

EAST ASIAN AMERICAN PARENTS- ADOLESCENTS' DISCREPANCIES IN EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND THEIR IMPACT ON ADOLESCENTS' OUTCOMES

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Abstract

Using data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), two studies were conducted to explore whether the discrepancy in educational expectations between East Asian American adolescents and parents influenced adolescents' academic achievements and psychological well-being (self-esteem and depressive symptoms). Study 1 ($n = 120$) focused on the perceived discrepancy in educational expectations between adolescents' perceptions and their own educational expectations, while Study 2 (a pair of fifty adolescents and their parents) examined the actual discrepancy in educational expectations between adolescents and their parents. The two studies highlight that, regardless of perceived or actual educational expectations, parents' higher educational expectations are associated with adolescents' negative self-esteem. However, the adolescents' GPA and depressive symptom scores did not differ based on educational discrepancy.

Keywords: East Asian Americans, educational expectations, psychological well-being

As a group, East Asian immigrant students from China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan and Korea have higher educational achievements than other ethnic groups in the U.S. (Ryan & Bauman, 2016), and are expected to academically outperform and obtain better jobs than other Asian and non-Asian immigrant students (Cress & Ikeda, 2003). To account for East Asian American students' educational success, both academic research as well as the popular media have focused on the importance of the high educational expectations of both parents and adolescents (Zhang, Haddad, Torres, & Chen, 2011). Although educational expectations are one factor that contributes to adolescents' academic success (Beal & Crockett, 2010; Phillipson & Phillipson 2007), there have been few systematic studies of the impact of high parental expectations on East Asian American adolescents' psychological well-being. Empirical evidence remains unclear as to whether parents' high educational expectations may create unbearable pressure on adolescents to succeed, thereby resulting in psychological problems (i.e., depression). The current study addresses this gap in the literature by examining East Asian American adolescents' and parents' educational expectations and their potential impact on adolescents' academic

achievement and psychological well-being. Although this study focuses on East Asian Americans, the literature pertaining to Asians in Asia and Asian Americans in the U.S is included to supplement the areas in which the literature on East Asian Americans is scant.

Theoretical Framework

The potential impact of parents' high educational expectations on their adolescents' academic achievements and psychological well-being may partially be understood by applying an ecological approach. Ecological theory posits that correlations among multiple contexts and individuals (e.g., families, schools and cultures) affect an individual attitudes and behaviors (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Using the ecological theory as a lens for understanding adolescents' academic achievements and psychological well-being (e.g., self-esteem and depressive symptoms) necessitates examining not just the main effects of individual microsystems such as parents' educational expectations, but also the attitudes and ideologies of the culture or macrosystem to which they belong.

Most influences on children's development occur at the microsystem level in which individuals directly interact and establish contact with groups (e.g., family, parents and peers) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). An example of a microsystem is one's parents. Many researchers contend that East Asian American parents place a higher value on education for their children's future and have higher educational aspirations for their children than parents of other ethnic groups (Chao, 2000; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). East Asian American parents tend to directly convey their expectations to their children even when they become young adults (Oishi & Sullivan, 2005). In East Asian culture, parental efficacy is measured by children's academic achievements, which may partially explain the high educational expectations among East Asian and East Asian American parents (Chao, 1996). For example, Asian American parents expect their children to put a great deal of effort into schoolwork, receive higher grades, and reach high educational goals (Chao & Tseng, 2002). When East Asian American parents interact with their children, they often initiate conversations about the importance of education in daily life (Huang & Gove, 2015). Their children may internalize their parents' educational expectations although their personal academic interests may be different than their parents (Qin, Chang, Han, & Chee, 2012), or the children may not have the ability to meet their parents' expectations (Fong, 2002; Tan & Yates, 2011). As a result, it is possible that a

discrepancy in educational expectations between adolescents and their parents may emerge, leading to a negative impact on adolescents' outcomes.

