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The Relationships between Confucian Family Values and Attitudes toward Divorce in Mainland China: An Exploratory Study

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine relationships between Confucian family values and Chinese attitudes toward divorce. The low acceptability of divorce, negative attitudes toward divorce, as well as low national divorce rate are evident in China. Confucian family values, which have influenced Chinese education, moral and ethics for thousands of years, were hypothesized to have an impact on the phenomena based on the Theory of Reasoned Action. There were 289 Chinese college students recruited to participate in this study. The Filial Piety scale (Yeh, 2003), Collectivism scale (Chen & West, 2008), and Attitudes toward Divorce scale (Kinnaird & Gerrard, 1986) were used to measure Chinese filial piety values, family harmony values and attitudes toward divorce; Confucian Gender-Stereotyped Attitudes scale was designed in current study to examine Chinese gender-stereotyped attitudes. Although this study didn’t find that filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes comprise a single Confucian family values variable, these three constructs significantly independently predicted Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce. Other findings and limitations were discussed.

*Keywords:* Confucian family values, filial piety, family harmony, gender stereotype, Chinese attitudes toward divorce
The Relationships between Confucian Family Values and Attitudes toward Divorce in Mainland China: An Exploratory Study

by

Ruiwen Zheng

B.Ed., East China Normal University, 2014

Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Child and Family Studies.

Syracuse University
August 2016
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The Relationships between Confucian Family Values and Attitudes toward Divorce in Mainland China: An Exploratory Study

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

Confucian family values and their influence on Chinese population

Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism are the most influential philosophies in Chinese history. Confucianism in particular has had a great impact on Chinese values, ethics, and morals for more than 2,500 years (Littlejohn, 2010). Confucius (Kong Zi, 551 – 479 BC), who was the founder of Confucianism, valued benevolence (Ren), social order, social harmony, duties and roles (Zhang & Ryden, 2002; Emery, Nguyen, & Kim, 2014). His ideas continue to influence Chinese culture and thinking even today as these ideas have been passed down through generations and generations. Parents use Confucian values and ethics to educate and socialize their children; schools also teach their students Confucian values based on curriculum; Chinese social media releases work about Confucius (e.g., movies, TV shows); the Communist Party practices Confucianism in governing as well. There have been more than 400 Confucian Institutes and 600 Confucian Classrooms around the world to promote Chinese culture (People’s Daily, 2014). Confucian family values regarding filial piety, family harmony, as well as gender roles have influenced both ancient and modern Chinese family values, ethics and morals.

Filial piety. For the past 2,500 years, Confucianism has been developing a series of virtues and morals concerning family roles. These virtues and morals have greatly influenced Chinese population for generations and generations. Family values are essential in Confucianism. First of all, the moral concept filial piety “Xiao (孝)” is central to Confucian family values. It is even the basis of all ethics in patriarchal-clan-system-based ancient China (Chen, 2013). The
Chinese character *Xiao* is the combination of two other characters: *Lao* (爸) and *Zi* (子). *Lao* means the elder, including parents, other elder family members and the ancestors; while *Zi* is the child. As *Lao* is on the top of *Zi*, the elder is viewed as always above the child, which emphasizes the family hierarchy and the respect and devotion of the child to the parents. Thus, the virtue of filial piety is the subordination, respect and support of the children for their parents, other elder family members, and ancestors. When Confucius was asked about what filial piety was by his student, he answered—“not being disobedient” (Confucius & Legge, 2010, p. 12).

There is a saying in Analects (*Lun Yu*; Confucius, & Legge, 2010, p. 8): "While a man's father is alive, look at the bent of his will; when his father is dead, look at his conduct; if for three years he does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial.” A son shows his filial piety by following his father’s will and wishes even after his death, which can be viewed as the great respect and subordination of the son. Chen (2013) suggested four elements of filial piety: no rebellion of the child, respect of the child, child’s continuance of father’s aspirations, as well as kindness of parents to the child. Previous studies have found that Chinese still highly approve filial piety and it is exhibited nowadays across age groups and gender groups (e.g., Wang et al.). In addition, prior research in Chinese population indicates that filial piety has been associated with children’s psychosocial adjustment (e.g., life-satisfaction, social competence, self-esteem; Chen, 2014; Leung, 2010), as well as academic achievement (Chen, 2014). Specifically, children who show great respect, love, care and appreciation to their parents also tend to have better psychological and academic outcomes.

Yeh’s Dual Filial Piety Model (Yeh, 2003) identifies two factors of filial piety: reciprocal filial piety and and authoritarian filial piety. Reciprocal filial piety is defined as a child’s support and care to his parents owing to his sincere gratitude for their raising him; while authoritarian
filial piety refers to a child’s obedience and submission to his parents because of moral standards in family hierarchy (Yeh & Bedford, 2003). These two factors are overlapped dimensions co-existing in Chinese population, and they were suggested to be studied together by Yeh. Thus, this study will take both factors into consideration.

**Family harmony.** Filial piety has raised great attention when people learn and study Chinese culture. Even though it is an essential part of Confucianism, there also are other important elements of it. For example, family harmony is highly valued in Confucianism. The essence of family togetherness and harmony is that Confucius largely emphasized the importance of family within the society, as well as of harmony in maintaining social relationships and societal stability. Taking care of one’s family has been seen as the basis of political governance. Confucius taught his students in *The Great Learning (Da Xue, one of Confucian classics)*: “Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their families; wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy (Confucius & Legge, 1815-1897, p. 357)” The order of development-self, family, state, kingdom- demonstrates the importance of self-development and family regulation that come before any bigger goals and achievements. In *The Great Learning*, self-cultivation, family regulation and government are interrelated with each other, and the goal of self-cultivation is to achieve the regulation of a bigger social context (i.e., family, state, and kingdom; Dien, 1999). *The Great Learning* still forms an essential part of the political and educational principles in modern Chinese society, and it values family regulation as the prelude of governing states and a nation.
The failure of keeping family together and in normal functioning is regarded as the failure of one’s life. The achievement of family harmony requires the primacy of the family, which means that pursuing family interests and goals is prioritized rather than following individual interests and needs. It is necessary to make personal sacrifice to meet family needs.

China has been represented as a collectivistic society. Ornatowski (1996) characterized it based on its emphasis on social harmony. Collectivism, which is described as the opposite of individualism, is defined as the cultural perspective that one’s identity is based on the social context, as well as on one’s relationship and connection with others. The goals of social groups success should be prioritized rather than personal goals. The benefits and success of a group define personal success, and group harmony is highly valued (Dien, 1999; Piotrowski, 2010). In Confucius’s perspective, individuals are interrelated and interdependent with each other; and family and social harmony is the ultimate goal of self-cultivation (Dien, 1999). Thus, family harmony, which can be viewed as one part of collectivism, is hypothesized in this study as an integral part of Confucian family values.

**Gender stereotypes.** In the Confucian systems, family harmony contributes greatly to the compliance of family order and hierarchy (Zhaojiang, 1995). Thus, the differential family status and roles of men and women are regarded as essential within families. Confucius emphasized social and family hierarchy, including filial piety (i.e., the relationship between parents and the child) and other relationships within a family. In Confucianism, there are five human relationships: ruler-minister, father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger, friend-friend. Among the five kinds of relationships, the relationship between husband and wife has been defined, and the roles and duties of husband and wife are distinctive (Zhang & Ryden, 2002): “The family: the woman’s correct place is within; the man’s correct place is outside; The family
has a stern ruler; this means the parents. The father is to be a father, the son a son, the younger brother a younger brother, and the husband a husband, the wife a wife and then the way of the household is correct (p. 323)”. In this view, a woman is supposed to stay inside of the household, have the responsibility to support her husband and protect her family, which requires her to comply with her husband with no exception. In contrast, a man should work outside of the house, gain resources for the family to live on, and make a difference in the society. *The Book of Rites* (*Li Ji*) specifically pointed out the identity of a woman in ancient China: “The woman follows the man. In her youth she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son (Yili, Volume 11)”. Women are seen as powerless, docile, obedient and inferior to men for their whole life in Confucian culture (Turner & Salemink, 2015; Valutanu, 2012). Their domestic role of supporting and protecting their families becomes the only criterion of measuring their success in life. Traditionally, if a woman fails her role or misbehaves, her husband had the right to divorce her based on the Seven Grounds for Divorce (*Qichu*). However, a woman never had the right of divorcing her husband in ancient China. A divorced woman is viewed as the shame of her birth family and herself, because once she gets married, her only identity is a wife and the only right place for her is her husband’s family (Turner & Salemink, 2015). By contrast, a man holds the superior and powerful position in the family, and he has the power to divorce his wife and marry others. In addition, only men have the right of getting education, and the responsibility of protecting and governing their people. The imbalance of power between a man and a woman in the family was seen as normal and fundamental within a family. The Confucian doctrine of gender hierarchy defined women’s and men’s differential rights, positions and roles within either a family or a society for more than two thousand years.
In conclusion, filial piety, family harmony, and gender-stereotyped values are essential in Confucian family values. And Confucian family values are a bigger concept compared with any of the three concepts, and there have been no studies or clear definitions about Confucian family values. The first hypothesis of this study is that there are three components of Confucian family values: filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes. The study will explore the conceptualization of Confucian family values and provide future studies with references.

Divorce in China

**Chinese divorce history.** In ancient Chinese history, marriages were usually arranged and determined by the parents of both the bride and the groom. Traditional China, as a patriarchal society, regarded men as the breadwinner, decision-maker and the master of the family. A wife should never disobey her husband or her husband’s parents. Divorce was thought to be ominous so it was uncommon in traditional Chinese society (Liao & Heaton, 1992). From “No-fault divorce” to “Seven Conditions for divorce”, only men could declare a divorce if a divorce was necessary (e.g., the wife didn’t show filial piety or failed to bear a son). These customs demonstrate the dominant status of men within families (Zhu, 2013). Divorced men could marry other women as their wives and there was no limit to the number of wives. However, divorced women were labeled as deserted, unwanted, as well as bringing bad luck. The relationship between a woman and her birth family became distant after she got married as she was perceived as belonging to the family of her husband. Divorce didn’t improve the relationship because divorced women were not welcome in their birth families as divorce brought shame to women’s birth family as well.

