-40,000
2	MS	MS	Engineer	Engineer	Canada (same city)	\$50,000-70,000
3	BM	MM	Doctor	Doctor	Canada (different city)	\$50,000-70,000
4	BS&MS in Japan	No	N/A	Technician	Canada (same city)	\$80,000-100,000
5	MS	PhD	Teacher	University Professor	Canada (same city)	\$110,000-150,000
6	MS	No	Enterprise boss	N/A	China	\$110,000-150,000
7	PhD	MS	Engineer	Engineer	Canada (same city)	\$50,000-70,000
8	PhD	PhD	University Professor	Engineer	Canada (same city)	\$50,000-70,000
9	Below Bachelor	No	Enterprise boss	Self-employed	Canada (same city)	\$110,000-150,000

Why immigration. These participants immigrated for various reasons, but the most common motivations were to give their children a better life, to improve their own living environment, or because they thought the move would benefit their spouse.

Child. Almost all parent interviewees reported the most important reason for their immigration was for their children, especially for their children's education. Parent 1 reported that in China, her daughter was just asked to do homework that required her to learn by rote, and she did not want her children to be educated like that. Parent 6 told me that her only reason for moving to Canada was for her child's education, stating that she gave up her life in China so her daughter could go to school in Canada and that her life is now defined exclusively by her parental duties. Parent 9 complained that her child did not study hard, and if not for the children, she and her husband would not have considered immigration at the expense of giving up the comforts they secured in China.

Some also expressed their concern about their children's security. Parent 1 said that she was perpetually worried that her children might be kidnapped. Parent 9 said food was not safe in China and she particularly mentioned the poisonous milk powder incident in China and expressed her concern:

I had a good job in a bank and my husband ran a prosperous company, and we made pretty good money in China. Why did we decide to emigrate from there? Because we could not bear the poisonous milk powder! Our second daughter was still in need of milk powder then. Even if we had money, we could not get safe food for our children. Then we felt we must go. Now we don't make that much money as we used to, but I think it is worthwhile somehow.

Living environment. A better living environment is also a consideration for these parents' immigration. Some interviewees said they were attracted by the beautiful scenery and clean air in Canada. Some also cited the freedom provide by the legal law system. This sentiment was reinforced by parent 3: "I like the freedom here. No one cares what you are doing as long as you do not offend other people." Parent 6 shared her thoughts on freedom in Canada: "This is a country of law and discipline. Here you feel safe. It is easier to operate a company without worrying that you will be fined all of a sudden without knowing what is going on. And you don't need to spend extra money and energy to maintain and extend the so-called relationships. That is too complicated. Business is business. It's simple." Three mothers expressed the idea that the economic pressure here was much less due to free child education, less expensive house, and so it was therefore easier to make a living in Canada. Parent 2 explained the difference in the cost of living in the two countries: "You know in Shanghai, the house is very expensive, and my child is a boy. I heard Canada is the paradise for people who are not very rich, and who have no strong background. We came here for an easier life." Two mothers were living in Japan for several years, but they didn't like the stressful life there and then decided to move to Canada. Parent 4 reinforced how the cost of living motivated their move: "Like in China, in Japan it's very expensive to educate your child. You need to send your children to tutoring class after school. The cost of child education is too high. You have to spend about \$600,000 on one child's education. This is similar to that in China. In Canada, education is free, so we came here." Then she added: "In Japan, life is too stressful, we don't like it."

Spouse. Some interviewees did not think about immigration at first. They came to Canada just to accompany their spouse who studied in Canada. When their husbands decided to stay, they stayed. This is demonstrated by a participant who recounted how she came to Canada

because her husband came to Canada to study, and followed his lead when he decided to stay after finishing his education.

Table 3
Why Immigration

Family	Choices			Reasons to immigration
	A	B	C	
1	1234	23 5	1	A. Child 1. Better education 2. Less pressure from school and society, easier to go to university 3. Child's future: easier to find a job, easier to make a living 4. Personal security: kidnapping in China/safe in Canada 5. Food security: poisonous milk/food B. Living environment 1. Beautiful scenery 2. Clean air 3. Freedom 4. Protected by law 5. Less economic pressure (like less child education fee, less expensive house, easier to make a living) 6. reluctance to stay in Japan C. 1. Accompany spouse study then stay
2	123	5		
3			1	
4	1	3 56		
5	1		1	
6	12	4		
7	1	56		
8	1 4	1	1	
9	123 5	12		

Child Interviewees

Child interviewees' general information includes: their sex, age, grade, and academic performance. Child number, parent number and family number are corresponding, meaning they are from the same family.

Table 4
Child Interviewees' Background Information

Child ID	Child Rank	Gender	Age	Grade	Birth Place	Years in Canada	Academic Level
Child 1	3 rd	M	17	11	Canada	4+4	B
Child 2	1 st	M	16	11	China	13	A
Child 3	2 nd	M	15	9	Canada	15	C
Child 4	1 st	F	17	11	Japan	14	A+++
Child 5	1 st	F	18	12	China	15	A++
Child 6	1 st	F	18	12	China	4	A+
Child 7	1 st	F	15	9	Canada	10	A+
Child 8	1 st	M	17	11	China	12	A+
Child 9	1 st	F	17	11	China	4	D

Child interviewees' ages varied from 15 to 18 and they were in grade 9 to 12. Four of them were boys and five were girls. Six of them had been staying in Canada since they were born or since they were about three years old. Two children reported they were not good at academic performance with an average score of around 65. Six children performed exceptionally well at their studies. The average score of each child was around 90, and some even over 95.

Communication Experience

This part, which elaborates on the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and children, includes communication language, communication frequency, the closeness degree between parents and children, the degree of children's keenness for communication, and the contents of their communication.

Communication Language and Frequency

Almost all parent interviewees spoke Chinese, while 2 children spoke Chinese and 7 primarily spoke English. Language sometimes caused barrier in their communication because mothers sometimes did not understand their children's English and children didn't understand their mothers' Chinese.

Most parents and their children communicated with each other every day, others only 1-2 times a week. Some said there was no specific time for the communication. Child 5, for instance, said she only communicated with her parents when it was necessary like when she needed her parents' confirmation or help. Child 8 reported that he communicated with his parents whenever they wanted to talk to him. Generally children seldom initiated the communication. If the parents did not ask, they remained quiet.

Closeness and Fondness

Two families reported that they were close to each other and like talking to each other. Mother 4 expounded: “My daughter likes to talk to me. Every day back from school she shares her experience in school. We are very close to each other.” Child 4 also stated: “I like talking with my mum.” Family 7 shared similar idea.

The rest of the families, however, generally reported that parent-child relationship was not close and children did not like talking with parents. Parent 1 offered her insights into this: “My son does not talk much with me. He does not like talking.” Child 1 told me that he was not willing to talk to his mother because he did not think it was necessary to talk to his mother. He thought he should not be that close to his mother for in his mind it was shameful to be too close to one’s mother since he was a ‘big boy’ of 17 years old. Child 2 said he would rather talk to his father because his father was reasonable and understanding and his mother was often “busy with what she does”, going onto state that he is busy with his work, and that there is therefore “not much time to discuss things and there’s not much to discuss about.” Child 9 and her mother even described their relationship as hostile. Parent 9 expounded, “Our relationship is very stressful. She hates me. She thinks I am too strict with her.” Child 9’s words coincided with her mother’s feeling, “I don’t like to talk to her. She is nagging all the time.”

Other parents discussed a similar distance. Parent 3 suggested that despite being close to her son, they do have conflict: “We often communicate, but we often quarrel too. I don’t know how to describe our relationship. We are close, but he says he hates me.” Parent 5 likewise experienced a duplicitous relation with her child: “My daughter does not like to communicate with me, but she asks for confirmation. She wants to know our ideas. But that does not mean she

will listen to us. Sometimes I initiated the conversation, but they last no more than 5 minutes.”

Parent 2 wanted to talk more with her son but her son seemed to dislike her:

I want to be close to him, but he dislikes me. Maybe it is because he is a boy. Boys tend to be distant from their mothers. When he was young, he was so close to me. When he got a candy, he would put it into his pocket and gave it to me saying ‘mum, it’s for you’. I really miss that time. He is grown up now. He is not that close to me and does not want to talk to me anymore.

Communication Contents

For all families, academic studies was almost always the focus of their communication, though their conversation might also touch on other subjects, such as the child’s future career, religious beliefs, social interactions, making friends, entertainment, and sex.

Child 4 offered some insight into the content of their conversations: “We talk about the stress of school and what goes on at school... Mainly about school. Every time it was always my school first and then maybe some activities that going on and what happened during the day.”

The boy from family 3 expounded that his mother often reminded him “to study more often.”

Child 9 complained that conversations with her parents invariably lead to her academic studies.

Parent 4 told me her daughter talked about everything with her: “She talks with me about all that happened during the day, happiness and unhappiness, quite a lot. The unhappy things are mainly about her studies, like her teacher did not give her a good mark. She also tells me stories about her class. Sometimes, we also discuss her future career.”

Parent 8 also stated that academics was a key subject: “We talk about his studies. I ask him to work harder. He does not listen to me. He likes playing computer games. Also, I want him to

be a doctor. He said he did not like it. I have no ways to get him to listen to me. I feel hopeless. His father talks with him about God and hopes he would be led by God.”

Parent 7 and her daughter communicated about all kinds of things, like studies, future career, dressing, classmates, and sex. Child 7 also reported she talked about everything with her mother, and sometimes with her dad.

The following table summarizes the overall communication experience of the nine participant families.

Table 5
Communication Experience

I D	Frequency	Closeness	Fondness	Content	Child Language	Parent Language
1	1-2 times a week	So-so	Not much	Study, career, friends, games	Half-half	Chinese
2	1-2 times a week	Not close	Not much	Study, practice piano	Mainly English	Chinese
3	Every day	So-so	OK	Study, daily life	Mainly English	Chinese
4	Every day	Close	Very much	Study and others	Mainly English	Chinese
5	Sometimes	Not so close	Not much	Study, career, university	Mainly English	Chinese
6	3-4 times a week	OK	OK	Study, career, daily life	Chinese	Chinese
7	Every day	Very Close	Very much	Study and all kinds of things	Half-half	Mainly Chinese
8	Whenever parents want to talk	Not close	Not much	Study, piano, play, God	Half-half	Chinese
9	Every day	Hostile	Hate	Study, daily life	Chinese	Chinese

Conflicts

Chinese immigrant parents and their children mainly saw conflicts in education, career and daily behaviors.

Education

As mentioned before, child education was the major reason for immigration and the focus of parent-child communication. Ironically, the areas of education was the primary conflict between parents and their children, including child's school education, art training and Chinese acquisition.

School education. Chinese parents usually held high expectation on their children's academic performance. They often sent their children to tutoring class and pushed them to study harder. When their children did not meet their expectation, most of them would become unhappy and scold their children like parents 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, and 9. But some children expected more of themselves than their parents do, like children 4 and 5 (Table 6).

Table 6

Parent and child report on parent expectation on child study

	Parent report	Child report
1	<i>I asked him about his score. He told me it was 70. I think it is too low. He is not good at his studies.</i>	<i>My mum is only concerned with my score. She does not know my rank in the class. 70 is not bad. And there are reasons for my losing score. She scolded me for that.</i>
3	<i>I hope he can get a higher score. I know he is limited in his studies so I did not expect that high in him. I would like to spend money in helping him by employing tutors to help him study, but he often plays computer games. He does not review what has learned. I have paid for this. He should study hard. He prays to God to give him wisdom, but God's magic does not work if you do not study hard.</i>	<i>Maybe their ideal score is 80s, 90s for the English involved subjects. When I did not meet this expectation, my father seemed disappointed. My mother pushes me much to study hard. My mum wants me to finish my homework first. But sometimes the homework is too long and too much. A lot of times she disagrees with me if I do not study and play too long.</i>
4	<i>My daughter works very hard and she is good at her studies, which meets our expectation. I have been strict with her since she began her school. I value her scores very much. I expect all her scores to be "A". If she got A, she would be praised. So, she wants to get "A" all the time. Now her expectation is even higher than mine.</i>	<i>They used to push me to study harder. When I was younger I did not care about school so they kept on pushing me and now my standard is even higher than theirs. Because I try to aim for like 90-95, at least 90. I think they want 95. Dad I think is 85. Pretty low from my standard. My mom would give me a lecture saying if I did not do a good job I would fail everything. She would talk for an hour and</i>

	<i>She also wants to be better than her younger sister. She is very stressed.</i>	<i>just waste my time when I could be playing. They've been talking about going to good universities since I was in grade school, so I feel like pressure to get a high mark. I feel a lot of pressure about school.</i>
5	<i>I have been adjusting my expectations. If I expect too high, she can't reach. Now I do not have too high expectation on her study.</i>	<i>Their expectations are generally pretty high for everything, but it's a lot of my own drive in order to meet the expectations as well. So usually if I'm not meeting their expectations, I also fail my own expectations and that makes me unhappy but it's a lot of what I do to myself.</i>
7	<i>When I find her academic achievement is not satisfying, I will encourage her to work harder for a better future. She began to get "A's" since she was in grade 8. I think a child must have the ability to multi-task.</i>	<i>Since our expectations on my academic are similar, say about 90, my parents' expectation is not a burden for me. But when I fail this expectation, I will blame myself. Mostly my parents will not scold me for that, they just encourage me to do more. My father will get mad about it and asks me why the score is not high enough. My mum is with me most of the time and encourages me to work harder to do a better job.</i>
8	<i>My expectation is definitely higher than his own. He is too lazy and likes playing computer games. He does not work hard enough although his average score is about 94. He is smart but he does not work hard enough. He does not finish his homework.</i>	<i>My study could be a lot better, but it's not horrible. My mum used to push me but now gave up. I don't think it is necessary to do all the homework. I only do it when it counts for marks.</i>
9	<i>Oh, we came here for what? Child education! Now she does not study hard and her studies are, oh my God, too poor. I feel ashamed to talk about it. If she can't go to university, we don't have face to go back to China to visit our relatives. If she can't go to university, her grandparents will not close their eyes, even if they die. She is too lazy. She does not like a challenge and is afraid of difficulties. She is not good at her studies and she fears me and my expectation. Now it is difficult because she is not interested in studying at all.</i>	<i>My mum pushes me so hard. I have a lot of pressure because of study. They want me to go to university. They think if I can't make it, it's shameful. We often quarrel about that. Now I want to study, but I have been lagging behind for so long. My mum just shouts that I must study hard, but she does not show me how. She just knows to push me and scold me. I don't like her nagging. They push me to study every day. Anything will lead to study. It is so annoying.</i>

Parents whose children were “A” students mostly recounted that they did not push their children too much, but their children reported that their parents pushed them to work hard. Parent 2 said she did not push her child to work hard and did not expect high grades from him: “I never push him. He is good at his studies His father can tutor him on everything, so we don’t need to send him to tutor class or pay extra money to invite private teachers.” But child 2 reported that his parents had high expected of him and often pushed him to work hard: “They expect me to do well to get “A” in most classes...They want me to study hard and push me to get higher marks. But I usually gain high marks so they don’t really need to push me. When sometimes I do not meet their expectation on the high marks, they tell me to work harder and they say I have been wasting too much time, then send me out of my voluntary agreement to tutoring classes.”

