

Original Paper

A Comparative Study of Filial Piety in Beijing and the UK

Gideon Sappor¹

¹ UCL Institute of Education, Department of Learning and Leadership, 20 Bedford Way, Bloomsbury, London WC1H 0AL United Kingdom

Received: December 18, 2020 Accepted: January 4, 2021 Online Published: January 25, 2021
doi:10.22158/jecs.v5n1p22 URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/jecs.v5n1p22>

Abstract

Cultures may display paradoxical natures when studied closely. For example, Americans are individualistic, yet are most generous with charity giving or volunteering for community events. This illustrates the challenges associated with stereotyping groups and cultures. Cultures are sometimes treated as homogenous with attendant generalisation.

In the educational context, generalisations consequently influence attitudes held towards groups of learners. People from particular cultural backgrounds are often treated as a homogenous group with its attendant stereotypes irrespective of their individual contexts; an example is individuals from a Chinese cultural background who live in the West relative to those living in China.

The present study used a questionnaire to measure an important value in Confucian culture (Chinese background) - Filial Piety - and how it relates to affective variables suggested to be important to academic achievement: self-efficacy and motivation. A sample of 9-11 year old children from the UK were compared with a similar sample from an authentic Confucian context - Beijing.

The results suggest a review of expectations of what is meant by “authentic confucian” and gives some insight into the potential problems that could arise with stereotyping cultures and groups. As schools reach out to parents and communities, there are implications for the stereotypic approaches adopted.

Keywords

Culture, Stereotypes, Filial Piety, Self-efficacy, Attitudes, Subjective norms

1. Introduction

1.1 Filial Piety as an Attribute of Confucian Culture

There is a long-standing interest in academic achievement and motivation by researchers in the field of cross-cultural studies, particularly of East Asian culture. This is no doubt because East Asian students are often found to outperform their peers in the West in standardized achievement tests such as PISA and TIMSS (see Lau & Ho, 2015; Sabah, Hammouri, & Akour, 2013; Sellar & Lingard, 2013; Zhang,

Khan, & Tahirsylaj, 2015). In trying to understand the higher performance of East Asian education systems, many researchers have found it natural to turn to an analysis of the motivational characteristics of their school children, supposing that curricular differences were insufficient to account for the gap (Jerrim, 2014).

Hong and Salili (2000) argue that the strong learning motivation of East Asian learners was related to their culture (see also Leung, 2014; Stankov, 2010). This is supported by the postulations of Ho (1981), that hard work in academic pursuits was accorded higher status in society than other careers in Chinese culture. In fact, among Chinese students, working hard to achieve academic goals is considered to be more crucial than relying on their intellectual ability (Zhu & Leung, 2011). This was echoed by Leung (2016), with a Chinese proverb “stupidity is overcome by hard work”. This, he said, was an illustration of how Confucian ideology and thought contributes to a cultural disposition towards hard work, effort, and a preeminent value of education. Parental influence and the vicarious observation of the wider community in Chinese culture helps to inculcate students in these all-important virtues and attitudes toward their learning. Children grow to internalise and adopt their parents’ valuation of education, their expectations towards their school work (which tend to be very high), and vicarious and other means of feedback on their academic performance. Chinese parents’ influence over their children’s school achievement is thought to be connected with the traditional ideals and overarching power of Filial Piety (FP) - a key element of Confucian ideology (Lin & Fu, 1990). This is because in Confucian culture, children are morally obliged to pursue the virtue of respect and honour for one’s parents, elders, and ancestors.

Furthermore, Ng (2003) attributed the differences in motivation of East Asian learners relative to other societies to their collectivist cultures (driven by Confucian teaching). In particular, parents and school teachers in Confucian society hold the views that “learning cannot be separated from achievement” and “learning and achievement are social obligations”. Markus and Kitayama (1991) similarly argued that individuals from collective societies (such as Confucian East Asia) would typically derive their motivation from what would benefit others and the entire group, not just themselves, while people in Western individualist cultures tended to have motivations that would be typically more self-benefiting. Confucianism is able to engender prioritising the wider social good in its members by focusing on known others outside the individual - family and especially parents - the motivation to engage in actions to benefit others becomes focused on real people, and that is a powerful driver.

Dong and Xu (2016) defined FP as:

“a traditional Confucian virtue in Chinese culture, which refers to a prominent, family-centred cultural value that adjusts children’s attitudes and behaviours toward their parents to ensure parental well-being” (p. 46).

FP is a bedrock of societies with a Confucian Heritage. Its roots lie in the traditions of Confucianism which has for over 2,000 years been the driving force behind the development of virtues and morals concerning family roles and relationships (Chen, 1986; Littlejohn, 2010). According to Lum, Yan, Ho,

Shum, Wong, Lau and Wang (2015), Confucian ideology has for centuries served as a guiding principle in shaping the family structure and intergenerational relationships between parents and their children by defining the obligations and connection among them through an intricate value system. The moral concept “Xiao (孝)” is at the core of Confucian family values. The Chinese character for FP, Xiao is derived by combining two other characters namely: Lao (老) and Zi (子). The character Lao represents elders, including parents, other older family members and the ancestors; Zi represents the child. Symbolically, Lao is above Zi; similarly, the elder is considered in the society as always being above the child, which illustrates and emphasises the hierarchy within, and the child’s duty to respect and show devotion to the parents and elders. This is a pattern of socialization within communities that are in line with the demands of Confucian societies.

It gives a prescription about how children should love and respect their parents and families as well as toward their ancestors. A consequence of this is that children in Confucian culture strive to fulfil their filial obligation through academic achievement as a means to repay and honour their parents (Chow & Chu, 2007).

An implication of the preceding review is that Confucian background learners strive and study hard as a way to undertake their filial obligation; it can therefore be postulated that FP is an important driver or possibly a predictor of academic achievement motivation. When a student obtains good results in a test or an examination, it serves to bring honour to their family and repay their parents. As a result, Confucian culture students study to fulfil a filial obligation, not simply for their own selves, unlike their Western counterparts.

However, within other cultures such as White British culture, there are learners with high academic achievement as well. Even though Chow and Chu (2007) tested the impact of FP on academic motivation using a “Self Determination Theory” framework, and did find evidence of its positive correlation within the Chinese Confucian context, coupling this with self-determination theory makes it hard to explain why hard work and consequent achievement would occur in non-Confucian societies. Using the theory of planned behaviour framework allows for this without problem - just by a different set of influences. This is because the theory of planned behaviour lends itself to a more clearly defined means of how the cultural dimension of individualism-collectivism could operationalise FP through Subjective Norms.