With the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, the new Marriage Law overturned the old marriage societal system. This new law established equal rights between men
and women, the freedom of choice, and permitted women to divorce their husbands. The marriage law also required that if only one side of the marriage desired a divorce, the People’s Court would carry out mediation before declaring divorce (Marriage Law of the People’s Republic of China, 1950). Arranged marriages were replaced by individually-selected marriage for the first time. In addition, the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China stated that “Women in the People’s Republic of China have equal rights with men in all spheres of life including the political, economic, culture, social and family spheres” (Wang, 2013). In 1981, China established a new Marriage Law that made revisions to the former marriage law. First, divorce would be granted if the mediation from the People’s Court failed in five special cases: bigamy; family violence or abandonment; gambling, drug taking, separation for two years; and other causes leading to the shattering of affection between husband and wife (Marriage Law of the People’s Republic of China, 1981). The 1981 marriage law gave preferential treatment to women and children about property distribution in divorce. The latest marriage law of China, which was enacted in 2011, made changes to the legal post-divorce disposition of prenuptial properties. According to the law, any property purchased before the marriage would only belong to the person who bought it (Marriage law of the People’s Republic of China, 2011). Some people hold that this change sets women in disadvantage. For example, in many cases, men would pay the mortgage when couples plan to get married and buy a house, women would pay for the decorations, and both sides would pay the rest of the expenses together. However, despite women’s investment in the home, the husband’s name would be written under the house contract in Chinese social norms. Thus, the interests of women during division of property in divorce would be at risk.
Nowadays, divorce is becoming more and more popular in China. Based on data from the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the divorce rate of China has been increasing for 10 consecutive years. In 2013, it increased to 2.6 per 1,000 couples (2.6‰), compared with 1.28 per 1,000 couples in 2004 (1.28‰; Ma, 2014). The tendency of couples ending up with divorce reflects the change of Chinese marriage and divorce attitudes, which has challenged Chinese traditions and raised a great amount of concern. Despite of the rising divorce rate of China, it is still significantly below U.S. divorce rate. Based on CDC/NCHS National Vital Statistics System, U.S. divorce rate was 399.8 divorces per 1,000 marriages in 2013 (399.8‰).

Past explanation on the difference of divorce rates between China and U.S. The difference of divorce rates between China and the U.S. is regularly attributed to different cultural beliefs and values (e.g., Toth & Kemmelmeier, 2009). The high U.S. divorce rate is frequently associated to the individualistic elements within the society. The United States is an advanced industrial society with approval of pursuing self-interest, personal happiness, and self-fulfillment. Cultural psychologists have defined these characteristics as individualism. Romantic relationships and marriage are valued as the way to meet personal needs. It is widely believed that romantic love is distinctive in western culture (Jankowiak & Fischer, 1992). People in individualist societies like the U.S. tend to exit marriage once they realize that their needs and expectations are not being met within the marital relationships (Demo & Buehler, 2013).

China had been described as a traditional and conservative country that highly emphasizes social solitary, family unity, and putting others’ interests above individuals’. Cultural psychologists describe this type of culture as “collectivism” (e.g., Brewer & Chen, 2007). Within Chinese culture, one’s obligation and responsibility is to maintain harmonious relationships and to avoid conflicts (Kolstad & Gjesvik, 2014; Toth & Kemmelmeier, 2009). Marriage has seldom
been seen as a choice to meet personal needs and happiness. Rather it is viewed as a channel to build a harmonious and stable society (Liao & Heaton, 1992). From this perspective, the success of marriage is the great foundation of a successful society. Social norms and morals yield a perception of divorce as a selfish act as the children with divorced parents will not grow up in intact families, which may predict their negative developmental outcomes. Moreover, from this perspective, society becomes less stable when many family units fall apart. The social stigma of divorce in China is accompanied with low acceptability of divorce, negative attitudes toward divorce, as well as low national divorce rate. Many couples will stay together for the sake of children or for the sake of family reputation.

**Study gaps.** Most of the studies concerning Chinese divorce are about the impact of divorce on child outcomes (e.g., Dong, Wang, & Ollendick, 2002; Zhou, Bray, Kehle, & Xinc, 2001; Dong, 1991; Xu, Zhang, & Xia, 2007; Lau, 2002; Sun & Li, 2009), and Chinese divorce laws and system (e.g., Xia, 2009; Shuai, & Xin, 2013; He, 2009). Some studies investigated the sociodemographic variables related to divorce (e.g., age, education, urban/rural residence; Liao & Heaton, 1992; Liao, 1990), and mental health of divorced individuals (Gu, 2013; Chan, Chan, & Lou, 2002; Rudowicz, 2001). A few studies have focused on the practice of therapy with divorced individuals (e.g., Tzou, Kim, & Waldheim, 2012). However, few investigations and studies about Chinese divorce attitudes can be found in library database. Thus, this study aimed to investigate the factors influencing Chinese attitudes toward divorce, divorced women and men, and children from divorced families. This research will supply future studies with resources concerning the beliefs and values about marriage and divorce among contemporary Chinese people.
Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

The relationship between Confucian family values and attitudes toward divorce can be predicted through Fishbein and Ajzen’s (1975) Theory of Reasoned Action and its extended model by Bentler and Speckart (1979).

Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) developed the Theory of Reasoned Action based on Fishbein’s first proposal (1967) in order to explain some of the relationships between people’s attitudes and their behavior. According to the Theory of Reasoned Action, a specific behavior is determined by the person’s intention to perform the behavior. Among the most important components of behavior intention (Fishbein, 1967; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) are the person’s attitudes toward performing the behavior and their subjective norms. Besides, how we form attitudes toward a certain behavior is determined by individual behavioral beliefs and one’s evaluation of behavioral outcomes. If we perceive one behavior as possessing positive characteristics and we predict positive outcomes following the behavior, we are more likely to have favorable attitudes toward that behavior. This study focuses on how Chinese divorce attitudes are formed, so divorce behavior and divorce intention are not under discussion.

Sociodemographic factors and attitude towards divorce

The association between divorce attitude and sociodemographic factors (i.e. gender, only-child or not, family residence, parental marriage status, parental educational status) will be explored in this study. According to the Theory of Reasoned Action (Aizen & Fishbein, 1980), eternal variables (e.g., demographic variables) may affect the kinds of salient beliefs individuals hold about the outcomes of certain behavior. Concerning gender difference in divorce attitudes, Kapinus and Flowers (2008) found that women are more likely to promote obstacles to obtain
divorce compared with men, which revealed less tolerant attitudes toward divorce of women. Their argument is that it costs women more than men to divorce so that women expect divorce to be more difficult to obtain. This argument is consistent with the findings of other studies that divorced women suffered from social stigma, a lack of social support, mental health issues, and unemployment (Newton-Levinson et al., 2014; Rudowicz, 2001; Savaya and Cohen, 2003). Studies in mainland China found similar results (Gu, 2003; Chan, Chan, & Lou, 2002). However, Kapinus and Johnson (2002) found the opposite result- men had more a disapproving attitude toward divorce than women due to men’s more commitment to marriage. For current study on Chinese population, I predict that women have more unfavorable attitudes toward divorce. Based on the Theory of Reasoned Action, people form attitudes through their evaluation of behavioral outcomes. Thus, Chinese women’s attitudes toward divorce will result from how they evaluate divorce outcomes. Compared with men, divorced women in China tend to have worse career, health, and mental health outcomes. When Chinese women associate divorce with such negative consequences, their attitudes are more likely to be unfavorable.

Second, family residence (urban or rural area) is also hypothesized to be associated with Chinese attitudes toward divorce. Liao & Heaton (1992) and Parish and Whyte (1978) found that urban areas have higher divorce rate than rural areas in China, which indicates more tolerant attitudes toward divorce among people in urban areas than those in rural area. These researchers believed that local kinship structure for people living in rural areas is more favorable dues to the stability. However, individuals in urban areas usually don’t live with extended family. This feature causes less benefits of staying together in an unhappy marriage. On the contrary, the association between divorce and the disturbance of family stability will result in people in rural areas forming the belief that divorce is harmful instead of beneficial. This belief contributes the
formation of unfavorable attitudes toward divorce among individuals in rural areas. Therefore, current study hypothesizes that people living in rural areas have more negative attitudes toward divorce compared with those in urban areas.

Third, whether only-child or not is also predicted to be related to different attitudes toward divorce among Chinese. In 1979, one-child policy was introduced to China by President Deng for population control and economic development purposes (Hesketh, Zhou & Wang). Short et al. (2002), found that Chinese children enjoy more paternal and maternal involvement in caregiving (e.g., education, feeding and dressing) if they are the only child in the family. However, after divorce, individuals were free to remarry and have other children with their new partners even if they already had children with their ex-partners according to the one-child policy. In this case, divorce brings about sharing caregiving and resources with half-siblings for a single child. After evaluating these outcomes, children who are the only child in their families are more likely to have less tolerant attitudes toward divorce compared with their counterparts. Thus, I hypothesize that whether our participants are only-child or not is able to predict their attitudes toward divorce.

