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Mothers' Goals for Adolescents in the United States and China: Content and Transmission

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Abstract

This research examined children's socialization toward culturally valued goals during adolescence in the United States and China. 223 mothers listed and ranked their 5 most important goals for their children (mean age = 12.85 years). Children ranked the importance of the goals listed by their mothers and explained why they were or were not important to them. American mothers placed heightened emphasis on their children maintaining feelings of worth and pursuing what they enjoy. Chinese mothers stressed their children achieving outcomes, as did African American mothers. European American children's rankings of importance were the least similar to those of their mothers, and they gave the fewest autonomous reasons for importance suggesting that their adoption of mothers' goals was weakest.

Keywords

adolescence; China; culture; parental goals; relative autonomy; socialization

Culturally valued goals are transmitted to children through a variety of sources (e.g., Berry & Georgas, 2009). Central are parents who in most cultures are not only considered responsible for children's development, but also looked to by children for guidance in regards to which goals to pursue. As adults, parents are knowledgeable about what is valued by their culture. Thus, they often adopt goals for children that will help children develop the skills necessary to succeed in their culture (e.g., Tam, Lee, Kim, Li, & Chao, 2012; Youniss, 1994). Parents' goals for children have been argued to organize how parents interact with children, ultimately shaping children's psychological adjustment (e.g., Bornstein, 2006; Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Indeed, research in the United States and China indicates that parents' goals are linked to a variety of aspects of their parenting (e.g., how they praise children) that contribute in meaningful ways to children's development (e.g., Pomerantz & Kempner, 2013; Moorman & Pomerantz, 2008; Q. Wang, Chan, & Li, 2012). American

experimental research shows that such goals play a causal role in parenting (e.g., Grolnick, Gurland, DeCoursey, & Jacob, 2002; Grolnick, Price, Beiswenger, & Sauck, 2007).

Several studies indicate that American and Chinese parents hold different goals for children during the early years of children's lives (e.g., Tamis-LeMonda, Wang, Koutsouvanu, & Albright, 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). However, little is known as to whether such differences are also evident during adolescence when the issues of concern to children and parents can be different than earlier in children's lives (e.g., children are less interested in school). Even more notably, there has not been attention to the transmission of parents' goals to children, making it unclear whether American and Chinese children similarly adopt parents' goals. This is a particularly important issue during adolescence given the concern with individuating from parents – at least in the West (for a review, see Collins & Steinberg, 2006). The current research was guided by two key aims. First, it examined the *content* of parents' goals for children during adolescence in the United States and China. Second, the *transmission* of such goals to children in the two countries was explored.

Research comparing American and Chinese parents' goals has focused almost exclusively on Americans of European descent (e.g., Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). However, residents of the United States come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds that appear to contribute to their goals for children, at least when children are young (e.g., Ng, Tamis-LeMonda, Godfrey, Hunter, & Yoshikawa, 2012; Suizzo, 2007). African American families – the second largest ethnic group in the United States – are exposed to mainstream American culture; hence, they share many experiences with European American families. However, given their unique cultural background along with historical and contemporary discrimination (McAdoo, 2002), African Americans also have distinct traditions and concerns (García Coll & Pachter 2002; Hill, 2001) that may influence parents' goals and children's adoption of them. As a step toward simultaneously capturing between- and within-country variability in the content of parents' goals and their transmission to children, the current research compared both European and African American families to Chinese families.

Cultural Orientations

Although there is some debate (Killen, 1997; Killen & Wainryb, 2000), Western countries such as the United States are frequently characterized as being relatively independence-oriented (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Such an orientation places emphasis on the individual, with particular significance given to uniqueness and autonomy. In contrast, East Asian countries such as China have been depicted as possessing a relatively interdependent orientation in which group harmony is highly valued (Bond & Hwang, 1986; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Part of such an orientation in China is an emphasis on filial piety which involves, among other things, children repaying their family for their efforts in raising them by bringing honor to their family, making sacrifices for their family, and psychologically as well as materially supporting their family (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Ho, 1996; Q. Wang & Hsueh, 2000). The distinct cultural orientations in the United States and China, along with distinct societal structures, may create differences in the content of parents' goals for children as well as children's adoption of such goals.

Content of Parents' Goals in the United States and China

Research examining the content of American and Chinese parents' goals for young children has identified several major themes that fall into three central areas – the *self*, *social relationships*, and *achievement* (e.g., Suizzo & Cheng, 2007; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). These areas may continue to be of relevance to parents as children navigate the adolescent years. During this phase of development, the differences between the United States and China as well as within the United States between European and African Americans may be quite similar to those documented in prior research with young children (e.g., Suizzo, 2007; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). However, given that children's interest in school often declines over adolescence in the United States and China (e.g., Q. Wang & Pomerantz, 2009; Wigfield & Wagner, 2005), parents in both countries may be particularly concerned with children's achievement. Notably, the specific focus may differ due to cultural (e.g., the orientation toward independence and interdependence) and societal (e.g., Chinese children's performance on a key exam determines whether and where they will go to high school) forces.

The self

The American orientation toward independence is argued to lead to a concern with maintaining feelings of worth, achieved in large part through views of the self that maximize positive attributes of the individual (e.g., Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Heine et al., 2001), with an emphasis on uniqueness (e.g., Chao, 1996; Miller, Fung, & Mintz, 1996). In contrast, the East Asian interdependence orientation may create a focus not on enhancing the self, which can disrupt one's group, but rather on improving the self (e.g., constantly monitoring one's behavior to correct mistakes) to better serve one's group (e.g., Heine et al., 1999; Heine & Hamamura, 2007). Consistent with this perspective, research with mothers of young children generally finds that European American mothers view children's feelings of worth as more of a priority than do Chinese mothers (e.g., Chao, 1996; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). African American parents may also place priority on children's self-esteem given its centrality in the American orientation toward independence, which may be responsible for the constant emphasis in the schools and the media.