Drawing a sample from a broad cross-section of cultural backgrounds in the multicultural UK classroom, and getting participants to complete a measure of FP on the grounds that: a) this should capture a wider range of children with Confucian influences, and b) those with higher tendencies towards FP should exhibit the same pattern of associations as a sample drawn from an authentic Confucian context - Beijing.

1.1.1 Filial Piety in other Cultures

It is possible the concept of Filial Piety (FP), even though it is predominantly a Confucian trait, is present in other cultures to a degree. This is captured in the assertion by Gallois, Giles, Ota, Pierson,

Ng and Lim (1999) that:

“the concept of filial piety is present in most of the cultures in the world, although its form, salience and importance may differ” (p. 195).

Similarly, Jones, Lee and Zhang (2011) reiterated the global nature of the basic form of filial relations. They posited that filial beliefs are rooted in Confucian beliefs about Hsiao - FP, whose main virtue is Shu (reciprocity). They further argued that reciprocity is not a phenomenon unique to Chinese or Confucian culture. Western theories about responsibility of children to aging parents, they claimed, have reciprocity at the core (e.g., social exchange, equity, social capital theories; see Liang, Krause, & Bennett, 2001).

Kuang et al. (2010) suggest FP is a natural, instinctual and spontaneous phenomenon. This they conceptualised as “natural piety”. It is active and internal, they opined. They contrast natural piety with “cultural piety” - the kind practiced by Eastern Confucian cultures. Cultural piety, they argued, is a result of cultural teachings and cultural factors.

Natural FP, because of its nature, can be found among all people regardless of race, culture, and religion; cultural FP on the other hand, varies dramatically with regard to race, culture, and religion (Kuang et al., 2010). Evidence from research on FP between American and Chinese undergraduate students by Kuang et al. (2010) supported this view. Natural and cultural FP can therefore be thought of as additive influences for those in Confucian societies.

Kuang et al. (2010) provided a new insight to understand FP from a biological view. The study highlighted the interaction between biological aspect of human filial nature and the mind-body axis. She proposed three important points:

1. There is a hidden link between one’s filial attitude/practice and one’s performance/achievement in life.
2. Intentionally nurturing a positive filial attitude toward parents and the elderly optimizes human performance and facilitates achievement.
3. Ill-practice of filial piety blocks one’s own prosperity.

Kuang’s observation demonstrates how in Confucian culture, the members are taught that practicing FP has benefits for the individual therefore accentuating the impact of cultural piety. This proposition is consistent with the findings about the motivating influence of cultural norms and significant referents in academic achievement (Author, in press).

Therefore, it is practical to use the measure of FP to distinguish people from Confucian backgrounds and to show contrast in levels. It is then reasonable to expect the distinct influence of cultural piety in Confucian culture to strengthen the relationships with Subjective Norms and received self-efficacy.

1.1.2 Confucianism in Beijing

That Beijing is authentically Confucian is beyond doubt as China is the cradle of Confucianism (Elman, Duncan & Ooms, 2002; Littlejohn, 2010; Yao, 2000) with Beijing, the capital city, being a location for some of the most historical sites in its antiquity. Formal state institutions such as the media, schools and

families have for centuries propagated and embodied understandings about filial relations. For instance, Bregnbæk (2016) reports the practice in primary schools where children are made to memorise and perform a poem from the Tang Dynasty (618 - 906 AD) about a mother's sacrifice of her health to enable her son to study well in order to become an official of social significance. Performance of such a poem is an important event and the children are supposed to carry it out with emotion and seriousness, reflecting on what their parents are sacrificing to enable them to have the privileges in their own lives. A different version of the same story is reinforced in secondary school. The importance of FP in Chinese society is illustrated in the following proverb:

“Among hundreds of virtues, filial piety is the most important one” [bai shan xiao wei xian, a traditional Chinese proverb]. (Wang, Laidlaw, Power, & Shen, 2009, p. 21)

Consequently, inside China, it is applied by parents and elders as a persuasive force embedded in the culture to shape the values, attitudes, and behaviours of their children. It is a widely-held belief that FP retains an essential “currency” among all generations within contemporary Chinese society (Bregnbæk, 2016; Chan, 1997; Wang et al., 2009).

1.1.3 Level of Filial Piety Influence in Contemporary China

However, it has been suggested by several researchers (e.g., see Bregnbæk, 2016; Wang et al., 2009; Yeh & Bedford, 2003) that the influence of trends of modernization, urbanization, industrialisation and globalization rapidly occurring in China have impacted on the nature and influence of FP in contemporary Chinese society. This erosion or modification of FP has been observed both in mainland China, and in Hong Kong and Taiwan (Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002). Ng and colleagues reported that not only did the older generation subscribe more strongly to the ideals of FP, they had modified their expectation to expect less of it from the younger generation thereby reducing any incidence of cognitive dissonance. This they attributed to the rapid changes in China due to industrialisation.

Bregnbæk (2016) suggests the socio-political upheaval of the Cultural Revolution in the late sixties through the seventies was partly to blame. During that period, Confucian ideas, Bregnbæk opined, were considered to be counter-revolutionary. Therefore, the state sought to replace loyalty to parents (FP) with loyalty to the state.

The social, economic and political upheaval experienced in modern Chinese society notwithstanding, some researchers in the field have argued that FP remains an important influence on family relations. For instance, Kagitcibasi (2007) reported that the industrialisation and modernisation that has swept countries in East Asia have not succeeded in completely obliterating traditional values such as FP. A similar observation had been made by Zheng, Shi and Tang (2005); and Jie (2012). They argued that family obligations still play a significant role in the way children related to their parents.

The influence of FP has remained strong in contemporary Chinese society according to Cheung and Kwan (2009).

The present study seeks to compare the Beijing and UK samples to find out whether:

- The levels of FP resembled that of the high FP group from the UK sample;

- The relationships between FP and Received self-efficacy (RSE)/ vicarious self-efficacy (VSE) were similar to that observed in the high FP group in the UK sample;
- The relationships between FP and Subjective norms (SN) and Intention (INT) [and indeed Attention (ATT)] were like the observation in the high FP group in the UK sample.

This will hopefully enable a comparison to be made between a sample drawn from a modernised Chinese city such as Beijing and a group high in FP/ a group low in FP in the UK. It will provide a strong test of the generalisability of stereotypes held about groups of people. This will also add to the debate about the extent of the decline or otherwise in FP in modern Chinese society, and shed light on how typical a high FP group is of an authentic Confucian community.

