

The Intergenerational Transmission of Family Values: A Comparison between Teenagers and Parents in Taiwan

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Inspired by Melvin Kohn and his colleagues, data gathered from various countries over the last three decades have shown that class structure is a significant aspect in understanding how parents socialize their children. Middle-class parents have consistently demonstrated different child-rearing patterns in contrast with their working-class counterpart. Parent's occupation, with the concomitant contextual requirement, is thus argued to impose preferential values with regard to child-rearing practice. The conclusion appears to be universally valid and becomes a consensus.

This study argues that besides the manifest effect of parent's occupation, the social norms imbedded may serve a more powerful explanation and should be taken into account. It is long been recognized that cultural practice (including family socialization) is constrained by common social values which are diverse and sometimes opposite among different societies. Specifically, filial piety, interpersonal harmony, honor and trust, etc. are deep-rooted Asian values, and are not necessarily equivalent to Western values of obedience and popularity. It will be interesting to explore possible effects on the intergenerational transmission of family values between cultural norms and personal resources.

Data are taken from a survey study conducted in 2000. 2700 7th graders and one of their parents as well as 2800 9th graders and one of their parents in northern Taiwan were interviewed. Correspondent data sets are available for comparative analysis. Hence, this paper intends to delineate an indigenous classification of social class in a society like Taiwan, to incorporate cultural elements such as traditional social values and sex-role attitudes in the analysis, and to present comparative research results in line with previous efforts on the value transmission in the family.

THE RESEARCH TOPIC

Inspired by Bronfenbrenner (1958) and Kohn (1959, 1963, 1969, 1986), studies with regard to how parental values affect the child rearing practice as well as the possible intergenerational transmission to children's values have been important research interests among family study

* The original draft was presented at the 15th World Congress of Sociology, International Sociological Association, Brisbane, Australia, 2002. We thank Mr. Karlo Lei for his statistical assistance. We are also grateful for reviewer's comments.

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scholars. Parental value is presumed to be conditioned by the surrounding life conditions, especially the work traits or occupational characteristics. Class difference is thus found to be a significant factor accounted for the variation revealed in the preferred pattern. A special contribution in this line of research is its focus on the cross-societal comparison. Besides various regions of the U.S.A., Canada, Poland, Italy, Ireland and Japan have served as research loci to test the applicability of the proposed hypothesis.

With the increased interest in the work and family issues, how workplace shapes adult's family sphere has aroused much research attention. The important work by Menaghan and Parcel (1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997) throughout the 1990s has shown that parental work experience does provide a determining effect on children's lives. From their U.S. national samples, the occupational complexity of parents' jobs, especially mother's, plays decisive role in the subsequent children's functioning. It is further argued that mothers' intellectual ability interacted with degrees of job complexity may result in varying childrearing values or practice and as a consequence, affect children's value orientation (e.g., to internalize norms). Although restricted to one nation —the U.S., the social context, such as different family structure, is considered in other related analysis and is proved to be significant (Cooksey, et al, 1997).

Along the same line, this paper attempts to address to two major research questions. One is to explore the intergenerational transmission of childrearing values in a non-western society, Taiwan. The analyses on parent's work and education as well as on parental values and parental childrearing style will allow us to ascertain if parental socio-economic status or childrearing preference accounts for the correspondent value of children. Second is to examine cultural variation by incorporating potentially significant cultural norms pertaining to childrearing in Chinese values. Since Chinese values have become shared norms in most East Asian countries, it is expected that findings regarding to typical Chinese childrearing will contribute to the generalizability of both Kohn's formulation as well as to the previous discussion on the work-family linkages mainly confined to the Western context.

In the light of impact of social structure on individual's behavior, this paper considers the relative importance of parental socio-economic status in contrast with specific normative requirement on child outcomes. The emphasis of the intergenerational transmission will be investigated by the expressed corresponding parental vs. child's values toward childrearing. Furthermore, important social context indicators (such as family structure) and the relevant familial practice (such as family relations) will also be included. It is expected that results may shed light to our understanding of the dynamic interplay between parental values, parental behaviors, and children's values.

LITERATURE FROM THE WEST

The Main Argument

An individual's value and behavior is conditioned by the existing social structure. The original formulation by Kohn echoed it. Kohn proposed that work conditions shape worker's value and is reflected in parent-child relations at home (1963, 1969). Specifically, he contends

that middle-class usually involves in work that emphasizes autonomy or self-direction and thus favors the same value in childrearing; working-class partakes in work that requires conformity or obedience and is hence reflected in their childrearing preference. The contrast between autonomy versus conformity for different classes is later extended from the parents' generation to children's. The serial development of parents' class-parent's values-parent's behavior is proposed to be transmitted from parent to children regarding childrearing values (Kohn, 1983; Kohn, et al., 1986; 1990). It is clear that class measured by parental occupation represents the social structural factor, the distinction between autonomy and conformity constitutes the main component of parental values, and children's value orientation is indicated by self-direction and conformity similarly.

The argument that adult's work experience affects his family values and family practice is further elaborated into several research directions. The intricate nature of work complexity as well as specific child outcomes appears to be main concerns. It is explicated that father or mothers with higher degrees of work complexity tends to create a more encouraging and supportive home environment that enables children's ability to internalized parental norms and is conducive to parent's less authoritarian parenting as well as to children's less behavioral problems (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991; Parcel and Menaghan, 1993, 1994; Grimm-Thomas and Perry-Jenkins, 1994; Greenberger, et al., 1994). The work socialization hypothesis is well received, but subsequent studies point out the importance of taken into account the intervening parenting behavior and other relevant social contextual variables (Perry-Jenkins, et al., 2000).