The macrosystem describes the values and ideologies of a culture held by individuals (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). It is critical to understanding how cultural values can shape East Asian American adolescents' psychological well-being in the macrosystem. China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan and Korea are East Asian countries where the Confucian Heritage Culture (CHC) instills the values of hard work and filial piety (Tan & Yates, 2011). As a cultural ideology, Confucianism stresses the importance of human relationships, respect for hierarchy within the social world, and the significance of education (Chao, 2000). It is expected that children in this culture will fulfill certain duties and obligations for their family. Because of Confucian values, East Asian and Asian American children feel obligated to please their parents by fulfilling their parents' expectations, even though they may want to pursue interests and expectations that differ from their parents. Furthermore, East Asian Americans consider academic success as the key to success and a force to survive in the mainstream of the United States. For East Asian Americans, academic underachievement is viewed as a failure, leading to depression and anxiety (Saw, Berenbaum, & Okazaki, 2013). The cultural values held by East Asians emphasizing the importance of education (macrosystem) have led to academic success; at the same time, they may increase the pressure on adolescents to meet their parents' expectations, which may unintentionally harm adolescents' academic achievements and psychological well-being.

Impact of Parents' Educational Expectations on Adolescents' Outcomes

Among East Asians and East Asian Americans, parents' higher educational expectations are shown to be positively associated with students' school performance (Chao 1996; Mau, 1997). The positive relationships between parents' educational expectations and adolescents' academic achievements among East Asian Americans can be explained by how East Asian American adolescents perceived their parents' educational expectations. Some Asian adolescents perceive parental educational expectations as a strategy to encourage them to aim for careers that will protect them from low paying jobs (Chao, 1996). In a study of Chinese American adolescents, Qin and colleagues (2012) found that adolescents perceived their parents' high expectations as a means to accomplish the *American Dream*, something their parents had not achieved. However, it is important to note that the Chinese American parents

embraced the American Dream, while their adolescent children felt obligated to follow their parents' wishes, and they thought that their parents wanted them to live out the dreams that they were unable to attain (Qin et al., 2012). Furthermore, this desire to fulfill their parents' expectations continues beyond high school.

Although high parental expectations might result in positive academic performance among East Asian American adolescents, these adolescents are more likely to experience greater pressure to achieve academic success (Tan & Yates, 2010). The literature is starting to examine the negative consequences of adolescents being pushed to achieve high academic success. For example, Hong Kong Chinese adolescents experience stress that is not only derived from their personal desire to excel, but also their need to satisfy their parents because academic achievement is seen as a filial duty and a source of family pride (Wong, Salili, Ho, Mak, Lai & Lam, 2005). In CHC doing well academically according to the wishes of one's parents is a duty that children must obey, and their success is considered to be a matter of family pride, whereas failure brings shame to the family. This may explain why East Asian adolescents feel pressured to follow their parents' expectations and, in turn, experience stress when they do not meet those expectations. Asian American students experience intense pressure when academic success is emphasized by parents and extended family members (Fong, 2002). Tan and Yates (2011) found that based on parents', teachers' and personal educational expectations, 176 high school and college students from a Confucian Heritage Background experienced academic stress associated with schoolwork, tests, grades and meeting the educational expectations of others, as measured by the Academic Expectations Stress Inventory (AESI; Ang & Huan, 2006).

The push for academic success may result in East Asian and East Asian American adolescents experiencing mental health problems (Shek, 2007) and psychological distress. Asian American students may be at greatest risk of emotional problems because they are concerned whether or not their parents may withdraw their support if they do not meet their parents' expectations (Yoon & Lau, 2008). Asian Americans were more likely to worry about school and family than their counterparts due to their perceptions of living up to parental expectations and their personal standards (Saw et al., 2013). Worry is a central feature of generalized anxiety disorder (Stöber & Joormann, 2001). Among Asian American college students, perceptions of high parental

expectations and criticism showed strong associations with depression (Yoon & Lau 2008; Kobayashi, 2005). Asians with academic difficulties experienced emotional distress, resulting from the belief that they did not meet their parents' expectations and their academic failure brought shame to their family (Lee, 1999).

Due to the limitations of existing literature, it is not clear how adolescents' academic achievements, self-esteem and depressive symptoms may vary by the directions of educational discrepancy. The directions of discrepancy in educational expectations can be divided into three associations: when parents' educational expectations are higher than adolescents; no differences in educational expectation between adolescents and parents; and when adolescents' educational expectations are higher than their parents. Two studies were conducted to explore if there are perceived discrepancies between East Asian American adolescents' educational expectations and the perceptions they have of their parents' educational expectations (Study 1), and the actual discrepancies between adolescents' educational expectations and their parents' educational expectations (Study 2). Additionally, we tested if the scores of adolescents' GPA, self-esteem and depressive symptoms differ across educational discrepancy groups.