Additionally, past studies have supported the prediction that children from divorced family have more acceptable attitudes toward divorce (Kapinus, 2005; Kapinus and Johnson, 2002). According to the extended model of Theory of Reasoned Actions (Bentler & Speckart, 1979), behavioral beliefs determine individual attitudes formation. Amato and Booth (1991) held that a child from a divorced family would accept their parental divorce, see the benefits of divorce and perceive it as a solution of unhappy marriages. Based on this finding, it is reasonable to predict children from divorced families have positive beliefs of divorce as inevitable and even advantageous for realizing personal happiness. These beliefs help form more acceptable attitudes
of children whose parents are divorced compared with those who are from intact families, as predicted in this study.

Last but not the least, parental education level was predicted to predict their children’s divorce attitudes. Kapinus and Flowers (2008) found that people with lowest education levels had more tolerant divorce attitudes. The research of Martin and Parashar (2006) on women’s divorce attitudes indicated similar results. These children are more likely to have the same beliefs with their parents, and their parents are also expected to have more acceptable attitudes toward their children’s divorce. The beliefs and subjective norms work together to form positive attitudes toward divorce among individuals with low-education-leveled parents. Thus, this study hypothesizes that people are more likely to have tolerant attitudes toward divorce if their parents have low education status.

Therefore, I hypothesize that Chinese attitudes toward divorce can be predicted by gender, only child or not, family residence, parental marriage status, and parental educational status.

**Confucian family values and attitudes toward divorce**

According to the Theory of Reasoned Action, to understand one’s attitudes toward a certain behavior, it is important to learn his or her “salient beliefs” about this behavior (Aizen & Fishbein, 1980). Thus, to understand Chinese attitudes toward divorce, we should learn what may influence Chinese salient beliefs underling divorce and consequences of divorce. In the context of Chinese society, traditional Confucian family values (including filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes as proposed in this study) have influenced Chinese society for thousands of years. These values have already become social norms and ethnics impacting Chinese beliefs and cultural expectations. First, in terms of the relationship between family
harmony values and divorce, Confucianism highlights the importance of family staying-together, and criticizes the selfishness of pursuing personal happiness and breaking family harmony and togetherness. They hold that family regulation, executing family roles, and compliance of family hierarchy are the basis of social relationships and societal solidity. Viewed as unacceptable solution of unhappy marriage, the action of divorce, has been stigmatized for a long time. Social norms also stress that one should consider the interests of the whole family instead of personal happiness and tolerate family conflict to achieve family harmony. Thus, divorce will only bring individual and family shame and also disturb the stability of the society, which is seen as divorced individual’s failure, shame and selfishness. The unfavorable consequences of divorce come with traditional Confucian family harmony values, which lead to Chinese negative attitudes toward divorce.

Second, Confucian filial piety values also influence Chinese negative attitudes toward divorce. The act of divorce brings family shame and interrupting societal harmony and is not regarded as meeting parental expectations in China. On the contrary, a lot of parents in China view divorce as unacceptable, and even feel shamed when talking about their divorced children. And Confucianism approves children of bringing honor to their parents, and obey their parents’ expectations and command (filial piety). In contrast, the behavior of disrespecting and disobeying parents’ will is regarded as selfish and unfilial. Based on the theory of reasoned action, individuals form their attitudes toward divorce by thinking about the consequences of it. Under the circumstance of Chinese culture, when Chinese evaluate the outcomes of divorce as being seen as unfilial, selfish and shameful, and harming family harmony, they develop less tolerant attitudes toward divorce.
Moreover, under the influence of Confucian beliefs concerning gender roles and gender hierarchy, Chinese believe in women and men have distinctive role within the family. The disruption of a family structure means the disturbance of family functioning. “The family: the woman’s correct place is within, the man’s correct place is outside, and then the way of household is correct.” Compared with the belief that divorce leads to more opportunities to pursue personal happiness, the traditional belief, that women and men holding differential rights, positions and roles within both a family and a society is how the Chinese society normally functions, is way more salient. Losing the identity of husband or wife is evaluated as a failure of being a husband or wife, a man or woman. Therefore, the unfavorable outcomes of divorce owing to traditional gender-role and gender-stereotype values correspond with their unfavorable attitudes toward divorce.

Later on, Bentler and Speckart (1979) extended Fishbein and Ajzen’s (1975) Theory of Reasoned Action model, and developed two other factors determining attitudes: subjective norms and past behavior. First, subjective norms, are defined as considering whether significant others will approve the behavior. As mentioned before, Confucian family values dislike the behavior of disrupting family harmony, which have been deep grounded in Chinese moral and ethnics. Chinese parents are strongly against divorce under the influence of Confucian family values. Their feelings and opinions are significantly valued by their children in Chinese culture. They have a great impact on their children’s attitudes formation and decision making. Second, past behavior will also impact individual attitudes toward divorce and subsequent behavior. Most Chinese may not have personal experiences about divorce. However, observation of the consequences of past divorce behaviors in Chinese society also influences individual attitudes formation. Due to the grounded influence of Confucianism, divorce has been stigmatized for a
long time. Compared with U.S., the divorce rate in China is significantly lower, even though it has been increasing during the past 10 years. It is still not common and habitual to take marital dissolution as a solution to unhappy marriage in China. Most couples will try to avoid and work on conflict to keep family intact to their utmost. The rare happening of divorce works as past behavior contributing to the less acceptable attitudes toward divorce in Chinese.

Thus, according to the Theory of Reasoned Action and its extended model, another hypothesis of this study is that Confucian family values can predict Chinese attitudes toward divorce.

In conclusion, Fishbein and Ajzen’s (1975) Theory of Reasoned Action and its extended model by Bentler and Speckart (1979) give theoretical foundation for this study to explore the relationships between sociodemographic factors and attitudes toward divorce, and between Confucian family values and attitudes toward divorce in mainland China.
Chapter 3: Research Hypotheses

The social stigma of divorce in China is thought to result from the large impact of Confucian family values on Chinese individuals and families. Based on Fishbein and Ajzen’s (1975) Theory of Reasoned Action, and as extended by Bentler and Speckart (1979), I would anticipate that Confucian family values, particularly the values of filial piety, family harmony, and gender stereotypes, would be an important predictor of their attitudes. A related hypothesis that emerges from this assertion is that these three elements (filial piety, family harmony, and gender stereotypes) comprise a single Confucian family values variable or whether they should be evaluated either in other combinations or separately when examining their relationship to attitudes toward divorce. In addition, it would seem important to understand if sociodemographic variables- gender, family residence (rural or urban area), parental marriage status, parental educational status, and whether the participant is an only-child or not- can predict attitudes toward divorce. Finally, it is important to establish the hypothesis that Confucian family values are predictive of attitudes toward divorce once we have accounted for the sociodemographic variables.

1. Filial piety, family harmony, and gender stereotypes can comprise a single Confucian family values variable.
2. Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce can be predicted by their gender, family residence (rural or urban area), parental marriage status, parental educational status, and whether the participant is an only-child or not.
3. After accounting for sociodemographic variables, Confucian family values can still predict Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce.
Chapter 4: Method

Participants

A total of 289 college students enrolled in the Special Education Department and the Mathematics Department at East China Normal University and students enrolled in the Finance Department of Shandong University of Technology participated in the study. Hard copies of questionnaires were distributed and retrieved during class time. Of the questionnaires distributed, 22 cases had significant missing data (missing data for at least one scale) or were uniform in completion (the same answers indicated on most or all items) and were eliminated from the data analysis. Thus, the final sample consisted of 267 individuals. Table 1 demonstrates sociodemographic characteristics of the 267 participants of the current study. Number and percentage of the six variables - gender, Only-child or not, parental marriage status, family residence (urban/rural area), father’s educational status and mother’s educational status- are included in the table.

Table 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics (N = 267)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Valid percentage %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only-Child or not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental marriage status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single, never married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>87.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family residence</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban area</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>61.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural area</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s educational status</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never been to school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College (associate or undergraduate)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s educational status</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never been to school</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
College (associate or undergraduate)  73  27.4
Graduate  2  .8

\(^a\) The whole sample size is 267, while only 266 participants answered “Mother’s educational status” item. Thus, valid percentage is used to describe sample characteristics.

**Assessments and Measures**

Confucian family values measures. Confucian Family Values was hypothesized to have three components: filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes. They were measured as follows.

Filial piety measure. Filial piety was measured by the Filial Piety scale (Yeh, 2003). Filial Piety scale consists of 16 items, including 8 items in reciprocal filial piety subscale and 8 items in authoritarian filial piety subscale. It is a 6-point Likert scale investigating participants’ beliefs about filial piety, ranging from “extremely unimportant (1)” to “extremely unimportant (6)”.

Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for reciprocal filial piety was .90, and for authoritarian filial piety was .81 in previous research on college students from Hong Kong (Chen, 2014). In current study, Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for reciprocal filial piety was .87, and for authoritarian filial piety was .82, and for the whole scale was .83. This scale also has been found to have good validity in precious research (Yeh & Bedford, 2003). In the meanwhile, a principal axis factor analysis results in current study confirmed the presence of the two factors with eigenvalues exceeding 1, relatively explaining 30.58% and 19.10% of the variance after extraction. The scree plot also suggested a two-factor solution with eigenvalues of the two factors above 1. The two-factor-solution result is consistent with previous research.

Examples of items measuring reciprocal filial piety are, “Be concerned about my parents, as well as understand them” and “Take the initiative to assist my parents when they are busy.”
For authoritarian filial piety subscale, samples are “Do whatever my parents ask right away” and ‘Give up my aspirations to meet my parents’ expectations.”

*Family harmony measure.* Family harmony was measured by the collectivism subscale from the Multicomponent Measure of Individualism and Collectivism (Chen & West, 2008). The subscale has been tested in Chinese college students in 2008. It is a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 9 (strongly disagree). This subscale includes 18 items in total with three components: consideration of the implications of one’s decisions and actions for others (one will think about the gains and loss to the family of one’s behavior; 6 items); sharing positive outcomes (personal goals are included in family goals and one’s success will bring honor to one’s family; 6 items); and sharing of each other’s failures (one’s failure will bring shame to one’s family; 6 items). For “consideration of the implications of one’s decisions and actions for others” component, a sample item is “When making decisions, it is important for me to take my parents’ feelings into account” question. For “sharing positive outcomes” component, a sample item is “I would be honored by my parents’ accomplishments” question. And for “sharing of negative outcomes” component, a sample item is “My misconduct would make my parents feel ashamed”.