Childrearing Values and The Intergenerational Transmission

A review of literature on the linkage between parent's value and behavior has shown a unanimous interest in childrearing preference. Among findings that basically endorse Kohn's formulation, class differences in parental childrearing values are dominant. Samples of similar characteristics (i.e., parents of 5th graders or of teenagers) but from different regions or societies consistently document that middle class parents tend to value self-directedness and independence on childrearing practice while their working class counterpart favors conformity to external authority (Pearlin and Kohn, 1966; Peterson and Peters, 1985; Luster, et al., 1989). Some studies point out the significance of maternal roles in childrearing (Swinehart, 1963), others attribute the class difference in childrearing to social mobility (Blau, 1965) or to ethnic background (Blau, 1964; Borman, et al., 1983; Aptekar, 1990). But overall, the idea that parent's occupational conditions link to parent's childrearing values and affect the subsequent childrearing practice is well received.

Although most studies share the consensus that parental values (indicated by the childrearing belief) affect parent-child relations, the analyses usually end at preferred childrearing practice of parents. The targeted child outcome is relatively inadequate. Later studies that focus on various child functioning often concern how parental work experiences shape family life as well as children's behavior (Parcel and Menaghan, 1993). To account for the process of childrearing, parental values resulted from the work complexity are assumed, not necessarily tested. In fact, from Kohn's formulation, parental values will transmit to children through the existent familial practice. In other words, we should be able to discern

similar values between parents and children (especially regarding childrearing) and the similarity revealed is considered a valid evidence of intergenerational transmission (Kohn, 1983).

Kohn and his colleagues attempt to assess the applicability of intergenerational transmission hypothesis by cross-national data (1986, 1990). Reports from U.S., Polish and Japanese fathers and their children basically support the proposition that parent's occupation confines his childrearing values which is transmitted to children's value. Relevant studies using parent-child dyad samples, although not directly focused on parent-child value transmission, also point out social class conditions childrearing values as well as the consequent childrearing practice (Pineo and Looker, 1983; Luster, et al., 1989). Only few studies use teenagers as samples to test effects of parent's SES on childrearing values. Scheck and Emerick (1976) points out that class difference does exist among teenagers with regard to perceived childrearing practice at home. They also include social context variables and find that larger family size is negatively associated with parental support as well as with parental consistency toward punitive patterns (Scheck and Emerick, 1976). A recent study in Germany confirms that value transmission does occur among parents and their adult children in terms of selected values, but parents tend to endorse the conservative values more than children and the gender effect is suggested to be strong (Boehnke, 2001). It is evident that value transmission between parents and children is highly accepted, but still seriously under analyzed.

With regard to the linkage between parental work/class and preferred childrearing values or practice, there are inconsistent findings too. Various reports point out that different childrearing preferences may be a consequence of social change, rather than an expected effect of parent's occupation. For example, Canadian parents, relative to Kohn's U.S. parents, emphasize more of self-directedness, but is suspected to be a product of social change, not due to class differences (Pineo and Looker, 1983). Findings from other U.S. studies also document there may be other factors affecting parental values besides the social structural consideration (Wright and Wright, 1976). This same study, along with others, also found that education rather than occupation is more significant in explaining the social class variation (Ibid.; Scheck and Emerick, 1976; Huang, 1999). In addition, the slight class difference in child-rearing practice as indicated by parental punishment patterns attributed to factors other than parental value favored by different classes (Hynes, 1980).

Besides the importance of various structural factors, the most often studied social contextual variables are perhaps family structure and family relations. In the West, family structure usually denotes intact family versus single-parent family. In a typical Asian society however, family structure is usually distinguished into nuclear versus three-generational families (details refer to the next section). As to family relations, although it may be conceived as a product of structural constraint, are nevertheless documented to be a key factor affecting the subsequent children's development (Acock and Clair, 1986). Specifically, improper parenting practice is shown to significantly determine children's deviant behaviors (Dodge, et al., 1993; Jang, 1999; Smith and Thornberry, 1995). It will be interesting to examine how family relations affect children's value formation.

The most noteworthy findings are perhaps from non-Western samples. A direct challenge was raised: whether it is class (social structure variable) or cultural norms that accounts for differences in child-rearing values and behaviors. Using different measures of child-rearing expectations, Itoh and Taylor found that both parents in Japan and the U.S. (Ohio) hold similar expectations, but Japanese mothers gave higher rating to responsibility, not to bother/trouble others, proper greeting manners, etc. (1981). Although both samples value child self-independence, Japanese parents worry about risks of leaving home for children (Itoh and Taylor, 1981). Cultural tradition is proposed to account for sample differences. Another study using Kohn's measures shows that Asian parents value conformity over self-direction much more than British parents and the cultural gap is more pronounced among older cohorts (Stopes Roe and Cochrane, 1990). It was again contended that cultural tradition from the original family, instead of class or socio-economic status, plays a more significant role in forming the conformist attitudes.

Since it has long been recognized that cultural norms needs to be considered in analyzing Asian families, Taiwanese family is of no exception. In the following, we will briefly review relevant studies using Taiwanese samples.

RELEVANT STUDIES OF TAIWAN

Three decades ago, Olsen (1974) reported that family structure is related to the socialization patterns in Taiwan. To be specific, she argued that co-residence with paternal parents requires an obedient daughter-in-law, who in turn, values obedience and external punishment on her own childrearing practice. Mothers residing in three generational households must act according to elderly mothers-in-law's will. Hence, compared with the nuclear family, members of complex family structure lends toward conservative values, such as obedience. In other words, for a paternal society like Taiwan, family life experience tend to produce obedience as dominant childrearing value and external punishment is used as important childrearing practice. Family structure thus serves as a conditioning context in explaining childrearing value and behavior.