Social relationships

Several investigators have argued that independence does not necessarily come at the expense of developing relationships with others (e.g., Kagitcibasi, 2012; Raeff, 2010; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). In fact, despite their independence orientation, American parents may see children's social relationships as particularly important given their concern with children being well-rounded (Chao, 1996). Children feeling connected to others as manifest in intimate relationships or being compassionate is valued as much – or more – by European American as Chinese mothers of young children (e.g., Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003; Suizzo & Cheng, 2007), with European American and African American mothers of young children not differing (Suizzo, 2007). However, in line with the centrality of filial piety in Chinese culture, Chinese (vs. European American)

parents may place more emphasis on vertical relationships, such as respecting elders (Ho, 1996; Triandis, 1995), which may also be true to some extent of African Americans (Dixon, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008; García Coll, Meyer, & Brillón, 1995). Indeed, European American mothers of young children generally value conformity, obedience, and politeness less than do Taiwanese (e.g., Suizzo & Cheng, 2007; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003) and African American (Suizzo, 2007) mothers.

Achievement

The American concern with uniqueness and autonomy may manifest itself in the goals parents have in regards to children's achievement. Chao's (1996) interviews indicate that European American (vs. immigrant Chinese) mothers of young children place heightened emphasis on children's exploration and autonomy in the learning process with a focus on enjoying learning. In contrast, Chinese parents may see outcomes in the achievement arena as more important than the process of learning (e.g., enjoying it) because such outcomes have major implications for children's future (Pomerantz, Ng, & Wang, 2008). African American parents may also emphasize children's achievement outcomes as they view them as key in overcoming barriers created by racism (e.g., Franklin, Boyd-Franklin, & Draper, 2002; Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008). Indeed, in the research with parents of young children, European American parents view children's achievement as less important than do either their Taiwanese (e.g., S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003; Suizzo & Cheng, 2007) or African American (Suizzo, 2007) counterparts. The heightened Chinese emphasis on achievement may be particularly evident during adolescence as children's performance on a key exam in ninth grade determines if and where they will go to high school in China, which contributes more to their future education and thus later financial success than in the United States (Tang, Luk, & Chiu, 2000).

Transmission of Parents' Goals in the United States and China

The American independence orientation and Chinese interdependence orientation may create differences in children's adoption of parents' goals. The American emphasis on uniqueness and autonomy may focus children on defining and pursuing their own interests, particularly during adolescence when children are concerned with individuating from parents (for a review, see Collins & Steinberg, 2006). Consequently, American children may not prioritize the goals parents hold for them to the same extent as do parents during adolescence. Moreover, even when American children see parents' goals as important, they may not necessarily have autonomous reasons for pursuing them – that is, they may not personally value the goals or be intrinsically interested in them. Instead, American children may pursue them for more controlled reasons involving internal (e.g., avoiding guilt) or external (e.g., attaining rewards) pressure (for a description of the autonomous vs. controlled continuum, see Ryan & Deci, 2000).

In contrast, given the orientation toward interdependence in China, Chinese children may see the family as a single unit, which may lead them to take parents' demands on as their own (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). The emphasis on filial piety may cause children to see fulfilling their responsibilities to parents as a central endeavor during adolescence with less significance placed on individuating from parents (Pomerantz, Qin, Wang, & Chen, 2011).

Chinese children may thus adopt parents' goals as their own more than American children. Because Chinese children may view the fulfillment of their responsibilities to parents as personally important, they may also hold more autonomous reasons for pursuing parents' goals. Similar to Chinese children, African American children are taught to value family and fulfill obligations to the family (Suizzo et al., 2008) with emphasis placed on obedience and respect toward elders (Dixon et al., 2008; García Coll et al., 1995). As a consequence, African American children may see parents' demands as justified, heightening their adoption of the goals parents hold for them. However, given their exposure to the American independence orientation, African American children's goal adoption may not be as strong as that of their Chinese counterparts.

Although the transmission of parents' goals to children in the United States and China has not been directly examined, there is some evidence supportive of the possibility that European American and Chinese children differentially adopt parents' goals. For example, in Iyengar and Lepper's experimental study (1999), European American elementary school children spent less time and performed worse on a task than did their Asian American counterparts when they were told that the task was chosen by mothers (vs. they chose it themselves). In a somewhat different vein, when given scenarios in which teachers used controlling practices (e.g., asking a student to stay after school to complete assignments not submitted on time), European American elementary school children agreed less with teachers' practices than did Chinese children (Zhou, Lam, & Chan, 2012).

Overview of the Current Research

To evaluate the content of American and Chinese parents' goals for children during adolescence and children's adoption of parents' goals at this time, mothers and their adolescent children in the United States and China were studied. We sought to capture some of the cultural and societal variability within the United States as well by studying both European Americans and African Americans. To avoid imposing cultural constraints on parents' goals, mothers listed the five most important goals they have for children (for a similar procedure, see Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). So as to focus on the goals that mothers attempt to communicate to children, mothers were told that children would see the goals they listed. Mothers then ranked the goals based on their importance. Concealing the fact that they were provided by mothers, the goals were presented to children to rank in importance; children also explained why the goals were or were not important to them.

We anticipated that the *content* of mothers' goals for children during adolescence would differ in the United States and China. Americans were expected to place heightened emphasis on children maintaining feelings of worth, also viewing children's pursuit of what they enjoy as a priority. Chinese mothers were hypothesized to stress children achieving outcomes to a greater extent as well as respecting others, with the possibility that African American mothers would do so as well. Given the different cultural orientations in the two countries, we anticipated *transmission* of the content of mothers' goals to be weaker in the United States, particularly among European (vs. African) Americans. We evaluated this by looking at the similarity between children and mothers' rankings of the importance of

mothers' goals and the extent to which children gave autonomous (e.g., interest and personal value) versus controlled (e.g., avoidance of guilt and attainment of rewards) reasons for their importance. When goals are viewed as culturally normative, both mothers and children are more likely to hold them (Tam et al., 2012). Hence, it is necessary to take into account that mothers and children may endorse similar goals simply because there is heightened cultural agreement that the goals are important. We accounted for the cultural normativeness by controlling for the average importance ranking among mothers of each ethnic group.

Method

Participants

Participants were 223 mother-adolescent dyads in the United States and China in the University of Illinois Diverse Adolescent Pathways Project (see Ng, Pomerantz, & Deng, 2014). In the United States, there were 86 European American mother-adolescent dyads (mean age of adolescents = 12.87 years; 45 boys), and 66 African American mother-adolescent dyads (mean age of adolescents = 12.94 years; 38 boys). Families resided in a small urban location in the Midwest. Because the area is home to a major state university, a proportion of the residents are highly educated, but an even larger proportion is working- and middle-class. Families were recruited from three middle schools housing the sixth to eighth grades, with the majority of children being European American and African American. The schools achieved at the state average, with sizable variation within each school. Only 2% of mothers (1% European American, 3% African American) had less than a high school education; the highest level of education for 51% of mothers (33% European American, 78% African American) was a high school degree, for 23% (28% European American, 15% African American) it was a bachelor's degree, and for another 23% (38% European American, 3% African American) it was higher (e.g., MA or PhD). Such a distribution of educational attainment is close to the norm for the area given that at the time of the study 8% of adults over the age of 25 years had not completed high school and 41% had a bachelor's degree or higher (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). The majority of American mothers (88% of European American, 82% of African American) worked outside the home at least part-time. On average, European American children had 1.57 siblings and African American children had 1.95.