1.1.4 Measuring Filial Piety

Measurement of FP has evolved over time in line with the changing definition and nature of the construct over generations (Lum et al., 2015).

Conceptual advances led to the development of the Dual Filial Piety Scale (DFPS) by Yeh and Bedford (2003). The dual scale merged the traditional conceptualisation for FP (authority and obedience) with the subsequent emphasis on emotion and reciprocity (Lum et al., 2015).

Conceptualising of FP has therefore evolved over time to an understanding that reflects both its traditional and current views. For instance, Lum et al. (2015) outlined six traditional and contemporary dimensions of FP:

- (a) conditional and unconditional care for parents, (b) care for oneself, (c) affection and consideration, (d) obedience and repayment, (e) honour and respect, and (f) family continuity.

2. Method

Quantitative data was collected using a questionnaire that had a 7 point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”.

2.1 Development of FP Measure

Elements from the dimensions posited by Lum et al. (2015) and Jones, Lee and Zhang (2011) (respect, responsibility, care, honour) were adapted into a scale to measure FP in the present study. The questions were built around these dimensions and kept to a maximum of 10 because of the intended age of the sample.

2.1.1 Development of Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study was constructed by combining subscales that measured: filial piety (FP), three sources of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986) - experiential self-efficacy (ESE), received self-efficacy (RSE), vicarious self-efficacy (VSE). There were also subscales that measured the three component variables under the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) - subjective norms (SN), attitudes (ATT) and intention (INT). The seven variables were included in the questionnaire.

2.1.2 Motivational Dimension - Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB)

In TPB, “intention” is the antecedent to behaviour; the cognitive representation of the individual’s

preparedness to carry out an action informed by behavioural and normative beliefs - the volitional aspects of behaviour. Behavioural beliefs are the attitudes held towards a behaviour, derived from the expected outcomes associated with performing that behaviour, with the value attached to those outcomes. Normative beliefs are the expectations held about whether important referent individuals or groups (friends, family, parents, teachers, peers, religious leader, etc.) approve or disapprove of performing a given behaviour and the value attached to adhering to it (motivation to comply) (Ajzen, 1991).

Motivated behaviour in learning contexts can be defined as the deliberate application of effort or persistence, influenced by a) attitude to the effortful behaviour, and b) subjective norms.

2.1.3 Self-efficacy (SE)

TPB includes a non-volitional component - perceived behaviour control (PBC) - a belief in the ability and freedom to perform the behaviour, its controllability (Ajzen 2002). In the learning context, the emphasis is on belief in the capacity to perform the effortful behaviour successfully, making it worthwhile putting that effort in. This means that SE is a more appropriate variable than PBC (Ajzen, 2002; Tolma, Reininger, Evans, & Ureda, 2006; Williams, Michie, Dale, Stallard, & French, 2015). SE is an individual's conviction in their ability to successfully execute the behaviour needed for a successful outcome on a task (Bandura, 1993).

Three types of SE have been discussed in learning contexts relevant to the present study (Bandura, 1977, 2003; Britner & Pajares, 2006; Usher & Pajares, 2006, 2008, 2009).

- Experiential (ESE): this refers to the learner's own experience of previous attainments.
- Received (RSE): is when a learner is told by someone 'you can do it' especially from someone they respect and whose opinion matters to them. Teachers' and parents' feedback is very important.
- Modelling/Vicarious (VSE): this is when a learner sees or watches someone do it (someone just like them) through vicarious learning. Observing someone like them succeed or fail at a task contributes to shaping their own sense of SE.

2.1.4 Self-efficacy and Motivation

The three sources of self-efficacy and the three elements of the TPB framework used were measured using items that targeted specific target behaviours, judged to be especially relevant to filial piety: Feedback, Grades, Concentration and Time spent. These four were chosen because they are behaviours that children perform or are concerned about in relation to pleasing their parents (see Chao & Tseng, 2002; Hong & Howes, 2014; Huang & Gove, 2012; Sham & Woodrow, 1998). The target behaviours fulfilled the multiple act criterion which according to Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), gives better measures of attitudes and behaviour.

2.2 Sample

The samples were recruited from children aged 9 - 11 years in UK primary schools and a primary school in Beijing. The Beijing sample was drawn from an inner city primary school. All the participants were from a lower middle-class background with a few described as working class drawn from the

same school. Official Mandarin (Putonghua) is the official and only language of instruction in the school. All the children were described as native Mandarin speakers.

The breakdown of the total sample is given in Table 1a and b below.

Table 1a. Participant Statistics (UK Sample)

		Child's gender		Total
		Female	Male	
Age of Child (years)	9	25	23	48
	10	25	29	54
	11	33	30	63
Total		83	82	165

Table 1b. Participant Statistics (Beijing Sample)

		Child's gender		Total
		Female	Male	
Age of Child (years)	10	20	29	49
	11	19	27	46
Total		39	56	95

2.3 Ethical Considerations

This study was given ethical approval using the UCL Institute of Education procedures.

All the requirements of working with children including: consent, confidentiality, right to withdraw and safeguarding were observed. A letter providing information and soliciting consent was sent home with each of the target children. The consent was an "opt in" so parents had to indicate so expressly for a child to be allowed to participate. Before the data collection, assent was sought from the children and they were assured they could withdraw at any time without having to justify themselves. This approach to ethics was applied both in the UK and in Beijing.

2.4 Reliability and Analysis

Reliability of the questionnaire was established and the alpha values of the subscales are in the range: .62 to .85 - deemed to be in the acceptable range in the context of the present study (Field, 2013; Gliem & Gliem, 2003; Nunnally, 1978).

Specific questionnaire alpha values for the groups are also provided below:

UK low filial piety: 0.75

UK high filial piety: 0.62

Beijing: 0.83

3. Results

3.1 UK Results

This study sought to investigate how levels of filial piety - whether high or low - related to the motivational and affective variables: experiential self-efficacy (ESE), vicarious self-efficacy (VSE), received self-efficacy (RSE), subjective norms (SN), attitudes (ATT) and intention (INT). Specifically, it sought to ascertain whether participants with high filial piety displayed the relationships observed in the Beijing sample.

Consequently, filial piety was categorised into high and low by computing a median split. Dichotomising a continuous variable using a median split is popular in behaviour research and in other fields (Fernald, Marchman, & Weisleder, 2013; Kim, Chen, Zhang, Simons-Morton, & Albert, 2013; MacCallum, Zhang, Preacher, & Rucker, 2002); yet its use has attracted criticism from some researchers who point to the potential to have misleading results due to proneness to both Type 1 and 2 errors (Cohen, 1983; Fitzsimons, 2008).