Precious study has tested the multidimensional model in Chinese population, and it suggested good validity and reliability of the scale (Chen & West, 2008). Cronbach’s alpha for “consideration of the implications of one’s decisions and actions for others” component was .80, and for “sharing positive outcomes” component was .81, and for “sharing negative outcomes” was .67. For current study, Cronbach’s alpha for “consideration of the implications of one’s decisions and actions for others” component was .86, and for “sharing positive outcomes” component was .86, for “sharing negative outcomes” was .79, and Cronbach’s alpha for the
whole scale was .84, suggesting good internal consistency of the Collectivism Scale and of the three subscales.

**Gender stereotypes measure.** Gender stereotypes were measured by self-designed scale, Confucian Gender-stereotyped Attitudes scale. This scale asks participants about the extent of their agreement on 6 examples of Confucianism statements about gender roles/stereotypes. Responses were coded by using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) with participants following the instruction- “Below are Confucianism statements on gender roles. Please indicate how much you agree on the statements.” Two samples of the scale are “The woman follows the man. In her youth she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son” and “A wise man builds a city, a wise woman ruins a city.” Principal Axis factoring analysis was applied to test the validity of the scale. After extraction, there was only one factor with eigenvalue higher than 1, explaining 62% of the variance. The scree plot suggested one-factor solution as well, with just one eigenvalue exceeding 1. All of the six items were significantly correlated with each other, p < .001, .30 < r < .65. Confucian Gender-stereotyped Attitudes Scale also showed good internal consistency in this study, Cronbach’s alpha = .87.

**Attitudes toward divorce measure.** The Attitudes toward Divorce scale (ATDS; Kinnaird & Gerrard, 1986) was used to measure Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce. There are 12 items in the scale coded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The participants were asked about the degree to which they agreed with the 12 statements about divorce (e.g., “People should stay together and improve their relationship even if they are unhappily married”). Considering the cultural differences of Chinese and U.S., three items in the scale were replaced. 1) “The marriage vow ‘til death do us part”
represents a sacred commitment to another person and should not be taken lightly” was replaced by “The marriage vow ‘From now on, for better or for worse, for richer or for poorer, in sickness and in health, in youth or in oldness, we will stick together for thick or thin and become life-long partners (今后，无论顺境还是逆境，无论富有还是贫穷，无论健康还是疾病，无论青春还是年老，我们都风雨同舟，患难与共，同甘共苦，成为终生的伴侣)’ represents a sacred commitment to another person and should not be taken lightly.” 2) “These days, the marriage vow ‘til death do us part” is just a formality” was changed into “These days, the marriage vow is just a formality.” 3) “In the long run, American society will be seriously harmed by the high divorce rate” was switched into “In the long run, Chinese society will be seriously harmed by the increasing divorce rate.” People’s attitudes toward children from divorced families were measured by two items in the scale—“The negative effects of divorce on children have been greatly exaggerated” and “Most children of divorced parent experience negative effects of the divorce for the rest of their lives.”

Kinnaird and Gerrard’s study at a Midwestern university in the U.S. has showed that the Cronbach’s alpha of the scale was .77, and test-retest reliability of it was .86, which suggested the acceptable internal consistency and good stability of the scale on U.S. college students. In this study, the Cronbach’s alpha was .67, which was lower than the index of Kinnaird and Gerrard’s (1986) study. After checking Item-Total Statistics, there were two items (i.e. “marriage vow is just a formality”, “get divorced as a last resort”) that lead to lower Cronbach’s alpha based on “Cronbach’s alpha if item deleted”. In this case, I decided to delete the two items and keep the remaining 10 items of the scale. And the Cronbach’s alpha increased into .69.
In the study of Diaz, Molina, MacMillan, Duran, and Swart (2013), three-factor solution was found after principal axis factor analysis of the 12-item scale. The three factors were names
as Divorce as a Solution, Partners’ Obligations, and Effect on Children and Society. For current study, I found a four-factor solution based on a principal axis factor analysis with Direct Oblimin rotation. The four factors have eigenvalues above 1, explaining 26.67%, 11.92%, 10.92% and 10.63% of the variance respectively. The Scree Plot also supports the four-factor solution. The four factors were names as Personal Happiness, Commitment, Staying in Marriage and Effects on Children. Factors loadings were displayed in Table 2. Factor loadings were remained in the table if r is above .30 in order to ensure the correlations between individual items and factors at least at moderate level, as Cohen (1977) suggested r = .30 - .49 as medium strength of correlations.

**Data analysis**

SPSS was used to analyze data in this study. Data were screened and cleaned before analysis. And then, factor analysis and reliability analysis were conducted to test the validity and reliability of the measures. Last but not the least, current study applied factor analysis, correlation analysis, and regression analysis to examine the three hypotheses.

First, after deleting ineffective cases (i.e., participants who missed data for at least one scale or were uniform in completion), missing data were dealt with through “Exclude cases pairwise” option in SPSS. In addition, negatively worded questions were reverse scored before analyzing data. Sociodemographic questions were analyzed to display the characteristics of the sample. Specifically, number and percentage of each group of people based on gender, only child or not, parental marriage status, family residence, father’s educational status, and mother’s educational status would be demonstrated in Method section. After that, father’s educational status and mother’s educational status were dummy recoded to represent internal variables for later regression analysis. Specifically, about father’s educational status variable, old values
ranging from 1 to 3 were changed into new value “1” (less than high school); old values ranging from 4 to 6 were given the new value “2” (high school or higher). Mother’s educational status variable was recoded in the same way as father’s educational status variable. In addition, parental marriage status variable was also dummy recoded to compare the attitudes of those who are from intact family and those whose parents are divorced, old value “2” (married or domestic partnership) was given into new value “1” (married), and old value “4” (divorced) were changed into “2” (divorced).

Second, considering the fact that the Filial Piety Scale and the Collectivism scale have been tested in Chinese population, factor analysis and reliability analysis were conducted to see how well these two scales applied to current sample. However, the Attitude toward Divorce Scale was only used in the U.S. samples before and previous studies on the U.S. samples suggested acceptable internal consistency and stability of the scale, and three-factor solution after factor analysis. In order to know whether similar results could apply to Chinese college-student sample, I conducted a principal axis factor analysis and reliability analysis to the scale. And Confucian Gender-stereotyped Attitudes Scale with 6 items was designed for this study, so I also conducted a principle axis factor analysis and reliability analysis to examine the validity and internal consistency of the scale.

Third, Hypothesis 1 (i.e., filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes could comprise a single Confucian family values variable) was tested through a factor analysis and reliability analysis. If correlations among the three components were greater than .30, there was only one factor with eigenvalues over 1.0, three components could explain at least 30% of the variance, and Cronbach alpha was above .70, then the hypothesis can be supported. Additionally,
a principal axis factor analysis was conducted to see whether Confucian family values and divorce attitudes are the same construct.

Fourth, hierarchical regression analysis would be used to examine relationships between sociodemographic variables and Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce; Confucian family values and Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce. **Hypothesis 2** (i.e., there would be difference of Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce based on respondents’ gender, family residence, parental marriage status, parental educational status, and whether the participant is an only-child or not) and **Hypothesis 3** (i.e., after accounting for sociodemographic variables, Confucian family values can still predict Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce) will be tested in this step.
Chapter 5: Results

Result 1: Filial Piety, Family Harmony and Gender Stereotypes

To examine Hypothesis 1 that filial piety, family harmony, and gender stereotypes could comprise a single Confucian family values variable, a principal axis factor analysis and a correlation analysis were conducted in this study.

Factor analysis and reliability analysis. Reliability analysis suggested the good internal consistency of the 40 items across the Filial Piety, Family Harmony, and Confucian Gender stereotyped scales, Cronbach’s alpha = .86. Prior to applying a principal factor analysis, the suitability of data was evaluated. And the summed scores of the three scales were analyzed. Even though Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity was significant, the Kaiser-Mer-Olkin value was .48, which is lower than .6, disapproving the use of factor analysis for testing this hypothesis. Table 3 displays the descriptive statistics and correlations among filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics and Correlation analysis for filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Filial piety</th>
<th>Family harmony</th>
<th>Gender stereotype</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filial piety</td>
<td>66.26</td>
<td>8.14</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family harmony</td>
<td>117.29</td>
<td>17.43</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender stereotypes</td>
<td>11.99</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p < .01.

As demonstrated in the table, filial piety was significantly correlated with family harmony and gender stereotypes, while family harmony was not significantly correlated with
gender stereotypes. These results didn’t find that filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes could comprise a single Confucian family values variables. Thus, these three variables will be studied as individual predictors of attitudes toward divorce.

**Result 2: Sociodemographic Variables, Confucian Family Values and Attitudes toward Divorce**

A hierarchical regression analysis was applied to examine whether sociodemographic variables and Confucian family values can predict Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce *(Hypothesis 2 and 3).* Preliminary analyses were conducted to test the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity and no multicollinearity. Correlation matrix of all the independent and dependent variables are presented in Table 4. Pearson correlation coefficients of all the independent variables (sociodemographic variables and Confucian family values) and dependent variable (attitudes toward divorce) were below .60; Tolerance > .10, VIF < 10. These disapprove the existence of multicollinearity. The Normal P-P Plot showed most points lying on a straight diagonal line from bottom left to top right. Residuals were distributed as a centralised rectangle in Scatter Plot. The Scatter Plot also suggested two outliers with residuals higher than 3.3. To see whether these two cases had a big influence for the model, Cook’s Distance was checked. The maximum of Cook’s Distance value is .10, which is smaller than 1. This result disapprove the potential problem. Thus, no actions on the outliers were taken.