Participants in China were 71 Chinese mother-adolescent dyads (mean age of adolescents = 12.74 years; 35 boys) residing in working- and middle-class areas in one of the largest urban locations on the east coast of Mainland China. Families were recruited from one below-average and one above-average achieving middle school consisting of the sixth to eighth grades. Children at the two schools were almost entirely of the Han descent, which is the major ethnicity in China. Fourteen percent of mothers did not have a high school education; the highest level of education for 66% of mothers was a high school degree, for 17% it was a bachelor's degree, and for 3% it was higher (e.g., MA or PhD). This rate of educational attainment is slightly above the norm for the area, where 57% of those 25 years and older do not have a high school education and 12% have a college education (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011). Most Chinese mothers (86%) worked outside the home at least

part-time. Due to China's one-child policy, Chinese children were frequently the only child (mean number of siblings = .16).

Procedure

Mothers first wrote down the five most important goals they have for their participating child. Mothers were instructed to keep the goals short and simple, and to write them in a way that their child could understand, as their child would see the goals they listed. They were given a set of five boxes on a sheet of paper and asked to list one goal in each box. After listing their goals, mothers ranked them in importance. Mothers' goals were then presented to children in the context of the survey they were completing. Children were not informed that these were their mothers' goals. Children ranked the importance of the goals on their own. Subsequently, in an interview with a trained research assistant, children were asked why the goals were or were not important to them. American mothers received \$15 for their participation in this portion of the project and American children received a \$10 gift certificate. Chinese mothers were given RMB60 and children were given stationary.

Measures

Content of mothers' goals—On the basis of prior theory and research (e.g., Suizzo & Cheng, 2007; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003;), as well as an examination of 20% of the data, we coded the goals into five major categories – the self, social relationships, and achievement, plus well-being and other. The *self* category includes three types of goals. Self-maximization goals focus on children having a strong sense of self-esteem, confidence in their abilities, being unique, and not being concerned about others' views (e.g., “have high esteem” and “be strong and confident in everything”). Self-improvement goals focus on children improving themselves or desiring to do so (e.g., “have a desire to improve” and “learn from your mistakes”). Self-reliance goals concern children taking care of themselves and being responsible (e.g., “can rely on himself for living” and “be responsible”).

In the *social relationships* category, connectedness goals include positive relationships with known others, getting along with known others, and sociability (e.g., “maintain family ties” and “make new friends and still keep old ones”). Pro-social goals refer to being kind, caring, considerate, thoughtful of others, civic-minded, and constructive (e.g., “involved in community service” and “care about other people”). Respect goals refer to respecting elders, fulfilling obligations or responsibilities to others, and obedience (e.g., “be filial to your mother” and “respect teachers”). In the *achievement* category, outcome goals refer to the achievement of a particular outcome (e.g., “get good grades” and “earn a lot of money”). Process goals revolve around working hard as well as the enjoyment of learning or other activities (e.g., “try your hardest” and “love to learn”). Initially, we separated working hard and enjoyment. However, because the analyses revealed practically identical trends for the two, they were combined.

Examination of 20% of mothers' goals indicated the need for two additional categories. The *well-being* category includes psychological and physical well-being goals. Psychological well-being goals refer to happiness, loving or enjoying life, and being positive (e.g., “be

happy” and “keep a positive attitude”). Self-maximization goals, such as feeling good about oneself, are considered separately from well-being goals, as self-maximization may be deemed a form of well-being in the United States, but not necessarily in China (Heine & Hamamura, 2007). Physical well-being goals place importance on children’s physical health, including eating well and exercising (e.g., “eat healthy and be strong” and “have a healthy lifestyle”). The *other* category included religion, which refers to devotion to God, spirituality, or religion (e.g., “serve God and follow his lead in your life”), avoiding trouble (e.g., “not use drugs” and “not get into trouble at school”), and other goals (e.g., “be thrifty” and “have good artistic taste”).

Because mothers often listed more than one goal in each box (e.g., “do well in school, eat healthy, and help others”), we coded each box for up to three goals. Categories were exclusive, such that each goal could receive only a single code. Theoretically, the frequency of each code could range from 0 (i.e., never mentioning the type of goal reflected by the code) to 15 (i.e., mentioning the type of goal every time a goal was listed with a total listing of 15 goals); however, the actual ranges for each code were between 0 and 10. For each goal type, the number of times mothers mentioned it was calculated. The number of goals mothers listed ranged from 5 to 10, with ethnic variation: European and African American mothers listed fewer goals ($M_s = 5.46$ and 5.34 , $SD_s = 0.87$ and 0.69 , respectively) than did Chinese mothers ($M = 5.84$, $SD = 1.30$), $ps < .05$. Thus, proportion scores were calculated, dividing the total number of times each goal was mentioned by the total number of goals listed.

Native coders trained to use the coding system coded the goals. American mothers’ goals were coded by two European American coders who had spent at least 90% of their lives in the United States (Cohen’s kappa = .78); Chinese mothers’ goals were coded by two Chinese coders who had spent at least 90% of their lives in Mainland China (Cohen’s kappa = .86). To ensure that the coding was equivalent across the two countries, a coder who had spent substantial time in both countries also coded 20% of the data from the United States and China, with substantial agreement with each of the native coders (Cohen’s kappas = .75 to .83). Regular meetings were held to resolve discrepancies among coders.

Mothers and children’s goal rankings—After listing their goals, mothers ranked them in order of personal importance, with 1 being the most important and 5 being the least important. Children similarly ranked the goals in terms of how important they were to them. Both mothers and children ranked the content of a single box as a single entity, even if the content was later parsed into multiple goals. Rankings were reverse scored such that higher numbers indicate greater importance (1 = *least important*, 5 = *most important*).