Method

Data

Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS). Both Study 1 and Study 2 used data collected as part of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (Portes & Rumbaut, 1991-2006). The CILS is a publicly available dataset collected from students attending 49 public and private schools in the Miami/Fort Lauderdale areas in Florida, and in San Diego, California, across three points (see Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, for detailed research design). The original study was conducted with 5,262 second-generation immigrant children in the 8th and 9th grades from 77 different nationalities in 1992 (Wave 1). The first follow-up study was conducted with 4,288 students from the original study who became 11th and 12th graders in 1995 (Wave 2). Both studies used the first follow-up study (Wave 2) because both adolescents' and parents' data were included in the first follow-up study. Paper-pencil questionnaires were utilized to collect the adolescent data, whereas face-to-face interviews, either in English or in the parents' native language, were administered to collect data from parents

(Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The present study was exempt from the institutional review board review because it entailed secondary data.

Study 1

Participants

Adolescents with at least one East Asia-born parent (e.g., China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and Korea) were selected from Wave 2 of the CILS participants for Study 1. The sample for the current study was composed of 120 East Asian American adolescents, representing the following ethnicities: 37.5% Taiwanese, 21.7% Japanese, 15% Chinese, 13% Korean, and 12.5% Hong Kong Chinese. Fifty-two percent of the participants were male. Ninety-seven percent of the participants were in the 11th or 12th grade, and 3% were college students. Approximately half of the adolescents (49.2%) were born in the U.S.

Measures

Educational expectations. Educational expectation items used in this study were from adolescents' CILS questionnaires. Adolescents' expectations of their educational attainment and their perceptions of parents' educational expectations were assessed by the following items, respectively: "Realistically speaking, what is the highest level of education that you think you will get?" and "What is the highest level of education that your parents want you to get?" Each answer was coded on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (less than high school) to 5 (finish a graduate degree).

Perceived discrepancy in educational expectations. To measure the difference between adolescents' educational expectations and their perceptions of parents' educational expectations, the educational discrepancy scores were created by subtracting adolescents' perceptions of their parents' educational expectations from their own educational expectations. The educational discrepancy scores were then divided into three groups: Group 1 refers to when the discrepancy score is below 0, indicating when adolescents' perceptions of their parents' educational expectations are higher than their own educational expectations; Group 2 refers to when the discrepancy score is 0, indicating when adolescents' perceptions of their parents' educational expectations equal their own educational expectations; and Group 3 involves when the discrepancy score is above 0, meaning when adolescents' perceptions of their parents' educational expectations are lower than their own educational expectations.

Students' academic achievement (GPA). Students' GPA was taken from school records. The range of GPA was from 0.00 to 5.00.

Self-esteem. Adolescent's self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg (1979) Self-Esteem Scale, which consists of 10 items (e.g., "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.") Each item was responded to on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (disagree a lot) to 4 (agree a lot). Negatively worded items, such as, "All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure," were reverse coded. The responses to the 10 items were summed to create a self-esteem score, with scores ranging from 10 to 40. The Cronbach's alpha for these items was 0.74.

Depressive symptoms. Depressive symptoms were assessed by four items from the Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977), and only four items were asked in CILS. One of the items participants responded to was, "During last week, I felt sad." Items were responded to on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (less than once a week) to 4 (5 to 7 days a week). A depressive symptom score was created by summing the four items. It is worth noting that CES-D was used with Asian and Asian American college students in a previous study (Ying & Han, 2008). The alpha reliability for the scale in the current sample was 0.74.

Study 1 Results and Discussion

Descriptive statistics for the study variables are listed in Table 2. On average, adolescents expected to attain higher than four years at a university ($M = 4.42$, $SD = 0.78$), whereas they perceived that their parents expected them to complete graduate degrees ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 0.69$). Adolescents' average GPA ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 0.93$) was obtained from school records. Adolescents reported on average high self-esteem scores ($M = 32.86$, $SD = 5.68$) and a moderate level of depressive symptoms ($M = 7.10$, $SD = 2.49$).

