

12 Parenting of Young Immigrant Chinese Children

Challenges Facing Their Social-Emotional and Intellectual Development

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Introduction

Immigration is one of the major factors contributing to the rapid increase in minority population, predicted to account for half the US population by the year 2050 (García Coll, 2001), as discussed by Hernandez, Denton, and Macartney in this volume. Among the diverse immigrant population, Asians are one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups in the US (Harwood, Leyendecker, & Carlson, 2002). The term "Asian" refers to any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent; for example, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia (Barnes & Bennett, 2002). Compared to an increase of 13.2% for the total population between 1990 and 2000, the Asian population grew by 48% (3.3 million) from 6.9 million to 10.2 million. As of 2000, 3.6% of the total US population was Asian. According to the 2000 census, Chinese was the largest Asian ethnic group in the US (Barnes & Bennett, 2002). The terms "Chinese" may be represented by people mainly from three different geographic designations, including the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.), Hong Kong, and Taiwan (Chao, 2002). Many Chinese immigrants also came from other geographic destinations such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Vietnam. Of the 8.2 million foreign-born Asian Americans, 1.5 million were from China, making China the leading source of foreign-born Asians in the US (Malone, Baluja, Costanzo, & Davis, 2003).

Not only is there rapid increase in this immigrant population, but this population is also generally younger than the European American population (García Coll, 2001). The Census Bureau Reports cited an increase in the school-age population (ages 5–17 yrs) in the past few years, due to the increasing number of children of new immigrants. Chinese immigrant children also reflect this trend (Jamieson, 2001).

However, the dramatic increase in this child population stands in sharp contrast with little research on these children. The limited research, mostly on older children, indicates a peculiar picture: higher socioemotional challenges and difficulties despite their general good achievement in school. How do Chinese immigrant children develop? What are familial and larger contextual factors that influence their adaptation to a new culture? What enables them to fare better and what makes them particularly vulnerable in this new environment? There is a pressing need to address these and other issues that impact this large Asian American population.

In this chapter, we examine an important topic of Chinese immigrant (ChI) children's development: the parental socialization practices by families with young

children. We focus on the two essential areas of socioemotional development and academic achievement. We review the available scholarly work and empirical research on Chinese culturally based socialization practice in these two developmental domains in order to provide the frameworks for this needed research. We then discuss the specific gaps in research pertaining to ChI children and families. Next, we turn our attention to the ongoing research of each of the authors that addresses the specific issues raised in the review. We conclude the chapter with the potential applications of the new research.

Chinese Parental Socialization

The historical roots of childhood and child-rearing emphasized in China have often been traced to Confucian sources and Buddhist influences that spread throughout many regions of Asia. According to D.Y.H. Wu (1996), Chinese scholars and political authorities have maintained a relatively clear idea about the concept of the child, the meaning of childhood, and the function of the family in educating young children. According to the Confucian view, the biological birth alone does not make a person fully human; instead, an emphasis is placed both on parental responsibility for guiding, instructing, and disciplining the child consistently. At the same time, the child is believed to be in need and capable of effortful learning to become a socially and morally mature human being. This process is commonly referred to as *zuoren*. In other words, *zuoren* is a lifelong process for one to become harmonized with one's world (Yang, 2006). This process begins with one being first nurtured by one's family but then learning to reciprocate others with like nurture and ultimately contributing to the commonwealth of the community (Rosemont & Ames, in press). Because this process requires consistent learning, self-examination and self-improving, this is also the very process that underlies Chinese learning, including academic learning. Much of Chinese parental socialization is directed toward achieving these social, moral, and intellectual goals.

Parental Obligation and Filial Piety

Chinese child-rearing practice rests on two basic, mutually constitutive obligations that are espoused by Confucianism: (1) parents' total commitment to children's welfare and (2) children's reciprocal commitment to their parents known as *filial piety*. With regard to basic care and social/moral guidance, parents are expected to extend their utmost dedication to their children, also known as parental sacrifice. This means that parents work constantly to provide and care for their children. In expressing their filial piety, children show respect to their parents and follow parents' guidance. In addition, grown-up children are expected to provide for the material and mental well-being of their aged parents, to perform ceremonial duties of ancestral worship, to avoid harm to one's own body, to ensure the continuity of the family line, and in general, to conduct oneself so as to bring honor and not disgrace to the family name (Li, Holloway, Bempechat, & Loh, in press).

Because ensuring good learning of their children is an essential part of parental obligation, parents need to instill in children what is known as good learning virtues of dil-

igence, endurance of hardship, perseverance, concentration, and humility (Li, 2003). Parents instruct children by embodying these virtues of hard work and by engaging in daily monitoring and supervision of children's school learning. In observing filial piety, children demonstrate their great effort to learn and to achieve well in school (Yao, 1985). Children's academic achievement is testimony of good parenting and brings honor and respect to the family from the community.