Nevertheless, median splits have maintained their popularity because for the purposes of achieving certain theoretical research objectives, its use offers the most effective and pragmatic avenue (DeCoster, Iselin, & Gallucci, 2009; Iacobucci, Posavac, Kardes, Schneider, & Popovich, 2015). Furthermore, Iacobucci and colleagues (2015) posited through the results of their study that most of the criticism levelled against the use of median splits were not warranted. They suggested using the dichotomisation was a legitimate statistical tool whose results yielded a valid basis on which to draw statistical conclusions.

The current study has a theoretical objective of testing relationships within a dichotomised framework of high versus low filial piety (see Iacobucci et al., 2015). Therefore, using the median split was an appropriate approach.

3.1.1 Comparing of Means

The means of all the variables were compared in the two groups created in the UK sample using a t test (see Tables 2a and 2b).

Table 2a. Means for Variables: High and Low FP

	Group	Mean	SD
RSE	High Filial Piety	24.87	3.071
	Low Filial Piety	22.67	4.150
VSE	High Filial Piety	23.73	4.091
	Low Filial Piety	22.13	4.933
ESE	High Filial Piety	21.49	4.542
	Low Filial Piety	20.88	4.644
SN	High Filial Piety	25.35	3.183
	Low Filial Piety	23.30	4.134

ATT	High Filial Piety	25.22	3.102
	Low Filial Piety	23.58	4.558
INT	High Filial Piety	24.77	3.271
	Low Filial Piety	22.39	4.512
FP	High Filial Piety	61.02	3.781
	Low Filial Piety	49.51	5.092

Table 2b. Significance of Mean Differences

	Mean difference	95% CI	<i>t</i>	P
RSE	2.2	-3.353, -1.046	(143.7) -3.77	<.001
VSE	1.59	-2.995, -.193	(162) -2.25	=.026
ESE	.62	-2.037, .805	(161) -.856	=.39
SN	2.06	-3.209, -.907	(149.98) -3.53	=.001
ATT	1.64	-2.835, -.443	(146.76) -2.71	=.008
INT	2.38	-3.606, -1.162	(149.55) -3.85	<.001
FP	11.51	-12.947, -10.076	(134.05) -15.86	<.001

The results from comparing the means of the two groups created by the median split were in line with what was expected for most of the variables. RSE and VSE were relatively higher in the high filial piety (HFP) group and the differences were statistically significant as expected. ESE was marginally higher in the HFP group but was not statistically significant.

Furthermore, SN, INT and FP were similarly higher in the HFP group which is to be expected for SN and FP. However, ATT was also higher in the HFP group and the difference was statistically significant; this was unexpected because the expectation for ATT was for it to be higher in the group with low filial piety (LFP).

Use of FP as a distinguishing measure for the two groups was therefore deemed to be appropriate for the purposes of this study. It produced groups that were different on most of the key variables as was hypothesised, with the exception of ESE. The difference observed for ATT in the two groups was statistically significant albeit contrary to what was expected.

3.1.2 Correlation Analysis

With the differences between the two groups established, correlation analysis was used to check the relations between the variables in the two groups. Since a key assumption under which correlation analysis is conducted is that the variables must have a linear relationship, all the relationships to be tested were checked for linearity using scatter plots (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2013).

The results of the correlation analysis for the two groups are summarised in Tables 3a and 3b below:

Table 3a. High FP Correlations

	RSE	VSE	ESE	SN	ATT	INT
RSE		.388**	.371*	.612**	.466**	.579**
VSE			.301**	.400**	.507**	.542**
ESE				.359**	.372**	.309**
SN					.676**	.609**
ATT						.678**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$ (2 tailed)

Table 3b. Low FP Correlations

	RSE	VSE	ESE	SN	ATT	INT
RSE		.408**	.264*	.511**	.494**	.566**
VSE			.357**	.499**	.547**	.498**
ESE				.405**	.550**	.495**
SN					.608**	.685**
ATT						.721**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$ (2 tailed)

3.1.3 Discussion of UK Sample

A key consideration is the extent to which filial piety (FP) worked as a differentiation device. Using the level of FP as the basis to split the data worked well; the two groups created were different (statistically) on all the variables except one. Furthermore, there was a good range of scores for FP. Therefore, it can be argued that dividing the sample up using a median split produced two distinctive groups.

In the high FP group, both subjective norms (SN) and attitudes (ATT) were associated with intention (INT); the ATT/ INT relationship being marginally stronger. Both SN and ATT had a strong relationship with INT with ATT having the stronger relationship.

A similar observation was made by Kim and Park (2009) who tested counselling help seeking behaviour in a sample of Asian Americans (representing collective culture). The study investigated whether the effects of Asian values (respect for those in authority, filial piety, collectivism, and conformity to norms) on willingness to see a counsellor were mediated by ATT and SN and the relative strengths of the mediation if present. Their results suggested SN was the main driver, having a direct relationship with INT yet being mediated by ATT as well. They argued that SN was still the driver of ATT. This is because they agreed with the description of ATT by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), that ATT is a judgement of whether a behaviour is 'good or bad', a judgement that is influenced by the individual's values; therefore, such a judgement could be driven by an individual's SN if it has a strong influence on their disposition. The statistical mediation bears this out.

In the low FP group, the data suggested ATT had the dominant relationship with INT.

3.1.4 Self-efficacy and FP

Received self-efficacy (RSE) had a stronger relationship with SN relative to experiential self-efficacy (ESE) in the high FP group. Similarly, vicarious self-efficacy (VSE) was more strongly related to SN than ESE. This suggests the pervading influence of social norms and authoritarian piety places a great deal of importance on RSE as views of referents are held in high regard.

ESE also had a stronger relationship with ATT relative to the other SE variables in the low FP group, though both RSE and VSE had strong relationships with ATT too.

Overall, filial piety was found to have relationships with the motivation variables. This observation is broadly in line with extant literature. For instance, virtue-related beliefs (filial piety) in learning has been found to influence academic achievement, because filial piety determines effort deployment by increasing motivation and self-efficacy (Bempechat, Li & Ronfard, 2016; King & McNerney, 2014). Bempechat and her colleagues (2016) further reported that learning beliefs that were culturally informed and internalized were able to have a positive effect on children even from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds.

3.1.5 Beijing Compared with High FP and Low FP

The three groups (high and low FP from the UK, and Beijing) were compared by means of all the variables using a one way Anova (Tables 4a and 4b).