Children’s reasons—A trained research assistant asked children why each of the goals listed by mothers is or is not important to them based on the importance ratings (1 = *not at all important*, 5 = *very important*) children made (e.g., “Why is X ‘somewhat’ important to you?”); children’s responses were recorded verbatim by the research assistant for later coding. For each goal, based on children’s reasons, we first coded whether children accepted (e.g., “because I have always wanted to” and “because that is what makes you happy”) or rejected (e.g., “not that important” and “it doesn’t really matter to me”) the goal. One

percent of responses could not be coded as accepted or rejected because children simply repeated the goal, said something that was incoherent, or did not give a reason. All children accepted at least one of mothers' goals ($M = 4.52$, $SD = .81$, range = 1 to 5).

Guided by Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), we coded children's reasons for accepting mothers' goals as either autonomous or controlled. Autonomous reasons include intrinsic explanations reflecting a natural, inherent drive for the goal based on love or enjoyment of the activity (e.g., "because it is fun" and "I enjoy playing the guitar") and identified explanations reflecting personally valuing the goal (e.g., "so I can get a good education, life, and career" and "it's good to love others"). Controlling reasons include introjected reasons, which involve accepting the goal but without taking it on as one's own; for example, goal pursuit may be motivated by gaining trust and respect from others (e.g., "I would like to gain respect from others" and "I don't want other people to see me as ignorant") and external explanations involving external demands, possible rewards, or potential punishment (e.g., "because my mom says so" and "so I don't get in trouble"); this could include religion, traditions, and social life rules.

Children sometimes provided more than one reason for a goal; thus, we coded their responses to each goal for up to three reasons. Categories were exclusive, such that each reason could receive only a single code. Theoretically, the frequency of each type of reason could range from 0 to 15; however, the actual maximum ranged from 2 to 9. For each type of reason, the sum was taken across the goals mothers listed, which was then divided by the total number of reasons given, thereby creating a proportion score. Because the extent to which children's reasons are relatively autonomous versus controlled is of significance (e.g., Ryan & Connell, 1989), we created a relative autonomy index by subtracting the controlled from the autonomous reasons, such that higher numbers indicate more autonomous than controlled reasons. As with the coding of mothers' goals, children's reasons were coded by native coders (Cohen's kappas = .77 for Americans and .92 for Chinese) as well as a bi-cultural coder (Cohen's kappas = .72 to .97). Discrepancies among coders were resolved at regular meetings.

Results

Are There Ethnic Differences in the Content of Mothers' Goals?

The first aim of the current research was to investigate American and Chinese mothers' goals. To this end, we evaluated the effect of ethnicity (European American, African American, and Chinese) with Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVAs) on the coded categories of mothers' goals. We examined the frequency with which mothers mentioned each type of goal by submitting the proportion for each to a MANOVA (see Table 1). Arcsine transformations of the proportions were used to ensure an even distribution (Cohen & Cohen, 1983), but the results were the same when such transformations were not used. The importance of each type of goal was investigated by assigning the ranking mothers provided for the first type of goal coded in each box (see Table 2), which were submitted to a MANOVA. If mothers did not list a goal, and thus did not rank it, the goal was scored as zero. Because European American mothers were more educated than were African American and Chinese mothers, we originally included educational attainment as a

covariate, but this did not influence the results. Thus, it was dropped from the analyses. MANOVAs conducted on the proportions and rankings of mothers' goals yielded multivariate effects of ethnicity (see Table 1 and 2), Roy's largest roots $> .71$, $F_s > 12$, $ps < .001$. When we added children's gender and grade, there was no main effect of either on its own, $F_s < 1$, or in interaction with another variable, $F_s < 2.15$, *ns*.

Goal frequency—As anticipated, the univariate tests indicated that mothers' emphasis on self-maximization varied with ethnicity (see Table 1), $F(2, 220) = 9.78$, $p < .001$. Paired comparisons showed that both European American and African American mothers more frequently gave self-maximization goals than did Chinese mothers, $ps < .01$. European American and African American mothers did not differ in the frequency of their self-maximization goals, $p = .10$. Although mothers' did not mention self-improvement very often, this goal varied by ethnicity, $F(2, 220) = 4.27$, $p = .02$. Paired comparisons indicated that both European American and African American mothers had fewer self-improvement goals than did Chinese mothers, $ps < .05$. European American and African American mothers did not differ, $p = .50$. No ethnic differences were found for self-reliance goals, $F(2, 220) < 1$.

In line with the idea that filial piety is less important in the United States than China, mothers' goals about respecting elders varied with ethnicity, $F(2, 220) = 5.68$, $p < .01$. European American (vs. Chinese) mothers emphasized respecting elders less often, $p < .001$. African American mothers' emphasis on respect did not differ from that of European American or Chinese mothers, $ps > .10$. There were no ethnicity differences in mothers' connectedness and pro-social goals, $F(2, 220)s < .97$, *ns*.

Achievement goals were the most common goals provided by mothers, regardless of ethnicity. However, the type of such goals that was most frequent differed across ethnicity, $F(2, 220)s > 10.61$, $ps < .001$. Consistent with expectations, paired comparisons indicated that European American mothers held more process goals than did their African American and Chinese counterparts, $ps < .01$. African American mothers held more process, $p < .01$, but not fewer outcome, $p = .31$, goals than did Chinese mothers. Chinese and African American mothers held more outcome goals than did European American mothers, $ps < .001$.

Mothers' emphasis on both psychological and physical well-being varied by ethnicity, $F(2, 220)s > 5.17$, $ps < .01$. European American and Chinese mothers listed more psychological well-being goals than did African American mothers, $ps < .05$. European American and Chinese mothers did not differ in regards to the frequency of such goals, $p = .40$. Chinese mothers emphasized physical well-being goals more than did both European and African American mothers, $ps < .001$, who did not differ in their emphasis on such goals, $p = .11$. Mothers' religion goals varied by ethnicity, $F(2, 220) = 6.49$, $p < .01$. Both European and African American mothers had more religion goals than did Chinese mothers, $ps < .01$. European and African American mothers listed such goals equally, $p = .61$. African American mothers wanted their children to avoid trouble more than either European American and Chinese mothers, $ps < .01$, who did not differ from one another in regards to this goal, $p = .38$.

Goal rankings—As shown in Table 2, the ethnic differences in mothers' rankings of the importance of the goals they listed largely mirrored the differences in the frequency with which they listed the goals. The only difference was that mothers' ranking of pro-social goals varied with ethnicity, $F(2, 201) = 3.05, p < .05$: European American and Chinese mothers ranked this goal higher than did their African American counterparts, $ps < .05$. European American and Chinese mothers did not differ, $p = .98$.