The first step of hierarchical regression analysis was to test the hypothesis that the six sociodemographic variables would predict Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce. In this step, attitudes toward divorce were regressed on the gender, only-child, family residence parental marriage status, father’s educational status and mother’s educational status. The six variables significantly accounted for 7.8% of the variance in attitudes toward divorce in total,
Table 4. Correlation matrix of all the independent and dependent variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divorce attitudes</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Only-child</th>
<th>Family residence</th>
<th>Parental marriage</th>
<th>Father’s education</th>
<th>Mother’s education</th>
<th>Filial piety</th>
<th>Family harmony</th>
<th>Gender stereotypes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divorce attitudes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.19***</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only-child</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family residence</td>
<td>-.11*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.54***</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental marriage</td>
<td>.16**</td>
<td>-.004</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.14*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s education</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.38***</td>
<td>.50***</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother’s education</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.49***</td>
<td>-.54***</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.59***</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filial piety</td>
<td>-.36***</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.15**</td>
<td>.24***</td>
<td>-.12*</td>
<td>-.19***</td>
<td>-.18**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family harmony</td>
<td>-.14**</td>
<td>.11*</td>
<td>-.13*</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.33***</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender stereotypes</td>
<td>-.28***</td>
<td>-.35***</td>
<td>.22***</td>
<td>.19***</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.24***</td>
<td>-.22***</td>
<td>.33***</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p <.05, **p <.01, ***p <.001

Gender: 1 male, 2 female. Only-child: 1 yes, 2 no. Family residence: 1 urban area, 2 rural area. Parental marriage: 1 married, 2 divorced. Father’s education: 1 less than high school, 2 high school or higher. Mother’s education: 1 less than high school, 2 high school or higher.
Running head: CONFUCIAN FAMILY VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD DIVORCE

F (6, 252) = 3.58, p < .01. Among the six sociodemographic variables, gender was a significantly predictor of Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce, β = .19, p < .01. Specifically, female students have more tolerant attitudes toward divorce. Family residence in urban area also was significantly associated with positive attitudes toward divorce, β = .16, p < .05. In addition, parental marriage status was also a predictor of Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce, β = .15, p < .05. Compared with those whose parents are married, students from divorced families had more favorable divorce attitudes.

The second step of regression analysis was to examine the hypothesis that Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce could be predicted by Confucian family values, after controlling for sociodemographic variables. Table 5 displays a summary of whole regression model. After entering filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes at Step 2, 13.3% of the variance of Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce were further explained. The total variance explained by the whole model was 21.2%, F (3, 249) = 14.03, p < .001. Filial piety (β = -.29, p < .001) and gender stereotypes (β = -.16, p < .05) were unique predictors of college students’ divorce attitudes. That is to say, students with higher levels of filial piety and gender stereotyped values had more negative attitudes toward divorce. However, divorce attitudes were not predicted by students’ family harmony values.
Table 5. Summary of hierarchical regression analyses predicting attitudes toward divorce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>( \Delta R^2 )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Only-child</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Family residence</td>
<td>-1.58</td>
<td>.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parental marriage status</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Father’s educational status</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother’s educational status</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Step 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Filial Piety</td>
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<td>.04</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Family harmony</td>
<td>-.01</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender stereotypes</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Gender: 1 male, 2 female. Only-child: 1 yes, 2 no. Family residence: 1 urban area, 2 rural area. Parental marriage: 1 married, 2 divorced. Father’s education: 1 less than high school, 2 high school or higher. Mother’s education: 1 less than high school, 2 high school or higher.
Chapter 6: Discussion

Strengths of this Study

Divorce has been regarded as shameful and harmful in Chinese society. Compared with the U.S., China has a significantly lower divorce rate, despite its rapid upward trend. Past studies used the binary classification of collectivism and individualism to explain the low acceptability of divorce in China compared with western countries (e.g., Liao & Heaton, 1992). Family obligations put pressure on couples to stick together in order to stabilize the society and promote good outcomes on children. And personal happiness and interests should be sacrificed to achieve family and societal interests and success. However, the question that how Chinese divorce attitudes have been shaped and where the social pressure to prevent divorce comes from, were under-discussed in the past. This study utilized the Theory of Reasoned Action to explore the formation of Chinese attitudes toward divorce, and their relationship with tradition family values. Current study found that Confucian family values- filial piety, family harmony, and gender stereotypes- were significant predictors of Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce.

The Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and its extended model (Bentler & Speckart, 1979) argued that one’s attitudes toward a behavior is determined by the salient beliefs the person holds and evaluation of behavioral outcomes. Subjective norms and past behaviors also have an impact on the person’s attitudes formation. In the Chinese context, it is necessary to learn what influences Chinese salient beliefs about divorce and evaluation of the outcomes in order to better understand how their divorce attitudes are molded. The main purpose of the study was to prove that participants’ sociodemographic factors and Confucian family values, which have had a great impact on ancient and modern Chinese population, can be related to Chinese divorce attitudes formation (Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3).
**Hypothesis 2.** The relationships between Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce and their sociodemographic factors (i.e. gender, only-child or not, family residence, parental marriage status, and parental educational status in this study) were tested in this study. The sociodemographic variables explained 7.8% of the variance in Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce. My research suggested that gender, family residence and parental marriage status significantly predicted Chinese attitudes toward divorce. This finding supported the arguments from the Theory of Reasoned Action that the relationships between demographic variables and attitudes might be mediated by behavioral beliefs and outcomes evaluation.

First, the results presented that female college students had more positive attitude toward divorce. It disapproves the hypothesis that men would have more tolerant attitudes toward divorce. One possible explanation is that Chinese men are expected to provide more financial resources (e.g., housing, cars, and income) for marriage. Based on previous study (Kapinus & Johnson, 2002), married men have more commitment in marriage which may contribute to their more disapproving attitudes toward divorce than those seen in women. The great financial commitment of Chinese men into marriage can explain why they may evaluate divorce as a big cost. This evaluation that they will lose their house, cars and other properties because of divorce, contributes to their unfavorable attitudes toward divorce.

In terms of family residence, current study found that Chinese college students who grew up in urban area had more positive attitudes toward divorce compared with their peers. This finding is consistent with my hypothesis. Marriage dissolution for people in rural areas will cause the disturbance of close kinship structure. While people in urban area usually live separately from their kinships, are less influenced by the family instability.
The majority of Chinese participants (87.3%) are from intact family, and only 10.1% of my participants were from divorced families. This finding is representative of Chinese population in regard of the low divorce rate in China. To compared these two groups, parental marriage status was recoded into two values- “married” and “divorced”. College students from divorced families were found to have more favorable attitudes toward divorce compared with those from intact (married) families. This finding supported the results of previous study (Ganong, Coleman, & Brown, 1981; Kinnaird & Gerrard, 1986; Amato & Booth, 1991) on children from divorced families. We can infer from the Theory of Reasoned Action that favorable attitudes toward divorce may come from positive beliefs of divorce. That means, children from divorced families are more likely to see the advantages of divorce and take divorce as an acceptable solution of unhappy marriage. But these beliefs have to be tested in future research in order to examine the relationship between divorce beliefs and divorce attitudes.

In the meanwhile, I found that whether subjects are only-child or not, and parental education status were not significant predictors of Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce. These findings were against my hypothesis. Although previous studies indicated a single child is more likely to have more parental involvement who may be afraid of losing it due to parental divorce, this factor may not influence their attitudes toward their behavior. That is to say, people might hold different opinions about their behaviors from others’ behaviors. It is possible that an only child dislikes his or her parents’ divorce, but still sees divorce as acceptable for themselves. In addition, parental education status was hypothesized to influence Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce, which was against the findings. A possible explanation is that our participants might hold different views from their parents’. Considering that participants are
highly-educated young adults, their attitudes and values are likely to be separate from their parents. For future studies on different age-group people, the findings can be very different.

**Hypothesis 3.** Three important components of Confucian family values were hypothesized to significantly predict Chinese divorce attitudes. I found Chinese college students who had stronger filial piety and gender stereotypes values would hold more unfavorable attitudes toward divorce. Confucian family values accounted for 13.3% of the variance in Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce.

Filial piety as a significant predictor of divorce attitudes indicates that the values that children should bring honor to their parents, and respect and obey parents’ expectations and opinions largely impact their divorce beliefs and further their divorce attitudes. Unwilling to be regarded as unfilial and selfish, Chinese would rather tolerate staying in an unhappy marriage than disobey their parents’ will. This finding also revealed how much filial piety is valued and reinforced in Chinese society. Additionally, gender stereotypes predicted Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce as well. To be specific, I found holding traditional gender stereotyped values is related to unacceptable attitudes toward divorce. Confucianism believes in the importance of differential gender roles and gender hierarchy within a family. That is to say, only if a woman and a man stay in their own place (within or outside), the family can function well. It also requires women to be obedient, docile and inferior to men, and men to be superior, leading and in power. For a man, if he loses his power in the family and get divorced, he will be seen as a failure as a husband and a man; but if he owns the power over anyone else in the family, he will be regarded as a real man as well as a big success. Evaluating the negative consequences based on gender stereotyped values make divorce less of a favorable solution to an unhappy marriage.
I also found that family harmony didn’t significantly predicted Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce although these two variables were significantly correlated with each other. We can learn from the Theory of Reasoned Actions that, if we predict certain behavior with positive outcomes, we are more likely to favor this behavior; if we associate negative consequences with certain behavior, it’s not likely that we will hold positive attitudes toward this behavior. Therefore, current study attempted to prove that people who believe in the prominence of family regulation, family relationships, and family reputation would dislike the idea of pursuing personal happiness and giving up family interests. One possible explanation why family harmony beliefs was not a significant predictor of divorce attitudes on Chinese college students is that beliefs concerning family stability and family regulation interfere with sociodemographic variables. So after controlling for sociodemographic variables, family harmony beliefs isn’t able to predict Chinese college students’ attitude toward divorce. Another explanation is that other beliefs or variables are more salient when relating to divorce attitudes compared with family harmony. The Theory of Reasoned Action suggested that we can better understand people’s attitudes via learning about their salient beliefs of certain behavior. Thus, this finding suggests that compared with using collectivism to understand Chinese divorce attitudes or even other Chinese social phenomenon, there may be better theories and factors researchers can use, such as filial piety and gender stereotypes.