Although no direct comparison with Kohn's measures is available in Taiwan, several reports concerning parental behaviors in relation to parental occupation are found. Constructed from the island-wide Social Change Survey data of the 80s, Chiu distinguished occupation into eight categories and showed that independence versus obedience are favored by middle class and working class respectively (1989, 1991). Among all occupations, farmers exhibit the strongest Chinese traditional character in that farmers expect the highest obedience from youth in contrast with the lowest independence expectation, similar as their Western counterparts (Kohn 1989, 1991). In other words, work and family link is explored from the occupational characteristics and from their association with the childrearing outcome.

There have been attempts to apply the self-direction versus conformity values and practice in the analysis. Using the same data sets (Taiwan Social Change Survey), somewhat contradictory findings have been documented. Two different studies deny the direct applicability of Kohn's hypothesis, but both endorse the class difference in childrearing preferences (Ma and Smith, 1990; Huang, 1999). Specifically, middle class parents put higher

value on filial piety and use reasons and praise in child discipline. In contrast, working class parents favor obedience slightly more and tend to use corporal punishment and material reward in child discipline. Internal control is valued among middle-class parents and is therefore reflected in the actual childrearing practice in that intent rather than consequence is a major criterion for discipline. However, the two studies divert from here mainly owing to the different measures adopted. Ma and Smith question if there is a real class-based difference of childrearing values among parents with children 3 years old and above (1990). The fact that obedience is an omnipotent shared value of all classes in Taiwan, mothers are likely to take a more lenient attitude in discipline, in addition to the substantial insignificant associations among class and values all lead them to suspect that cultural influence is probably more significant (Ma and Smith, 1990). The less evident class differences in the findings are also argued to be a product of drastic social change.

Huang (1999) based on stratification thought presented his analysis and points out that education, instead of occupation, determines the childrearing differences among blue-collar workers and white-collar workers. He was able to differentiate varying childrearing values and behaviors among employees with children 18 years and under. But his sample consists of parents who are employed only. For these parents, educational levels rather than occupational content determine their preferred childrearing values and practice. Huang therefore contends that education is a more valid indicator accounted for childrearing variations found in Taiwan. What is certain is that middle-class is composed of higher educated and Taiwan's higher education, in line with the Western development, emphasizes independence, responsibility, as well as internal control. Thus, Huang asserted that the class difference revealed is actually owing to the educational consequence of parents, not occupational confinement.

Similar as other societies, there are numerous reports document the importance of mother's involvement in the child rearing practice in Taiwan. Most of these studies are from the psychologists or child education experts. For example, mother's belief of her own cognitive ability is proved to be positively associated with values of independence and interpersonal relations on her children (Lin, 1999). Speaking of intergenerational transmission, it was shown that not only the childrearing style of the maternal grandmother's is directly transmitted to the mother's, the stronger the attachment between two upper generations, the stronger the degree of transmission is found (O-Yang and Wu, 1998). Harsh parenting too, is shown to be transmitted intergenerationally in Taiwan (Wu, 1999). The socialization effect of behavior learning compound with the inherited socio-economic status result in a reproduction of harsh parenting between generations.

How family shapes teenager's behavior in Taiwan has around much attention in recent years (Chang, 2001). Often, the importance of family relations on children's development is discussed with a common focus on the effect of intergenerational transmission in Taiwan. Chou and Wu (2001) delineate family relation into parenting and interaction and found that after taken into account different perceptions of two generations, both parenting and parent-child interaction are significant in explaining teenager's behavior. The Taiwanese parental practice is also found to affect children's behavior through a reciprocal dynamic process (Yeh, 1995). It is clear that studies interested in family relations in Taiwan are mostly confined to parent-child relations. It will be interesting to explore possible effects of family relations in

general. In other words, childrearing behavior or childrearing practice in Taiwan, although class difference is not a main concern, has been observed with the intergenerational transmission pattern.

RESEARCH AIMS

Therefore, this paper will follow the main argument that parent's value shapes parent's behavior in childrearing and this value is transmitted to children's. The above literature points out there are potential aspects of progress in this topic. One obvious shortcoming arises from the relatively inadequate research in intergenerational transmission. Except few studies, most reports are based on parent's sample and are restricted to the linkage between parent's value and parent's behavior. Secondly, the importance of social context, other than the class variable, is noticed but rarely directly treated. Hence, family structure, family relations or home environment, parent's self-evaluation are repeatedly suggested to be significant dimensions in the analysis. Similarly, cultural variation is assumed to play decisive role, but sub-cultural difference usually remains in the level of being taken for granted only. Consistent findings from Asian families document the importance of normative tradition in contrast with parent's class or socio-economic status in the account of parenting belief as well as of practice. It will be interesting to examine possible contribution of the cultural preference in childrearing issues. Since there has been few comparative studies aiming at specification of these issues, also, how parent's value affects children's value is still an underlying assumption in Taiwan, this paper will attempt to address the following topics:

1. To ascertain the linkage between parent's and children's values in childrearing
2. To include cultural norms in the construction of childrearing values indicators
3. To delineate the relative importance of structural and other contextual factors (e.g., family structure, family relations) in explaining childrearing values.

It is expected that findings from Taiwanese sample may add to our understanding of how outer world influence the familial practice through work institution or through the overwhelming cultural norms.

DATA AND VARIABLES

The Sample

Data are derived from a panel study conducted by the Taiwan Youth Project (the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan). This project is an 8-year longitudinal research with eight wave surveys scheduled from 2000 to 2007. 2800 7th graders (1st grade of the junior high) and 2800 9th graders (last year of the junior high) as well as one of their parents and their head master of the class are interviewed at the beginning year of 2000. The comprehensive research design covers various aspects of the interplay among family, school and community in shaping teenager's future development. The overwhelming educational pressure resulted from the senior high school and college entrance examinations are of course a major concern of the study.