Are There Ethnic Differences in the Transmission of Mothers' Goals?

The second aim of the current research was to investigate American and Chinese children's adoption of mothers' goals. Two sets of analyses were conducted. In the first, Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) was used to examine similarity among children and mothers in how they prioritize mothers' goals (for a similar approach, see Tam et al., 2012). The second set focused on the extent to which children's reasons for accepting mothers' goals were autonomous (vs. controlled). To this end, an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the reasons children gave for viewing mothers' goals as important. Inclusion of mothers' educational attainment as well as children's gender and grade as covariates in both sets of analyses did not influence the results.

Goal rankings—The aim of the first set of analyses was to identify if there is ethnic variation in the extent to which children's goal priorities mirror those of mothers in terms of how the two prioritize the set of goals listed by mothers. Multilevel modeling with HLM 7 (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) allowed us to capture the within-dyad similarity in goal rankings between mothers and children. Because these analyses focus on within-dyad similarity, they capture the extent to which there is correspondence in the rankings of mothers and children's goals on average within each dyad. The following within-dyad equation was used:

$$\text{Child ranking}_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j} * (\text{Maternal ranking}_{ij}) + r_{ij} \quad (1)$$

Children's ranking for a given maternal goal (i) for a particular child (j) was modeled by each child's intercept (β_{0j}) and his or her mother's ranking for the same goal, such that β_{1j} represents the association between the individual mother and child's rankings of the goals. The error term in the equation represents unexplained variance (r_{ij}). The Level 1 (within-dyad) equation allowed for the examination of children's rankings as a function of mothers' rankings. To examine the priority given to mothers' most important goal, we centered mothers' rankings at the most important goal coding it as 0, so that the intercept represents this goal; the next most important goal was coded as -1 , with the least important goal being coded as -4 . Thus, higher numbers reflect higher rankings. For ease of presentation, we treated the rankings as continuous although they are ordinal. Ordinal logistic HLM yielded identical effects.

As shown in Table 3 (Model 1), the Level 1 equation indicated that mother's rankings of their goals predicted children's rankings of mothers' goals; that is, on average across dyads, mothers' rankings corresponded to children's rankings. Notably, there was variability among dyads in this association (standard deviation = .31), $\chi^2(201) = 322.17, p < .001$. To

examine if ethnicity contributes to the variability in the association between mothers and children's rankings of the goals, we included Level 2 (between-dyad) equations to evaluate the moderating role of ethnicity. In these equations, the intercept (β_{0j}) – that is, the value of children's rankings for mothers' most important goal – and slope (β_{1j}) – that is, the association between mothers and children's rankings of the goals – were predicted from ethnicity.

$$(\text{Intercept})\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01} * (\text{European American vs. Chinese}) + \gamma_{02} * (\text{African American vs. Chinese}) + u_{0j} \quad (2)$$

$$(\text{Slope})\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11} * (\text{European American vs. Chinese}) + \gamma_{12} * (\text{African American vs. Chinese}) + u_{1j} \quad (3)$$

Ethnicity was dummy coded, with Chinese dyads designated as the baseline group (i.e., always coded as 0) for comparison with European and African American dyads. Supplemental comparisons between European and African American dyads were made by changing the baseline group to European American dyads and then including the dummy codes for comparisons with African Americans and Chinese. Error terms contributing to unexplained variance are represented by u_{0j} and u_{1j} .

As shown in Figure 1 (see also Model 2 in Table 3), for mothers' most important goal (i.e., the intercept), European American children (intercept, $\beta_0 = 3.38$, $SE = .13$, $p < .001$) prioritized it less than did Chinese children (intercept, $\beta_0 = 3.79$, $SE = .15$, $p < .001$). African American children's rankings of mothers' most important goal (intercept, $\beta_0 = 3.67$, $SE = .15$, $p < .001$) did not differ from Chinese children's rankings European American children's rankings, $t(199) = 1.47$, $p = .14$. In terms of the association of mothers and children's rankings within dyad across the five goals (i.e., the slope), European American children's rankings (slope, $\beta_1 = .19$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$) were less similar to those of mothers than were Chinese children's rankings (slope, $\beta_1 = .39$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$). African American children's ranking similarity (slope, $\beta_1 = .34$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$) did not differ from Chinese children's ranking similarity, but was slightly stronger than that of European American children as indicated by a marginal difference, $t(199) = 1.73$, $p = .09$.

The tendency for European American children to be the least likely to share mothers' priorities could be due to the fact that there was less consensus among European American mothers as to their goals for children as reflected in the lower average frequencies and rankings across goals for European Americans compared to African Americans and Chinese (see Table 1 and 2). This could reflect a looser adherence to cultural norms in general with less pressure from not only mothers but also others (e.g., teachers and peers) to adopt culturally valued goals among European Americans. To address this possibility, culturally normative rankings were assigned to each of mothers' goals. We did this by scoring the goal in each box of each mother as the average ranking that mothers of their ethnicity gave the goal. For example, if a European American mother listed an outcome goal, the ranking was 1.96; if an African American mother did so, it was 3.02; if a Chinese mother did so, it was 3.42 (for the rankings for each ethnicity, see Table 2). When mothers listed multiple goals in

a single box, the average of the culturally normative rankings for the goals in the box was taken. As was the case for mothers' individual rankings, the culturally normative rankings were rescored with zero being the highest rank (see above) and then entered into the Level 1 equation of the HLM analyses (see Model 3 and 4 in Table 3). Because the types of goals mothers listed varied not only between but also within ethnicity (see Table 1), there was variation in the culturally normative rankings for mothers' goals within ethnicity.

The culturally normative rankings predicted children's rankings, but the association between mothers and children's rankings was still evident after adjusting for the culturally normative rankings (see Model 3 in Table 3). Moreover, European American children's rankings (slope, $\beta_1 = .19$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$) continued to be less similar to mothers' rankings than were Chinese children's rankings (slope, $\beta_1 = .40$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$), with African Americans (slope, $\beta_1 = .32$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$) falling in the middle (see Model 4 in Table 3). European American children ranked mothers' most important goal (intercept, $\beta_0 = 3.30$, $SE = .22$, $p < .001$) lower than did their counterparts (intercept, $\beta_0 = 3.82$, $SE = .22$ for Chinese and $\beta_0 = 4.40$, $SE = .27$ for African Americans, $ps < .001$), but this only reached significance in comparison to African American children, $t(199) = 2.55$, $p < .05$, with Chinese children falling in the middle. In addition, the association between the culturally normative rankings and children's rankings was evident for African Americans (slope, $\beta_2 = .22$, $SE = .07$, $p < .01$), but not Chinese (slope, $\beta_2 = .01$, $SE = .06$, $p = .92$) or European Americans (slope, $\beta_2 = -.02$, $SE = .09$, $p = .80$) children.