Limitations

**Hypothesis 1.** Due to the complexity and lack of conceptualization of Confucian family values, this study hypothesized three elements of this construct: filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes. Confucian Gender-stereotyped Attitudes scale was designed in this study based on Confucianism gender roles statements in order to examine Chinese gender stereotype
values. Results demonstrated good reliability and validity of the 6-item scale. And because the items of Confucian Gender Stereotyped Attitudes scale were directly statements selected from Confucianism work, they appear to meet the criteria for face validity advocated by Mosier (1947). However, further validation needs to be done with this measure. Moreover, filial piety, family harmony and gender stereotypes could not be proved to form a single Confucian family values variable through factor analysis. This result may result from small sample size compared with the number of the items. There were 60 items in the survey. According to Nunnally (1978), ten cases for each item can allow factor analysis. Thus, at least 600 participants are needed in this study, which was not realized. Therefore, further data analyses were conducted on these three separate independent variables.

Another major limitation of the current study concerning sampling is that college students cannot represent different age/social-status/education-status/marriage-status groups in China. College students are more educated, open-minded, and have more opportunities to encounter modern individualistic ideas. In this case, they may hold different set of salient beliefs of divorce, resulting in different tolerant levels of divorce attitudes from general Chinese population. Future studies need to investigate divorce attitudes or traditional values in different social groups. However, owing to the social stigma of divorce, it is possible that fewer people would be willing to give their opinions on the topic, which could be a potential barrier.

The lack of literature resources also limited this research. Although Confucian family values have a great influence on the history, philosophy, and ideology of China, there were few measures, conceptualization and literature that could be used. The social stigma of divorce in China not only restricts personal choice of divorce, but also limits the study of divorce. The topic of divorce is seen as negative and ominous by the population as well as government departments.
Lacking in literature resources of Chinese divorce makes this study short of academic guidance and more exploratory. In addition, other than Confucian Gender-stereotyped Attitudes scale, the other measures used in this study have been used in previous research. However, only the Attitudes toward Divorce Scale (Kinnaird & Gerrard, 1986) has not been tested in Chinese population. Factor analysis results from Filial Piety Scale (Yeh, 2003) and collectivism subscale in Multicomponent Measure of Individualism and Collectivism (Chen & West, 2008) had factor structures in the current sample similar to those found in previous studies, which suggested the good validity of the two scales on Chinese samples. On the other hand, the internal consistency of the Attitudes toward Divorce scale in this study was not as good as in the previous U.S. study (Kinnaird & Gerrard, 1986), and factor structure of the scale in current study is also different from Diaz et al. (2013)’s study on U.S. social work students. These findings indicate that, to study Chinese attitudes toward divorce, a measure designed and targeted at Chinese population is ideal.

**Directions for Future Research**

Divorce rate in China has been significantly below the one of U.S. It reflects social norms and the unfavorable attitudes toward divorce in Chinese population. Researchers studying Chinese divorce have drawn attention to divorce related law system, impact on children, impact on divorced individuals, couple therapy and its relation to sociodemographic variables. Few studies are regarding Chinese divorce attitudes. This study expanded on prior research by exploring its relationship with Confucian family values, which have influenced Chinese population for more than two thousand years. Current study utilized the Theory of Reasoned Action to predict the relationship. Correlation and regression analyses cannot prove the causal relationship between my independent variables and dependent variable. Thus, although this
finding suggests Confucian family values can predict Chinese divorce attitudes, the relationship is still not clear. Is that possible divorce attitudes is inherent in Confucian family values? Or Confucian family values cause the unacceptability of divorce on Chinese people? Based on the Theory of Reasoned Action, salient beliefs of divorce determine attitudes. Thus, to test this theory and the causality, salient beliefs of divorce need to be measured in future studies.

On the other hand, even though sociodemographic variables, filial piety, and gender stereotypes significantly predicted Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce, they only accounted for approximately 21.1% of the variance in the divorce attitudes. What other beliefs or factors contribute to the rest of the variance in Chinese attitudes toward divorce can be the direction for further study. In this study, family harmony beliefs were hypothesized to be able to predict Chinese divorce attitudes, but the result didn’t support this hypothesis. Will there be other important Confucian family values haven’t been pointed in this study contributing to the variance? Or there can also be other values and personal factors need to be explored? These questions can future topics when studying Chinese divorce attitudes.

To summarize, current study found that gender, family residence, parental marriage status, filial piety, and gender stereotypes are significant predictors of Chinese college students’ attitudes toward divorce. These findings supported the Theory of Reasoned Action and its extended model, and further extended the whole model by demonstrating how traditional values can be related to modern beliefs of a behavior and evaluation of behavioral outcomes in a specific cultural background. They also provided new perspectives and implications for future studies to understand Chinese social stigma of divorce besides collectivism.
Appendix A- Measures (English version)

Demographic Questions

1. Your gender is:
   a) Male
   b) Female

2. Are you an only-child:
   a) Yes
   b) No
   If not, please indicate the number of your siblings:
   Older sisters: Older brothers: Younger sisters: Younger bothers:

   Are you a twin, triplets or other multiples:

3. Your birthparents’ marital status is:
   a) Single, never married
   b) Married or domestic partnership
   c) Widowed
   d) Divorced
   e) Separated

   Your paternal grandparents’ marital status is:

   Your maternal grandparents’ marital status is:

   How many of your aunts and uncles got divorced:

4. Where do you live:
   a) City/Urban area
   b) Countryside/Suburban area
5. Your father’s educational status is:
   a) Never been to school
   b) Elementary school
   c) Middle school
   d) High school
   e) College (associate or undergraduate)
   f) Graduate

6. Your mother’s educational status is:
   a) Never been to school
   b) Elementary school
   c) Middle school
   d) High school
   e) College (associate or undergraduate)
   f) Graduate
Part One

Please indicate the degree to which you agree on the following statements from “strongly disagree (1)” to “strongly agree (5)”.

1. When people marry, they should be willing to stay together no matter what happens.
2. If people are not happy in their marriage, they owe it to themselves to get a divorce and try to improve their lives.
3. The marriage vow “From now on, for better or for worse, for richer or for poorer, in sickness and in health, in youth or in oldness, we will stick together for thick or thin and become life-long partners” represents a sacred commitment to another person and should not be taken lightly.
4. The negative effects of divorce on children have been greatly exaggerated.
5. In the long run, Chinese society will be seriously harmed by the increasing divorce rate.
6. Many people who get divorced are too weak to make personal sacrifices for the good of their families.
7. People should feel no great obligation to remain married if they are not satisfied.
8. Even if people are unhappy with their marriage, they should stay together and try to improve it.
9. These days, the marriage vow is just a formality.
10. Most children of divorced parent experience negative effects of the divorce for the rest of their lives.
11. The fact that most individuals no longer feel that they have to stay in unhappy marital relationships will benefit society as a whole.
12. Most people who get divorced do so as a last resort—only after trying other solutions to the problems in their marriage.

From scale 1 (Not at all) to 5 (No problem at all), please indicate how much you can accept divorced women/men.

13. From 1 (Not at all acceptable) to 5 (Always acceptable), please indicate how much you can accept divorced men.

14. From 1 (Not at all acceptable) to 5 (Always acceptable), please indicate how much you can accept divorced women.
Part Two

Please indicate how important the following statements are important to you from “extremely unimportant (1)” to “extremely unimportant (6)”.

1. Be frequently concerned about my parents’ health conditions.
2. Take my parents’ suggestions even when I do not agree with them.
3. Talk frequently with my parents to understand their thoughts and feelings.
4. Let my income be handled by my parents before marriage.
5. Be frequently concerned about my parents’ general well-being.
6. Disregard promises to friends in order to obey my parents.
7. Be concerned about my parents, as well as understand them.
8. Give up my aspirations to meet my parents’ expectations.
9. Support my parents’ livelihood to make their lives more comfortable.
10. Do whatever my parents ask right away.
11. Be grateful to my parents for raising me.
12. Avoid getting married to someone my parents dislike.
13. Hurry home upon the death of my parents, regardless of how far away I am.
14. Have at least one son for the succession of the family name.
15. Take the initiative to assist my parents when they are busy.
16. Live with my parents (or parents-in-law) when married.
Part Three

Please the extent to which you agree with the following statements from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree).

1. When making decisions, it is important for me to take my parents’ feelings into account
2. I would be honored by my parents’ accomplishments
3. I would feel ashamed by my parents’ misconduct
4. If I decided to change my job, one of the major concerns would be how this change would affect my parents
5. My parents would be honored if I got into a prestigious school.
6. My misconduct would make my parents feel ashamed
7. If I decided to get married, one of the major concerns would be how my marriage would affect my parents.
8. If I got a good job, my parents would be very proud of me
9. If I lost a prestigious job, it would humiliate my parents
10. If I moved to another city, it would be important for me to consider how my parents would be affected
11. If I were successful, my parents would be honored
12. If I failed a class, it would be an embarrassment to my parents
13. When making decisions, it is important for me to consider the effects that my decisions have on my parents.
14. If my parents were to have a successful career, I would be very proud of them
15. When making decisions, it is important for me to take my parents’ needs into account.