In the long Chinese history, filial piety as practiced in these specific forms demanded absolutistic parental authority over children (Ho, 1996). However, since the turn of last century, this level of parental authority has lessened substantially, becoming increasingly egalitarian. Although the external form and ancient style of filial piety for the most part have disappeared, the substance of filial piety is still alive and flourishing. For example, returning one's indebtedness to parents and bringing high achievement to honor one's parents continue to be affirmed, while absolute obedience and subjugation of individual needs and interests to those of parents and kin is decreasing (Ho, 1986; Kuo-Shu, 1998).

Children's Nature and Parents' Role

Chinese parenting is strongly shaped by one of the most basic assumptions held by Confucians that children are born good with all capabilities germinating and developing from birth. Although children can be led astray by varying environments, their good nature is never really lost (Mencius, 1970). Even when children are misguided, it is believed that they can recover their good nature if they are corrected. Due to this traditional belief, parents are expected to exercise control and monitor/guide their children daily toward the desired behavior and to correct any deviations. The process of training begins early and continues throughout childhood and adolescence. Children are trained for proper conduct, compliance, impulse control, respect for authority, and the acceptance of social obligations. There is a relative lack of emphasis on children's independence, assertiveness, and creativity (Ho, 1986). Research indeed shows that Chinese mothers report that they must provide guidance leading the child toward desired behavior to set a lifelong foundation for the child (Cheah & Rubin, 2003). In research comparing European American or Canadian parents with Chinese parents, Chinese parents were found to be more controlling, protective, directive, and authoritarian, in child-rearing (e.g., Lin & Fu, 1990; Chao, 1994).

Socializing for Emotional/Behavioral Restraint and Discouragement of Pride

In accordance with social harmony, Chinese parenting emphasizes sensitivity to others in the family, guiding children to attend to the needs, emotions, and views of others more than to their own individuality. Also due to the strong concerns about social harmony, Chinese parents may regard both positive and negative (particularly negative) emotions as potentially disruptive, even dangerous to social relations (Klineberg, 1938). They value moderation over excessive and uncontrolled expression of emotions (Kleinman, 1986). This cultural tendency may motivate Chinese parents to socialize their children to view emotions in less-dramatic terms, choose less-extreme forms of expressions and behavior, even suppress certain emotions altogether. Instead, parents

are expected to instill solemnity and self-control early on in their children (Bond & Wang, 1983).

One specific way of self-restraint is discouragement of pride. Chinese culture stresses the personal need to self-improve throughout life as noted earlier. Parents are strongly motivated to guide their children in this direction. When their children behave or achieve well in school, they rarely praise their children in any form. They are particularly reluctant to praise their children verbally in front of others in an attempt to discourage too much pride in their children. Parents are concerned that praising children for expected good behavior and expected achievement may lead children to arrogance and hubris, which can impede their children's effort to self-improve continuously (Li & Wang, 2004). This is especially true of academic learning. Praising children in front of others, especially their peers, may make others feel bad about themselves, consequently jeopardizing their children's harmonious social relationships. Recent research shows that, unlike Western people who experience pride as mostly a positive emotion, Chinese people experience pride as a double-valenced emotion, both positive and negative (E & Diener, 2001; Ross, Heine, Wilson, & Sugimori, 2005; Scollon, Diener, Oishi, Biswas-Diener, 2005). The positive valence is experienced when the cause of achievement involves significant others of oneself such as one's siblings, children, peers, and the collective (e.g., school sports team). The negativity is directed at the self wanting to express self-achievement in front of others (in fear of being viewed as boastful) or viewing others' boastful behavior. As a result, parents tend to downplay their children's achievement and alert their children to remain humble all the time (Stipek, 1998).

Is Chinese Parenting More Authoritarian?

Authoritarian parenting style is one that is associated with children's adjustment problems and poor school achievement due to its harshness, demands, and rejection instead of warmth, reasoning, and acceptance characteristic of the authoritative parenting style as studied among European Americans (Baumrind, 1971). Over the years, Chinese parents have been shown to be more controlling and power-assertive in child-rearing compared to their European American counterparts (e.g., Ho, 1989, 1994; Jose, Huntsinger, & Liaw, 2000; Lin, 1990; Kelley, 1992; Wolf, 1970). However, Chinese children's relative high academic achievement contradicts the general finding with regard to the authoritarian parenting style. The applicability of Baumrind's original parenting typology to Chinese parenting has been questioned because important dimensions such as training and governing (e.g., Chao, 1994) were not part of the original research and theory.