Goal reasons—To examine ethnic variation in the extent to which children have autonomous versus controlled reasons for mothers' goals, we analyzed the relative autonomy of children's reasons when they accepted mothers' goals. A preliminary ANOVA on the arcsine-transformed proportions of the reasons children gave reflecting acceptance of mothers' goals indicated that acceptance varied by ethnicity, $F(2, 201) = 4.56$, $p = .01$. European American children gave a smaller proportion of acceptance reasons ($M = .87$, $SD = .19$) than did African American children ($M = .95$, $SD = .10$), $p < .01$, with Chinese children ($M = .90$, $SD = .17$) falling in the middle, $ps > .09$. Because of our interest in goal transmission, as well as the small number of children's reasons reflecting rejection of mothers' goals, we focused on children's reasons for accepting mothers' goals. The ANOVA on the relative autonomy of children's reasons yielded an effect of ethnicity, $F(2, 201) = 4.47$, $p < .05$. As shown in Figure 2, European American children's reasons for accepting mothers' goals were less autonomous than those of Chinese children, $p < .01$. The autonomy of African American children's reasons fell in between – they did not differ from either European American or Chinese children's reasons, $ps > .12$.

Similar to the analyses of rankings, we examined whether these findings held when we took into account the culturally normative rankings of mothers' goals as children may simply provide more autonomous reasons when there is heightened cultural agreement that mothers' goals are valuable – for example, they may be exposed to information about the importance of such goals not only by mothers, but also teachers and peers, which may lead them to autonomously adopt the goals. For each mother, the average ranking for their ethnicity (see Table 2) for each of the goals they listed was taken; these rankings were then averaged across the goals mothers listed given that the number of autonomous reasons

children listed was averaged across the goals mothers listed. The culturally normative average was entered as a covariate into an Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA). The autonomy of children's reasons did not vary with the culturally normative rankings of the goals listed by mothers, $F(2, 200) = 1.57, p = .22$. Thus, the effect of ethnicity remained, $F(2, 200) = 3.17, p < .05$, with European American children's reasons for accepting mothers' goals being less autonomous than those of Chinese children, $p < .05$, and African American children's reasons falling in between, $ps > .14$.

Discussion

The current research provides insight into American and Chinese children's socialization toward culturally valued goals during adolescence. A key contribution is the identification of differences between the United States and China as well as within the United States between European and African Americans. Extending prior research on the content of mothers' goals for young children (e.g., Suizzo & Cheng, 2007; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003), American and Chinese mothers held some similar goals for children (e.g., to be self-reliant, connected to others, and pro-social) in the adolescent years. However, there were also differences. Most notably, European and African American mothers placed more emphasis than Chinese mothers on children maintaining feelings of worth as well as pursuing what they enjoy; in contrast, Chinese mothers stressed children achieving outcomes, as did African American mothers. Notably, transmission of specific goals from mothers to children appeared to be the weakest among European Americans for whom there was the least similarity between mothers and children in the prioritization of mothers' goals, with children holding the fewest autonomous reasons for such goals.

Content of Mothers' Goals in the United States and China

A key strength of the current research was that in assessing mothers' goals for children a cultural frame was not imposed. Rather, mothers listed their goals. In both the United States and China, the majority of mothers' goals fell into the areas of the self, social relationships, achievement, and well-being. In regards to the self, consistent with prior research with mothers of younger children (e.g., Chao, 1996; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003), both European and African American (vs. Chinese) mothers placed heightened importance on children maintaining their feelings of worth, with an emphasis on uniqueness. In contrast, Chinese (vs. European and African American) mothers stressed children improving themselves. Although the self-improvement goal was more common and ranked higher among Chinese mothers, it was surprisingly uncommon (i.e., only 2% of mothers' goals) with quite a low ranking. It may be that concerns with self-improvement are manifest in a more concrete focus on children's achievement, particularly outcomes, which may reflect efforts toward self-improvement.

As in prior research with mothers of young children (e.g., Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003), American and Chinese mothers placed similar emphasis on establishing meaningful relationships with others. However, Chinese mothers placed more emphasis on respecting elders than did European American, but not necessarily African American, mothers, likely due to the importance placed on filial piety (Ho, 1996; Q. Wang

& Hsueh, 2000). Even in China, however, goals related to respecting elders were not common – they represented 5% of Chinese mothers' goals, and even less of African American mothers' goals. It is possible that, similar to the self-improvement emphasis, mothers' concerns with respecting others is manifest in their outcome goals given that doing well in school is a way to bring honor to the family (Ho, 1994; Yu, 1996). Chinese (vs. European and African American) mothers also saw physical health as more important. This may reflect threats to physical health such as those posed by poor air quality, problems with food safety, and a lack of access to quality health care in China (Jacobs & Century, 2012).

Unlike in the research on the goals of mothers with young children (e.g., Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2002; S. Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003), the most common and important goals fell in the achievement arena in the current research. This is not surprising given that in both the United States and China, children's interest in school wanes over the adolescent years (e.g., Q. Wang & Pomerantz, 2009; Wigfield & Wagner, 2005), but their performance at this time is more consequential than it was earlier, particularly in China. The specific form that mothers' concern with achievement took varied with ethnicity. European and African American (vs. Chinese) mothers placed heightened emphasis on the process of learning (e.g., enjoyment and curiosity), whereas Chinese mothers stressed children achieving outcomes, a trend also evident among African American mothers. The Chinese focus on outcomes may reflect in part the major test children take at the end of ninth grade for admission to high school, which has substantial implications for children's success as an adult. The similar African American focus may reflect a parallel concern with the consequences of performance. Indeed, African American parents see children's achievement as key to overcoming discrimination, ultimately leading to success later in life (e.g., Franklin et al., 2002; Suizzo et al., 2008).