16. I would feel honored if my parents received a distinguished award.

17. If my parents were losers in life, I would be embarrassed.

18. If my parents were caught shoplifting, I would be humiliated.
Part Four

Below are Confucius’s statements on gender roles. Please indicate how much you agree on the statements from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

1. The woman follows the man. In her youth she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son

2. A wise man builds a city, a wise woman ruins a city

3. The family: the woman’s correct place is within; the man’s correct place is outside

4. Though the wife had no rank, she was held to be of the rank of her husband and she took her seat according to the position belonging to him

5. The bridegroom went in person to meet the bride, the man taking the initiative and not the woman—according to the idea that regulates the relation between the strong and the weak

6. Faithfulness is requisite in all service of others and faithfulness is especially the virtue of a wife. Once mated with her husband, all her life she will not change her feeling of duty to him; hence, when the husband dies, she will not marry again
Appendix B- Measures (Chinese version)

同学，非常感谢你的配合！请仔细阅读每一个问题。您的合作与帮助对我们的研究有很大帮助！

基本信息：

1. 你的性别是（ ）
   a) 男性
   b) 女性
2. 你是独生子女吗？
   a) 是
   b) 不是

如果不是，请回答你的兄弟姐妹的数量：

姐姐-------哥哥-------妹妹 -------弟弟 -------

你有双胞胎或多胞胎的兄弟姐妹吗------

3. 你亲生父母的婚姻状况是（ ）
   a) 未婚
   b) 已婚
   c) 丧妻/丧夫
   d) 离婚
   e) 分居

你的祖父母的婚姻状况是（ ），你的外祖父母的婚姻状况是（ ），你父母的兄弟姐妹的离婚数量是：-------

4. 你的家庭所在地是（ ）
   a) 城市
   b) 乡村

5. 你的父亲的受教育程度是（ ）
   a) 从未上过学
   b) 小学
   c) 初中
   d) 高中
   e) 大学
   f) 研究生

6. 你的母亲的受教育程度是（ ）
a) 从未上过学
b) 小学
c) 初中
d) 高中
e) 大学
f) 研究生
第一部分

以下是有关离婚态度的陈述，请选择你对每项陈述的认同程度，从 1（强烈不认同）到 5（强烈认同）。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>选项</th>
<th>强烈不认同</th>
<th>不认同</th>
<th>中性</th>
<th>认同</th>
<th>强烈认同</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 当人们结婚时，他们应该愿意无论发生什么两个人都在一起。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 如果婚姻不幸福，人们有选择通过离婚来争取改善生活的权利。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. “今后，无论顺境还是逆境，无论富有还是贫穷，无论健康还是疾病，无论青春还是年老，我们都风雨同舟，患难与共，同甘共苦，成为终生的伴侣”的结婚誓言代表了对对方的神圣承诺，不可儿戏。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. 离婚对孩子的消极影响被远远夸大了。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. 从长远来看，日益提高的离婚率会严重损害中国社会。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. 很多离婚的人个性薄弱，无法做到为家庭的利益而作出牺牲。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 如果人们对自己的婚姻不满意，他们没有义务维持婚姻。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. 即使人们婚姻不幸福，他们也应该在一起并设法改进婚姻。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 现在婚姻誓言只是走走形式。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. 大多数离婚家庭的孩子会终生受到父母离婚的消极影响。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. 大多数人不再觉得自己需要留在不幸的婚姻里，这一事实将有利于整个社会。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. 大多数离婚的人在离婚前已经尝试过其他解决婚姻问题的方法了，他们将离婚作为最后的手段。</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

从 1（完全不能接纳）到 5（完全能接纳），请指出你能在多大程度上接纳/容忍离婚男性或离婚女性。
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>完全不能接纳</th>
<th>不中性接纳</th>
<th>完全能接纳</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. 离婚男性</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. 离婚女性</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
第二部分

每个人都有父母亲，但在日常生活中，关于子女应该如何对待父母亲，每个人的看
法不尽相同。下面列举了一些对待父母亲的方式，请您分就这些方式，评定您认为它对
您自己的重要性。此处所采用的尺度共有六种程度，从「完全不重要」到「绝对重
要」。若以数字代表重要性的程度，则「完全不重要」是 1，「绝对重要」是 6。底下请
依据您个人自己的看法圈选出最合适的答案。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>我认为身为子女者应该……</th>
<th>完全不重要</th>
<th>相当不重要</th>
<th>有点不重要</th>
<th>有点重要</th>
<th>相当重要</th>
<th>绝对重要</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 多留心父母亲的身体健康。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 当自己与父母亲意见不合时，要顺从父母亲的意见。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. 多与父母亲交谈，以了解他们的想法和感受。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 结婚前，要将所赚的钱全部交给父母亲处理。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. 多留心父母亲的生活起居。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. 为了顺从父母亲，可以不守对朋友的诺言。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. 常关怀父母亲，了解父母亲。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 放弃个人的志向，达成父母亲的心愿。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. 奉养父母亲使他们的生活更为舒适。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. 无论父母亲交代什么事，都立刻去作。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. 对父母亲的养育之恩心存感激。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. 避免和父母亲不喜欢的异性结婚。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. 父母亲去世，不管住得多远，都要亲自奔丧。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. 为了传宗接代，至少生一个儿子。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. 父母亲忙碌时，主动帮助他们。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. 儿子结婚后和父母亲住在一起。</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
第三部分

下列各项是有关你对父母的态度、观点。在对应于每一项的空格中，请选择并填上适当的数字。谢谢！

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>很不适合</th>
<th>很适合</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. 当我作决定时，考虑父母的感受对我来说很重要。
2. 如果父母事业成功，我会感到很骄傲。
3. 如果父母有不良行为，会使我蒙羞。
4. 如果我决定改变我的工作，很重要的一个考虑是这种转变将如何影响我父母的生活。
5. 当我进入一所著名的学校，我父母会感到很荣耀。
6. 如果我有不良行为，父母会觉得脸上无光。
7. 如果我决定结婚，我的婚姻会怎样影响到父母的生活是很重要的考虑因素。
8. 如果我找到了一份非常好的工作，我父母会为我骄傲。
9. 如果我失去了一份非常好的工作，父母会感到脸上无光。
10. 如果我移居到另一个城市，我会慎重考虑父母的生活会受到怎样的影响。
11. 如果我获得了成功，我父母会感到非常荣耀。
12. 如果我考试不及格，父母会感到脸上无光。
13. 当我作决定时，考虑我的决定对父母所产生的影响对我来说很重要。
14. 父母的成就会使我感到很荣耀。
15. 当我作决定时，考虑父母的需要对我来说很重要。
16. 如果父母受到奖励，我会感到很荣耀。
17. 如果父母是生活中的失败者，会使我觉得脸上无光。
18. 如果我的父母在入店行窃时被抓，我会感到羞辱。
第四部分

请选择你对以下儒家观点的认同程度，从 1（强烈不认同）到 5（强烈认同）。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>观点描述</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 妇人，从人者也。幼从父兄，嫁从夫，夫死从子。 (参考翻译：女人，是服从别人的人。年幼时服从父亲和哥哥，出嫁后服从丈夫，丈夫去世后服从儿子)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. 哲夫成城，哲妇倾城。 (参考翻译：有智谋的男子建邦立业，有智谋的女子毁坏江山社稷)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 女正位乎内，男正位乎外。 (参考翻译：男主外，女主内，这才是正常的安排)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 妇人无爵，从夫之爵，坐以夫之齿。 (参考翻译：妇女没有爵位，跟从丈夫的爵位，连坐席排列都须以丈夫的身份为准)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 男子亲迎，男先于女，刚柔之义也。 (参考翻译：男子迎亲的时候，男子走在女子之前，这是依据刚柔的道理)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 信，事人也；信，妇德也。壹与之齐，终身不改。故夫死不嫁。 (参考翻译：忠诚守信是对所有女子而言的；忠诚守信尤其是女性的品德。一旦嫁做人妻，女性一辈子不改变对她的职责。因此即使丈夫死了也不再嫁)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

谢谢您的配合！

请不要忘记为您自己保留一份知情同意书。
Appendix C—Notice of Informed Consent (English Version)

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
FALK COLLEGE
of Sport and Human Dynamics

DEPARTMENT OF CHILD AND FAMILY STUDIES

Notice of Informed Consent

My name is Ruiwen Zhang. I am a graduate student at Syracuse University where I study child and family development. I am inviting you to participate in a research study. Participation in this study is voluntary so you may choose to participate or not. This letter will explain the study to you. Please feel free to ask questions about the research if you have any. I will be happy to explain anything in detail if you wish. You can reach me at rzheng02@syr.edu.

Procedure: I am interested in learning about your views of traditional Chinese values and philosophies and your views about family issues, especially divorce, in contemporary China. In order to examine these relationships, I am asking you to respond to a survey. This survey should take 20 to 30 minutes of your time. I am asking you to describe your attitudes and yourself; there are no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. Please complete this survey individually. You should not share your responses with anyone as you complete it.

Risks: I believe that you are at minimal risk when participating in this study. I do not believe that you will experience any discomfort from answering the survey. Of course, if you are uncomfortable about answering any questions, you may skip them or may decline to participate in the survey. If you become bored or wish to stop completing the survey for any reason, you are allowed to quit without penalty or prejudice. I should note that I am asking you to describe your attitudes, your family and your family’s background as part of the survey.

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to you for completing this survey. However, your participation helps us to understand better the relationships between your attitudes towards traditional values and contemporary issues.