Some parents did not push their children because their children were good at school, as demonstrated by parent 6: “My daughter’s average score is 90. I don’t think I need to expect anything about it. If her grades are poor, I may worry. If this child is playing computer games all the time, I will push her.” Child 6 reported, “My mother never worries about my study because I am good at study.”

A lot of the child interviewees reported that they suffered great pressure because of their parents’ high expectation, be they of good academic performance or poor academic performance. Children with exceptional academic performance felt even more pressure than other kids. Mother 4 reported her daughter was excellent at school, but “now her expectation is even higher than mine.... She is very stressed”. Child 4 reported on her expectations:

Now my standard is even higher than theirs because I try to aim for like 90-95, at least 90.... They’ve been talking about going to good universities since I was in grade school, so I feel like pressure to get a high mark. I feel a lot of pressure about school.

Six out of nine children reported that they suffered various amount of pressure due to their parents' expectation. (Table 7)

Table 7
General Information about School Education

Academic								
ID	Child Academic	Parent's expectation	Willing homework	Tutor or class	Like tutor class	Not happy for lower score	Scold due to lower score	Cause pressure
1	B	A-	No	No	N/A	Yes	Yes	A bit
2	A	A	Sometimes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	A bit
3	C	B+	No	Yes	Sometimes	Yes	Yes	Much
4	A++	A++	Yes	Yes	Yes very	Yes	Yes	Much
5	A+	A+	Yes	Yes	Yes very	Yes	No	Much
6	A+	A++	Yes	No	N/A	Yes	No	No
7	A+	A+	Yes	Yes	Yes very	Yes	Yes	No
8	A+	A++	No	Yes	Sometimes	Yes	Yes	Not care
9	D	B+	No	Yes	Sometimes	Yes	Yes	Much

Art training. These child interviewees had all been sent to some kind of art training classes and had some talents in music, drawing, dancing or another art form. Almost all of them had learned piano and had reached level 7-10. One even had already got the certificate for teaching piano. Almost all children had been forced to take some kind of art training lessons for a period of time, and this had caused conflicts between parents and children (Table 8).

Child 2 liked playing piano, but not like practicing piano, and this often caused conflicts between him and his mother. Child 2 offered his thought on playing piano: "I like playing piano but I don't like practicing piano. It's just my interest, but my mum always tells me to practice one and a half hour every day. I know it is necessary for me to practice because I have a piano exam, but I found it to be a burden sometimes." His mother complained:

He does not listen to me. He wanted to play piano. Every week I spend 60 dollars on his piano lesson. He is now at level 8. I want him to practice more. But he argues with me and asks me not to interfere with him. Piano is expensive. We spent \$50,000 on the piano. I want him to acquire a skill. When he grows up, he can teach piano. So I ask him to practice more. But he does not listen to me.

Child 8 and his mother also conflicted about practicing piano. Child 8 had already got the certificate for teaching piano and still wanted to keep learning piano, but he told me his mother wanted him to quit piano:

Sometimes they want me to quit, I said no. I don't want to quit. I don't know why they want me to quit. Sometimes they just get angry. Sometimes they want me to continue; sometimes they don't want me to continue. When they get angry, they don't want me to continue.

His mother argued that this was because he does "not practice enough", but the boy suggested it was because he plays games:

If a decision involves a child, I hope they should listen to the child's idea. When it comes to extracurricular activities, like sports, piano, parents should not force child to do or not to do them. Like playing piano: if a child does not like it, parents should not force him to waste time to reach level 8, then never play piano again. If the child really likes piano, parents should support him/her. Just don't behave like my mum. She forces me to quit while I like it.

When talking about conflict about piano, child 8's mother offered an explanation:

His father and I actually want him to keep piano, but why do I want him to quit? Because in our family only his father works. We have three children. He began learning piano when

he was seven years old. It's a lot of money. Every week he goes to the teacher to practice. 50 dollars to us is not a small amount. His two younger sisters will begin to learn soon. But he always plays computer games. He does not practice much. Sometimes he does not practice at all. I don't want to spend 50 dollars just for him to practice one hour a week. He should practice more. I want him to practice a half to one hour every day, but he plays games too much.

Parent 9 likewise had a child with diverging thoughts on piano lessons: "She did not insist on piano. I really like girls with music talents. She said piano to her was like coffin. Now I do not push her any more. She does not like pressure and does not like graded examination."

Table 8

Child Talents and Hobbies

Child ID	Talents	Piano level	Like playing piano	Like practicing	Parent force to play	Drawing	Sports	Addicted to Internet & games
Child 1	Musical instruments	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	Not much	Very much
Child 2	Piano	9	Yes	Not much	Yes	Ever learned	Not much	Very much
Child 3	Music	7	Yes	Not much	Yes	No	Not much	Very much
Child 4	Drums and flute	8	Yes	Yes	No	Ever learned	Like	No
Child 5	Nothing special	8	Yes	Not much	No	Ever learned	Not much	No
Child 6	Drawing	8	Yes	Neutral	No	Found of and good at	Like	No
Child 7	Drawing, language	9	Yes	Yes	No	Found of and good at	Like	No
Child 8	Piano	Teacher level	Yes	Not too much	Yes	Ever learned	A bit like	Very much
Child 9	Drawing	5	Not much	Quit already	No	Found of and good at	Not much	Very much

Child 5 shared a distaste for such lessons: “My parents send me to all kinds of art school like music, dancing, drawing, sports, and piano. Pretty much everything. Now I quit all of them and this has caused a disagreement between me and my parents when it came to things like piano because piano is something they want me to vigorously pursue. However, when it came to sports, they don’t feel the same because they didn’t have high expectations for me there.”

All boys were addicted to internet and computer games and this occupied a lot of the boys’ time, thus negatively influenced their studies and piano practice and added to conflicts according to their mothers.

There were children who were quite willing to try everything their parents recommended and thought what their parents did helped them to discover their interests. In these families, no conflict about art training had been reported.

Chinese. For most Chinese parents, Chinese language, Chinese culture and Chinese identity were all treasures for their children. However, for these Chinese children, to learn or not to learn Chinese was not a concern with the exception of two girls who came to Canada when they were about 13 years old. As to their identity, the majority thought of themselves as a Canadian with Chinese root. (Table 9)

Child 6 and child 9 moved to Canada when they had finished the first year of middle school in China and had laid quite solid foundation for Chinese, so learning Chinese was not a problem for these two families. In their mind, they were Chinese, naturally and culturally. They said they would like to keep their Chinese identity. Child 1 had stayed in China for 8 years before he was 12 years old, so his Chinese was good enough. He thought he was 70% Canadian and 30% Chinese, but he was positive towards Chinese identity and Chinese culture.

Child 3 was suffering from Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), so his mother did not send him to Chinese school for fear that he might cause trouble for teachers and class. His Chinese level was therefore the lowest among the child interviewees. He said his father definitely wanted him to learn Chinese and he thought he was 80% Canadian.

The remaining 5 children had all been sent to Chinese school. Most of them reported that they felt Chinese was difficult to learn and they were not willing to learn Chinese. The parents also reported similar stories, as illustrated by Parent 4: “My daughter was willing to learn Chinese when she was young. Later she got less and less willing to learn Chinese. We sent her to Chinese school and she persisted in learning Chinese for I persuade her to stick to it. She did not like it. She said it was boring to sit in the class and listen to the teacher.” Parent 5 described a similar situation: “I sent [my daughter] to a Chinese school. She did not want to go to Chinese school. She was not willing to learn Chinese all the way through. She thinks Chinese is too difficult to learn. Finally, I gave up.” These children who were not willing to learn Chinese all considered themselves as 80 percent Canadian to 20 percent Chinese.

Table 9
Chinese and Child Cultural Identity

I D	Canadian vs. Chinese	Identity in peers' eyes	Attitude	Impression of China	Send to Chinese school	Willing to learn or not
1	70-30	Canadian Chinese	Child attitude: Some think Chinese is difficult to learn but would like to keep Chinese identity	Positive, OK	Not necessary	N/A
2	80-20	Canadian Chinese		Positive, Busy and alive	Yes	No, difficult
3	80-20	Canadian Chinese		Positive, Fun	No due to ADHD	N/A
4	85-15	Canadian Chinese		Negative, Heavy traffic, not free	Yes	Neutral, boring
5	80-20	Canadian Chinese		Negative, Heavy traffic	Yes	No, difficult
6	30-70	More of Chinese	Parent attitude: Want child to learn	Negative, Unkind teacher	Not necessary	N/A
7	50-50	More of		Positive, Many	Yes	Yes, cool

		Chinese	Chinese language, to get to know Chinese	people and delicious food		
8	70-30	Canadian Chinese	Chinese culture and to keep Chinese identity	Negative, Crowded	Yes	Neutral, not care
9	10-90	Chinese		Negative, A lot of homework	Not necessary	N/A

Child 7, however, saw it differently:

I have been sent to Chinese school to learn Chinese. I like learning Chinese and I am still learning Chinese now. I like my Chinese identity and will keep it. Besides Chinese I also learn French and Arabic. I was in French immersion. My mother thinks even 3 languages are not advantageous, so she asks my brother and me to learn Arabic. At first I did not like that much about Arabic, but now I like it and I think it will help my future career and life.”

Although some children did not like to study Chinese, all children reported that they would like to keep their Chinese identity, which was precious to them. (Table 9)

Future Career

The children’s future career was also a vital concern for parents and it was a focus of conflict between parents and children as well. From the participants’ report, the most popular ideal occupations from parent’s perspective were businessman, lawyer, engineer, and doctor; alternately, ideal jobs from the perspective of the children were related to music, language, social science, or art. Although parents sometimes argued with children about future career, they reported that they would respect their children’s choice as long as their children could go to university, and as long as children could support themselves in the future.

Table 10
Career

	Parent report	Child report
1	<i>I think business and accounting are good. He wants to take computer to play games.</i>	<i>My parents want me to take stuff that is prosperous and good for making money. I</i>

	<i>Accounting weighs more with time, but computer is for young people; it's not good for you when you get older. Anyway, as long as he is a useful person and pleases God.</i>	<i>want to learn about computer.</i>
3	<i>He loves music. He wants to be a musician, but he does not want to be a music teacher. The first and utmost priority to me, is to make a living. I want him to go to university and finish it. I don't know whether he could become a musician, but he must be able to make a living.</i>	<i>I love music, but my father wants me to be a doctor or a scientist because his interests are just in those subjects.</i>
4	<i>We hold different ideas towards work: I think work is to make a living; she thinks work is for one's interest. She likes literature, writing, and stuff like that, but I think this is better for your leisure time interest and she should take something that helps her to find a job easily. However, I don't want to make her feel regretful, so if she really likes literacy, I won't stop her.</i>	<i>I want to take something relating to language. My parents want me to become a lawyer or a doctor. I think it's because of the money, good job and so that they could tell their friends that they have a daughter who is in that area.</i>
5	<i>I want her to take business for I think business is simple for girls and her father is majoring in business. In the future, it will be easier for her to get on the track with her father's help, but she does not listen to me. She kept on talking to her teacher and decided to take the advice of her teacher to study law. My idea does not count.</i>	<i>We were always discussing my options because here were a lot of opinions. I've kind of decided I wanted to be a lawyer not long ago.</i>
6	<i>She favors art, but I think she should choose studies that give her lots of options. Finance and accounting are good, but she did not take the required courses in grade 12, so she could not choose majors like this. Also she did not take biology; now she has to suffer the loss of not being allowed to choose majors needing biology record.</i>	<i>I like drawing and music and I always dreamed of being an actress and singer, but my parents did not support me for they think actresses enjoys lower social status, so I felt a bit frustrated. My mother wants me to take some practical stuff like medicine, business, and law, but it is not what I want, not what I favor. She thinks I should take something stable, to find a stable job, get married and lead a good life.</i>
8	<i>I want him to be a doctor because being a doctor is simple and does not need to connect with so many relations. All parents hope their children will be a doctor if s/he can make it. He is good at study. He has the potential to be enrolled in the medical school, but he does not want to be a doctor, so I won't push him. He likes computer and piano.</i>	<i>I love piano and computer. My father says it is up to me. My mother wants me to be a doctor. She always describes how good to be a doctor and how a doctor's life is simple and easy. I don't think she should push me to become a doctor. It's not because I just want to do something to go against her; it's because I don't like biology. I don't know</i>

		<i>what I want to be in the future.</i>
9	<i>If she can't go to university, it will be extremely shameful for our family. She is now learning drawing, so we are thinking of the art school at university. An average score of 75 would make it. Drawing does not involve English writing and may help her make a living in the future. It is helpful for her to find a spouse.</i>	<i>They have high expectation in my younger sister and expect her to go to University of Toronto and to be a lawyer. My parents expect me to succeed in going to a university. They might expect me to take designing. I am learning drawing. I am interested in art. They respect my choice of future career.</i>

When parents and children had the same idea, it seemed there were no problems at all.

Child 2 and his parents liked the idea of Child 2 becoming a doctor. Child 2 made his thoughts on being a doctor clear: "I want to be a doctor and my parents like my idea." Parent 2 agreed: "He wants to be a doctor. That profession makes good money. He wants it. I did not force him." Parent 7 thought law was suitable for her daughter and she led her daughter to the idea of becoming a lawyer:

My daughter's talent in language and her outgoing character make me think a career in law is suitable for her, so I led her into this idea. She likes this idea too. Mine is only suggestion, her future is up to her. I will respect her choice. Her trust in me is increasing with time.

Her daughter also noted how her mother guided her to her ideal:

I want to be a lawyer. My mum leads me to this idea by telling me things about lawyers and introducing me to many languages. I want to help people. Also, I will try to get into the Ivy universities in the US if possible. My parents are happy with my ideal career so we don't have any disagreement about this and it is not a pressure for me.

Table 11 is the summary of the comparison of the children's ideal career, and the parent's ideal career, reasons of parents' expectation, and reasons of why they respected their children's idea. Parents reported that they wanted their children to find a job that helped to make good

money, enjoy higher social status, lead an easier life, fulfill the parents' own dream, and glorify the family.