Table 4a. Means for Variables across 3 Groups

	Group	Mean	SD
RSE	High Filial Piety	24.87 _a	3.071
	Low Filial Piety	22.67 _b	4.150
	Beijing	20.95 _c	4.817
VSE	High Filial Piety	23.73 _a	4.091
	Low Filial Piety	22.13 _a	4.933
	Beijing	23.63 _a	4.627
ESE	High Filial Piety	21.49 _a	4.542
	Low Filial Piety	20.88 _b	4.644
	Beijing	19.05 _c	4.887
SN	High Filial Piety	25.35 _a	3.183
	Low Filial Piety	23.30 _b	4.134
	Beijing	20.38 _c	5.739
ATT	High Filial Piety	25.22 _a	3.102
	Low Filial Piety	23.58 _b	4.558
	Beijing	20.29 _c	5.491

INT	High Filial Piety	24.77 _a	3.271
	Low Filial Piety	22.39 _b	4.512
	Beijing	22.99 _b	4.249
FP	High Filial Piety	61.02 _a	3.781
	Low Filial Piety	49.51 _c	5.092
	Beijing	55.64 _b	7.429

Subscripts are markers for significant differences.

Table 4b. One Way Anova for Three Groups

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
RSE	Between Groups	654.497	2	327.249	19.137	.000
	Within Groups	4240.881	248	17.100		
VSE	Between Groups	135.567	2	67.783	3.241	.041
	Within Groups	5353.615	256	20.913		
ESE	Between Groups	288.116	2	144.058	6.511	.002
	Within Groups	5641.764	255	22.125		
SN	Between Groups	1091.713	2	545.856	26.185	.000
	Within Groups	5253.323	252	20.847		
ATT	Between Groups	1120.821	2	560.410	27.031	.000
	Within Groups	5328.164	257	20.732		
INT	Between Groups	246.611	2	123.306	7.445	.001
	Within Groups	4190.498	253	16.563		
FP	Between Groups	5124.935	2	2562.468	76.959	.000
	Within Groups	8224.269	247	33.297		

As can be seen from Table 4b, there was a statistically significant difference between all three groups. To investigate more closely which of the groups specifically differed from the other, a Tukey's HSD post hoc test was computed.

The post-hoc Tukey's HSD tests showed that the Beijing sample differed statistically from both high and low FP groups on the variables: FP, RSE, ESE, SN, and ATT but was not statistically different from both groups in VSE and from the low FP group in INT. The means of the Beijing sample on RSE, ESE, SN and ATT were lower than that of both high and low FP groups. For VSE and FP, the means from the Beijing sample straddled those of the high and low FP group (though Beijing and high FP close for VSE). For INT, the Beijing sample was slightly higher than low FP but lower than high FP.

On the whole, the data suggests the Beijing sample was not like the high FP group; it actually fell

below the low FP group on all the measures except in VSE and FP.

3.2 Beijing Correlations

The correlations obtained from the data (Table 5) broadly suggests a trend expected of individuals from a Confucian culture but with a strong influence of ATT as well. ATT had a stronger relationship with INT than with SN even though both were statistically significant. The relationship between RSE and SN was stronger than that between ESE and ATT, suggesting a stronger influence of group norms over the individual. It must be noted however, that the ESE and ATT relationship was also statistically significant. Also, the relationship between RSE and SN was marginally stronger than that observed between RSE and ATT.

In line with typical expectation of individuals from a Confucian background, RSE and VSE both had stronger relationships with FP than ESE; FP and VSE and FP and ESE. There was also a statistically significant relationship between FP and SN but a non-significant relationship between FP and ATT.

Table 5. Beijing Correlations

	RSE	VSE	ESE	SN	ATT	INT	FP
RSE		.653**	.406*	.531**	.513**	.585**	.337**
VSE			.532**	.418**	.471**	.691**	.364**
ESE				.247*	.427**	.523**	.213*
SN					.550**	.437**	.325**
ATT						.690**	.171
INT							.232*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$ (2 tailed) $N=95$

A partial correlation controlling for the influences of ATT and SN respectively produced relationships that were either weakened in both cases or rendered non-significant as shown in Table 6 below. However, the relationship between SN and INT disappeared when the influence of ATT was controlled; conversely, the relationship between ATT and INT was maintained when the influence of SN was controlled. This suggests ATT was the dominant variable of the two.

A test of mediation of the effect of SN on INT through ATT showed that ATT was completely mediating the influence of SN on INT. This makes the Chinese sample to be more like the high FP group from the UK sample. This is because just like the Beijing sample, the high FP group in the UK sample showed a similarly drastic reduction in the influence of SN on INT when the influence of ATT was partialled out even though the mediation of ATT in this case was not as complete.

Table 6. Beijing Correlations Controlling for ATT and SN

Control ATT			Control SN		
Variables	r	P	Variables	R	p
SN and FP	.28	=.006	ATT and FP	-.01	=.93
SN and RSE	.35	=.001	ATT and RSE	.31	=.002
SN and VSE	.22	=.036	ATT and VSE	.32	=.002
SN and ESE	.02	=.881	ATT and ESE	.36	<.001
SN and INT	.095	=.362	ATT and INT	.6	<.001
ESE and INT	.35	=.001	ESE and INT	.48	<.001
RSE and INT	.37	<.001	RSE and INT	.46	<.001
VSE and INT	.57	<.001	VSE and INT	.622	<.001
RSE and FP	.295	=.004	RSE and FP	.21	=.05
VSE and FP	.33	=.001	VSE and FP	.265	=.01
ESE and FP	.16	=.13	ESE and FP	.145	=.163

4. Discussion

The means suggest the levels of the variables were lower than both high and low FP group from the UK sample; however, this could be due to differences in calibration. The Beijing sample sits somewhere between the high FP and low FP continuum; mirroring and similar position on the individualism-collectivism continuum. Being an urbanised and industrialised city may have impacted the level and influence of classical Confucian ethos.

The models suggest a mix with ATT and SN balanced in influence which inform a classic Theory of Planned Behaviour. The results were not exactly as expected; however, post hoc consideration gives possible explanations.

This observation has been corroborated by Hamamura and Xu (2015). They used Google's Ngram Viewer software to analyse the usage of first-person singular pronouns compared with the use of first-person plural pronouns in literature published in China. It had been argued by Oyserman, Sorensen, Reber and Chen (2009) that personal pronoun usage could give a good indication of the level of individualism or collectivism in a society. Xu and Hamamura (2014) also reported Ngram Viewer plots reliably giving an indication of trends in word usage in a society. The analysis considered the trend from 1950 to 2008. The results showed an increase in the usage of first-person singular pronouns and a decrease in the usage of first-person plural pronouns particularly since the 1970s. This, they suggest, shows an increase in individualism and a decrease in collectivism, contributing to a relatively waning influence of Confucian filial piety.