To test the first hypothesis, if there were differences between adolescents' educational expectations and their perceptions of their parents' educational expectations, a paired sample t-test was performed. The results indicated a statistically significant difference between the mean scores of adolescents' educational expectations and perceptions of their parents' educational expectations. East Asian American adolescents' perceptions of their parents' educational expectations ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 0.69$) were significantly higher than their own educational expectations ($M = 4.42$, $SD = 0.78$), $t(119) = -2.66$, $p = .009$.

To measure whether the scores of adolescents' GPA, self-esteem and depressive symptoms differ based on the perceived discrepancy in educational expectations, we performed a one-way multivariate analysis of variance

(MANOVA). The three dependent variables were adolescents' GPA, self-esteem and depressive symptoms. The independent variables were the three adolescent-parent educational expectation groups: adolescents who perceived their parents had higher educational expectations (Group 1; $n = 30$); adolescents who perceived their parents had equal educational expectations with their parents (Group 2; $n = 82$); and adolescents with higher educational expectations than their parents (Group 3; $n = 8$). A significant main effect for the three groups was found, Wilks' Lambda = .82, $F(4, 232) = 5.91$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = 0.09$. That is, a significant difference exists among perceived discrepancy groups based on the scores of adolescents' GPA, self-esteem and depressive symptoms. To investigate the nature of the relationship between perceived discrepancy groups and each domain score, we evaluated the univariate ANOVA results for each domain score. The results are summarized in Table 3. Significant main effects for perceived discrepancy groups were found in the scores of adolescents' GPA and self-esteem, $F(2, 117) = 9.252$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.14$ and $F(2, 117) = 12.23$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.17$, except for the scores of depressive symptoms, $F(2, 117) = 1.16$, $p = .32$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.02$. In other words, the mean scores of adolescents' GPA and self-esteem changed significantly across perceived discrepancy groups, whereas the mean scores of adolescents' depressive symptoms were not changed across perceived discrepancy groups.

To further examine the individual mean difference in the scores of GPA and self-esteem across all three groups, post hoc mean comparisons using Turkey's Honestly Significant Difference (HSD) were conducted. The results indicated significant mean differences in both GPA and self-esteem scores only between adolescents with perceived higher parental expectations (Group 1), and no differences in educational expectations among adolescents and their perceptions of parents (Group 2). Mean differences of GPA and self-esteem were -0.80 and -5.41, respectively, $p = .000$ with 95 confidence limits from -1.24 to -0.36 (GPA) and 95 confidence limits from -8.05 to -2.78 (self-esteem). Adolescents who perceived their parents as having higher educational expectations than their own had, on average, significantly lower GPA and self-esteem scores than adolescents who perceived to share the same educational expectations. No differences were found in the GPA and self-esteem scores between the other groups.

Although there was no main effect for educational discrepancy groups on the scores of adolescents' depressive symptoms, it is important to note that

among the three groups, Group 2 (no differences in educational expectations) recorded the lowest depressive symptom scores ($M = 6.87$, $SD = 0.28$), whereas adolescents' perceptions of their parents' higher educational expectations ($M = 7.57$, $SD = 0.45$) were among the middle scores, and the adolescents' higher educational expectation recorded the highest depressive symptom scores ($M = 7.75$, $SD = 0.88$). In other words, when adolescents perceived that their parents' educational expectations were lower than their own educational expectations (Group 3), they had the highest depressive symptoms.

The first study sought to explore if East Asian American adolescents' educational expectations differed from their perceptions of their parents' educational expectations. The results showed that adolescents perceived their parents' educational expectations were higher than their own educational expectations. This finding is consistent with previous research that examined the discrepancy in educational expectations between adolescents and their perceptions of their parents' expectations, including racially and ethnically diverse groups (e.g., more than 60% of participants were Caucasian), indicating that adolescents' perceptions of their parents' educational expectations were higher than their own educational expectations (Wang & Benner, 2014). Although the average level of educational expectations in the current study was higher than in the Wang and Benner study (2014), this suggests that, across ethnicity, adolescents tend to perceive their parents as having higher educational expectations than their own.