An increasing number of recent studies demonstrate that authoritarian parenting (harsh, power-assertive) in mainland China is associated with children's externalizing (aggressive/disruptive) behaviors (Chang, Schwartz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2000; Chang, Lansford, Schwartz, & Farver, 2004; Chen, 1997; Chen, Wu, Chen, Wang, & Chen, 2001; Chen, Wang, & Chen, & Liu, 2002; Yang et al., 2004). Research focusing on parental psychological control (that reduces children's emotional experience and expression) has been found to be linked to aggression in Chinese preschool girls whereas parental physical coercion was associated with aggressive behavior in boys. Moreover, maternal directiveness, overprotection, and coercion and shaming were found to be associated

with withdrawn behaviors in Chinese preschool children (Nelson, Hart, & Yang, 2006; Nelson, L. et al., 2006). Despite this cross-cultural support for the maladaptive child outcomes resulting from these particular parenting practices, research remains unclear about whether Chinese parents are predominantly authoritarian as defined in the West. A related challenge to the research cited above is that overall, Asian Americans tend to have less mental illness compared to European Americans (Takeuchi, Chung, Lin et al., 1998), particularly among the first-generation immigrants (Takeuchi et al., 2007), a finding that does not point to the expected consequence of the so-called "authoritarian parenting" of Asians. Much research is needed to clarify this important parenting topic.

New Challenges: Parental Socialization Among Chinese Immigrants

Immigration presents tremendous and multifaceted challenges to individuals and families of any cultural origin (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). One key issue for immigrant parents is the process of reconciling the cultural differences between their cultural origin and their adopted culture with regard to socialization. This reconciliation, often involving discrepant beliefs, practices, behaviors, and values, has been conceptualized as the process of *acculturation*, by which an individual changes as a result of contact and interaction with another distinct culture (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). The process and extent of acculturation differ among individuals (Roysircar-Sodowsky & Maestas, 2000; Sue, Mak, & Sue, 1998). New immigrants often experience acculturative stress due to language, employment, and social problems (see Dion & Dion, 1996). The degree to which immigrants can retain their cultural heritage but at the same time integrate to the host culture may predict how well they fare in the new environment (Lu, 2001; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Phinney, 1995).

However, raising children in the midst of this acculturation can intensify the difficulties. Acculturation for parents and children proceeds at different rates. Children acquire English and American culture much more quickly and deeply than their parents. When this kind of dissimilar levels of acculturation occurs, parents' ethnic traditions are at odds with children's experiences in the new culture (Kwak, 2003). It is common for immigrant parents to feel confusion, disorientation, and sometimes despair in their role as parents (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008).

Although this process is common among any immigrant groups, there may be culture-specific patterns for Chinese immigrants in experiencing these difficulties. As indicated previously, little research exists on CHI parental socialization. The limited research that exists focuses mostly on adolescence (Chao & Tseng, 2002), addressing generally parent-child relationships and related socioemotional difficulties on the one hand and socialization of academic learning on the other.

Socioemotional Difficulties in Distanced Parent-Children Relationships

Available research indicates that Chinese American youth experience greater psychological and social emotional difficulties, particularly internalized problems, including depression and suicidal risk, than their Euro-American counterparts (e.g., Stewart et

al., 1999; Sue & Sue, 2003; Zhou, Peverly, Xin, Huang, & Wang, 2003). Asian American adolescent girls had the highest rates of depressive symptoms of all racial/ethnic and gender groups (National Council for Health Statistics, 1997). Recent research documents increased parent-child conflict due to the cross-language use with parents initiating conversations in Chinese but children responding in English (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). Chinese adolescents also tend to think that their parents show them less warmth, and they desire more parental love to a much larger extent than their European American peers. Moreover, Chinese adolescents' perceived gap between their actual and desired parental warmth predicted their internalized difficulties (Wu & Chao, 2005). Most recently, Qin (2006) documented increasing difficulties in new immigrant families of adolescents over a period of 5 years: the longer these families resided in the US, the less time they spent together, the less they communicated, the more conflict they had, and the less emotional bonding they experienced.

However, research on the socioemotional domain has paid little attention to a number of key areas. First, virtually no research documents the developmental origin of these later problems. Second, few researchers have studied the dynamic processes at home, particularly the acculturative experiences of both parents and children, and the specific ways in which these experiences shape family life and child-rearing practices. Third, virtually no research exists on factors that, although lying outside the immediate family setting, affect immigrant children nevertheless. For example, we know little of how ChI families build and use social networks as social capital (Li et al., in press) and how community elements such as neighborhood, daycare, school, and church influence families.