It is becoming increasingly reliable to agree with other researchers in the field who have opined that the view of children in Confucian communities lacking autonomy and a personal attitude as being

inaccurate. For instance, Wang and Cai (2017) conceded that Chinese parents, by virtue of their drive to support their children to fulfil their filial obligation, exercise more control over their children than parents in the West. However, they argued that Chinese children may interpret control differently from their Western counterparts. They illustrate this with the Chinese character: Guan (关), literal meaning “to govern”; it is interpreted by Chinese children as an act of love (also see Chao, 1994). Chinese children, as a result, may not view parental control and provision of structure as negatively as children in the West would.

This is because according to Parsons, Adler and Kaczala (1982), parental influence could be manifested through one or two processes: parents as role models, and parents as expectancy socializers. They suggested the former, assumes that parents, as models, exhibit behaviours that their children imitate and eventually end up adopting as “... part of their own behavioural repertoire” (p. 310). This could help explain the stronger influence of VSE relative to the other sources of self-efficacy studied.

Wei (2012), posited that parental influence on children’s motivation to succeed academically could be explained by using the concept of “social capital” as a framework for analysis as propounded by Coleman (1988). Social capital exists in bonds and relations among persons - parents and their children in this case.

Of all the variables of social capital studied by Wei (2012), family communication was found to have the strongest influence. Communication enables the transmission of key values and dispositions that enable the formation of strong personal attitudes towards education and learning. Communication in its various forms also leads to the development of strong normative beliefs (SN) further strengthening the child’s motivation and affect towards learning and education.

This is enhanced further by the one child policy in China. Having only one child meant all the family’s attention and resources are devoted towards that single child. Parents and family relations devote considerable resources and effort towards ensuring the child gets the best education and that in turn communicates subjective norms that develop in the child.

A study by Wang et al. (2017) provides further insight to the SN/ ATT interaction in how they influence intention. They used a classic TPB framework to study the relative influences of each of the determinants of intention to play computer games instead of doing homework in a sample of Chinese adolescents. Even in the presence of strong personal attitudes and PBC, they found that subjective norms that involve parental monitoring rather than that of peers had a strong influence on the students’ decision to spend time on their studies. When the subjective norm was driven by peers, the students opted to play computer games. This highlights the strong influence of parental pressure in driving SN and positive personal attitudes towards learning and academic pursuits.

The mediating influence of ATT on the relationship between SN and INT as found in this study could be explained (albeit admittedly post hoc) by the changes in the concept of filial piety as argued by Kim et al. (2015). They identified with the bifurcation of filial piety into authoritarian and reciprocal piety by Yeh and Bedford (2004). Contemporary forms of filial piety emphasise reciprocal piety as opposed

to the erstwhile traditional dominance of authoritarian piety (Kim et al., 2015). Reciprocal piety, they argued, is more consensual in approach so a child in contemporary Confucian society is able to take on board the subjective norms of the community and internalise them into manifesting through personal attitudes. This is because of the pervading influence of reciprocal piety as opposed to authoritarian piety. Lai et al. (2016) discussed this contemporary form of piety as being operationalised as the all-important “cultural capital” that influences children’s academic performance and therefore social mobility.

Children in Confucian culture may therefore exhibit very high levels of personal attitudes (ATT) that is driven by the subjective pressures to show filial piety (reciprocal piety) and maintain face (SN).

4.1 Beijing v UK

The data from Beijing did not fit the profile of any of the groups from the UK sample. The expectation was for the profiles to be similar to the Chinese background or high FP groups from the UK sample. However, they mostly sat between the high and low groups on the FP continuum. These results, albeit unexpected, may reflect the political, cultural and social upheaval in contemporary China, the brunt of which has been felt in a highly urbanised city such as Beijing. De Barry (1995) captured the sentiment with this observation:

“... the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution rent China in the late sixties and early seventies, with its bloody vendetta against any supposed remnants of Confucianism, or how youthful phalanxes of Red Guards, waving Little Red Books, waged lethal campaigns against intellectuals and state officials, targeted as covert agents of the ancient sage - or indeed if one’s memories reach back to the early founders of the Chinese Communist Party, a generation of young iconoclasts bent on smashing the old ‘Confucian Curiosity Shop’” (p. 175).

De Barry was conveying the upheavals created by the new political movement in the late sixties and seventies led by Mao Zedong that sought to purge China of Confucian influence. That created a generation of Chinese citizens who lacked the cultural ideals of Confucianism. However, De Barry noted a return to Confucian ideals in the eighties during the new political movement led by Deng Xiaoping. Interestingly, De Barry noted that traditional Confucianism was upheld in countries such as Japan, Korea and Singapore during that period.

One of the consequences of the purge of Confucianism during the Maoist Cultural Revolution was an erosion of filial piety. Nevertheless, Qi (2014) argues that family obligations continue to play an important role in China, although there may be changes in the conventions associated with the attitudes, expectations and emotions associated with obligations. It is therefore not prudent to assume filial piety or Confucianism was completely degraded; it is simply an acknowledgement of it being modified in the present dispensation.

In a similar vein, Zhang, Lin, Nonaka and Beom (2005) observed the differences that exist among Confucian countries from the results of a study comparing university students from different countries on levels of Confucian characteristics. Differences have arisen as each country has experienced

different political reforms, social and cultural changes as part of the process of technological innovation and modernization to create increasingly advanced societies. This is supported by Lin and Ho (2009) who reported respondents in Taiwan displaying relatively higher levels of Confucian values than those in mainland China.

Therefore, the results from Beijing probably partly show evidence of the effects of the Cultural Revolution experienced by that society as a result of the political events of the sixties and seventies. It could also be a consequence of the growth of Beijing into a cosmopolitan, modern city.

The question still remains about why Confucianism apparently had a larger influence in the UK relative to Beijing. One explanation could be that the Chinese community in the UK are a relatively self-contained group in particular (Song, 2015; Zhu, 2008), and also because the majority originated from Hong Kong (see Chan, 1997; Zhu, 2008) where the impact of the Cultural Revolution was minimal or non-existent.

The finding from the present study illustrates the problems that could arise from stereotyping groups and individuals. There are so many contextual variables that could influence dispositions and behaviour hence caution must be exercised when dealing with individuals and groups as preconceived assumptions may turn out to be inaccurate. Schools and headteachers, in their quest to develop better relationships with families and communities need to be mindful of prevailing stereotypical views that may be deleterious to desired outcomes.