The sample used for this paper was based on the survey of 9th grade students from junior high schools located in the northern part of Taiwan in the year of 2000, including Taipei city, Taipei county, and Yi-Lan county. As Taipei is the largest metropolitan city in Taiwan, the economic activities in Yi-Lan are mostly agriculture-based, and Taipei county is in-between these two regions, our sample covered various levels of urbanization and economic structure. The sampling method of this study is divided into two stages. In the first stage, we focused our sampling on junior high school students in Taipei city, Taipei county, and Yi-Lan county. We decide to randomly select one thousand students each in Taipei city and Taipei county, and five hundred students in Yi-Lan county. In the second stage, we used the stratified sampling method to determine the number of schools to be chosen from each of these three city or counties based on the number of students registered. We finally chose 40 schools from the pool, among them 16 are from Taipei city, 15 from Taipei county, and 9 from Yi-Lan county. In each of the schools, we randomly chose two classes and surveyed all the students in the 81 classes¹. Data used in the final analyses were based on 2750 cases pooled from two levels of surveys—9th grade students and their parents. We asked the students to complete the questionnaires in the class and ask them to bring another set of questionnaires home for their parents to fill out. Originally we collected 2852 student questionnaires and 2800 of parents'. Deleting mismatched questionnaires from these two groups, 2750-paired samples of the students and their parent become our final sample.

Variables and Methods

The value transmission of parents and their children regarding childrearing are major dependent variables in the analysis. Since one of the purposes of this paper is to compare the applicability of Kohn's model (e.g., Kohn 1969; Kohn et al. 1990), the newly constructed scale of **childrearing values** includes following components:

1. Nine items are directly from Kohn's measure: considerate of others, interested in how and why things happen, responsible, good manners, neat and clean², a good student, obey parents well, acts like a boy (girl) should, and getting along well with other children. Slight wording modifications are made, such as "acts like a boy (girl) should" became "proper manner or behavior".
2. Another Kohn's item—"honest"—was changed into "keep promise" or "being trustworthy". This is because of the precise meaning contained may reflect parents' concern better.
3. However, three items were not suitable for direct adoption for cultural reasons. "Try hard to succeed" or aggressive behavior has never been valued in the Chinese culture and is thus omitted. Similarly, "good sense and sound judgment", although important as a result of education, is not particularly emphasized in the family socialization. As to "self-control", we think it is obviously an extremely significant Chinese family value, but direct translation will lose its cultural meanings and is hence extended to three related questions:

¹ In addition to the 80 classes randomly chosen, we further chose a class of students with special physical capabilities in our sample.

² In our survey we separate 'neat' from 'clean' and ask the questions: keeping things neat and keep clothes clean respectively.

keep low key or no publicity, frugal living, patience or endurance. These are common terms used daily at home, at school, or at work.

4. Four more items were added: (1) Two are related to the scientific, analytical ability: have imagination and be curious about things. This is due to the continued effort of the Taiwanese educational reform that strongly criticizes the current situation being oppressive of children's creative ability as well as of imagination. (2) Two authentic Chinese values are incorporated: filial respect to parents and be modest toward others. Altogether, 17 items constitute the childrearing value scale in Taiwan.

Using the principal component analysis, we obtain four corresponding factors for Taiwanese parents' and children's values. In other words, we find exactly identical dimensions to represent intergenerational values of childrearing. The results for parents' and children's values are shown in Table 1 and Table 2 respectively. There are six variables being loaded on the factor of Conformity, five on the factor named Harmony, three on the factor of Curiosity, and another three on Self-constraint. Each variable could be rated on a 4-point scale. Sums were created for each variable, with higher scores indicating more conformity, curiosity, harmony, and self-discipline. The six conformity items were "clean", "polite to adults", "obey", "filial respect", "good student", and "proper manners" (alphas = .84 and .82 for adults and teenagers). Curiosity comprised of three items: "curiosity", "imagination", and "interest in how and why things happen" (alphas = .78 and .75 for parents and teenagers). The five harmony items included "trustworthy", "considerate", "get along with others", "responsible", and "modest" (alphas = .84 and .83 for parents and teenagers). Examples of the self-constraint category were "patient", "frugal", and "low key" (alphas = .74 and .63 for parents and teenagers). These four factors should be able to represent different dimensions of value orientations.

It can be seen that "Conformity" consists of items mostly echoed Kohn's original construction. The second factor is composed of 5 items, including being modest toward others, trustworthy to others, etc. These questions are all phrased in ego's relations with others in the interaction. Since to void potential conflict in interaction is highly valued and preserved, and requires normative conduct as listed for the individuals, this factor is thus called "Interpersonal Harmony". "Self-constraint" which is supposed to be comparable to the Western concept of self-control contains the strongest Chinese cultural elements. Never getting ahead of others in public or being invisible in public, live a frugal life, as well as being patient in all times are still dominant virtues accepted in the Asian societies, and they fall into one factor. In terms of "Curiosity", a factor elaborated from Kohn's original one item, three related items are closely linked as expected. Therefore, the childrearing values of Taiwanese parents are constituted by two original dimensions (i.e., conformity, curiosity) and two revised dimensions (i.e., interpersonal harmony, self-constraint).

With regard to teenagers' childrearing values, similar analyses are performed. Interestingly, identical findings are derived in that same four factors consisting of exactly the same items are found. Except variations in the ranking of scores, conformity, curiosity, interpersonal harmony, and self-discipline also become children's main components of values. There seems to be corresponding value orientation on both the parent's and the children's self-evaluation.