Table 11
Career summary

I D	Child Ideal	Parent Ideal	Reason of Parent's expectation	Why agree with child's idea		
1	Computer	Business	A. Money B. Easier life C. Higher social status D. Own dream E. Face F. To please God G. A skill to support oneself	ABCF	A. As long as go to university. B. As long as kids support him/herself in the future. C. Should respect and support child's ideal. D. Child's idea echoes with parent E. As long as not losing face F. Child ideal is not bad G. Child good enough	
2	Doctor	Doctor		ABCE		DG
3	Musician	Business		ABG		ABCF
4	Language , social science	Doctor, engineer, lawyer		ABCDE		CFG
5	Lawyer	Lawyer		ABCE		CDFG
6	Art	Business		ABCG		BCFG
7	Lawyer	Lawyer		ABCE		CDG
8	Computer and Piano	Doctor		ABCE		CFG
9	Art	Accounting, lawyer		ABCDEG		ACE

Conflicts in Daily Behaviors

In addition to education and career, parents and children also had disagreements in their daily life, like making friends, food, and dressing, playing games. Playing computer games was a serious problem for some families. Children 1, 2, 3, 8 and 9 were all addicted to playing computer games, which worried their parents and caused frequent conflicts between parents and children because parents thought games occupied too much precious time that should be spent on studies or practicing piano. Some might conflict on concepts like understanding of love, discrimination and appreciation of beauty. (Table 12)

Table 12
Conflicts about Daily Behaviors

	Parent report	Child report
1	<i>I ask him to wash dishes and he says yes, but he won't leave his games. I threatened to disconnect internet. When I disconnect, he gets worried. Sometimes at night he was so</i>	<i>My father wants me to find a girl who can speak Chinese, but I don't mind because language could be learned. I don't like to talk to my mother because we think</i>

	<i>immersed in games that he forgot to sleep. Then I disconnected the internet. He won't listen to me, I push him, and then he get angry.</i>	<i>differently.</i>
2	<i>He talks back. He is particular about food and wants good clothes. He spends too much time on his computer games and too little on practicing piano. He dislikes me and complains that I do not go out to work, have a lack of education, and that my English is poor. He does not understand Chinese culture. He thinks he has nothing to do with China.</i>	<i>My mum sometimes is frustrating to deal with. She does not support me that much or approve of my playing video games, but I am going to university soon so she can't really control what I do. They are still embracing their Chinese culture and they think that games are bad. I should be able to control my life and should decide when I go to sleep or when play video games or do my stuff.</i>
3	<i>He is full of ideas, but he never comes down to earth. He is too lazy and lacks of self-control. He has been late for class for many times. He is addicted to playing computer games. He argues with me. I called the police and asked him to get out of my house.</i>	<i>When I am lazy, when I don't want to play piano, or when I don't want to do my homework, she is angry with me and I get mad. She tries to kick me out. But arguing is completely useless. I don't want my parents to understand me because I don't understand myself.</i>
4	<i>She does not know racial discrimination. She does not believe me and thinks I am too sensitive. Also I want her to be more active in class, but she thinks she should not talk until she really has good ideas.</i>	<i>My parents want me to be good at only school and studying and sometimes I think that extracurricular activities is better than or equally important to school. So sometimes they would cancel some of my extracurricular activity, but you should also have other activities as social life.</i>
5	<i>I want her to go to University of Toronto because it is not far from home. To me, distance is the primary concern. However, she wants to go to McGill. To me, it's too far away from me. I want her to clean her room but....</i>	<i>They would like residences closer to the campus. I care more about the niceness of the residence.</i>
6	<i>We have conflict in life style and shopping. Her father spoils her all the time and I am the one who is strict with her. She thinks I don't understand her. Like we have different ideas of buying clothes. She thinks I should have my own life, I should not live for her or for her father.</i>	<i>I especially lack of sense of security. I often feel there is something between us making us not able to believe in each other completely. I like buying some clothes or bag. My mum thinks it's no use for me to dress attractively.</i>
7	<i>Sometimes she wants to dress maturely; I tell her my idea and let her choose. She usually takes my advice. I told her love is beautiful, but sex is not allowed before marriage because we are Christian.</i>	<i>Although sometimes we disagree on something, my mum not only tells me what to do, but also tells me why, so I am usually convinced and happy to listen to her.</i>
8	<i>He spends too much time on internet playing</i>	<i>When I play games, they get angry with</i>

	<i>games, watching comics, or chatting with friends. He is too addicted to internet games that he forgets everything. I feel angry and powerless. When I disconnect the internet, he argues with me. We want him to go to church, but he won't listen to us.</i>	<i>me and would ask me to quit piano, but sometimes it's late at night, so my parents try to get me to bed and they get angry. I try to argue with them to win a little more time. Also they want me to go to church on Saturdays and on Sundays. I only go on Sundays.</i>
9	<i>The most serious problem for her is laziness, physically and mentally. She was addicted to internet games and not able to get back to reality. She has no self-control. She watches comics or surfs on the internet whenever she has opportunity. She does not pay attention to hygiene. I particularly like tidiness and orderliness. The major conflict is I do not allow her to play computer games.</i>	<i>My mum does not allow me to play games. When I get up late, she gets angry too, and we quarrel about it sometimes. I don't want to tell them my trouble because my mum always thinks mine are trivial and almost never consoles me. Mum punishes me every week, physically, not very hard.</i>

Dealing with Conflicts

In face of conflicts, most parents tried to convince their children to take their ideas like parent 1, 8 and 9; some parents just forced their children to listen to them like parent 2 and 3; and some just discussed the matter with their children and provided their reasons and let their children make the final decision like parent 4 and 7. After trying so hard to convince their children but failing, some parents finally chose to yield to the children like parent 1, 5 and 8. (Table 13)

Children tended to argue with their parents when they and their parents had conflicts. Some tried to convince their parents to take their ideas. Some just argued with the parents but turned deaf ears to the parents.

Family 7 was quite harmonious a family with parent and child listening to each other. Mother 7 said, "I tell her why and what it is like in the Bible. She sometimes gets angry and talks back, but later after thinking, she will take my opinions." Child 7 responded: "I will discuss with

my mother and think about it. Mostly I finally will find my mother right. Then I will take her ideas.”

In families 2, 3 and 9, confronting conflict, both parents and children could not remain calm and deal with conflict in a reasonable way. They argued with each other, and even worse, some parents might beat their children and even call the police. Parent 3 tried to kick her son out of the house to show him the extent of her authority, which just made matters worse.

Table 13
Reaction to conflicts

	Parent reaction	Child reaction
1	Try to convince, Yield <i>I try to convince him. He does not talk back but he does not necessarily listen to me.</i>	Try to convince <i>I explain what had happened and the reason for that to make my mother understand me.</i>
2	Try to force <i>He argues with me. I get very angry, so I beat him. You are not allowed to beat children here. This is not reasonable.</i>	Argue <i>I argue against her. Finally, usually a compromise. Like she lets me finish this game and for the future I won't play for certain amount of days.</i>
3	Force <i>He gets crazy and will attack me and destroy things. I asked him to get out of my house. I ever called the police twice.</i>	Argue and yield <i>I tend to talk back. I get mad. The more I disagree with her, the more angry she gets. She usually wins because she has power over me, so if she wants me to get out of the house, I have to get out of the house. I just stayed in the house, and again she tried to kick me out. Then we talked over.</i>
4	Discuss and argue <i>We sometimes argue, but will get well soon. She gets angry and argues with me.</i>	Discuss and persuade <i>I just tell them that I don't really want to do what they said and I try to persuade them.</i>
5	Discuss and yield <i>I used to push her. We argue sometimes. Now I give in more.</i>	Talk over and resolve <i>I get angry sometimes, then I would go to my room and calm down. I don't act on my anger. We talk it over and resolve it. We find a kind of middle ground.</i>
6	Argue, compromise <i>I don't think we have solved the conflicts in a proper way. Sometimes I just give in.</i>	Argue, cold war, compromise <i>The cold war lasts till my mother or I break the ice. We argue so seriously that I even thought of calling the police.</i>

7	Reason <i>I tell her my reasons for something and tell her what it is like in the Bible. She sometimes gets angry and talks back, but later, after thinking, she will take my opinions.</i>	Discuss <i>I will discuss things with my mother and think about it. Mostly I finally will find my mother is right. Then I will take her ideas.</i>
8	Argue, Try to convince and yield <i>I try to convince him that he is wrong. He argues with me and complains that only Chinese parents treat children like this.</i>	Argue, Not care any more <i>I try to argue with them. I don't usually really care. I used to get upset but not anymore.</i>
9	Force, Argue <i>Facing conflicts, I get angry and criticize her and force her to listen to me. She gets angry and argues with me.</i>	Argue <i>I argue with my mum. My mum often bursts out in anger and sometimes beats me. She is nagging all the time.</i>

Consequences of Conflicts

Almost all mothers reported that disagreements made their children unhappy, depressed, sad and/or angry. Parent 5 said, “She is not happy with the disagreements.” Parent 8 also said, “She is stressed because of our disagreements.” Child 3 ever suffered from ADHD when he was a young boy. As a result, his mother thought he was still suffering from the after effects of ADHD. He often lost control when arguing with his mother. His mother shared her concerns: “He tends to lose control. He has a lot of pressure because he worries about his study and our disagreement puts more stress on him. He especially needs care and encouragement.”

Some children reported that disagreements made them feel unhappy or stressful. Child 1 said, “Conflicts influence [her] mood, but time heals.” Child 9 explained how her parents’ expectation put pressure on her: “I feel stressed and annoyed because of my studies and my parents’ expectation. Our disagreement makes me angry and stressed. My parents often compare me with my younger sister. I feel sad.” Child 8 reported he used to feel annoyed, but now did not care much about the disagreements. Child 6 said conflicts troubled her but made her stronger.

Their studies, their peers, their parents' high expectation, and their own expectation, are all sources of their stress. Children reported that conflicts aggravated their stress. Parents' reports generally coincided with the children's report. Child 4 was an "A+" student. She expected even more of herself than her parents did. She reported she felt very stressful:

I feel stressed because of the disagreements. I don't know how to make my parents happy and myself happy at the same time. Not depressed, just kind of sad and stressed. A mixture, and anxiety. My mother has brought me a lot of pressure, for school especially, and my sister is very ambitious too. She tries to imitate me. If I have a high score, she would try to get an even higher score and we try to compete.

Her mother reported that child 4 was an excellent student who had high expectations for herself: "She expects a lot of herself and her sister adds to her stress. She cries a lot for things like not getting an ideal score. Our disagreements make her unhappy and stressful."

Child 5 was also an "A+" student. She was quite rational in her mother's eyes, but she put a lot of pressure on herself too: "When we disagree with each other, I probably get angry. I would go to my room and calm down. I feel a lot of pressure coming from my parents and more from myself because I put a lot of pressure on myself."

Child 7 was a happy and positive girl who did not suffer much from conflicts. She reported having a contented attitude:

I am happy and positive. Only when I am facing a lot of activities and feel it's hard to handle will I feel a little bit pressed, but I like this challenge for this trains me to learn about how to manage my time. I sometimes get unhappy because of disagreement, but not often.

Her mother did not think conflicts had brought her any stress:

She is lively and optimistic. She does not speak out without thinking. She will listen to your ideas if she thinks you are reasonable. She gets angry when there is disagreement between us, but later she will find I am right. I don't think the disagreement has done her any harm.

Table 14
Conflict and stress

Child ID	Conflict influence on child	Stress level	Pressure sources
Child 1	Not happy	A little	Study, parent
Child 2	Not happy, does not like mum	A little	Parent
Child 3	Not happy, against mum, angry, stress	Much	Parent, Study
Child 4	Not happy, stress	Very much pressure	Parent, Self, Sister
Child 5	Not happy, stress	Much pressure	Parent, Self
Child 6	Not happy	A bit much pressure	Self
Child 7	No negative influence	Almost no	Self
Child 8	Not care	A bit, but does not care	Parent
Child 9	Angry and depressed, stress	Too much pressure	Parent, Study, Self

Factors Contributing to Conflicts from Participants' Perspective

When asked about the factors that might contribute to disagreements, the participants gave answers like cultural difference, high expectation, child rebellion, language barrier, lack of communication, parental conflict, generation gap, different characters, different ways of thinking, and parents' sense of sacrifice.

Cultural Difference

China and Canada are culturally divergent in many aspects, like ways of thinking, parenting style, attitudes towards life, value of education, and value of individuality. Although the Chinese immigrant parents were living in Canada, their Chinese cultural value might accompany them for the rest of their life. However, their Canadian children were being more or less influenced by their teachers, classmates and the environment outside of the domestic sphere, so they were

Canadian in many respects. As mentioned, most children thought they were 80% Canadian and 20% Chinese. The ideas of individualism had left an imprint on them. Child 2 explained how his world views different from that of his parents: “My mother does not understand me and she does not respect me as an adult. She always regards me as a child. But I am old enough to be responsible for myself. I know how to control myself. I want freedom.” His mother offered an explanation: “Cultural difference leads to conflicts because he does not accept my culture and my way of thinking.” In all, cultural difference was reported by both parents and children to be a crucial reason for the conflicts.

High Expectation in Education and Career

Chinese parents are inclined to consider education as the only way to success and, as long as they are allowed, they usually put too much emphasis on education and pushed their children to work exhaustively on their academic studies. All parents had high expectation of their children’s studies and they expected their children to be “A++++...” students, to go to top university, and to be versatile, but in Canada, education is valued in a different way. Child 4 offered insight into this cultural difference: “My parents want me to study, study and study. I want to say, apart from study, extracurricular activities are also valuable to our growth.”

Different expectations in career also brought about conflicts. Popular ideal occupations in parents’ eyes were doctor, lawyer, businessman, and engineer, while ideal ones for children might also include professions related to music, language, social science, and art, which in parents’ eyes were not prosperous and in turn were seen as unfavorable to future development. This different expectation on career choice often created disagreement.

Language Barrier

Some parents were not fluent in English, while children were not fluent in Chinese, so it was not easy for them to communicate to a certain deep degree. This created misunderstanding. Child 5 said language barrier was a factor, and Child 4 reported a similar concern: “Sometimes my parents cannot understand me and I sometimes cannot understand them. We sometimes have to use gestures. This has added to our conflicts.” Child 3 recalled a parallel experience:

She speaks Chinese and I speak English. I don't speak Chinese and I don't quite understand what she says sometimes. I know she is lecturing me, but I can't understand all what she is saying. When we quarrel, we tend to speak faster and faster, but problems not solved.

Parents' Sense of Sacrifice

As reported earlier, most participating mothers had decent jobs before they immigrated to Canada, but were housewives when data were collected. The primary reason for them to give up their careers and high social status in China was primarily for their children, especially for their children's education and future. As a result, they put all their hope and weight on their children. In other words, their children's future was their future, so they had high expectations for their children. This made the children feel stressful and contributed to conflicts between them. Parent 9 offered an example of this sentiment: “I gave up everything in China. For what? For the children's education! Now she does not study hard and performs poorly at school. I just want her to succeed in her studies. She does not listen to me. We often quarrel about this. I feel so worried. She is not happy. I am not either.”