Moreover, we tested the mean differences of adolescents' GPA, self-esteem and depressive symptom scores across the three groups and found that adolescents who perceived their parents as having higher educational expectations than their own (Group1) had, on average, significantly lower GPA and self-esteem scores than adolescents who perceived having the same educational expectations (Group 2). This finding was consistent with previous research which showed that, regardless of ethnicity, adolescents' academic achievements were lower when they perceived their parents' expectations were higher than their own (Wang & Benner, 2014). Perceived high parental expectations may influence adolescents' outcomes through academic stress. That is, there exists a possibility that adolescents who perceive their parents have high educational expectations may believe they are unable to fulfill their parents' high educational expectations, leading to lower academic achievements and self-esteem.

Despite prediction, East Asian American adolescents' depressive symptoms scores did not differ significantly by educational discrepancy groups. That is, adolescents had similar depressive symptom scores regardless of the directions of the discrepancies to their perceptions of their parents' expectations. It is important to note that in spite of a no significance difference regarding adolescents' depressive symptom scores, descriptive statistic revealed that adolescents had the highest depressive symptom scores when they perceived that their parents' educational expectations were higher (Group 1) or lower (Group 3) than their own. However, East Asian American adolescents had the lowest depressive symptom scores when they perceived that their parents' educational expectations were the same as their own (Group 2).

The findings from Study 1 imply that East Asian American adolescents' perceptions that their parents have high educational expectations may play a role in understanding academic achievements and psychological distress among East Asian American adolescents. This is consistent with previous studies that Asian American students tend to experience pressure to live up to their parents' expectations, which results in poor psychological well-being in comparison with other ethnic groups (Saw et al., 2013).

Study 2

Participants

Fifty pairs of East Asian American adolescents and their parents were selected as participants in Study 2 to measure the actual discrepancy in educational expectations between adolescents and parents. The criteria for the participants in Study 2 were: at least one parent was born in East Asia; and both adolescents and parents participated in Wave 2. As such, only the data of 50 adolescents and their East Asian-born parents was used from Wave 2 of CILS. Fifty percent of the adolescent-parent pairs were Chinese, 24% were Japanese, 12% were Hong Kong Chinese, 8% were Taiwanese, and 6% were Korean. Of the participating adolescents, 56% were male, and 98% were in the 11th and 12th grade. Fifty-two percent were born in the U.S. Among the parents, 59.2% were mothers and 86% were married. About 50% of participants' family income was below \$25,000.

Measures

Adolescent data

The measurements of adolescents' data used in Study 2 are identical to Study 1: educational expectations, students' academic achievements, self-esteem, and depressive symptoms (see Study 1 for measurement details).

Parental data

Educational expectations. Parents' educational expectations were assessed by one item: "How far in school do you expect your child to go?" Their answer was coded on an 11-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (eighth grade or less) to 11 (Ph.D., M.D., or other advanced degree).

Actual discrepancy in educational expectations. To measure difference between East Asian American adolescents' and parents' educational expectations, the educational discrepancy score was created by subtracting parents' educational expectations from adolescents' actual educational expectations. Given that the parents' educational expectation was measured by the 11-point Likert-type scale in CILS, this was converted to a 5-point Likert-type scale to allow for an accurate comparison with the 5-point Likert-type scale of adolescents' educational expectations in this study. The recodes for parents' educational expectations are as follows: 1 (eighth grade or less) and 2 (beyond eighth grade, but not a high school graduate) were recoded into 1 (less than high school); 3 (high school graduate) was recoded into 2 (finished high school); ranging from 4 (attending a vocational, trade, or business school after high school, less than one year) to 7 (attending a college program, less than two years) were recoded into 3 (finished some college); 8 (attending a college program, two or more years) and 9 (finished a four- or five-year college program) were recoded into 4 (finished college); and 10 (Master's degree) and 11 (Ph.D.) were recoded into 5 (finished graduate degree).

The educational discrepancy scores were divided into three groups: Group 1 refers to when the discrepancy score is below 0, meaning when parents' educational expectations are higher than the adolescents' educational expectations; Group 2 refers to when the discrepancy score is 0, meaning when parents' educational expectations equal adolescents' educational expectations; and Group 3 involves when the discrepancy score is above 0, indicating when parents' educational expectations are lower than adolescents' educational expectations.