Table 1

The Results of Principal Component Analyses of Parental Value

Factors	Conformity	Curiosity	Harmony	Self-Constraint
Clean	.59	-.17	-.14	.35
Polite to adults	.76	-.12	-.29	.11
Obey	.70	-.02	-.14	.33
Filial respect	.77	-.05	-.19	.02
Good student	.53	.05	-.31	.40
Proper manners	.47	-.19	-.40	.32
Trustworthy	-.27	.04	.75	-.08
Considerate	-.08	.32	.66	-.28
Get along with other	-.22	.16	.78	-.21
Responsible	-.33	.25	.55	-.06
Modest	-.22	.14	.74	-.31
Patient	.21	-.18	-.22	.70
Frugal	.25	-.09	-.26	.73
Low key	.15	-.17	-.11	.76
Curiosity	-.04	.80	.12	-.14
Imagination	-.15	.79	.16	-.15
Interest in how and why things happen	-.09	.81	.21	-.10

It is therefore possible to further investigate the Intergenerational transmission of childrearing values in Taiwan.

The following analyses consist of two stages. At the first stage, we analyze determinants of parents' value orientations of childrearing. Parent's socio-economic background is of course a focus. Other contextual variables, such as family structure and family relations are also included to examine their possible effects. Since parent's value is presumed to influence parent's behavior in childrearing (i.e., parenting), we then analyze the impacts of these two variables (along with other relevant variables) on teenager's values by using multivariate regression analyses.

To measure parenting or the childrearing behavior, we asked 12 questions of both parents and teenagers. Moreover, we arranged these questions into four categories to include monitor (3 items), harsh (3 items), discuss (3 items), and discipline (3 items). The scale measures parents' knowledge about the daily activities of their children, methods of punishment, and family democracy. Four factors are obtained from the principal component analysis: Monitor (knowing the whereabouts of their children, who their friends are, and returning home or

Table 2

The Results of Principal Component Analyses of Children's Value

Factors	Conformity	Self-Constraint	Harmony	Curiosity
Variables				
Clean	.52	.13	-.20	-.19
Polite to adults	.77	.11	-.21	-.01
Obey	.77	.18	-.11	.04
Filial respect	.67	-.05	-.18	-.01
Good student	.70	.27	-.18	.00
Proper manners	.61	.31	-.28	-.04
Trustworthy	-.20	-.10	.72	.08
Considerate	-.14	-.13	.78	.16
Get along with other	-.14	-.13	.78	.16
Responsible	-.33	-.22	.56	.13
Modest	-.26	-.23	.72	.09
Patient	.03	.73	-.22	-.20
Frugal	.30	.71	-.14	-.04
Low key	.22	.65	-.17	.00
Curiosity	-.07	.00	.13	.82
Imagination	.00	-.14	.10	.80
Interest in how and why things happen	-.07	.07	.14	.79

not), Harsh (harsh parenting includes whipping, beating, and locking the children out of the house), Discuss (conveying thoughts to children, telling reasons for certain actions, and asking children's opinions before making relevant decision), and Discipline (care children not to act as parents demand, would punish the children if violate, and would really punish if said so).

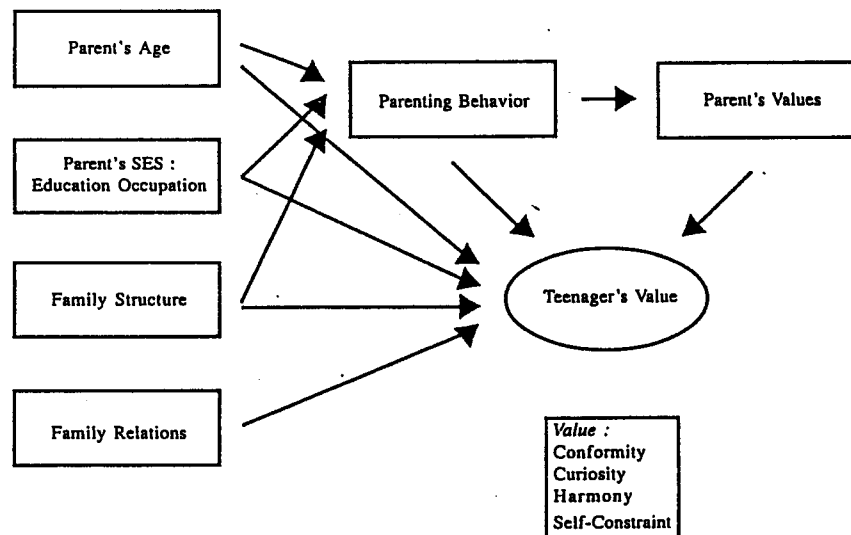
In addition to parenting, selected independent variables are analyzed. Parent's age, their socio-economic status, family structure, and family relations are of particular importance. Parent's socio-economic status includes educational and occupational achievements. The educational achievements are measured by the degree of diplomas received, (primary school, junior high school, high school, and university graduates and above)³. The highest educational level is used as the reference group. For the occupational variables, we classify the respondents into five categories: upper white-collar, white-collar, service workers, blue collar and household. We use upper white-collar workers as the reference group.

³ The group of high school students includes graduates from senior high schools, vocational schools, and five-year colleges.

For the family structure a dummy variable is constructed with those having grandparents living together as the reference group. In other words, two generational nuclear family is distinguished from three generational household or complex family structure. For family relations, we asked students to evaluate the interactions between family members and themselves. The nine questions raised include feeling close with the families, spending leisure time together, receiving comfort when feeling frustrated etc. We also use the principal component analysis to downsize the number of variables. The results show that all nine measures loading in one factor. The score of each question is then added.

The complete research framework for the analyses is shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1 The Value Transmission Between Parent and Teenager in Taiwan



RESULTS

We will first examine the preliminary relationship between parent's and teenager's childrearing values. Table 3 shows that parental child-rearing values of conformity, curiosity, harmony, and self-constraint are significantly correlated with children's corresponding values (except teenager's curiosity with parent's conformity and self-constraint). As to the specific four values of both generations, significant relations are found in each corresponding pair values (ranging from 0.14 to 0.18). Also, these four correlations are relatively higher than other combination values between generations. The association, although not very strong, is statistically significant indicating that the expected intergenerational transmission of child-rearing values seems to occur among parents and their teenager children, and is more so among corresponding pair values from parent to child.