4.2 Limitations

A limitation of the present study is the issue of calibration. It is suggested that certain measures may be calibrated differently by participants in different contexts. For instance, there are relatively lower levels of self-efficacy observed when collectivist East Asian cultures are compared with Western cultural backgrounds (King & McInerney, 2014; Klassen, 2004; Schunk & Pajares, 2009). This is a challenge in cross cultural research that must be taken into account. Furthermore, the internal consistency measure (alpha values) were different for the two UK groups as well as the Beijing sample. As a result, the findings from the present study are taken in perspective of these realities.

Acknowledgement

This work was supported by the UK Economic and Social Research Council.

References

- Ajzen, A., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50, 179-211. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978\(91\)90020-T](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(91)90020-T)
- Ajzen, I. (2002). Perceived Behavioural Control, Self-Efficacy, Locus of Control, and the Theory of Planned Behavior. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 32, 665-683.

- <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb00236.x>
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behaviour change. *Psychological Review*, 84(2), 191-215. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.84.2.191>
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. (1993). Perceived self-efficacy in cognitive development and functioning. *Educational Psychologist*, 28, 117-148. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep2802_3
- Bandura, A. (2003). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: W. H. Freeman and Company.
- Bempechat J., Li, J., & Ronfard S. (2016). *Relations Among Cultural Learning Beliefs, Self-Regulated Learning, and Academic Achievement for Low-Income Chinese American Adolescents Child Development* (pp. 1-11).
- Bregnbæk, S. (2016). From Filial Piety to Forgiveness: Managing Ambivalent Feelings in a Beijing House-Church. *Ethos*, 44(4), 411-426. <https://doi.org/10.1111/etho.12143>
- Britner, S. L., & Pajares, F. (2006). Sources of science self-efficacy beliefs of middle school students. *Journal of research in science teaching*, 43(5), 485-499. <https://doi.org/10.1002/tea.20131>
- Chan, A. C. M. (1997). *Filial scale for Chinese elderly*. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong.
- Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development*, 65, 1111-1119. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1131308>
- Chao, R., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Series Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 4 Social conditions and applied parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 59-93). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Chen, L. (1986). *The Confucian Way: A New and Systematic Study of "The Four Books"*. Taylor & Francis.
- Cheung C., & Kwan A. Y. (2009). City-level Influences on Chinese Filial Piety practice. *Journal of Comparative Asian Development*, 8(1), 105-123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15339114.2009.9678475>
- Chow, S. S. Y., & Chu, M. H. T. (2007). The impact of filial piety and parental involvement on academic achievement motivation in Chinese secondary school students. *Asian Journal of Counselling*, 14(1-2), 91-124.
- Cohen, J. (1983). The cost of dichotomization. *Applied Psychological Measurement*, 7(3), 249-253. <https://doi.org/10.1177/014662168300700301>
- Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. S. (2013). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analyses for the behavioural sciences* (3 ed.). Mahwah: Erlbaum.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(Suppl), S95-S120. <https://doi.org/10.1086/228943>
- De Bary T. W. M. (1995). *The New Confucianism in Beijing The American Scholar* (Vol. 64, No. 2 (Spring), pp. 175-189). Retrieved August 17, 2017, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41212312>

- DeCoster, J., Iselin, A. R., & Gallucci, M. (2009). A conceptual and empirical examination of justifications for dichotomization. *Psychological Methods*, 14(4), 349-366. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016956>
- Dong, X., & Xu, Y. (2016). Filial Piety among Global Chinese Adult Children: A Systematic Review Research & Reviews. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(1).
- Elman B., Duncan, J., & Ooms. H. (Eds.). (2002). *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*. Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series.
- Fernald, A., Marchman, V. A., & Weisleder, A. (2013). SES differences in language processing skill and vocabulary are evident at 18 months. *Developmental science*, 16(2), 234-248. <https://doi.org/10.1111/desc.12019>
- Field, A. P. (2013). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS Statistics: And sex and drugs and rock "n" roll* (4th ed.). London: Sage publications.
- Fitzsimons, G. J. (2008). Editorial: Death to dichotomizing. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35(1), 5-8. <https://doi.org/10.1086/589561>
- Gallois, C., Giles, H., Ota, H., Pierson, H. D., Ng, S. H., & Lim, T.-S., (1999). Intergenerational communication across the Pacific Rim: The impact of filial piety. In J.-C. Lasry, J. Adair, & K. Dion (Eds.), *Latest contribution to cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 192-211). Lisse, Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Gliem, R. R., & Gliem, J. A. (2003). *Calculating, interpreting, and reporting Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for Likert-type scales*. Midwest Research-to-Practice Conference in Adult, Continuing, and Community Education.
- Hamamura, T., & Xu, Y. (2015). Changes in Chinese Culture as Examined Through Changes in Personal Pronoun Usage. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 46(7), 930-941. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022115592968>
- Ho, D. Y. F. (1981). Traditional patterns of socialization in Chinese society. *Acta Psychologica Taiwanica*, 23, 81-95.
- Hong, S. H., & Howes, A. (2014). Influences of Confucianism on Chinese Parents' Experience with Early Childhood Education. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 2, 39-49. <http://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2014.27007>.
- Hong, Y. Y., & Salili, F. (2000). Challenges ahead for research on Chinese students' learning motivation in the new millennium. *Journal of Psychology in Chinese societies*, 1(2), 1-12.
- Huang, G. H., & Gove, M. (2012). Confucianism and Chinese Families: Values and Practices in Education. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2(3).
- Iacobucci, D., Posavac, S. S., Kardes, F. R., Schneider, M., & Popovich, D. (2015). Toward a more nuanced understanding of the statistical properties of a median split. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 25(4), 652-665. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2014.12.002>