Study 2 Results and Discussion

Descriptive statistics for the study variables are provided in Table 2. To test the first hypothesis, whether there is a difference between adolescent and

parents' educational expectations are equal to their parents' educational expectations, paired sample t-test was performed. The results indicated there was no significant difference in educational expectations between adolescents and parents, $t(49) = 0.16, p = .88$.

To examine if differences appear in the scores of adolescents' self-esteem and depressive symptoms by educational discrepancy groups, a one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed. Dependent variables were self-esteem and depressive symptom scores. Independent variables included the three adolescent-parent educational expectation groups: Group 1 parents with higher educational expectations than their adolescent ($n = 11$); Group 2 parents and adolescents with equal their educational expectations ($n = 26$); and Group 3 adolescents with higher educational expectations than parents ($n = 13$). A statistically significant main effect emerged for the three groups, $F(4, 92) = 4.27, p = .003$, Wilks' Lambda = .71. To measure the mean score differences in adolescents' GPA, self-esteem and depressive symptom scores by educational discrepancy groups, we evaluated the univariate ANOVA results for each domain score. The results indicated that only self-esteem scores differed significantly across the three groups, $F(2, 47) = 9.30, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.28$. No differences were found in adolescents' GPA and depressive symptom scores by the three groups, $F(2, 47) = 2.86, p = .07$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.11$, and $F(2, 47) = 2.31, p = .11$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.09$.

A post hoc analysis with Turkey's Honestly Significant Difference (HSD) was conducted to identify the significant differences among the three groups regarding adolescents' self-esteem scores. A significant mean difference in self-esteem scores existed only between those with parents having higher educational expectations (Group 1), and those with no differences in educational expectations (Group 2); mean differences = $-8.03, p = .000$ with 95 confidence limits from -12.63 to -3.44 . On average, adolescents with educational expectations higher than their parents had lower self-esteem scores than those adolescents who had the same educational expectations as their parents. No differences were found in the self-esteem scores between the other groups.

No significant differences in adolescents' GPA and depressive symptom scores emerged across actual discrepancy groups. While there were no differences among other groups, it is important to note that adolescents in Group 2 had the highest GPA scores ($M = 3.60, SD = 0.17$) and lowest depressive symptom scores ($M = 6.42, SD = 0.47$); adolescents in Group 1 had the lowest

GPA scores ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 0.26$) and highest depressive scores ($M = 8.09$, $SD = 0.72$).

The goal of Study 2 was to examine the actual educational discrepancy between East Asian American adolescents and parents, and the impact this discrepancy may have on adolescents' academic achievements and psychological well-being. Adolescents' self-esteem scores were significantly different across educational expectation discrepancy groups. Specifically, East Asian American adolescents with parents that had higher educational expectations had lower self-esteem scores than adolescents who had no discrepancy with their parents' expectations. However, there were no significant differences in self-esteem scores between other groups. This study extends the findings of previous studies that Asian parents' high educational expectations were negatively related to adolescents' self-esteem (Kobayashi, 2005; Oishi & Sullivan, 2005).

Although adolescents' GPA and depressive symptom scores did not significantly differ between groups, it should be noted that adolescents with higher parental educational expectations (Group 1) demonstrated the lowest GPA scores and highest depressive symptom scores, whereas those adolescents with educational expectations matching those of their parents (Group 2) scored the highest GPA scores and lowest depressive symptom scores. When looking closely at the directions of discrepancies, the group of adolescents with higher parental educational expectations showed the lowest academic achievements and highest depressive symptoms. We suspect that this finding may result from how adolescents internalize their parents' higher educational expectations. That is, the stress of their parents' higher educational expectations may cause adolescents' poor academic performance. This finding was contrary to the previous study showing that parents' higher educational expectations than adolescents were positively associated with adolescents' academic achievements (Wang & Benner, 2014). A plausible explanation for the finding is that parents' higher educational expectations may cause academic stress for adolescents who are struggling with their academic performance, which may result in adolescents' low academic achievements, high anxiety, and affect their depressive symptoms. Future studies are needed to continue examining the degree that parents' higher educational expectations influence adolescents' depressive symptoms.