Transmission of Parents' Goals in the United States and China

To understand how American and Chinese children are socialized toward culturally valued goals during adolescence, the current research investigated children's adoption of mothers' goals. To this end, we examined the extent to which children and mothers similarly prioritized mothers' goals and how autonomous (vs. controlled) children's reasons were for accepting these goals. Across both these approaches, goal transmission from mothers to children was weakest among European Americans. There was less similarity in European American children and mothers' importance rankings of mothers' goals than among their Chinese counterparts, with African Americans falling in between. European American children also gave fewer autonomous (vs. controlled) reasons for mothers' goals than did Chinese children with African Americans again falling in the middle. Notably, by taking into account the average importance ranking among mothers of each ethnic group (e.g., for each goal listed by each European American mother, we controlled for the average ranking given by European American mothers for that goal), we ruled out the possibility that these differences simply reflect weaker culturally normative goals among European Americans. The weaker transmission among European Americans may be part of a larger trend for European Americans to take on the goals of important adults (e.g., teachers) as their own to a lesser extent (Zhou et al., 2012).

The differences in American and Chinese children's goal adoption may be due to not only different cultural orientations that influence children's willingness to take on parents' goals, but also the different content of parents' goals themselves. For one, the European American emphasis on children pursuing what they enjoy may lead children develop their own goals to a greater extent. In addition, in line with the idea that goals organize parenting, the importance that European American parents place on children maintaining their feelings of worth a long with pursuing what they enjoy may lead them to explicitly mention their goals for children less often, with little attention to when children fail to meet them. In contrast, the focus on children achieving outcomes among Chinese and African American parents, may lead parents to highlight these goals to children either explicitly by pointing out their importance or implicitly by making much of their successes and failures. In line with the possibility of different responses to children's performance, European American parents tend to respond positively when children succeed, but do not make much of children's failure; in contrast, Chinese parents tend to also respond positively to children's success – albeit also pointing out mistakes – and respond negatively to children's failure (Ng, Pomerantz, & Lam, 2007). The finding that African American goal transmission falls between that of European American and Chinese families may reflect that the content of their goals leads them to take on both cultural parenting strategies.

The transmission findings taken in conjunction with those for goal content are suggestive as to why there are differences in American and Chinese children's navigation of the adolescent years. American children are less engaged in school than are Chinese children (for a review, see Pomerantz, Ng, & Wang, 2008), with this intensifying over early adolescence as American, but not Chinese, children become less engaged (Q. Wang & Pomerantz, 2009). The heightened focus among Chinese mothers on children's achievement outcomes along with Chinese children's heightened adoption of mothers' goals – both in terms of prioritizing and taking them on as their own – may support children's engagement in school during adolescence. In contrast, American mothers, particularly those of European (vs. African) descent, emphasize enjoying the learning process; thus, when school becomes uninteresting to children, they may become less engaged. Even when European American mothers do hold achievement outcome goals, children may not prioritize them to the same extent as mothers and may be less likely to take them on as their own, which may undermine children's engagement.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current research has several limitations that point to important directions for future research. First, although it relied on an approach that was not culturally constrained to measure mothers' goals, the approach assumes that parents are conscious of their goals for children. However, this may not always be the case. Thus, future studies using implicit measures of parents' goals may provide a unique perspective on the socialization process. In addition, we told mothers that children would be seeing the goals they provided. On the one hand, this is a strength because it is likely to yield goals that mothers attempt to communicate to children on a daily basis. On the other hand, mothers may have some socialization goals that they do not necessarily want to explicitly communicate to children. For example, our approach may have underestimated the extent to which mothers hold self-

maximization goals because feeling good about themselves is unlikely to be something mothers' believe children should directly pursue.

Second, we assessed mothers' goals for children, but did not ask children about their own goals. Consequently, although the current research provided insight into how American and Chinese children prioritized mothers' goals and the reasons they have for seeing them as important, it did not provide insight into whether children actually hold the same goals as mothers – and when they do differ, the extent to which children prioritize mothers' goals over their own goals. Future research asking *both* parents and children to list their goals will provide a fuller perspective on the transmission of goals from parents to children. However, our approach had several novel strengths. Most notably, we took into account how culturally normative the goals were to each ethnicity to ensure that heightened concordance between children and mothers was not simply due to heightened cultural agreement about valued goals. In addition, by having children provide their reasons for pursuing mothers' goals, we were able to identify whether children saw them as their own rather than imposed on them. Although we interpreted the associations between mothers and children's prioritization and children's autonomous reasons as reflecting children's *adoption* of mothers' goals, it is also possible that these associations reflect mothers' sensitivity to children.

Third, we focused on differences between not only the United States and China but also within the United States between European Americans and African Americans. As such, the current research went beyond prior research comparing Americans and Chinese to capture variability within the United States. However, among Chinese as well as European and African Americans, there was substantial variability in both the content and transmission of mothers' goals. Future research should focus on identifying the source of such variability. For example, there is some evidence that socio-economic status may shape parents' goals (e.g., Harwood, Schoelmerich, Ventura-Cook, Schulze, & Wilson, 1996; Kohn, 1969), but other forces such as parents and children's psychological attributes may also be of import (Tam et al., 2012). In addition, despite including two ethnic groups in our American sample we did not capture the full ethnic diversity of the United States, which may be important given the variety of goals held by American parents of different ethnicities (Ng et al., 2012). In both countries, we focused on a relatively urban group of families, but rural parents may hold different goals for children – for example, they may be less concerned with achievement in school as their children often have fewer opportunities for higher education, particularly in China.

Conclusions

Despite these limitations, the current research contributes to a growing body of findings suggesting that culture shapes parents' goals for children. This may lead American and Chinese parents to convey different messages to children as such goals organize how parents interact with children (e.g., Bornstein, 2006; Darling & Steinberg, 1993). We found that during adolescence European and African American mothers were more concerned with maintaining children's self-worth and ensuring children enjoy the achievement process, whereas Chinese mothers' major emphasis was on children's achievement outcomes – a concern also at the top of African American mothers' list. The transmission of specific goals

from mothers to children was weakest among European Americans. Ultimately, the socialization process during adolescence may be less generationally consistent among European Americans in terms of the specific goals mothers and children hold; this may reflect a broader American emphasis on autonomy.

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Figure 1.
Predicting children's rankings from mothers' rankings: Within-dyad HLM analyses.
Note. Mothers' rankings were coded from -4 (least important) to 0 (most important).
Children's rankings were coded from 1 (least important) to 5 (most important). The slopes are estimated from the HLM analyses.