- Jerrim, J. (2014). *Why do East Asian children perform so well in PISA? An investigation of Western-born children of East Asian descent* (DoQSS working paper). Retrieved January 13, 2017, from <https://www.ideas.repec.org/p/qss/dqsswp/1416.html>
- Jie, Xu. (2012). Filial piety and intergenerational communication in China. *The Journal of International Communication*, 18(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13216597.2012.662466>
- Jones, P. S., Lee, J. W., & Zhang, X. E. (2011). Clarifying and Measuring Filial Concepts across Five Cultural Groups. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 34(4), 310-326. <http://doi.org/10.1002/nur.20444>.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (2007). *Family, self, and human development across cultures: Theory and applications*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Kim, K., Cheng, Y.-P., Zarit, S., & Fingerman, K. (2015). Relationships between adults and parents in Asia. In S. T. Cheng, I. Chi, H. H. Fung, L. W. Li, & J. Woo (Eds.), *Successful aging. Asian perspectives* (pp. 101-122). Heidelberg: Springer.
- Kim, S., Chen, Z., Zhang, Z., Simons-Morton, B. G., & Albert, P. S. (2013). Bayesian hierarchical Poisson regression models: An application to a driving study with kinematic events. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 108 (502), 494-503. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01621459.2013.770702>
- Kuang, Y., McKittrick, S., Yang, G., Wang, J., Guan, S., & Mankoff, R. (2010). Filial Attitudes of American and Chinese Undergraduate Students. *The American Association of Behavioural and Social Sciences Journal*, 14.
- Lai, G., Song, J., Wong, O., & Feng, X. (2016). Transition to higher education in contemporary China: A study of high school graduates in urban Nanjing. *Journal of Sociology*, 52(1), 83-102. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783315588441>
- Lau, K. L., & Ho, S. C. (2015). Reading performance and self-regulated learning of Hong Kong students: What we learnt from PISA 2009. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher* (Advanced publication).
- Leung, F. K. S. (2014). What can and should we learn from international studies of mathematics achievement? *Mathematics Education Research Journal*, 26(3), 579-605. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s13394-013-0109-0>.
- Leung, F. K. S. (2016). *Personal conversation with Author 10th May*.
- Liang, J., Krause, N. M., & Bennett, J. M. (2001). Social exchange and well-being: Is giving better than receiving? *Psychology and Aging*, 16(3), 511-523. <http://doi.org/10.1037/0882-7974.16.3.511>
- Lin, C. Y. C., & Fu, V. R. (1990). A comparison of child-rearing practices among Chinese, immigrant Chinese, and Caucasian-American parents. *Child development*, 61(2), 429-433. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1131104>
- Lin, L., & Ho, Y. (2009). Confucian dynamism, culture and ethical changes in Chinese societies - A comparative study of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 20, 2402-2417. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585190903239757>

- Littlejohn, R. (2010). *Confucianism: An Introduction*. I. B. Tauris.
- Lum, T. S. Y., Yan, E. C. W., Ho, A. H. Y., Shum, M. H. Y., Wong, G. H. Y., Lau, M. M. Y., & Wang, J. (2015). Measuring Filial Piety in the 21st Century. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 35(11), 1235-1247. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0733464815570664>
- Ng, A. C. Y., Phillips, D. R., & Lee, W. K. M. (2002). Persistence and challenges to filial piety and informal support of older persons in a modern Chinese society: A case study in Tuen Mun, Hong Kong. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 16, 135-153. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0890-4065\(02\)00040-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0890-4065(02)00040-3)
- Qi, X. (2014). Filial Obligation in Contemporary China: Evolution of the Culture-System, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 45(1), 141-161. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12052>
- Sellar, S., & Lingard, B. (2013). *Looking East: Shanghai, PISA 2009 and the reconstitution of reference societies in the global education policy field Comparative Education* (Vol. 49, No. 4).
- Sham, S., & Woodrow, D. (1998). Chinese children and their families in England. *Research Papers in Education*, 13(2), 203-225. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267152980130206>
- Song, M. (2015). The British Chinese: A Typical Trajectory of “Integration”? In L. Baldassar, G. Johanson, N. McAuliffe, & M. Bressan (Eds.), *Chinese Migration to Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Stankov, L. (2010). Unforgiving Confucian culture: A breeding ground for high academic achievement, test anxiety and self-doubt? *Learning and Individual Differences*, 20, 555-563. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lindif.2010.05.003>
- Usher E. L., & Pajares, F. (2009). Sources of self-efficacy in mathematics: A validation study. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 34, 89-101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2008.09.002>
- Usher, E. L., & Pajares, F. (2006). Sources of academic and self-regulatory efficacy beliefs of entering middle school students. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 31(2), 125-141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2005.03.002>
- Usher, E. L., & Pajares, F. (2008). Sources of self-efficacy in school: Critical review of the literature and future directions. *Review of educational research*, 78(4), 751-796. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654308321456>
- Wang, D., Laidlaw, K., Power, M., & Shen, J. (2009). *Older People's Belief of Filial Piety in China: Expectation and Non-expectation Clinical Gerontologist* (Vol. 33, No. 1).
- Wang, H., & Cai, T. (2017). Parental involvement, adolescents' self-determined learning and academic achievement in Urban China. *Int J Psychol.*, 52, 58-66. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12188>
- Wang, J., Liu, R.-D., Ding, Y., Liu, Y., Xu, L., & Zhen, R. (2017). What Influences Chinese Adolescents' Choice Intention between Playing Online Games and Learning? Application of Theory of Planned Behaviour with Subjective Norm Manipulated as Peer Support and Parental Monitoring. *Front. Psychol.*, 8, 589. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00589>

- Wei, D. (2012). Parental influence on Chinese students' achievement: A social capital perspective. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 32(2), 153-166. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2012.684951>
- Xu, Y., & Hamamura, T. (2014). Folk beliefs of cultural changes in China. *Frontiers in psychology*, 5. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2014.01066>
- Yao, X. Z. (2000). *An Introduction to Confucianism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Yeh, K. H., & Bedford, O. (2003). A test of the dual filial piety model. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 6(3), 215-228. <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1467-839X.2003.00122.x>
- Yeh, K. H., & Bedford, O. (2004). Filial belief and parent—Child conflict. *International Journal of Psychology*, 39(2), 132-144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207590344000312>
- Zhang, L., Khan, G., & Tahirsylaj, A. (2015). Student performance, school differentiation, and world cultures: Evidence from PISA 2009. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 42, 43-53. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.02.013>
- Zhang, Y. B., Lin, M. C., Nonaka, A., & Beom, K. (2005). Harmony, hierarchy and conservatism: A cross-cultural comparison of Confucian values in China, Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. *Communication Research Reports*, 22, 107-115. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036810500130539>
- Zheng, G., Shi, S., & Tang, H. (2005). Population development and the value of children in the People's Republic of China. In G. Trommsdorff, & B. Nauck (Eds.), *The value of children in cross-cultural perspective: Case studies from eight societies* (pp. 239-282). Lengerich, Germany: Pabst Science.
- Zhu, H. (2008). Duelling languages, duelling values: Codeswitching in bilingual intergenerational conflict talk in diasporic families. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40(10), 1799-1816. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.02.007>
- Zhu, Y., & Leung, F. K. (2011). Motivation and achievement: Is there an East Asian model? *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education*, 9(5), 1189-1212. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10763-010-9255-y>