Confidentiality: All information gathered from the study will remain confidential. Your identity will not be disclosed to anyone. Your name is not required nor is any record kept of information that could be used to identify you. Because the data will be obtained anonymously, there is no way your responses can be linked to you. Only the researcher will have access to the research materials. Data files will be stored securely and all data will be analyzed and discussed in a group form only.

Withdrawal: Participation in this study is voluntary. You can refuse to answer any question or decide to withdraw consent and discontinue participating at any time. There is no penalty.

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the research project and/or in the case of injury due to the project, you can email Dr. Bruce Carter (my faculty advisor) at drcarter@syr.edu. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant, or if you have any questions, concerns, or complaints that you wish to address to someone other than the investigator (or if you are unable to reach the investigator), please contact the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board at +1-315-443-3013.

Thank you for reading this consent form. You should receive a copy of the form for your own personal records.

By signing below, I acknowledge three things: that I am at least 18 years old, that I am voluntarily participating in this survey, and that I have read and understood the “Informed Consent” above.

Name (Printed) ___________________________ Ruiwen Zhang ___________________________ Signature ___________________________

Date ___________________________ Researcher ___________________________ Signature ___________________________

144 White Hall | Syracuse, NY 13244 | p 315.443.2757 | falk.syr.edu
知情同意书

我的名字是郑瑞文。我是美国雪城大学（Syracuse University）儿童与家庭研究专业的一名研究生。我想请你参加一项研究，参与这项研究是自愿的，所以你可以选择参与与否。这封知情同意书会为你解释这项研究。如果你有任何问题只管问我。我会很高兴提供你想要的任何细节。你可以通过我的电子邮箱（rzeng02@syr.edu）联系我。

过程：我对了解你对传统中国价值观和哲学，以及你对一些当代中国家庭问题（尤其是离婚）的看法很感兴趣。为了研究它们之间的关系，我请求你参与这项调查。这项调查会花费你20到30分钟的时间。我请你描述你的态度还有你自己的情况，这些问题不存在任何错误答案。请独立完成这项调查。请不要在完成后与他人分享你的答案。

风险：我相信这项调查不会对你造成最低程度的风险。并且，在回答这项调查时，你不会产生任何身体和心理上的风险和不适。当然，如果你在回答任何问题时产生不适，你可以跳过这些问题或者拒绝参与这项调查。如果你感到厌倦或者由于任何原因，希望停止完成该调查，你不会受到任何惩罚或歧视。作为调查的一部分，我会请你描述你的态度，你的家庭和你的家庭情况。

收益：完成这项调查不会对你产生任何直接收益。但是，你的参与会帮助我们理解你对传统价值观的态度和现代问题的关系。

保密：这项研究得来的所有信息都会受到保护。你的身份不会被透露给任何人。你的名字或任何记录都不会被用来识别你的身份。由于这些数据是匿名的，你的回答不会被联系到你身上。只有研究人员会接触到这些材料。数据文件会被放置在安全的地方，并且所有数据都会在组内进行分析和讨论。

退出：参与这项研究是自愿的。你可以在任何时间拒绝回答任何问题或决定退出这项研究。不存在任何惩罚。

问题：如果你对这项研究课题有任何问题，或这项研究对你造成任何伤害，你可以发邮件给我的导师Bruce Carter 教授，dbcarter@syr.edu。如果你有任何对于你作为被试的权利的问题，或者你希望向研究人员以外的人提出有关这项研究的任何问题，困惑或者抱怨，请联系雪城大学机构审查委员会：(1) 3154433013。

感谢你阅读这份同意书。你会收到一份知情同意书的备份。

通过下面的签名，我承认三件事：我至少18岁，我自愿参与这项调查，并且我已经阅读并理解以上“知情”内容。

姓名：_________________________ 签字：_________________________
日期：_________ 研究人员：郑瑞文 签字：_________________________
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY  
Institutional Review Board  

MEMORANDUM  

TO: D. Bruce Carter  
DATE: December 16, 2015  
SUBJECT: Expedited Protocol Review - Approval of Human Participants  
IRB #: 15-334  
TITLE: Confucian Family Values and Attitudes Toward Divorce in the People's Republic of China  

The above referenced protocol was reviewed by the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) and has been given expedited approval. The protocol has been determined to be of no more than minimal risk and has been evaluated for the following:

1. the rights and welfare of the individual(s) under investigation;  
2. appropriate methods to secure informed consent; and  
3. risks and potential benefits of the investigation.  

The approval period is December 16, 2015 through December 15, 2016. A continuing review of this protocol must be conducted before the end of this approval period. Although you will receive a request for a continuing renewal approximately 60 days before that date, it is your responsibility to submit the information in sufficient time to allow for review before the approval period ends.  

Enclosed are the IRB approved date stamped consent and/or assent document/s related to this study that expire on December 15, 2016. The IRB approved date stamped copy must be duplicated and used when enrolling new participants during the approval period (may not be applicable for electronic consent or research projects conducted solely for data analysis). Federal regulations require that each participant indicate their willingness to participate through the informed consent process and be provided with a copy of the consent form. Regulations also require that you keep a copy of this document for a minimum of three years after your study is closed.  

Any changes to the protocol during the approval period cannot be initiated prior to IRB review and approval, except when such changes are essential to eliminate apparent immediate harm to the participants. In this instance, changes must be reported to the IRB within five days. Protocol changes must be submitted on an amendment request form available on the IRB web site. Any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others must be reported to the IRB within 10 working days of occurrence.  

Thank you for your cooperation in our shared efforts to assure that the rights and welfare of people participating in research are protected.  

Tracy Cromp, M.S.W.  
Director  

Office of Research Integrity and Protections  
121 Bowne Hall, Syracuse, New York 13244-1200  
(Phone) 315.443.3013 ♦ (Fax) 315.443.9889  
orip@syr.edu ♦ www.orip.syr.edu
DEPT: FALK Child & Family Studies, 344 White Hall

STUDENT: Ruiwen Zheng
References


*Determinants of the attitudinal and normative components* (pp. 61-78). New Jersey: Pearson.


doi:10.1007/s11199-015-0527-4


doi:10.1177/019251391012003004


Confucius 101: A key to understanding the Chinese Mind. (n.d.). Retrieved from
http://www.china-mike.com/chinese-culture/understanding-chinese-mind/confucius/


doi:10.1080/10502550802222469


doi:10.1177/1363461514525220


http://www.hnflw.gov.cn/n1337c118.aspx


http://search.proquest.com/docview/1308421034?accountid=14214


doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2009.03.007


doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10447-012-9146-8


# Ruiwen Zheng
Tel.: (315) 450-7036  Email: rzheng02@syr.edu

## EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Master of Science, Child and Family Studies</td>
<td>Syracuse University</td>
<td>Aug. 2014 - Current</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA: 3.93/4.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Education, Psychology (Special</td>
<td>East China Normal University</td>
<td>Sep. 2010 - Jun. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>GPA: 3.47/4.0 (Top 20%; 3.65/4.0 for junior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&amp; senior year)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor: Sociology (Social Work and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Guidance)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Culture, University of Virginia</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## AWARDS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

- Syracuse University: Teaching assistantship in spring 2016; 6-credit scholarship in fall 2015; 6-credit scholarship in spring 2015; 3-credit scholarship in fall 2014

## RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Experience</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Master’s thesis: <em>The Correlation between Confucian Family Values and Attitudes towards Divorce in Mainland China: an Exploratory Study</em>, Syracuse University</td>
<td>Aug. 2015-current</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Project: <em>Adolescents’ Experiences of Relational Victimization and Prosocial Behavior as Young Adults: Conditional Role of Social Anxiety</em>, Syracuse University</td>
<td>Jan. 2015 - May. 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Project, Psychological measurement design: <em>Examining Attitudes about Cyberbullying and its Relationship to Cyberbullying Perpetration</em>, Syracuse University</td>
<td>Jan. 2015 - Apr. 2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TEACHING AND OTHER EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant, Syracuse University
✦ Assisted professor with class management and grading for a sophomore course of Child and Family Studies Department; answered questions for students through emails or office hours.

Teaching Volunteer, First English Lutheran Church, Syracuse
Sep.2015-Dec.2015
✦ Engaged refugee families from Burma in English learning curriculum and activities (e.g., singing and storytelling)
✦ Interacted with infants, toddlers and preschoolers of the families during free play to improve their communication skills and English language skills

Assistant Teacher, Early Childhood Development Program, Jewish Community Center
Jun.2015-Aug.2015
✦ Assisted lead-teacher with curriculum planning and classroom management for the 4-year-olds

Practice Psychology Teacher, Shanghai Jincai High School
✦ Gave freshmen in high school mental health education lessons on the topic of emotions

Practice Special Education Teacher, Qixing School
✦ Taught Chinese and mathematics to fifth-grade students with special needs, including dyslexia, autism, Down’s syndrome and cerebral palsy
✦ Assisted lead-teacher and other school teachers with everyday activities, classroom teaching and management

✦ Collaborated with colleagues to hold 11 events, and wrote project newsletters for each event
✦ Conducted case studies of immigrant families based on observations and interviews
✦ Gave a 45-minute presentation to 20 college students on the relevant topic of “How Satir Family Therapy Mode Applies to Exceptional Children” at class after self-learning of family therapy theories and internship experience

Tutor, Work-Study Program, East China Normal University
✦ Tutored two fifth-grade students and one seventh-grade student in mathematics and English

Leader & Volunteer, Xingjia Voluntary Coaching Association, East China Normal University
✦ Created the student association; recruited more than 150 freshman volunteers in three days by visiting them in their dorms, and trained new volunteers to provide tutoring service for children of disabled families
✦ Sought feedback from the families, and then coordinated volunteers and disabled families to give families better tutoring service

SKILLS
✦ Language Skills: native speaker of Mandarin Chinese; fluent in English
✦ Computer Skills: Microsoft Office; SPSS