Parental Conflict

Some mothers complained that the fathers were not with them in teaching children. What's worse, some fathers even criticized the mothers in front of children, which undermined the authority of the mothers. Mother 2 expressed her concern about this issue:

My husband and I are not consistent in teaching children. He belittles me in front of kids. He satisfies the kids' need all the time. My son likes his father. He does not like me. He looks down upon me. Conflict between me and his father aggravates our conflicts.

Other Factors

Participants also reported that child rebellion, generation gap, different characters, lack of communication had contributed to their conflicts as well. Child 2 expounded on several of these concerns: "Cultural difference, my being rebellious, different characters and generation gap all contribute to our disagreement." Mother 5 likewise recounted similar concerns: "My daughter does not speak much to me. I don't know what she is thinking, so we could not talk over our different ideas."

Table 15
Factors Contributing to Conflicts

Family	Parent report	Child report
1	Different way of thinking Generation gap Adolescent rebellion	Adolescent rebellion High expectation
2	Parent conflict Adolescent rebellion Sense of sacrifice	Cultural difference Child rebellion Different characters Generation gap
3	ADHD Cultural difference Different way of thinking	Different way of thinking
4	Cultural difference High expectation	Cultural difference High expectation
5	Different way of thinking	Language barrier Cultural difference Generation gap

		High expectation
6	Different characters	Different way of thinking Environment
7	Cultural difference Different characters	Cultural difference Different characters
8	Cultural difference Adolescent rebellion Lack of rule High expectation	Cultural difference Language barrier High expectation
9	High expectation Generation gap Sense of sacrifice	Different expectation Generation gap High expectation

Summary of Conflicts

Table 16 summaries the general information related to the conflicts: conflicts (study, career, practicing piano, and play games); reaction to conflicts (anger, argue, discuss, force, convince and/or yield); effects on children (making them feel unhappy and stressful); and factors (cultural difference, parent conflict, sense of sacrifice, different way of thinking, high expectation, child rebellion, generation gap, different characters, language barrier and lack of communication).

Table 16
General information of Conflicts in Communication

ID	Conflicts	Factors	Dealing with conflicts		Influence on child
			Child	Parent	
1	Study; games	Different way of thinking	Try to convince	Yield	Not happy
2	Study; practice piano; internet	Generation gap Parent conflict Sense of sacrifice	Argue	Try to force	Not happy, does not like mum
3	Study; practice piano; games	Cultural difference High expectation	Argue and yield	Force	Not happy, against mum, stress
4	Career	Child rebellion	Discuss	Discuss	Not happy, stress
5	Choice of University	different characters	Try to convince	Discuss and yield	Not much
6	Career; understanding	Language barrier Sense of	Argue	Argue and discuss	Not happy

7	Almost no	sacrifice Lack of communication	Discuss	Provide the reasons	No
8	Study; Piano; Internet		Not care	Try to convince and yield	Not care
9	Study		Argue and does not listen	Try to convince	Angry and depressed, stress

Ideal Parent-Child Relationship

This part discusses the educational methods of parents, the comments of children on their parents, the comments of parents on their children, and ideal parent-child relationship.

Parenting

Nine parent participants were all mothers and the ones who took care of the children. Generally speaking, they were stricter with their children than the fathers. In dealing with their children, they usually resorted to controlling, forcing, and compelling; thus, their ways were mostly ineffective, though Mother 7 proved to be an exception. Compared to mothers, fathers often gave their children more room and freedom and treated their children with mildness, humor, reason and encouragement, thus winning their children's favor and trust. (Table 17)

Mother 7 treated her children like friends, telling them her ideas and giving them freedom to make a choice. She helped her children try all kinds of things to help them find their interests. She thought parents should pay attention to the children's mental health and should not give children too much pressure. Child 7 reported that she thought her mother was superb and she liked her mother very much.

All mothers, with the exception of Mother 9, reported the positive role of God to them, their children, the healthy development of their children, and the blessedness of their family. Mother 7 said, "We are Christians; God has taught us a lot and made my daughter appreciate more."

Mother 8 expounded the role of God in teaching her son: “When the child does not listen to me, my husband will persuade me to let go. He says, ‘everything is in God’s hand; if you really love our child, pray for him.’ We pray for him every day. Now my son goes to church on Sundays.”

Mother 6 told the researcher how God helps her daughter get out of depression:

She could get out of the depression with the help of God. Not like before, when she tended to go extremes or get stuck in sadness for long time. She has really grows a lot. I feel we are getting closer and closer for God teaches us to love each other.

Likewise, Mother 4 recounted how God taught her daughter to love and forgive:

She’s a Christian and goes to church. She is getting more and more sensible. Before she was baptized, she thought her younger sister was annoying and had taken her parents’ love from her and sometimes asked why she had a sister. However, after baptism, she never uttered a word like that. Also, thanks to God, she now realizes that her parents are humans, and humans err, so she should forgive. God forgives us, and we should forgive each other.

God has given her a very powerful influence.

Table 17
Parenting and why mothers expect high in education

I D	Mother	Father	Why mothers expect high in Education
1	Guidance, set free, God	Guidance, communication, effective	A. Everything is nothing compared to education
2	Control, ineffective, God	Listen to child, conflict with mother	B. Education betters one's life: future, jobs, spouses, social status, money
3	Force, bad result, God	Good at guidance	C. To glory family: failure in education is shameful
4	Guidance, effective, God	Free, humor, God	D. To fulfill parents' dream: parents have few opportunities in Canada, child is their only hope.
5	Guidance, yield, God	Reasonable	E. To reward parents' sacrifice: Parents lost their jobs, social status, friends, even respectable life mostly for child's better education
6	Want to set free, God	Let child try	
7	Guidance, effective, God	Don't put too much on child	
8	Compelling, ineffective, God	Mild, appeal to God	
9	Repeated teaching, force, ineffective	Principled only in big issues	

In terms of expectation, mothers all had higher expectation on their children than fathers do. Most fathers thought as long as their children could make a living and lead a happy life, they felt satisfied. Some fathers even conflicted with mothers when the mothers were too strict with their children. It's quite understandable for mothers to expect high on their children. To them, everything was nothing compared to education because education could better one's life by giving one a bright future, a decent job, a good spouse, a higher social status and more money. Also, education was a way to glorify the family, and failure in education was a shame. Better education, therefore, could fulfill parents' dreams, especially for mothers; because they had few opportunities in Canada, the children were the mothers' only hope. Most important of all, a child's bright future could reward mothers' sacrifice of losing jobs, social status, friends, and even a respectable life. As a result, mothers generally had higher expectation on their children.

Table 18

Children's Comments on Parents

ID	Child on Mother	Child on Father	Child likes
1	Score-oriented, Industrious, regard me as child, wants me to go to university	Reasonable	Father
2	Honest, kind, wordily, housewife, regard me as child, interfere with my freedom	Reasonable	Father
3	Industrious, compelling, too strict	Reasonable	Father
4	High expectation, Sociable, not understand me sometimes, favor sister	Humorous, logical	Father a bit more
5	Housewife, interfere with my freedom	Reasonable	Father a bit more
6	Well-intentioned, not understand me, not care for me	Understanding	Father much more
7	Score-oriented, understand me, but I agree	Hope me relaxed	Both
8	Score-oriented, housewife, wordily,	Mild, good	Father much more
9	Score-oriented, Well-intentioned, not understand me, strict, wordily	Principled in big issues	Neither

Children's Comments on Parents

Child interviewees described their mothers as score-oriented, wordily, industrious, unsympathetic, strict, and compelling, but described their fathers as reasonable, understanding, logical, humorous, mild, good and only principled in big issues. Four responded that they liked their fathers a bit more than they did their mother; three children said they liked their fathers; one child said she liked both, and one child reported that she liked neither of her parents. (Table 18)

Mothers' Comments on Children

One mother reported her child did not apply himself to his studies and thus performed poorly in school; three mothers thought their children did not study enough but had good record; and three thought their children studied vigorously and were good at academics. Some mothers complained their children did not practice piano as needed and spent too much time on internet and were addicted to computer games. Some mothers recalled their children were not willing to take their recommended major for their future career (Table 19).

The participants' comments to some degree reflected the conflicts between parents and children.

Table 19

Mothers' Comments on Children

ID		Mothers' comments
1	A2CDE3F1	A1.Not study, poor record A2.Not study hard, average record
2	A3B1DE1F2	A3.Not study hard enough, good record
3	A2B1CDE1	A4.Study hard, good record
4	A4E3F1	B1.Not enough piano practice
5	A4E3F1	C1.Bad living habit
6	A3E1F1	D1.Too much internet and love computer games
7	A4E2F2	E1.Not listen to Mum E2.Listen to Mum E3.Sometimes not listen to Mum
8	A3B1DE1F1	F1.Different career choice
9	A1CDE1	F2.Same career choice because child's choice is ideal

Ideal Parent-child Relationship

In describing an ideal parent-child relationship, almost all parents and children uttered the words respect, understanding and communication. Other key words, like friendliness, harmony, care, love, freedom, responsibility and trust, were also valued by participants. (Table 20)

Parent 3 thought understanding and communication were the key: “Mutual understanding, more communication, and no argument. Like my daughter and me, we often communicate and help each other. Not like my son, whose self-awareness is too strong; he is difficult to communicate with.”

Parent 4 regarded communication and mutual trust as the most important ingredients to ideal PCR: “Parents and children should be in each other’s confidence and chat without reservation or argument. Parents should help kids to reach their goal and share all joys and sorrows of life.” Her daughter also expressed her opinions as to what qualities made for good parenting: “I guess just talking to each other daily and not holding anything back, sharing the secrets. The children should help the parents with the chores, and the parents should try to support the children in school and activities.”

Child 2 thought respect was the key to an ideal parent-child relationship: “A child should treat his/her parents respectfully. Parents should let their child have a say in decisions and listen to his/her concerns respectfully and respect him/her as a soon-to-be adult; not as a child.” Child 8 valued listening: “Parents and children should listen to each other. Listen to each other’s recommendation. Parents should not force kids to do what he doesn’t like or not to do what he likes.”

Parent 9 was suffering too much from the poor parent-child relationship and was eager for a good parent-child relationship: “Good communication. Mutual respect, care and love. Treat each

other like friends. All make efforts for a comfortable home.” The daughter of this family also hungered for a better PCR in which parents were nice and understanding: “Parents understand my ideas. Mentally younger. Not that strict. Not that garrulous. Respect me.”

Child 5 considered white people’s family relation as ideal for there was no language barrier, and there was openness and understanding and good communication: “I think white people have done the best. Because they are more understanding and open to whatever their kids want to do in their life and they don’t have that language barrier at all. Also they are good at communication in general, especially between themselves and their kids.”

Table 20

Report on Ideal Parent-Child Relationship

ID	Parent report	Child report
1	Understanding, Communication <i>Children could understand parents and communicate more.</i>	Respect, Communication <i>I think more communication and respect will improve parent-child relationship.</i>
2	Respect, Understanding, Communication <i>He does not respect me and does not understand I am here for his sake. I want him to talk more with me.</i>	Respect, Understanding, Democracy <i>A child should treat his/her parents respectfully. Parents should let their child have a say in decisions and listen to his/her concerns respectfully and respect him/her as a soon-to-be adult; not as a child.</i>
3	Respect, Understanding, Communication <i>Mutual understanding, more communication, and no arguments.</i>	Respect, Communication <i>Spending more time together, like going out, and talking, and not kicking me out when quarreling.</i>
4	Understanding, Communication, Democracy, Mutual trust <i>Be in each other’s confidence and chat without reservation but not argument. Parents should help kids to reach their goal and share all joys and sorrows of life.</i>	Understanding, Communication, Support, Mutual trust <i>I guess just talking to each other daily and not holding anything back, sharing the secrets. The children should help the parents with the choirs, and the parents should try to support the children in school and activities.</i>
5	Understanding, Communication, Harmony <i>Harmony, giving children freedom, support them and communicate more. However, I think it’s difficult.</i>	Respect, Understanding, Democracy, White family relation is ideal <i>I think white people have done the best because they are more understanding and open to whatever their kids want to do in their life and they don’t have that language barrier at all. Also</i>

		<i>they are good at communication in general, especially between themselves and their kids.</i>
6	Harmony <i>Parent-child relationship must be harmonious.</i>	Respect, Responsible, Support <i>I think parents and children should be responsible for each other. Parents should support their children when they are in need of them but not to spoil the children. Children should respect their parents.</i>
7	Respect, Like friends <i>Respect each other. Treat each other like friends.</i>	Respect, Understanding, Communication, Ours is ideal <i>I think the relationship between me and my parents is kind of ideal, i.e. a lot of communication between parent and child, listening to each other, respecting each other and telling why to each other, not just forcing others to listen.</i>
8	Understanding, Communication <i>More communication of course. Children should understand we are here for their sake.</i>	Respect, Communication, Democracy <i>Parents and children should listen to each other. Listen to each other's recommendation. Parents should not force kids to do what they don't want or force kids not to do what they want.</i>
9	Respect, Understanding, Communication, Like friends, Care, Love <i>Good communication. Mutual respect, care and love. Treat each other like friends. All make efforts for a comfortable home.</i>	Respect, Understanding <i>Parents understand my ideas. Mentally younger. Not that strict. Not that garrulous. Respect me.</i>

Summary

The qualitative data were collected through one-on-one, face-to-face interviews. These interviews were conducted with nine pairs of parents and their children. Seven themes emerged from the data collected.

Background Information

Parent interviewees, who were all mothers in this phase of study, immigrated to Canada for their child, husband and a better living environment. These mothers all had jobs in China, but six of them were housewives in Canada. Their husbands all had jobs either in Canada or in China.

Seven of the child interviewees were born in Canada or moved to Canada when they were about three years old.

Communication Experience

Parent interviewees spoke Chinese, while children primarily spoke English in their communication. Language sometimes caused barriers in their communication. It was reported that most parents and their children communicated with each other quite often, like every day. Participants generally reported that parent-child relationships were not close and children did not like talking with parents. For all families, academic studies were the focus of their communication. Child's future career, religious belief, social interaction, making friends, entertainment, and sex were also within their communication contents.

Conflicts

Chinese immigrant parents and their children primarily saw conflicted in regards to education, specifically school education, art training, and Chinese acquisition. Parents usually held high expectation on their children, career choice, and daily behaviors like religious belief, making friends, food, dressing, and playing games, and so on.

Factors of Conflicts

Cultural difference, high expectation in education and career, language barrier, parent conflict, sense of sacrifice, different way of thinking, child rebellion, generation gap, and lack of communication all contributed to parent-child conflicts.

Dealing with Conflicts

When confronted with conflict, most parents tried to convince their children to take their ideas; some forced their children to listen to them; and some discussed the matter with their children and presented reasons before letting the children make their own decision. Children

tended to argue against their parents; some tried to convince their parents; and some just turned deaf ears to their parents. Confronting conflicts, some parents and children could not remain calm and deal with it in a reasonable way.