Due to the gender effect of parents, the following analysis is separated into mother-teenager and father-teenager samples. Let us first examine structural factors accounted for parent's childrearing values that have been decomposed into four dimensions. Table 4.1 indicates that among possible factors affecting mother's childrearing values, occupation and education have different effects depending on the specific value dimension. This is

Table 3
Correlations Between Parent and Teenagers Childrearing Values

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
I Conformity (Parent)	—							
II Curiosity (P)	0.34**	—						
III Harmony (P)	0.64**	0.46**	—					
IV Self-constraint (P)	0.60**	0.39**	0.54**	—				
V Conformity (Teens)	0.17**	0.09**	0.12**	0.13**	—			
VI Curiosity (T)	0.02	0.18**	0.09**	0.03	0.14**	—		
VII Harmony (T)	0.12**	0.10**	0.15**	0.09**	0.57**	0.31**	—	
VIII Self-constraint (T)	0.10**	0.08*	0.12**	0.14**	0.49**	0.23**	0.49**	—

** P<0.01; *P<0.05; N=2636.

Table 4.1
Factors Related to Mother's Childrearing Values

Independent Variable	Conformity		Curiosity		Harmony		Self-discipline	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Age	.04**	.04*	.00	.00	.02	.02	.03**	.03*
Education (Elementary)								
Junior hi		-.15		.02		.18		.07
Senior hi		-.40*		.33*		.15		-.32**
College +		-1.43***		.50*		-.21		-.91***
Occupation (Upper white collar)								
White collar	-.18	-.35	-.42*	-.39*	.10	.03	.12	.03
Service workers	.25	-.19	-.66***	-.50*	.18	.08	.70***	.39*
Blue collar	.51	-.06	-.81***	-.57**	.18	.08	.85***	.43*
Housewife	.38	-.12	-.71***	-.53**	-.03	-.12	.60***	.25
Family Structure								
Constant	12.40***	13.54***	5.94***	5.51***	11.18***	11.39***	4.25***	5.04***
Adjusted R ²	.02	.04	.02	.02	.00	.01	.04	.06
Number of cases	1440	1439	1438	1437	1449	1448	1439	1438

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

different from previous studies taken place in Taiwan and in U.S. (Huang, 1999; Wright and Wright, 1976) where education is found to be more significant than occupation. Highly educated mother is less likely to value conformity and self-constraint, but is more likely to value curiosity in her teenager child. Compared with upper white-collar occupation, mothers with lower occupational categories are significantly less likely to endorse the value of curiosity. For mothers engaged in service work and blue-collar work, it is evident that they are more inclined to value self-constraint than their upper white-collar counterparts. The proposed work and educational effects on mother's childrearing values appear to receive substantial support in curiosity as well as in self-constraint. On the other hand, mother's work experience is not related to her value on conformity, nor to harmony at all. It implies harmony is obviously a common shared childrearing value for all. As to conformity, mother's occupation does not differentiate her preference, unlike the educational effect. Age is important in that older mothers tend to endorse conformity and self-constraint more than younger mothers. But family structure does not attain the expected significance in the model. Whether co-residing with the elderly generation does not affect mother's values toward childrearing.

Table 4.2 shows that education is the only important factor explaining father's childrearing values. Fathers with college and above education are less likely to value conformity and self-

Table 4.2

Factors Related to Father's Childrearing Values

Independent Variable	<u>Conformity</u>		<u>Curiosity</u>		<u>Harmony</u>		<u>Self-discipline</u>	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Age	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	-.01	-.01	-.01
Education (Elementary)								
Junior hi		.07		.14		-.14		-.01
Senior hi		-.39		.11		-.07		-.35
College +		-.89*		.63*		-.40		-.81**
Occupation (Upper white collar)								
White collar	-.45	-.47	-.28	-.21	-.45	-.53	-.01	-.02
Service workers	.36	.22	-.30	.16	.28	.18	.35	.21
Blue collar	.43	.19	-.30	-.13	.24	.15	.58**	.33
Family Structure								
Constant	14.53***	15.03***	5.87***	5.64***	12.48***	12.74***	6.57***	6.93***
Adjusted R ²	.02	.03	.00	.01	.01	.02	.02	.05
Number of cases	682	676	682	676	684	678	681	676

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

constraint, but are more likely to value curiosity on their teenage child. This value orientation is consistent with highly educated mothers. However, father's work experience, unlike mother's, does not have any significant effect on his childrearing values. In other words, the expected occupational effect on childrearing values received support on mothers only.

With regard to actual childrearing behavior (or parenting style), an attempt is made to delineate the expected influence of childrearing value (or parenting belief) in relation to relevant structural and contextual variables (i.e., family structure, family relations). From unreported analyses, partial significant association between parent's value and parent's behavior in childrearing is found, education remains to be an important factor, occupation also maintains its effect on parenting behavior. Again, the model explains mother's parenting better than father's. The most notable worthy finding is that family relation emerges as a single most significant factor affecting parenting behavior indicating the necessity to include this contextual variable in the model. Another interesting finding is that family structure, or co-residence with the grandparent generation, achieved statistical significance. To reside with elderly generation prohibits fathers to monitor children's daily activity and is also less likely for fathers to discuss with teenagers about family matters. This echoes previous findings on the effect of larger family size on childrearing (Scheck and Emerick 1976).