Socialization for Academic Achievement

Research generally shows consistently that ChI children achieve well in school relative to other groups (Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Compared to other groups, Asian American families invest the largest amount of family resources to their children's education (Hsia & Hirano-Nakanishi, 1989; Kao & Tienda, 1996). Research indicates that because of the dominant value of education, Chinese immigrants continue to endorse their basic cultural orientation toward learning and education. Parents are still strongly motivated to do their utmost in order to ensure their children's learning (Li et al., in press; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Within the family, parents spend more time than other groups on monitoring their children's schoolwork (Yao, 1985). They also routinely enroll them in afternoon and weekend academic-enrichment programs. In the larger community such as Chinatown and suburban areas with higher concentration of Chinese population, it is commonplace to read in the Chinese-language newspapers and other print materials about educational information, exemplary students, and opportunities for achieving academic excellence. Due to the high demand of such supplementary educational need, Chinese schools have mushroomed in North America in recent decades. Such schools do not only offer Chinese language, but everything parents deem desirable for their children's enrichment, ranging from extra math and science classes to Chinese dance (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

Despite these intriguing facts, there are also clear gaps in the research. First, as in the socioemotional domain, very little research documents the process of how families socialize their children in developing their basic learning beliefs. Lacking are detailed

analyses of daily routines and interactions between parents and children. Second, recent research shows that in spite of some ChI children's impressive academic achievement, they are not well-adjusted. The acculturative process may contribute to this paradoxical phenomenon (Qin, 2008). The very value of self-perfection through learning that the Chinese have held for millennia may not serve ChI children well because the US has very different cultural values and social norms. For the first time, learning well in school may not be seen as admirable from the perspective of peers (Li & Wang, 2004). Instead, ChI children, like their other Asian-immigrant peers, are common targets of pejorative name-calling such as nerds and geeks. Research indeed found Chinese adolescents report most peer discrimination among ethnic groups (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). Because Chinese children tend to be quiet in school, peer harshness can further exacerbate these children's social development, particularly friendship making (Huang, 1997). Many children are caught between the forces that often are in conflict, that is, parental pressure to achieve well in school on the one hand and peer rejection on the other. This general home-school incongruence can seriously undermine ChI parents' effort to socialize their children's academic learning, and consequently produce unprecedented distress and conflict between parents and children.

New Research

In this section, we describe the ongoing research that the present authors are conducting in order to address the research gaps as outline previously. We discuss parenting in the domain of socioemotional development first followed by the domain of socialization of children's learning beliefs.

Documenting Parenting in Immigrant Children's Socioemotional Development

The first author is conducting a 3-year longitudinal project examining the interaction between child, family, and sociocultural characteristics in the development of ChI children's social skills. As mentioned previously, most of the studies regarding Chinese immigrants were conducted in cities with large Chinese populations already residing there. Thus, the generalizability of these findings to Chinese immigrants residing in smaller Chinese centers is unknown. Our participants will include 200 children between the ages of 3 and 5 years old and their parents residing in areas with relatively low concentrations of other Chinese (co-ethnics) in the Mid-Atlantic region. Moreover, the vast majority of existing studies regarding children of Chinese immigrants have targeted the adolescent developmental period (Chao & Tseng, 2002) but much less is known about the social and emotional development of young children over time. Specifically, we focus on the development of various subtypes of aggressive, socially withdrawn, sociable, and prosocial behaviors, and the emotion-regulation abilities of young ChI children.

The interactive contribution of individual, relationship, and contextual variables as families acculturate and develop over time is of interest. Another overall aim of this project is to evaluate acculturation changes over time and whether any change relates to a subsequent change in approaches to parenting. As parents negotiate the

child-rearing beliefs and practices of their traditional culture and the host culture, some changes in parenting are expected with implications for their children's social-skill development. Thus, the changes and consistency of acculturation, parenting, and children's social skills over time will be examined. The families are visited at home four times during this period and both quantitative and qualitative methods of assessment in their language and dialect of choice are utilized.

Besides extensive demographic, childcare, and neighborhood information about these families, parents were interviewed regarding their immigration and acculturative experiences, and their parenting goals and beliefs. Both parents' and children's social networks were assessed. We are also interested in how their parenting practices and goals may have changed as a result of acculturation. Information regarding parents' behavioral and psychological acculturation, self-esteem, psychological well-being, and ethnic identity are assessed, in addition to their parent-child and marital relationship quality, family functioning, and their experienced stress (including racism) and social support. Parents also provide their perception of their child's temperamental characteristics. Children are interviewed regarding their social cognitive problem-solving skills, and their academic-readiness skills are assessed at the last time point. We also obtain teacher assessments of the children's social skills and behavioral difficulties in the classroom. Very few longitudinal studies exist that examine parenting and its role in the social-skill development of immigrant Chinese children using naturalistic observations. Thus, we are conducting observations of mother-child interactions during a series of structured tasks (a free-play, teaching, and clean-up task), and at the last time point, the children's emotional-regulation ability and their mothers' socialization of emotion regulation is observed.