Consequences of Conflicts

Almost all mothers reported that disagreements made their children unhappy, depressed, sad, angry, and even lose control. Most children also recounted how disagreements made them unhappy, angry and stressed.

Ideal Parent-child Relationship

In describing an ideal parent-child relationship, almost all parents and children described respect, understanding and communication as the most important ingredients. Other qualities, like friendliness, harmony, love, freedom, responsibility and trust were also mentioned.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATION AND CONCLUSION

By examining communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children, this study aimed to explore the existence and nature of the potential conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents and their children in order to gain insight into how immigrant children and their parents coped with such conflicting values, and to determine how they could improve their communication and relationships. The quantitative exploration into the participants' communication experiences demonstrated that there existed conflicts between parents and children and that these conflicts had negative effects on children's mental health. Qualitative findings from the interviews supported most results generated from the statistical analysis, but disconformities also existed in some respects. This chapter first provides findings and discussion about the research questions:

1. What is the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children?
2. What are the potential conflicts/disagreements between Chinese immigrant parents and their children?
3. What causes the conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents and their children?
4. 4. What effects do these conflicts have on the children's mental health?
5. How do immigrant parents and their children cope with these conflicts?

Once these questions have been explored, a critical reflection of the researcher, scope and limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research are discussed. Finally, a conclusion is drawn.

Findings and Discussion

Communication Experience

Around 60% of the surveyed parents reported that they communicated with their children “at least once a day”. Interviews found a similar result that most parents and their children communicated with each other as frequently as once a day. However, a lot of these communications were skin-deep and initiated by parents. At least 50% of the surveyed parents thought that their “children like to communicate with them”, but in interviews, only two families reported that they were close to each other and like talking to each other. Alternately, seven families generally reported that parent-child relationships were not close and children did not like talking with parents. Inferential statistics showed parent’s gender and child’s keenness on communicating were correlated, indicating fathers were more popular among their children than mothers. It’s no wonder that interview result differed from survey result given 40% survey participants were fathers while 100% parent interviewees were mothers. Interview findings showed mothers were often described as being score-oriented, verbose, unsympathetic, strict, compelling, and interfering with their children’s freedom, but fathers were generally described by children as reasonable, understanding, logical, humorous, mild, and only principled on big issues, which explained why children favored fathers while disliking mothers.

Chinese was the dominant language used by survey parents in the communication between parent and child. Parent interviewees spoke Chinese while children primarily spoke English in their communication. This was due in part to the fact that most parents were accustomed to speaking Chinese and their English proficiency was not high enough. As a result, parents wanted their children to practice Chinese, but children were exposed to school where English was the instruction language, and as a result, their proficiency in English developed much faster than

their proficiency in Chinese. Interviewees reported that language sometimes created a barrier in their communication because parents and children sometimes did not understand each other. This was consistent with the finding of Tseng and Fuligni (2000), who found that adolescents who spoke in different languages with their parents reported less cohesion and discussion with their mothers and fathers than did their peers who spoke the same language with their parents.

As to what parents and children usually talked about, the survey showed daily behavior and school education were the most frequent topics; career plans were talked about comparatively less. In between were moral values and social networking. Interview result indicated that education was the biggest issue of their communication. They also talked about the child's future career, religious belief, social interaction, making friends, entertainment, and sex. Both the survey and the interviews concluded that the biggest topic of communication for Chinese parents was their children's education. Some children said their parents could lead any topic into a conversation about their children's studies. When communicating, parents always asked children about school, homework and marks, and pushed them to study hard for a bright future. Such behavior seem consistent with the findings of Hidalgo, Siu, and Epstein (2004), who reported that Chinese parents tend to believe more in effort and less in innate ability as a factor in school success. When students had poor marks, the first thing parents could think of was their child's lack of effort. Career was another major concern for parents. Parents often expressed their preference for their ideal occupations like doctor, lawyer, engineer and businessperson, and tried to persuade their children to work towards one of those directions because, in their minds, these occupations were prosperous. Daily life was also a routine topic but few profound matters were discussed. Sex was sometimes mentioned in family conversation, but mothers said it was an awkward issue to discuss with their children and found it was not comfortable to talk about it

with their children. Some girls said their parents told them not to have sex with boys before they got married, and they thought their parents were right.

Conflicts/disagreements

Foner (1997) stated family was not just a haven in a heartless world but a place where conflict and negotiation took place. In this study, 52.8% of surveyed participants admitted that they “sometimes” conflicted with their children about education, while 38.2% saw conflict in relation to career plan, and 48.1% saw conflict in regards to conversations on daily behaviors. Qualitative research found that conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents were primarily related to education (school education, art training, Chinese acquisition), career (major to choose, future career) and daily behaviors (religious belief, making friends, food, dressing, and playing games).

Statistical analysis revealed communication frequency was positively correlated with disagreement frequency in career plan, which indicated disagreements often accompanied their communication when they talked about the child’s career plan. This was supported by interview results. In interviews, both parents and children expounded that whenever they talked about which major to choose and future career plans, they would disagree each other, with both trying to persuade the other. Other topics saw no significant correlation between communication frequency and disagreement frequency.

76.8% survey participants reported that high school was the period when children conflicted with them most. Interviewees were purposely selected according to this survey result. In interviews, some parents reported that they felt their children conflicted more with them at present compared to the period in elementary school; however, some parents said their children conflicted less with them now compared to elementary school when their children were innocent

and did not understand to appreciate their good intentions and efforts. This might be because when the children are young, they haven't fully developed their reasoning skills, so when they are presented with a logical argument, they don't know how to process it. Therefore, reasoning does not reduce the conflict. As teenagers, however, their cognitive skills are more developed, so when a parent disagrees with their child, they can at least try to reason with them, and hopefully the child will at least see the reasoning behind a conflict.

Factors Contributing to Conflicts

Among the six factors listed on the survey, cultural difference was the most striking factor contributing to conflict, followed by different expectations on education, child being rebellious, different characteristics, generation gap, and a lack of communication.

Around 90% of surveyed participants admitted, to varying degrees, that they had higher expectations for their children's academic performance than did their children. Statistical significance was found between disagreement frequency in school education and different expectation on education. Statistical significance was also found between parents' higher expectation on children's academics, and different expectation on education. This indicated there existed a relationship between parents' expectation and conflicts between parents and children. Lack of communication was negatively correlated with children's willingness to communicate. Survey results demonstrated that the factors listed on the survey all contributed to conflicts.

In interviews, when asked about what they thought were the factors that might contribute or lead to conflicts, interviewees provided answers like cultural difference, high expectation in education and careers, language barriers, parental conflicts, different ways of thinking, child rebellion, generation gaps, and a lack of communication.

Cultural difference was a significant contributor. China and Canada are culturally different

in many respect, such as ways of thinking, parenting style, attitudes towards life, value of education, and value of individuality. Although the Chinese immigrant parents were now living in Canada, their Chinese cultural value might accompany them for the rest of their life. However, their Canadian children were significantly influenced by their teachers, peers and society, while at the same time influenced by their parents. As Chiu, Feldman and Rosenthal (1992) argue, integrating two cultures may be particularly complex during these developmental periods as children are beginning to actively explore issues of identity and independence. Most children think they were about 80% Canadian and 20% Chinese. In a word, children thought they were generally more Canadian than Chinese. As a result, the conflicting cultural values between home and school often led to conflicts.

Parents' expectations of their children's academic studies might be the primary reason for conflict. Parents not only actively re-educated themselves, but also hold high expectations for their children's education, especially on their children's academic performance. Previous studies (Jiang, Zhou, Zhang, Beckford, & Zhong, 2012; Zhong & Zhou, 2011; Zhou, 2012; Zhou, 2013) have confirmed Chinese parents' high expectations on education and these expectations often transfer to the emphasis on school marks. They place particular emphasis on academic achievement as a means to achieve social mobility (Dyson, 2001; Li, 2001; Zhou, 2000). Chao (1996) reported that Chinese immigrant mothers who conveyed great emphasis on their children's academic achievement at school, felt that they needed to offer high investments and make sacrifices for their children. These mothers also adopted a more direct intervention approach to their children's learning and schooling and had a strong belief that they could influence their children's academic success. The current study's findings reinforced the notion that Chinese parents see their children's academic studies as primary concern for their children

and expected their children to make extensive and exhausting efforts to achieve academic success. Almost all mothers in the interviews reported being score-oriented and expected high academic achievement. At the same time, parents wanted their children to be versatile, so they pushed their children to study hard and learn artistic skills, like playing piano, drawing, or dancing. This put a lot of pressure on their children and caused disagreements.

Different attitudes towards Chinese language and language barriers were a source of conflict as well. The present research found that most Chinese parents felt that their children must learn Chinese, but the children felt Chinese was too difficult for them. Similar results were found by Tannenbaum and Howie (2002), who argue that many Chinese immigrant parents want their children to learn Chinese, which may not be interesting to children. Forcing children to learn Chinese also contributed to conflicts. Ultimately, children were not good enough at Chinese and parents were not good enough at English; thus, it was not easy for them to communicate to a certain extent, which gave way to misunderstanding. This creates greater feelings of emotional distance, which may correspond with fewer discussions regarding adolescents' personal problems and future plans (Fillmore, 1991; Lee, 1983). In the interviews, some participants reported when they argued with their children, the children would deliberately speak English quickly, so that the parents would not understand, or when children did not want to communicate they purposely spoke English. This agreed with the finding of Tseng and Fuligni (2000), who argue that youths, who have difficult relationships and who do not wish to engage in discussions with their native-speaking parents, may use English as a means to further distance themselves from their parents. Likewise, for parents who have not shifted to English as rapidly as their children, language differences within the home may hamper not only their relationships with their children, but potentially hamper the effectiveness of their parenting and children's emerging

sense of ethnic identity (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). Some child interviewees reported that they were brought up in Canada and had little to do with China because they did not speak much Chinese and they did not celebrate Chinese festivals. Mothers whose English was poor sensed an increasing distance between them and their children.

Different expectations in career also brought about conflicts. Interviews showed popular ideal occupations from the parents' perspective included professional occupations, such as doctor or lawyer, whereas their children embraces the arts and social sciences. These interests, from the parents' perspective, were not prosperous and would lead to unfavorable future development. This different expectation on career choice often created disagreements. For a lot of children, life was not about making a living and earning money to glorify the family, but to listen to your heart and find the true happiness. However, for parents, one should find a secure and profitable job in order to obtain high social status and fulfill their parents' unrealized dreams while adding to the glory of the family. Parents, therefore, tried their best to talk about their ideals to their children as much as possible. Despite this, parents recounted that although they sometimes argued with their children about future career, they would respect and accept their children's choice so long as it did not bring shame to the family and the children still went to university and were able to support themselves. Some mothers added that they would be content as long as their children were to please God.

Parental conflict was also a reason for parent-child conflict. Some mothers complained that the fathers did not support them in teaching their children. This concern was exacerbated in instances where fathers belittled and criticized the mothers in front of children, which undermined the authority of mothers and hurt the mothers. Many of the mothers lost their jobs due to lack of experience and lack of English proficiency and became a housewife. As a result,

they had no choice but stay at home to take care of the family. Unfortunately, wives' sacrifice was not appreciated by spouses and they were reported to argue with wives in front of kids.

Parents' sense of sacrifice aggravated the conflict. Most participating mothers gave up jobs in China for a better future of their children, so they thought they had made a significant sacrifice for their children and correspondingly had high expectations for them. However, children placed a higher value on individualism and did not necessarily agree that they should fulfill the dreams of their parents. When they did not listen to their parents, parents were likely to feel a sense of sacrifice and loss.

Daily behaviors, like making friends, food, dressing, playing games and ways of dealing with some daily matters, frequently caused conflicts between parents and children. Chinese parents care all about their children's daily behaviors. For example, playing games was the top daily life element in producing conflict since parents estimated playing games occupied time that should be spent on studies and practicing piano. Likewise, when children had Western food, they would consider it to be unhealthy, but some children did not like Chinese food, which quite upset their parents who thought Chinese food as nourishing and healthy.

Consequences of Conflicts

Although some parents in the survey did not agree that their children were depressed due to disagreements, some others admitted that disagreement did influence their children's mental health by making them feel depressed. Child's mental health state was positively correlated with child getting depressed due to disagreement, and was likewise positively correlated with parents' high expectation. Depression was negatively correlated with child willingness to communicate. This indicated that the more conflict they had with their parents, the more likely they were to be depressed and in turn develop mental health problems. The more children get depressed, the less

likely they wanted to communicate with their parents, thereby exacerbating conflict and increasing the likelihood of depression.

Unlike some survey participants who reported that their children did not get depressed because of conflicts, interview participants reported that disagreements had made their children unhappy, depressed, sad, angry, and even lose control. Children also recounted how disagreements had made them feel unhappy, angry and stressful. In their research, Fung and Lau (2010) found immigrant parents reported fewer child and parenting problems than did their children. In the present study, the surveyed parents said there was not a problem, but children were not surveyed; Fung and Lau said parents did not report the mental health issues, but children did; the present interviews reinforced this.

Some parent interviewees described their children as positive and happy, while others thought their children were unhappy and anxious. Disagreements had brought significant stress on children, thus negatively influencing their mental health. However, few survey parents thought their children had mental health problem. In general, interviews found conflicts made children feel not happy, angry, stressed, and depressed. These findings suggested that immigrant children needed lots of emotional support. Parents, then, needed to be more aware of the existence of children's mental health problems and should attach importance to this issue. Likewise, schools and educators should take measures to help children and parents tackle mental health problems.

Dealing with Conflicts

In general, survey parents reported more "try to convince" or "put it for later" than "yield" or "compromise", the least frequent answer was "force to agree". Parents' high expectation, strong opinion, and tendency to compel child to engaging in lessons outside of school, were all

positively correlated with parents' reaction to disagreement. According to survey participants' report, about 70% of children would "listen to" their parents either willingly or unwillingly, and almost no children did not listen to their parents at all. Child mental health was positively correlated to disagreements in education, which showed that an increase in disagreements regarding education, mirrored an increase in the frequency of mental health problems.

Qualitative results supported the findings in quantitative research about parents' ways of dealing with conflicts. In face of conflicts, most parents tried to convince their children to take their ideas, some just forced their children to listen to them, and some discussed the matter with their children, presenting reasoning and allowing the children to make their own decisions. However, unlike the findings reported by surveyed participants, which indicated that most children would "listen to" their parents, interviews showed children tended to argue with their parents and tried to convince their parents, while some refused to listen to their parents. When confronting conflicts, some parents and children could not remain calm and deal with disagreements in a reasonable way; instead, they argued and quarreled. Even worse, some parents became physically abusive to the children and involved the police. Some parents asked their children to get out of the house to punish the children, which severely hurt the children. Some parents prayed to God for help, and some reported that this was helpful. Most Chinese immigrants did not identify as Christian when they were in China, but eight out of nine mother participants became Christian after they came to Canada. These mothers all reported God had played a positive role in their lives, in the lives of their children, and in their family.