In order to ascertain the hypothesized process of parental value—parental behavior—child value, two models are employed with model 1 focusing on the direct association between parent and child's values while model 2 including the parenting variable. Again, mother's and father's samples are separately performed. From the result of both Table 6.1 and Table 6.2, it is shown that for each of four child-rearing values of teenagers, the corresponding pair value of the parent's is shown to be a consistently significant factor. Family relation too, except for the curiosity of father's sample, remains to be an important factor. As to parenting behavior, the analyses point out that parent's actual child-rearing practice has few selected significance. It is clear that regarding childrearing in Taiwan, the result indicates that parental value is transmitted to their teenager children, and in this process, the intermediate parenting behavior as well as the home environment is important in the account of the effect.

On the other hand, parent's socio-economic status attains significance only in several selected categories. For teenager's own childrearing values (Table 6.1), model 2 points out that mother's education reveals its effect in that higher educated mothers, when compared with the lowest educated mothers, is likely to affect teenagers having curiosity and value interpersonal harmony, but not in the conformity value. Mother's work experience, although is important explaining her own childrearing values of curiosity and self-constraint, is significant in the account of children's curiosity value only—again, children with mothers engaged in blue-collar job and being housewife are less likely to favor curiosity in their childrearing values. With regard to specific parenting behavior, teenagers with mothers monitoring their daily activities are more likely to endorse conformity and harmony; with mothers who apply strict discipline at home are more likely to favor curiosity, harmony and self-constraint. Democratic discussion between mother-teenagers also contributes to children value conformity as an important childrearing value.

Similar results can be found on father's samples. Table 6.2 clearly shows that father's own corresponding value is consistently important in the account of teenager's specific

Table 5.1

Childrearing Value Transmission Determinants: Mother-Teenager Values								
Independent Variable	<u>Conformity</u>		<u>Curiosity</u>		<u>Harmony</u>		<u>Self-constraint</u>	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Age	.01	.00	-.01	-.01	.00	.00	-.01	.01
Education (Elementary)								
Junior hi	-.13	-.14	.17	.17	-.07	-.10	-.05	-.04
Senior hi	-.42*	-.55**	.32*	.27	.04	-.12	-.06	-.09
College +	.02	-.04	.46*	.38	.56*	.40	.31	.31
Occupation (Upper white collar)								
White collar	.24	.24	.01	-.10	.14	.11	.05	.06
Service workers	.43	.49	-.15	-.23	.22	.24	.25	.23
Blue collar	.34	.46	-.44	-.50*	-.33	-.29	.11	.09
Housewife	.05	.06	-.38	-.46*	-.09	-.14	.06	.04
Family Structure	-.06	.01	-.17	-.14	.14	.20	-.01	.03
Family Relationship	.19***	.15***	.03**	.02*	.10***	.06***	.05***	.04***
Mother's Parenting								
Know		.13***		-.01		.11***		.03
Harsh		-.03		.04		-.13***		-.01
Discuss		.07*		.04		.03		.01
Discipline		.02		.07***		.10***		.04*
Mother's Value								
Conformity	.16***	.15***						
Curiosity			.16***	.15***				
Harmony					.14***	.13***		
Self-constraint							.14***	.15***
Constant	5.83***	5.03***	4.83***	3.93***	7.94***	6.97***	3.21***	2.64**
Adjusted R ²	.15	.17	.06	.07	.08	.12	.05	.06
Number of cases	1423	1401	1421	1400	1434	1413	1425	1403

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

Table 5.2

Childrearing Value Transmission Determinants: Father-Teenagers Values

Independent Variable	<u>Conformity</u>		<u>Curiosity</u>		<u>Harmony</u>		<u>Self-constraint</u>	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
<i>Age</i>	.06*	.06*	.00	-.01	-.02	-.02	.01	.00
<i>Education</i> (Elementary)								
Junior hi	.00	.02	-.09	-.17	.09	.19	.24	.22
Senior hi	-.13	-.15	.15	.03	.28	.34	-.12	-.14
College +	-.40	-.43	.84**	.75*	.61	.66	.04	-.05
<i>Occupation</i> (Upper white collar)								
White collar	-.50	-.61	-.22	-.24	-.22	-.44	-.21	-.26
Service workers	-.01	.05	.20	.28	-.11	-.06	-.50*	-.50*
Blue collar	-.31	-.29	-.18	-.18	-.37	-.33	-.44*	-.47*
<i>Family Structure</i>	.17	.18	.16	.13	-.04	.07	.18	.19
<i>Family Relationship</i>	.22***	.21***	-.01	.00	.11***	.09***	.08***	.08***
<i>Father's Parenting</i>								
Know		.05		-.05*		.11***		.02
Harsh		-.11		.02		-.05		.03
Discuss		-.02		.02		.00		-.01
Discipline		.08*		.09**		.03		.02
<i>Father's Value</i>								
Conformity	.15***	.14**						
Curiosity			.18***	.18***				
Harmony					.18***	.16***		
Self-constraint							.16***	.17***
Constant	3.79**	3.83**	4.91***	4.28***	7.81***	7.56***	3.14***	2.83***
Adjusted R ²	.20	.22	.06	.09	.09	.12	.10	.11
Number of cases	666	646	667	646	671	650	666	645

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

childrearing values. Family relation also significantly explains children's value orientation in that father's report of positive relations at home helps teenager to value conformity, harmony, and self-constraint as childrearing values. Regarding parenting, teenagers whose father tends to apply discipline at home are more likely to favor conformity and curiosity as their own value; while with fathers who monitor daily activities are less likely to value curiosity, but value harmony.

For parent's SES, father's education achieves significance only in one value in that teenagers with fathers having college and above levels, in comparison with the lowest educated fathers, significantly contributes to children's value of curiosity. Nevertheless, father's work experience has demonstrated somewhat odd finding here. Teenagers whose fathers are in service or blue-collar work, in contrast with those having fathers in the upper white-collar work, are less likely to endorse self-constraint as their own childrearing values. Since the direction of association is opposite to the expected result and deviates from previous analyses, further effort is needed to understand the underlying relations between father's work life and children's value.