General Discussion and Limitations

The main goals of these two studies were to investigate how adolescents' GPA, self-esteem and depressive symptom scores differ by parent-adolescent discrepancies in perceived and actual educational expectations among East Asian American families. Study 1 focused on the differences in educational expectations between adolescents and their perceptions of their parents' educational expectations; Study 2 examined the discrepancy in educational expectations between adolescents and parents.

The results showed that adolescents' educational expectations were significantly different from their perceptions of their parents' educational expectations. No educational expectation differences were found when parental actual expectations were compared to those of their adolescents. In Study 1, East Asian American adolescents perceived their parents' educational expectations as being higher than their own.; on the other hand, adolescents' educational expectations were similar to their parents' in Study 2. These differential findings may result from an underlying process. The discrepancy in perceived educational expectations may be related to the process of how adolescents internalize their parents' educational expectations. Parents convey their high educational expectations to their adolescents who then internalize their parents' high educational expectations (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). However, adolescents' own educational expectations may be based on their actual academic capabilities. Interestingly, when both adolescents' and parents' actual educational expectations are assessed, there appears to be an agreement between adolescents and parents. Perhaps parents' reports of their educational expectations for their adolescents are based on their adolescents' academic capability (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010) so that adolescents and parents both are very likely to have similar educational expectations. Moreover, the divergence between perceived and actual educational expectations may imply an important methodological implication. The extant literature on educational expectations has collected data primarily from parents (e.g., Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Phillipson & Phillipson, 2007), rather than by students' perceptions on their parents' educational expectations. The current study extends this work by examining the discrepancy in perceived and actual educational expectations from both the adolescents' and parents' report.

Furthermore, the results from both studies showed that adolescents had the lowest GPA and self-esteem scores and the highest depressive symptom scores when they perceived their parents' educational expectations were higher

than their own (Study 1), and when parents actually held higher educational expectations (Study 2). This finding suggests that, regardless of perceived and actual expectations, higher parental educational expectations are associated with adolescents' lower academic achievements and psychological well-being, which is the opposite of their desired outcome. Higher parental educational expectations (both actual and perceived) may make adolescents feel pressured to reach a certain academic level which the adolescent either cannot reach, or adolescents feel they lack the ability to reach (Fong, 2002; Tan & Yates, 2011; Wong et al., 2005), resulting in low GPA, low self-esteem, and high depressive symptoms. The similar pattern of the findings from both studies may be accounted for by the participants overlapping in both studies. That is, all adolescents in Study 2 were among the participants for Study 1. The participants overlapping may yield any bias on the findings. However, a directional discrepancy in perceived and actual expectations with the participants overlap and extent bias are uncertain. Future research is warranted to investigate if findings of the directional discrepancy in perceived expectations is similar as those of the directional discrepancy in actual expectations using different sample participants.

Although there were no significant group differences between adolescents' depressive symptom scores in Studies 1 and 2, in descriptive statistics the directions of discrepancy in perceived and actual expectations are shown to be different in the depressive symptom scores. Given the previous studies showing that Asian American college students tend to have higher levels of depressive symptoms than Euro-American college students (Kalibatseva, Leong, Ham, Lannert, & Chen, 2017), this study may provide potential evidence to account for a factor affecting depressive symptoms among East Asian Americans. Unsurprisingly, when parents and adolescents were in agreement in both perceived and actual educational expectations, adolescents had the lowest depressive symptoms.

While this study has contributed to understanding how the discrepancy in educational expectations between adolescents and parents impacts adolescents' academic achievements and psychological well-being, a few limitations are worth considering. First, while the CILS data included diverse ethnic groups, the focus on a small dataset of East Asian Americans in CILS produced a small participant size, which may have limited the depth of these findings, and generalized their applicability to all East Asian adolescents. Because this study

was carried out on East Asian American participants, it would be interesting to replicate it with different ethnic groups from a CHC background to determine if the results are similar or different.

Conclusion

The results of the current study reveal that parents' high expectations of academic success have a negative impact on children's psychological well-being among East Asian American adolescents. Of course, no parent wants to intentionally harm their child; nevertheless, if these findings are taken into account, such unintended consequences can occur among East Asian American adolescents. These findings have important implications for teachers and parents who want to improve East Asian American adolescents' academic achievements and psychological well-being and, above all, nurture healthy relationships between parents and adolescents.

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