Ideal Parent-child Relationship

Respect, understanding and communication are the most important factors for a healthy family relationship. Friendliness, harmony, love, freedom, responsibility and trust were also

considered important characteristics. The positive role of faith was a central for many mothers. These findings indicated the present Chinese immigrant parent-child relationship was not an ideal one from many participants' perspectives in that there was a lack of respect, understanding, communication, and harmony, among other qualities. Parents and children should make more efforts to better their communication in a respectful and considerate way. An ideal parent-child relationship lies in the mutual endeavor of both parents and children. Directions and help from school and professional personnel were also needed. Also, Chinese families reported that going to church and engaging in their faith helped bring harmony and happiness into their parent-child relationships.

Implications

Findings of this research indicated that parents expected too much of their children, had disagreements with their children due to cultural differences, and thus added pressure onto their children. To better help their children develop, parents should actively educate themselves about the Canadian society, culture and educational policies and concept. They should also pay more attention to children's physical health as well as mental health, not just their academic studies, which is only part of a child's development. The overall development of a child involves more. They should regard their children as individual human beings, not as their private property, their extension, their lengthened arms to reach places beyond their own reach, and their future. Mothers should not embrace a sense of sacrifice and think their sacrifices must be offset by the success of their children and impose their ideas on their children. More importantly, parents should reach beyond the domestic sphere and draws on the broader social context of the world to make friends, receive reeducation, find a job, and eventually find themselves and be able to

enjoy the diversity of life.

For children, learning to respect, understand and appreciate their parents is crucial. Children should see and value the fact that their parents, especially their mothers, have made sacrifices by immigrating and losing a life familiar to them, and for being lost in a new country and culture. Therefore, children should help their parents become acculturated to the new society instead of misunderstanding and even looking down upon their parents. To better understand their parents and themselves, children should learn about their parents' culture and language. They should never forget or ignore their roots and origin.

School and educators should attach more attention to the culture of immigrant children and their family, help these children release pressure, better the children's communication with their parents, communicate more with the children's parents, promote the children's mother culture to help them develop a sense of acceptance of their parents' culture. For example, teachers might include cultural studies in class when holidays practiced by various ethnic groups come around. Perhaps during the Chinese New Year, students can learn about China; when Eid comes around, they can learn about Islam; when Passover comes, they can learn about Jewish and Christian traditions. I know school are hesitant to talk about religion, but these might be good teachable moments when they can introduce the class to different cultures. That aside, they might also have frank conversations with students and parents about common experiences that other immigrants share. Or perhaps they can have students share something about their family's culture and history in class.

The Government and policy makers should strengthen the existing structure and establish new organizations to help immigrant children and their parents accommodate to the new culture, especially offering help for mothers. Government should see the fact that a lot of immigrant

mothers have lost their jobs and have to stay at home to be housewives, which can lead to an unhappy and stressful life. The government should try its best to help these mothers be reeducated and reemployed, find a place in the society, and transcend the sense of loss and depression.

Critical Reflections of the Researcher

As a researcher, this project has allowed me to probe into the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children and allowed me to build a profound understanding of the nature of the conflicts between parents and their children. By performing the one-on-one interviews, I was able to communicate with the mothers and their children and listen to their stories. The children and mothers trusted me and shared with me their experiences and feelings. This study has helped me in building confidence and desire to further my study and conduct more research about immigrant families.

As a teacher, this study has given me a new angle to look at students. I have come to understand each family is unique and the family culture has a profound effect on children. As a teacher, I should see the students with a cultural or ethnic background other than that of the dominant culture, I will share my study findings with the teachers to help them realize the importance of the effect of family culture on child education. I will also share what I have found with immigrant parents and children discuss with them ways to navigate the issues that have plagued parents in comparable situations.

As a mother, I was touched by some experiences of the mothers in my research: their sacrifice, their being lost, their expectation, and their misery. To some extent, I vaguely see myself in them. I warned myself not to sacrifice for my husband and children because women

should have their own life. I have learned that I should not consider my children as an extension of my life or expect too much in them, but should respect them as individuals and help them find their own way to fulfill their dreams.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study examines the potential conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents and their children in Windsor area. There are several limitations in the present study. First, this study is limited by the specific location and sample size. The samples were drawn in Windsor and may be different from samples in other places. Likewise, the survey sample size was not large enough. The return rate of the survey was also a worry.

Secondly, participants may have different understandings of the survey questions or intend to give answers that they think should be given. For example, different people may have different definitions of certain words like “sometimes”, “a little” and so on. In regards to certain questions, like “To what degree do you think you conflict with your children in the following aspect”, participants might not provide an accurate answer. Some Chinese people are concerned about preserving their reputations and believe that domestic shame should not be made public. They might consider conflicts between them and their children as something that could bring domestic shame. As a result, they tend to hide and refuse to tell the truth.

Third, this study may be limited by the participants’ self-reports. Due to immigration-related psychological or emotional difficulties, the participants’ verbal self-reports may be biased and inaccurate, which may lead to inconsistencies between what participants report and what they actually think. This could generate biased results.

Fourth, interview participants’ life stories might be unique and differ from the rest Chinese

immigrants in Canada. As a result, to generalize conclusions applicable to a larger Chinese population across Canada beyond the context of this research project is limited.

Fifth, most interviews were conducted in Chinese and the transcripts were translated by the researcher. Although the researcher was cautious when translating the transcript, the researcher's understanding and translation might also produce some misunderstanding.

Lastly, the lack of variety in participants could be an issue. Considering that it was only mothers in the interview, there was an obvious lack of input from the fathers. Likewise, there were no children in the survey. This may have provided a more rounded understanding of the issues. Perhaps most importantly, all of the participants came from the same church. Their faith and the values may have shaped this study or added a potential bias to the data collected. As a result, who do not identify as Christian were not adequately represented. Though their values seem consistent with other studies, it is difficult to ascertain how this potential bias impacted the study.

Areas for Future Research

The findings of this research indicated that conflicts existed between Chinese parents and their children and that these conflicts had brought negative effects on the children's mental health. There is a need for studies to find effective ways to help parents and children deal with the conflicts and stress.

Some parents expressed their wish that school and teachers should offer help for children to better communicate with parents, deal with family disagreements and cope with stress. Therefore, there is a need for a study to examine the existing and potential support system at school that could offer help. This could help determine the effectiveness of the existing system,

and what needs to be developed to better help the immigrant children in this respect.

This research focused on Chinese immigrants in Windsor. The communication experiences, challenges, and expectations of immigrant families from other countries may share similarities and may have differences. It is of importance to conduct a study to observe the family relations in immigrant families other than Chinese ones to see whether these conflicts are unique to Chinese families or not. This may help schools in understanding and coping with needs of immigrant students from various cultural backgrounds.

The parent interviewees in this study were all mothers. From the report of the mothers and their children, a glimpse of fathers could be seen. It will be interesting and necessary to conduct a study about the communication between fathers and their children to understand how fathers deal with their children and to find out the differences between fathers and mothers.

From the present study, mental health problems of mothers and their life struggles could be seen. It will be helpful to conduct a study to investigate the experiences, challenges and expectations of immigrant mothers so that family and society could have a better understanding of the mothers and assist them when facing challenges so that they can cope with the difficulties.

Parent interviewees all talked about the importance of Christianity in their family and they did not become Christian until they came to Canada. A study could be done to investigate the reason of why they became Christian after they moved to Canada and the role of religion in bettering the parents and children's relation, in changing their cultural values, and in their life.

Conclusion

Question 1. What is the communication experience of the Chinese immigrant parents and their children? Chinese immigrant parents and their children communicated with each other

quite often, but many of these conversations were superficial. Some children did not like to communicate with their mothers due to language barrier and mothers being garrulous. When communicating, parents spoke Chinese, while children primarily spoke English. Parents and children usually talked about school education, daily life, career plan, moral values, and social networking, with school education being the focus.

Question 2. What are the potential conflicts/disagreements between Chinese immigrant parents and their children? Chinese immigrant parents and their children disagreed most often on education (school education, art training, Chinese acquisition), career (major to choose, future career) and daily behaviors (religious belief, making friends, food, dressing, and playing games).

Question 3. What causes the conflicts between Chinese immigrant parents and their children? The primary causes of conflict were related to cultural differences, high expectation in education and careers, language barriers, parent conflicts, different ways of thinking, child rebellion, generation gaps, and a lack of communication.

Question 4: What effects do these conflicts have on the children's mental health? Disagreement and conflict were positively correlated with increased frequency of depression and mental health issues in children. Disagreements often made children unhappy, depressed, angry, stressful, and caused them to lose control.

Question 5: How do immigrant parents and their children cope with these conflicts? When confronting conflicts, some parents and children could not remain calm and deal with disagreements in a reasonable way. Most parents tried to convince their children to take their ideas and some forced their children to listen to them. Children tended to argue against their parents and tried to convince their parents, while others ignored their parents. Some parents reported that relying on their faith was helpful with conflict.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Survey for Chinese Immigrant Parents

The purpose of this survey is to collect information regarding the existence and nature of the potential communication challenges between Chinese immigrant parents and their children. The survey is anonymous. If you have more than one child, please answer this survey based primarily on the child/children currently in the secondary school. If your children have graduated from high schools, please answer this survey based on your memory of the time when your child was in high school. Even if your children are not the above two types, your responses are still valuable. You may choose not to answer any of the questions. The submission of the survey implies your consent of participation. Your contribution is crucial to our study and is highly appreciated! Thank you in advance!

Part 1 Demographics

1. You are a:

- A. Mother B. Father

2. Your age is

- A. Below 35 B. 35-40 C. 41-45 D. 46-50 E. 50 and above

3. Family annual income before tax:

- A. Less than \$30,000 B. \$30,001-\$59,000 C. \$60,000-\$100,000 D. More than \$100,000

4. Education

	Under high school	High school	Bachelor	Master	Doctor
Me	1	2	3	4	5
My spouse	1	2	3	4	5

5. Received education in (check all that apply)

	China	Canada	USA	UK	Other
Me	1	2	3	4 _____	5
My spouse	1	2	3	4 _____	5

6. Years in Canada and/or USA

	Less than 1 year	1-3 years	4-6 years	7-10 years	More than 10 years
Me	1	2	3	4	5
My spouse	1	2	3	4	5

7. English proficiency

Zero	Poor	Average	Good	Excellent
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Me	1	2	3	4	5
My spouse	1	2	3	4	5

8. Working status in North America

	Full time	Part time	Self-employed	Intent to look for a job	Not want to work
Me	1	2	3	4	5
My spouse	1	2	3	4	5

9. Working field in China (ever)

	Government	Education	Other's Company	Own company	Other
Me	1	2	3	4	5
My spouse	1	2	3	4	5

Part 2 Communication between you and your child

1. How often do you communicate with your child in general?

A. At least once a day B. 3-4 times a week C. 1-2 times a week D. 2-3 times a month E. Less than once a month

2. When communicating with your child, how often do you use English and/or Chinese?

	Almost never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Almost always
English	1	2	3	4	5
Chinese	1	2	3	4	5

3. How often do you talk with your child about the following topics?

	Almost never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Almost always
School education	1	2	3	4	5
Social networking	1	2	3	4	5
Career plan	1	2	3	4	5
Moral values	1	2	3	4	5
Daily behavior	1	2	3	4	5

4. How often do you disagree with each other when you talk with your child on the following topics?

	Almost never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Almost always
a. School education	1	2	3	4	5
b. Social networking	1	2	3	4	5
c. Career plan	1	2	3	4	5
d. Moral values	1	2	3	4	5
e. Daily behavior	1	2	3	4	5

5. What do you do when you and your child disagree with each other on the following topics?

	Always Compromise	Yield appropriately	Put it down for later	Try best to convince	Force him/her to agree
School education	1	2	3	4	5
Social networking	1	2	3	4	5
Career plan	1	2	3	4	5
Moral values	1	2	3	4	5
Daily behavior	1	2	3	4	5

6. What does your child do when you disagree with each other on the following topics?

	Willingly listen to me	Reluctantly listen to me	Put it down for later	Try best to convince me	Does not listen to me at all
School education	1	2	3	4	5
Social networking	1	2	3	4	5
Career plan	1	2	3	4	5
Moral values	1	2	3	4	5
Daily behavior	1	2	3	4	5

7. How often does each of the following factors contribute to the disagreement between you and your child?

	Almost never	Rarel y	Sometime s	Often	Almost always
Cultural difference between China and Canada	1	2	3	4	5
Different expectation on school education	1	2	3	4	5
Child being in rebellious age	1	2	3	4	5
Lack of communication	1	2	3	4	5
Different characters	1	2	3	4	5
Generation gap					
Other _____					

8. Read the following statements and check the answer that best describes your child.

	Never	Rarely	Sometime s	Often	Always
My child is highly influenced by his/her teachers.	1	2	3	4	5
My child likes communicating with me.	1	2	3	4	5
My child is happy and positive.	1	2	3	4	5
My Child is too timid.	1	2	3	4	5
My child seems unhappy, sad or depressed.	1	2	3	4	5
My child is not as happy as people of his/her age.	1	2	3	4	5
My child is worried.	1	2	3	4	5
My child is nervous, high strung or tense.	1	2	3	4	5

My child is too fearful or anxious.	1	2	3	4	5
My child can't concentrate, can't pay attention.	1	2	3	4	5
My child cries a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
My child is depressed when there is disagreement between us.	1	2	3	4	5

9. Read the following statements and check the answer that best describes you.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
I have a higher expectation in my child's school academics than s/he does.	1	2	3	4	5
I show my dissatisfaction when my child did not meet my expectation in school academics.	1	2	3	4	5
I think 85 is not a good mark, 98 is better.	1	2	3	4	5
I push my child to get better marks	1	2	3	4	5
I push my child to do extra academic work.	1	2	3	4	5
I am eager to know my child's ranking in class for major subjects.	1	2	3	4	5
I ask my child for the information about his/her class ranking.	1	2	3	4	5
I ask my child for the information about his/her school performance compared with other kids I know.	1	2	3	4	5
I send my child to take Chinese programs.	1	2	3	4	5
I send my child to take some afterschool programs such as music, drawing, dance, etc.	1	2	3	4	5
I insist on sending my child to after school programs even if s/he is reluctant.	1	2	3	4	5
I have a strong opinion on my child's future career.	1	2	3	4	5
My high expectation causes pressure to my child.	1	2	3	4	5

10. Demographics of your children

Gender	Grade	Years in Canada and/or USA	Relationship between me and my child is (1.Hostile 2.So so 3. Good 4. Intimate)
1. Male 2. female			