It is clear that regarding intergenerational transmission, similar patterns can be found between father-teenager and mother-teenager value transmission. Most importantly, corresponding values on the parent generation attain consistent significance, perceived home environment or family relations also plays a decisive role, and actual childrearing behaviors reveal various significant effects for various value dimensions. Nevertheless, regarding parental socio-economic background, firstly, parent's work traits, although strongly documented in the Western literature, does not seem to be as important in the Taiwanese context. Only the negative association between mothers in the lower occupational categories and children having curiosity as a value can be clearly ascertained. Secondly, education as a significant factor in the model, presents expected effects on parent's own childrearing values (i.e. higher educated value curiosity more, but value conformity and self-constraint less), as well as on children's value of curiosity. Overall, the model is more pronounced for mother's sample. In addition, the hypothesized relationship between parent's and children's value of childrearing has received basic support.

CONCLUSION

This paper examines possible intergenerational value transmission between parents and children. Childrearing values are used to test the expected relationship. An attempt is also made to compare the Western work socialization hypothesis in shaping parental values toward childrearing in an Asian society—Taiwan. In doing so, cultural norms with regard to childrearing values and practice are considered in the construction of childrearing indicators. Furthermore, factors accounted for parental value-parental behavior-child's value are delineated to ascertain the relative importance between parent's socio-economic background and relevant contextual variables of the family.

Using 2750 paired samples of 9th graders and one of their parents in Northern Taiwan (data collected in spring, 2000), the analyses point out following interesting findings:

1. There is an intergenerational value transmission between parents and their teenage children in Taiwan. Using the newly constructed childrearing value scale with partial revisions from Kohn's original items, four factors can be derived: conformity, curiosity, harmony, and self-constraint. These four factors are identical in both parent's and children's samples. Parent's specific value is also shown to be the most significant factor accounting for the children's corresponding childrearing value.
2. In the comparison between parent's socio-economic status and contextual variables, family relation proves to be more important in explaining teenager's value orientation toward childrearing. Structural variables such as parent's work traits and education, although achieve expected effects in values of curiosity, harmony and self-constraint, are not as pronounced as contextual factors such as family relation or parental childrearing values.
3. Regarding education and occupation, the proposed structural effects are more evident among parent's own childrearing values as well as among mother's sample. To be specific, higher educated mothers and fathers are consistent in that curiosity is more likely to be a favored value, but not conformity or self-discipline. Mothers with lower occupation tend to value self-constraint, but not curiosity. Among teenagers, having college-educated fathers contribute to the endorsement of curiosity as own value, and having mothers with senior high education are likely to approve conformity value. Mothers in blue-collar work or as housewives may have negative effect on teenager's value of curiosity; while fathers in service and in blue-collar work are likely to produce a negative value of self-constraint on their children.

In short, with regard to the hypothesized relationship of parental value-parental behavior—child's value, the result generally supports the dynamic value transmission process of childrearing in Taiwan. Most noteworthy finding is that parent's specific childrearing value conditions teenager's corresponding value in all four aspects and in both fathers' and mother's samples. Parent's behavior is also significant in explaining selective child's value orientations.

For structural factors such as parent's socio-economic status, it is clearly shown that not only education is more important in explaining parental values, parent's work life does not account for the proposed value transmission as numerous Western reports have documented. The relative importance of education in contrast with the occupation in explaining parental childrearing values is consistent with previous reports from Taiwan. However, it should be noted, although work life does not achieve as strong effects as expected, the fact that mothers engaged in blue-collar work or as housewives tend to result in children having a negative value on curiosity have important implication. To be curious and to have interest in pursuing how and why things happens, along with to have imagination are fundamental qualities for scientific advancement. Mother's work experience obviously presents an opportunity as well as a constraint toward children's future development.

Furthermore, the significance of perceived family relation in explaining children's childrearing values point out the necessity to include this factor in future analyses. Mother's

perception of family relation is found to be important in the transmission of childrearing values to her teenage children. Likewise, father's report of family relations also produces similar effect in the process of value transmission. Whether family relation as an indicator of contextual environment should be regarded as one of the explanatory variable as this paper does, or whether it should be investigated as a possible intervening variables requires further exploration.

Lastly, the attempt to apply a revised scale of childrearing values where cultural specifics are taken into account is an important research aim. For Taiwanese families, the value of interpersonal harmony such as being modest and value of self-constraint such as being low key do form distinct factors for both parents and teenagers. However, degrees of consensus for Interpersonal harmony has revealed little variation among our samples, while for self-constraint, clear variation among parents and teenager samples can be distinguished (unreported analyses). The above results also point out that for possible effects of parent's SES on teenager's values, it is the conventional curiosity that receives the most support, conformity next, self-constraint follows, and interpersonal harmony is almost nil. Since four dimensions can be clearly retrieved from this revised scale, future effort may be laid on the application of this scale to other research topics .

In short, when using childrearing as an indicator, the value transmission from parent's generation to child's generation is likely to occur in a society like Taiwan. Our study provides valid data showing that not only identical values can be ascertained between generations; corresponding value of parents also reveals its significant effect in shaping teenager's similar value toward childrearing. However, compared with family relations, parenting behavior is less important in explaining teenager's value, and is also less important in its relationship with parent's value. In fact, previous report from Taiwan points out that with regard to parenting behavior, the intergenerational transmission can be observed in grandmother's and mother's generations (Wu, 2000). Therefore, the linkage between parenting behavior and teenager's value, or effects of values and behaviors of parent's generation on teenager's values require further specification in order to have a thorough understanding of the dynamic interplay of the process. This is especially significant for a changing society like Taiwan where cultural norms has received constant challenge from the modernization process. The implication may be generalized to other Asian societies as well.

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