Figure 2.
The relative autonomy (vs. control) of children's reasons for mothers' goals

Table 1

Average Percentage of American and Chinese Mothers' Goals

Category	European American		African American		Chinese	Univariate <i>F</i> -value	Group Contrasts
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)		<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)		<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
Self							
Self-maximization	9.79 (14.35)		6.60 (12.57)		1.50 (5.07)	9.78***	EA, AA > C
Self-improvement	0.70 (3.69)		0.25 (2.05)		2.14 (5.47)	4.27*	EA, AA < C
Self-reliance	6.97 (13.85)		9.02 (15.17)		6.93 (13.40)	0.44	
Social							
Connectedness	8.02 (11.38)		6.28 (9.80)		6.63 (9.20)	0.64	
Pro-social	9.14 (13.45)		6.74 (11.81)		9.48 (11.79)	0.97	
Respect	1.55 (6.09)		3.37 (7.27)		5.41 (8.01)	5.68**	EA < C
Achievement							
Outcome	18.58 (18.07)		30.22 (24.00)		33.70 (22.56)	10.61***	EA < AA, C
Process	23.63 (18.52)		15.61 (17.02)		7.57 (11.01)	19.32***	EA > AA > C
Well-being							
Psychological well-being	8.18 (10.57)		3.28 (7.11)		6.90 (10.01)	5.17**	EA, C > AA
Physical well-being	2.97 (6.99)		1.08 (4.31)		10.35 (9.09)	33.41***	EA, AA < C
Other							
Religion	2.92 (6.99)		3.42 (7.90)		0.00 (0.00)	6.49**	EA, AA > C
Avoid trouble	1.63 (6.30)		4.84 (9.47)		0.68 (3.33)	7.13***	EA, C < AA
Other	5.93 (10.44)		9.29 (13.09)		8.70 (10.70)	1.95	

Note. Numbers are the average percentage of the goal type out of the total goals listed by each mother. EA = European American, AA = African American, C = Chinese. Univariate *F*-value is for ethnicity.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Average Rankings of American and Chinese Mothers' Goals

Category	European American		African American		Chinese		Univariate <i>F</i> -value	Group Contrasts
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)		<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)		<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)			
Self								
Self-maximization	1.55 (2.15)		1.05 (1.85)		0.24 (0.90)		9.74***	EA, AA > C
Self-improvement	0.07 (0.46)		0.02 (0.13)		0.31 (0.86)		4.66*	EA, AA < C
Self-reliance	0.90 (1.62)		0.91 (1.56)		0.79 (1.47)		0.13	
Social								
Connectedness	0.99 (1.51)		0.66 (1.26)		1.16 (1.62)		1.81	
Pro-social	1.35 (1.95)		0.67 (1.37)		1.34 (1.76)		3.05*	EA, C > AA
Respect	0.20 (0.82)		0.62 (1.45)		0.84 (1.46)		5.05**	EA < AA, C
Achievement								
Outcome	1.96 (1.82)		3.02 (2.03)		3.42 (1.59)		12.60***	EA < AA, C
Process	2.38 (1.86)		1.69 (1.97)		1.15 (1.84)		7.83***	EA > AA, C
Well-being								
Psychological well-being	1.71 (2.19)		0.45 (1.17)		1.40 (2.04)		7.82***	EA, C > AA
Physical well-being	0.49 (1.27)		0.19 (.83)		2.52 (2.35)		40.12***	EA, AA < C
Other								
Religion	0.71 (1.70)		0.59 (1.50)		0.00 (0.00)		5.30**	EA, AA > C
Avoid trouble	0.23 (0.86)		0.78 (1.59)		0.06 (0.31)		8.02***	EA, C < AA
Other	0.64 (1.30)		0.86 (1.39)		0.90 (1.52)		0.75	

Note. Higher numbers indicate higher importance (1 = *least important*, 5 = *most important*); if mothers did not list a goal, and thus did not rank it, the goal was scored as zero. EA = European American, AA = African American, C = Chinese. Univariate *F*-value is for ethnicity.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

Table 3

Predicting Children's Ranking's from Mothers' Rankings: Within-Dyad HLM Analyses

Model	Effect	Unstandardized Coefficient	SE	t-value
Model 1	Intercept (β_0)	3.60	0.08	31.64***
	Mothers' ranking (β_1)	0.30	0.04	8.31***
Model 2	Intercept (β_0)	3.79	0.15	19.24***
	EA vs. C (γ_{11})	-0.41	0.19	-2.10*
	AA vs. C (γ_{12})	-0.12	0.21	-0.56
	Mothers' ranking (β_1)	0.39	0.06	6.21***
	EA vs. C (γ_{11})	-0.20	0.08	-2.38*
	AA vs. C (γ_{12})	-0.05	0.09	-0.56
Model 3	Intercept (β_0)	3.86	0.15	19.10***
	Mothers' ranking (β_1)	0.29	0.04	8.22***
	Culturally normative ranking (β_2)	0.08	0.04	1.98*
Model 4	Intercept (β_0)	3.82	0.22	12.93***
	EA vs. C (γ_{11})	-0.52	0.40	-1.29
	AA vs. C (γ_{12})	0.58	0.34	1.67
	Mothers' ranking (β_1)	0.40	0.06	6.25***
	EA vs. C (γ_{11})	-0.21	0.08	-2.43*
	AA vs. C (γ_{12})	-0.07	0.09	-0.80
	Culturally normative ranking (β_2)	0.01	0.06	0.11
	EA vs. C (γ_{11})	-0.03	0.11	-0.26
	AA vs. C (γ_{12})	0.21	0.09	2.24*

Note. Mothers' rankings and the culturally normative rankings (i.e., the average ranking of the goal for mothers' ethnicity, see Table 2) were recoded such that the most important goals equaled 0 and less important goals were negative (e.g., mothers' least important goal = -4); thus, the intercept for all models is children's ranking (1 = least important to 5 = most important) of the most important goal as rated by either individual mothers (i.e., mothers' rankings) or mothers of their ethnicity on average (i.e., culturally normative rankings). EA = European American, AA = African American, C = Chinese. For Model 2 and 4, because Chinese dyads were coded as the baseline group, the intercept and slope for these models are for these dyads.

*
 $p < .05$.

**
 $p < .01$.

 $p < .001$.