Child 1

Child 2

Child 3

11. During what stage there exists the most disagreement between parents and children?

A. Primary B. Middle school C. University D. Other stage E. N/A

Appendix A

华人父母与子女交流调查问卷

本匿名调查问卷旨在了解华人移民家庭父母与子女的交流与沟通的相关信息。如果您有多个子女，请主要谈您在上中学的孩子（如果没有在上中学的孩子，也可以谈谈小学的孩子）。如果您的孩子已经中学毕业，请谈一些他们当时在中学时的情形。问卷的提交代表您同意参加调查。衷心感谢您对父母与子女沟通问题的关注和对本课题的支持。

第一部分 基本信息

- 您是一位： A. 母亲 B. 父亲
- 您的年龄段： A. 35岁以下 B. 35-40岁 C. 41-45岁 D. 46-50岁 E. 50岁以上
- 家庭税前年收入(加元)： A. 3万以下 B. 3-5.9万 C. 6-10万 D. 10万以上
- 教育背景

	最高学历					受教育地点（可多选）				
	高中以下	高中	本科	硕士	博士	中国	加拿大	美国	英国	其他(注明)
本人	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	
配偶	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	

- 在北美时间及英语水平

	在北美几年					英语水平				
	1年以下	1-3年	4-6年	7-10年	10年以上	不会	很低	一般	良好	优秀
本人	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
配偶	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

- 工作背景

	在北美					在中国				
	全职	半职	自雇	想找工作	不想工作	政府	教育	企业	自雇	其他
本人	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
配偶	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

第二部分 父母与子女的交流

- 您与孩子交流的**总体频率**
A. 至少每天1次 B. 每周3-4次 C. 每周1-2次 D. 每月2-3次 E. 少于每月1次

- 您与孩子交流所使用的**语言**

	几乎不用	很少用	有时候用	经常用	几乎全用
英文	1	2	3	4	5
中文	1	2	3	4	5

3. 您与孩子就相关主题的交流情况

	就相关主题 交流 的频率					就相关主题交流时 意见不一致 的频率				
	几乎没有	很少	有时	经常	频繁	几乎没有	很少	有时	经常	频繁
学校教育	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
社会交往	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
职业规划	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
思想道德	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
日常生活	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

4. 在相关方面**意见不一致**时

	您会					孩子会				
	顺着孩子	适当让步	暂时放下	极力说服	迫其接受	乐意听我的	勉强听从	暂时放下	据理力争	充耳不闻
学校教育	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
社会交往	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
职业规划	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
思想道德	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
日常生活	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

5. 以下**因素**多大程度上造成了您与孩子**意见不一致**?

	几乎不会	很小程度	一般程度	很大程度	极大程度
中西方文化差异	1	2	3	4	5
对学业期望值不同	1	2	3	4	5
孩子叛逆	1	2	3	4	5
缺乏沟通	1	2	3	4	5
性格不同	1	2	3	4	5
代沟	1	2	3	4	5
其他(请注明_____)	1	2	3	4	5

6. 孩子的基本情况

	性别	年级	在北美几年	与您的关系 (1.敌对 2.一般 3.良好 4.亲密无间)
孩子 1				
孩子 2				
孩子 3				

7. 您认为孩子在什么阶段与父母的矛盾更突出

- A. 小学 B. 中学 C. 大学 D. 其他

8. 下面关于**您孩子**的陈述更符合哪种情况

	完全不对	有点对	基本对	对	很对
受学校老师影响很大	1	2	3	4	5
喜欢跟您交流	1	2	3	4	5
积极乐观	1	2	3	4	5
过于胆小	1	2	3	4	5
和同龄人相比, 情绪低落	1	2	3	4	5
似乎不高兴, 沮丧, 或压抑	1	2	3	4	5
高度紧张	1	2	3	4	5
慌张, 烦乱, 犹豫不决	1	2	3	4	5
焦虑, 忧心忡忡	1	2	3	4	5
不能集中精力做事	1	2	3	4	5
经常哭	1	2	3	4	5
在跟您意见不一致时沮丧, 闷闷不乐	1	2	3	4	5

9. 下面关于您的陈述更符合哪种情况

	完全不对	有点对	基本对	对	很对
对孩子学习成绩期望比他/她对自己的期望高	1	2	3	4	5
当孩子学业成绩没达到您的期望时表现出不满	1	2	3	4	5
认为 85 不算高分 95 才算理想	1	2	3	4	5
督促孩子争取更高的考试分数	1	2	3	4	5
要求孩子做额外的功课	1	2	3	4	5
想知道孩子在班级的成绩排名 (主要课程)	1	2	3	4	5
询问孩子在班级的成绩排名情况	1	2	3	4	5
询问孩子与我认识的其他孩子相比成绩如何	1	2	3	4	5
送孩子去上中文辅导班	1	2	3	4	5
送孩子去上音乐、美术、舞蹈之类的辅导班	1	2	3	4	5
尽管孩子不愿意, 坚持送孩子去辅导班	1	2	3	4	5
为孩子谋划未来职业	1	2	3	4	5
高要求给孩子带来了心理压力	1	2	3	4	5

再次衷心感谢您的支持与帮助!

欢迎参加我们的后续采访!

Appendix B**Parent Interview Guide****I. You**

1. Can you tell me your age?
2. Where are you from? How long have you been here in Canada? Why did you move here?
3. What did you do in China?
4. What do you do? If you are working, what is your job? Part-time or full time? If you are not working, what is the reason for this? Is it because you don't want to work or is it because it is difficult to find a job?
5. Can you tell me something about your education background?

II. Your spouse

Can you tell me something about your spouse's education and working background?

III. Your children

1. How many children do you have? Were they born here? How old are they? What grades are they in?
2. What is the character of your high school child (happy, sad, cry, anxious, fearful, or timid)?
3. Is s/he influenced heavily by her/his teachers at school?
4. Is your child more of Canadian or more of Chinese? What does s/he think of him/herself?

IV. Your communication with your children

1. You and your spouse, who takes more care of your child/children? What is her/his relationship closeness with you (so-so, good or intimate)?
2. Does s/he like to talk with you? Do you like to communicate with her/him?
3. How often do you communicate with your child?
4. What do you usually talk about? (Say education, social life, career plan, moral values, and daily behaviors?)

V. Conflict (disagreement)

1. In your communication, do you sometimes disagree with each other? On what?
2. What are the factors that may contribute to the disagreement between you and your child? (For example, cultural difference, different expectation on school education, child being rebellious, lack of communication, different characters, generation gap....)
3. What is your reaction to the disagreement? How do you deal with it?
4. What is your child's reaction to the disagreement? How does your child deal with it?
5. What are the effects of the disagreement on your child? Will s/he become depressed because of it?

VI. About your child's education and future career

1. ①What is your expectation on your child's academic performance? Is your expectation higher than your child? ②Do you push your child to work harder to get higher marks? ③Has this caused burden even depression for your child? ④Have you sent your child to tutoring class? Does your child like the tutoring class?

2. Do you send your child to art training school (music, drawing, dance)? Does s/he like it?
3. ①What is your expectation on your child's future career? Is your opinion in major and career different from your child? ②If yes, is this a problem for you and your child? Does your child feel stressed?
4. In what language do you communicate with your child? Have you ever sent them to Chinese class? Do they like Chinese? Do you like Chinese culture?

VII. Words from your heart

1. Have you ever wronged your child? If yes, do you want to apologize for that?
2. What do you want your child to appreciate about you?
3. What do you want to say to your child?
4. What worries you most in your communication with your child?
5. What is your ideal parent-child relationship?

Appendix B

采访-父母篇

I. 您的基本情况

3. 您属于哪个年龄段？ 40 以下？ 40-45？ 46-50？ 还是 50 以上？
4. 来加拿大多久了？ 为什么移民啊？
3. 以前在中国是做什么的？
4. 现在做什么工作？ 全职还是兼职？ 感觉怎么样？
5. 如果目前没有工作，为什么？ 是不想工作还是找工作太难了？
6. 谈谈您的教育背景好吗？

II. 您的配偶

能谈一谈您配偶的教育背景及工作背景吗？

III. 您的孩子

1. 您有几个孩子？ 他们都出生在哪里？ 多大了？ 几年级？
2. 能描述一下在读高中的那个孩子的性格吗？ 他或她是个乐天派还是犹豫派？ 他或她哭吗？ 焦虑吗？ 胆小吗？
3. 他受学校老师的影响程度如何？
4. 您感觉他更像中国人还是更像加拿大人？ 他自己怎么认为？

IV. 您与孩子的交流

1. 您和您的爱人谁管孩子？ 孩子跟您关系如何？
2. 您喜欢跟孩子谈心吗？ 孩子喜欢跟您谈心吗？
3. 您多久跟孩子谈心一次？
4. 您们都谈些什么？ （比如学校教育、社会生活、职业规划、思想道德、日常生活等内容）

V. 意见不一致

1. 你们交谈时有没有意见不一致的时候？ 在什么方面？
2. 是什么造成了你们的意见不一致？ （文化差异、对学业的不同期待、孩子青春期、缺乏沟通、性格不同、代沟等）
3. 您如何处理意见不一致？
4. 您的孩子怎么处理意见不一致？
5. 意见不一致对孩子有什么影响？ 会不会造成孩子不高兴？ 沮丧？

VI. 关于学业和职业

1. ①你对孩子的学习成绩有什么期望？ 你对孩子的期望跟孩子对自己的期望比起来是不是更高？ ②当孩子的成绩没有达到您的期望值时， 您会怎样做？ 责怪孩子？ 不悦？ 要求他考出更高的分数？ ③有没有给孩子带来心理负担甚至造成他沮丧？ ④有没有送他上辅导班？ 孩子喜欢上辅导班吗？
2. 您送孩子去上音乐、美术、舞蹈之类的艺术学习班吗？ 孩子喜欢吗？ 孩子要是不愿意你还坚持送他去吗？
3. ①您对孩子未来职业有什么期望？ 与孩子的想法有没有什么不同？ ②如果有， 孩子有没有因此压力很大？ ③你们是怎么解决这个问题的？
4. ①您跟孩子交流时讲中文还是英文？ ②你有没有送孩子去中文学校学习？ ③孩子怎么想的？ 他愿意学中文吗？

VII. 你的心声

1. 您有没有冤枉过您的孩子？如果有，你给他道歉吗？
2. 您觉得孩子最不理解你什么？
3. 您想对孩子说什么？
4. 您关于跟孩子交流沟通最大的困惑是什么？最在意的是什么？
5. 您觉得做父母应该有什么样的原则？您理想中的父母与子女的关系是怎样的？

Appendix C

Child Interview Guide

I. You

1. How old are you? How long have you been here? What grade are you in?
2. What are your hobbies? What do you usually do after class?
3. How do you describe yourself? (Character happy, sad, cry, anxious, fearful, timid)
4. Are you influenced by your teachers? How much?
5. How do your teachers and peers look at you? A Chinese or Canadian? In your mind, are you more of Canadian or more of Chinese?
6. How do you describe your parents' lives in Canada (work, life, and attitude)?

II. Your communication with your parents

1. How do you describe your relationship with parents?
2. Do you like to talk to them? How often do you communicate with your parents?
3. What do you usually talk about? (Education, social life, career plan, moral values, daily behaviors)

III. Conflict (disagreement)

1. In your communication with your parents, do you sometimes disagree with each other? On what?
2. What are the factors that may contribute to the disagreement between you and your parents? (For example, cultural difference, different expectation on school education, your being rebellious, lack of communication, different characters, generation gap....)
3. What is your reaction to the disagreement? How do you deal with it?
4. What is your parents' reaction to the disagreement? How do they deal with it?
5. What are the effects of the disagreement on you? Will you become depressed because of it?

IV. About your education and future career

1. What is your parents' expectation on your academic performance? Is it different from your expectation?
 - If yes, has this caused burden even depression for you?
 - When your mark is below your parents' expectation, what is their reaction?
 - Do they push you to work harder to get higher marks?
 - Have they sent you to tutoring class? Do you like these tutoring classes?
2. Do your parents send you to art training school (like music, drawing, dance)? Do you like it?
3. What do you want to do for your future career? Is your plan different from your parents'?
 - If yes, is this a problem for you? Do you feel stressed?
4. In what language do your parents communicate with you?
5. Have they ever sent you to Chinese class? Do you like learning Chinese? Do you want to keep your Chinese identity?

VI. Words from your heart

1. Have your parents ever been unfair or misunderstood you? Have they ever apologized to you for such misunderstanding or unfairness?
2. What do you want your parents to appreciate about you?
3. What do you want to say to them?
4. How do you describe an ideal relationship between children and parents?

Appendix C

采访--孩子篇

I. 关于孩子

1. 你来北美多久了？几年级？
2. 你有什么兴趣爱好？不上课的时候都干些啥？
3. 能描述一下你的性格吗？你总体上是比较阳光的还是偏忧郁的？你胆小吗？爱哭吗？焦虑吗？紧张吗？
4. 你受老师的影响程度有多大？
5. 在老师和同学的眼中，你是中国人还是加拿大人？你自己怎么认为？

II. 父母与子女的交流

6. 你喜欢跟父母亲谈心吗？频率如何？
7. 你们都谈些什么？（比如学校教育、社会生活、职业规划、思想道德、日常生活等内容）

III. 意见不一致

4. 你们交谈时有没有意见不一致的时候？在什么方面？
5. 是什么造成了你们的意见不一致？（文化差异、对学业的不同期待、孩子青春期、缺乏沟通、性格不同、代沟等）
6. 你如何处理意见不一致？
5. 你的父母怎么处理意见不一致？
5. 意见不一致对你有什么影响？会不会造成你不高兴甚至沮丧？

IV. 关于学业和职业

1. ①你父母对你学习成绩有什么期望？他们的期望跟你的期望比起来是不是更高？②当你的成绩没有达到他们的期望值时，他们会怎样做？责怪你？不悦？要求你考出更高的分数？③有没有给你带来心理负担甚至造成他沮丧？④有没有送你上辅导班？你喜欢上辅导班吗？
2. 你父母送你去上音乐、美术、舞蹈之类的艺术学习班吗？你喜欢吗？你要是不愿意他们还坚持送你去吗？
3. ①你父母对你的未来职业有什么期望？与你的想法有没有什么不同？②如果有，你有没有因此压力很大？③你们是怎么解决这个问题的？
4. ①你跟父母交流时讲中文还是英文？②他们有没有送你去中文学校学习？③你愿意学中文吗？

VI. 你的心声

1. 你觉得父母最不理解你什么？
2. 你想对父母说什么？
3. 你理想中的父母与子女的关系是怎样的？

Appendix D

Recruitment Letter

Dear parent,

The purpose of this survey is to collect information regarding the existence and nature of the potential communication challenges between Chinese immigrant parents and their children. The survey is anonymous. If you have more than one child, please answer this survey based primarily on the child/children currently in the high school. If your children have graduated from high schools, please answer this survey based on your memory of the time when your child was in high school. Even if your children are not the above two types, your responses are still valuable. You may choose not to answer any of the questions. The submission of the survey implies your consent of participation. When you complete the survey, you will have the chance to win a \$50 gift card.

If you currently have a child or some children at high school, we invite you participate our interview. The interview is to get qualitative data for an in-depth understanding of the issues covered in the survey and particularly explore the factors and perspectives that mediate the tension between parents and children, how parents and children deal with this tension and so on. You and your child/children will be interviewed separately. Each interview will last about 30 minutes. The research team will secure the identification of all the interviewees.

If you have any questions or you are interested in the future interview, please feel free to contact us at xxx or at liu11135@uwindsor.ca. If you have some friends who may be interested in our study, please give them our contact information. When you are finally interviewed, you will get \$20.

Your contribution is crucial to our study and is highly appreciated! Thank you for your support!

Yours sincerely,
Nonghong Liu, George Zhou,

参与研究邀请信

尊敬的家长：

身在异国他乡，文化、环境以及社会的差异深刻地影响着我们生活的方方面面，包括子女教育。我们正在进行一项华人家长与孩子交流方面的研究，旨在探索加拿大文化与中国文化的碰撞与交融对子女学习以及身心健康的影响。我们期待您参与我们设计的问卷调查和个人访谈。问卷调查是匿名的，目的在于收集华人父母与子女交流的初步信息。大约需要您 10 分钟时间。完成问卷调查，您将有机会获得\$50 的购物卡。

下一步我们将在调查问卷统计信息的基础上对该问题进行更加深入的研究。我们将邀请一些华人父母及其子女进行深度访谈。如果您关注文化差异对孩子学习和生活的影响，请参加我们的采访，如果您有朋友对我们的研究感兴趣，也请他们跟我们联系。

访谈大约 30 分钟。项目组将付给每个参与访谈的父母和孩子\$20 以聊表寸心。项目组将保护任何参与研究的父母和孩子的隐私。任何人的名字都不会出现在课题报告中。

衷心感谢您对本课题的支持！

此致，

刘农宏 温莎大学教育学院
周国强教授 温莎大学教育学院

Appendix E**LETTER OF INFORMATION FOR CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
(Survey)**

Title of Study: ***The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children***

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Mrs. Nonghong Liu under the guidance of Dr. George Zhou, from the Faculty of Education at the University of Windsor.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel to contact Mrs. Nonghong Liu at xxx or Dr. George Zhou at the U. of Windsor at 519-253-3000 Ext. 3813.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the existence and nature of the potential generation gap between immigrant parents and their children and to get insights about how immigrant children cope with such conflicting values between school and family.

PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

Fill out a survey which will ask questions regarding the tension between you and your child. The survey will take you about 10 minutes to complete.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND BENEFITS

There will be low risk involved for any volunteers. Participants will have the option to skip any questions they do not want to answer.

It is anticipated that participants in this study will develop a better understanding of the tension between Chinese immigrant parents and their children. They also will be exposed to the research process and will come to understand the value of research and how it can impact them directly.

The findings from this study will raise awareness among parents and teachers of the potential conflicts in immigrant families so that home and school can provide children best support for existing and potential mental health issues. A project report that

summarizes the findings and lessons learned from the study will be made available to school boards who may use it for relevant program development.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

There is going to be a prize draw after the survey is completed. Three prizes will be set up and each carries a value of \$50 in a format of gift cards.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The survey is anonymous. Please do not write your name anywhere on the survey.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

The completion of survey is voluntary. You can skip any questions you do not like to answer. Once you return your survey, it is not possible to withdraw your responses since the survey is anonymous. The researcher may withdraw a participant from the study if deemed necessary.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The feedback to you will be in August 2014. A summary of study findings will be posted on the CAGW website and the University of Windsor REB website. A print copy will be displayed at the CAGW center.

Web address: www.cagw.net, www.uwindsor.ca/reb, <http://cagw.net>

Date when results are available: August, 2014.

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; email: ethics@uwindsor.ca

CONSENT OF PARTICIPATION

The submission of the survey means consent of participation.

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix F**LETTER OF INFORMATION FOR CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
(Interview)**

Title of Study: ***The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children***

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Mrs. Nonghong Liu under the guidance of Dr. George Zhou, from the Faculty of Education at the University of Windsor.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel to contact Mrs. Nonghong Liu at xxx or Dr. George Zhou at the U. of Windsor at 519-253-3000 Ext. 3813.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the existence and nature of the potential generation gap between immigrant parents and their children and to get insights about how immigrant children cope with such conflicting values between school and family.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

Participate in a one-to-one interview with the researcher which will occur in the early weeks of March 2014. In the interview, you will be asked to share and discuss your experiences of communication with your parents or children. The interview will be audio recorded. The interview will occur at convenient locations by appointment and will take approximately 30 minutes.

To become a participant, you need to have this consent form filled out with the appropriate signatures, after reading it carefully.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND BENEFITS

There will be low risk involved for any volunteers. Participants will have the option to stop the interview if they do not want to continue to participate in the discussion.

It is anticipated that participants in this study will develop a better understanding of the tension between Chinese immigrant parents and their children. They also will be exposed to the research process and will come to understand the value of research and how it can impact them directly.

The findings from this study will raise awareness among parents and teachers of the potential conflicts in immigrant families so that home and school can provide children best support for existing and potential mental health issues. A project report that summarizes the findings and lessons learned from the study will be made available to school boards who may use it for relevant program development.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

Each interviewee will be provided with \$20 for compensation of their time and appreciation of participation.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Participants in the interviews will remain confidential. Participants in the interviews may request to review the audio tapes. The audio tapes will be destroyed immediately after the transcriptions. The transcriptions and consent forms will be kept in a secure area in a locked filing cabinet until the project is completed and will then be destroyed. Any paper documents will be shredded and recycled.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. They also have the option to remove data from the study. The researcher may also withdraw a participant from the study if deemed necessary.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The feedback to you will be in August 2014. A summary of study findings will be posted on the CAGW website and the University of Windsor REB website. A print copy will be displayed at the CAGW center.

Web address: www.cagw.net, www.uwindsor.ca/reb, <http://cagw.net>

Date when results are available: August, 2014.

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; email: ethics@uwindsor.ca

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix G**CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
(Parent Interview)**

Title of Study: ***The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children***

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Mrs. Nonghong Liu under the guidance of Dr. George Zhou, from the Faculty of Education at the University of Windsor.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel to contact Mrs. Nonghong Liu at xxx or Dr. George Zhou at the U. of Windsor at 519-253-3000 Ext. 3813.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the existence and nature of the potential generation gap between immigrant parents and their children and to get insights about how immigrant children cope with such conflicting values between school and family.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

Participate in a one-to-one interview with the researcher which will occur in the early weeks of March 2014. In the interview, you will be asked to share and discuss your experiences of communication with your parents or children. The interview will be audio recorded. The interview will occur at convenient locations by appointment and will take approximately 30 minutes.

To become a participant, you need to have this consent form filled out with the appropriate signatures, after reading it carefully.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND BENEFITS

There will be low risk involved for any volunteers. Participants will have the option to stop the interview if they do not want to continue to participate in the discussion.

It is anticipated that participants in this study will develop a better understanding of the tension between Chinese immigrant parents and their children. They also will be

exposed to the research process and will come to understand the value of research and how it can impact them directly.

The findings from this study will raise awareness among parents and teachers of the potential conflicts in immigrant families so that home and school can provide children best support for existing and potential mental health issues. A project report that summarizes the findings and lessons learned from the study will be made available to school boards who may use it for relevant program development.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

Each interviewee will be provided with \$20 for compensation of their time and appreciation of participation.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Participants in the interviews will remain confidential. Participants in the interviews may request to review the audio tapes. The audio tapes will be destroyed immediately after the transcriptions. The transcriptions and consent forms will be kept in a secure area in a locked filing cabinet until the project is completed and will then be destroyed. Any paper documents will be shredded and recycled.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time before the research result is reported. The researcher may also withdraw a participant from the study if deemed necessary.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The feedback to you will be in August 2014. A summary of study findings will be posted on the CAGW website and the University of Windsor REB website. A print copy will be displayed at the CAGW center.

Web address: www.cagw.net, www.uwindsor.ca/reb, <http://cagw.net>
Date when results are available: August, 2014.

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; email: ethics@uwindsor.ca

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I understand the information provided for the study ***The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children*** 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.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix G**CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
(Child Interview)**

Title of Study: ***The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children***

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Mrs. Nonghong Liu under the guidance of Dr. George Zhou, from the Faculty of Education at the University of Windsor.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel to contact Mrs. Nonghong Liu at xxx or Dr. George Zhou at the U. of Windsor at 519-253-3000 Ext. 3813.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the existence and nature of the potential generation gap between immigrant parents and their children and to get insights about how immigrant children cope with such conflicting values between school and family.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

Participate in a one-to-one interview with the researcher which will occur in the early weeks of March 2014. In the interview, you will be asked to share and discuss your experiences of communication with your parents or children. The interview will be audio recorded. The interview will occur at convenient locations by appointment and will take approximately 30 minutes.

To become a participant, you need to have this consent form filled out with the appropriate signatures, after reading it carefully.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND BENEFITS

There will be low risk involved for any volunteers. Participants will have the option to stop the interview if they do not want to continue to participate in the discussion.

It is anticipated that participants in this study will develop a better understanding of the tension between Chinese immigrant parents and their children. They also will be exposed to the research process and will come to understand the value of research and how it can impact them directly.

The findings from this study will raise awareness among parents and teachers of the potential conflicts in immigrant families so that home and school can provide children best support for existing and potential mental health issues. A project report that summarizes the findings and lessons learned from the study will be made available to school boards who may use it for relevant program development.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

Each interviewee will be provided with \$20 for compensation of their time and appreciation of participation.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Participants in the interviews will remain confidential. Participants in the interviews may request to review the audio tapes. The audio tapes will be destroyed immediately after the transcriptions. The transcriptions and consent forms will be kept in a secure area in a locked filing cabinet until the project is completed and will then be destroyed. Any paper documents will be shredded and recycled.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time before the research result is reported. The researcher may also withdraw a participant from the study if deemed necessary.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

The feedback to you will be in August 2014. A summary of study findings will be posted on the CAGW website and the University of Windsor REB website. A print copy will be displayed at the CAGW center.

Web address: www.cagw.net, www.uwindsor.ca/reb, <http://cagw.net>

Date when results are available: August, 2014.

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; email: ethics@uwindsor.ca

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I understand the information provided for the study ***The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children*** 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.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF PARENT/GUARDIAN

I understand the information provided for the study ***The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children*** as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to allow my child to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Parent/Guardian

Signature of Parent/Guardian

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix H**CONSENT FOR AUDIO TAPING
(Parent)**

Research Subject Name:

Title of the Project: *The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children*

I consent to the audio-taping of interviews.

I understand that this is a voluntary procedure and that I am free to withdraw at any time by requesting the taping be stopped. I also understand that my name will not be revealed to anyone and that taping will be kept confidential. Tapes are filed by number only and store in a locked cabinet.

I understand that confidentiality will be respected and that the audio tape will be for professional use only.

(Research Subject)

(Date)



录音同意书

研究参与者姓名： _____

研究课题： 中国移民家长与孩子的交流与沟通

我同意以录音的方式记录我所参与的采访。

我明白我是自愿参与此项研究，并且有权利在任何时间退出研究并且要求停止录音。我也明白我的姓名及个人资料都将保密，不会向任何人泄露。我的录音记录也将保密。录音记录将会以数字编号归档并锁在文件柜里。

我明白与研究有关的所有资料将得到妥善保密，录音资料将得到专业处理。

(研究参与者)

(日期)

Appendix H**CONSENT FOR AUDIO TAPING
(Child)**

Children Participant's Name: _____

Title of the Project: *The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children*

I consent to the audio-taping of interviews of my child.

I understand these are voluntary interviews and that my child is free to withdraw at any time by requesting that the taping be stopped. I also understand that my child's name will not be revealed to anyone outside the interview and that taping will be kept confidential. Tapes are filed by number only and store in a locked cabinet.

The destruction of the audio tapes will be completed after transcription and verification. I understand that confidentiality will be respected and that the audio tape will be for professional use only.

(Signature of Parent or Guardian)

(Date)

Appendix I**CHINESE ASSOCIATION PERMISSION LETTER**

Chinese Association of Greater Windsor
900 Howard Avenue, Windsor, Ontario, Canada N9A 1S5
Phone: (519)903-1721
Email: board@cagw.net

January 9th, 2014

Re: The Communication between Chinese Immigrant Parents and Their Children

The Chinese Association of Greater Windsor (CAGW) supports the study proposed by Ms. Nonghong Liu and her colleagues from the Faculty of Education, University of Windsor.

CAGW is a non-profit organization whose major purpose is to support the Chinese immigrants in Greater Windsor-Essex County. Since it was founded in 1997, it has held numerous discussions on the concerns of Chinese immigrants and one of the topics that draw the most attention in the community is parental involvement in children's education. We are so glad to know that Ms. Liu takes this topic as her Master's research, which will be informative for the local Chinese community.

CAGW is willing to grant Ms. Liu and her colleagues a full access to the association center for the research purpose.

Yours sincerely,

Shufang Huang
President
Chinese Association of Greater Windsor

VITA AUCTORIS

Nonghong Liu was born in Yangzhou, and was brought up in Anhui, China. She remained a top student all the way from primary school to university. When she graduated from China University of Mining and Technology (CUMT), she began to work at Nanjing University of Technology (NJUT) as an English teacher. While fulfilling her normal teaching assignments, she has been responsible for tutoring her students to take part in different kinds of English competitions. A number of her students have won awards in the national and the provincial contests. Because of her accomplishments, she was awarded several honors, including “Excellent Youth”, “Model Teacher”.

To expand her content knowledge and develop her teaching skills, she continued her studies at Nanjing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics and was granted a Master’s Degree in Foreign Linguistics and Applied Linguistics. In the summer of 2007, she was provided the opportunity for advanced study and training in Canterbury Christ Church University in the United Kingdom. She learnt a great deal in this program, which has had a tremendous influence on her teaching after returning home. This opportunity also inspired her to pursue systematic studies in an education degree program in an English-speaking country.

In 2012, she was enrolled in the MED program of University of Windsor. With the help of her teachers, she learned how to develop research designs and how to conduct research. She has attended two international Academic Conferences, MwALT 2013 conference and Congress 2014. She has published around ten articles before she came to study in Canada.

Nonghong Liu is very talented in singing and martial arts. She is a person of a sunny, progressive and cooperative personality, which will always spur her forward in life.