Next, we present preliminary analyses on the parenting styles of a subgroup of participants to address several issues. First, as we expected, the families in our sample reside in areas with low concentration of co-ethnics, with 11% residing in neighborhoods with no co-ethnics, and 65% reporting less than 25% of co-ethnics.

Our first goal was to assess authoritative parenting style in Chinese immigrant mothers of young children residing in areas of low co-ethnic populations. Our second goal was to examine the association between authoritative parenting style and immigrant Chinese children's outcomes; specifically, we wanted to investigate the potential mediating role of the child's behavioral and attentional self-regulation. Thus, authoritative parenting was predicted to increase behavioral and attention-regulation abilities (lower hyperactivity/inattention) in children, resulting in decreased children's difficulties as rated by teachers. Our third goal is to present data from our interviews regarding mothers' conceptions of warmth and strictness.

Authoritative Parenting

In order to address our first goal, mothers' ratings on warmth, reasoning induction, autonomy granting, and the overall authoritative score were examined. In support of our hypothesis, mothers endorsed high levels of warmth ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 0.47$), reasoning induction ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 0.58$), autonomy granting ($M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.62$), and overall authoritative parenting style ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 0.48$), with ratings of 4 indicating that mothers engaged in these behaviors "very often."

Child Outcomes and Authoritative Parenting

In order to examine the mediating role of the child's behavioral and attentional self-regulation as indexed by their maternal ratings of hyperactivity/inattention on the SDQ in the relation between authoritative parenting style and teacher rating of the child's overall difficulties, the mediation effect was tested by a series of regression analyses (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Judd & Kenny, 1981). Mediation regression analyses revealed that authoritative parenting style *negatively* predicted children's difficulties, $\beta = -2.61$, $t(71) = -2.28$, $p < 0.05$, $f^2 = 0.07$ and *negatively* predicted children's hyperactivity/inattention, $\beta = -0.40$, $t(81) = -3.88$, $p < 0.001$, $f^2 = 0.19$. Moreover, children's hyperactivity/inattention *positively* predicted children's difficulties above and beyond authoritative parenting style, $\beta = 0.31$, $t(69) = 2.62$, $p < 0.05$, $f^2 = 0.10$. When controlling for children's hyperactivity/inattention, the effect of authoritative parenting style on children's difficulties decreased and became insignificant, $\beta = -0.15$, $t(69) = -1.31$, $p > 0.05$. Sobel test (1982) indicated a significant full mediation effect of authoritative parenting style on teacher report of children's difficulties through children's hyperactivity/inattention, $t(69) = -2.17$, $p < 0.05$, $f^2 = 0.07$.

Consistent with our expectations and in support of a growing body of research (e.g., Chen et al., 1997a, b; Chang et al., 2003, 2004), authoritative parenting was associated negatively with children's adjustment problems in the Chinese culture. Moreover, the influence of parenting style on children's behavioral adjustment was mediated by their behavioral and attentional regulation abilities. Highly authoritative mothers emphasize demands for action and future-oriented controls within a harmonious social context of early self-regulation, leading to fewer child behavior problems (Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1995).

In addition, the authoritative model of discipline which emphasizes the use of reasoning and induction directs children's attention to the consequences of their misdemeanors on others. Children's internalization of family and social rules about regulating behavior is more likely to be fostered (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Hoffman, 2000). Moreover, authoritative parents tend to encourage their child's autonomy, and thus provide opportunities for their child to develop self-regulatory abilities (Zhou, Eisenberg, Wang, & Reiser, 2004). These children's ability to regulate behavior and attention was related to lower levels of children's difficulties including emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity, and peer problems, as rated by their preschool or daycare teachers.

These findings are particularly important given that Chinese American children have been found to experience greater school adjustment difficulties (Zhou, 2003). Importantly, our results suggest that not only are parenting techniques which are proactive, democratic, and nonpunitive highly endorsed by immigrant Chinese parents, these techniques also foster greater abilities to self-regulate, which reduce difficulties in the preschool and daycare setting, thus improving immigrant Chinese children's adaptation.

Parents' Conceptions of Warmth and Strictness

Our qualitative interviews shed more light on the dimensions of parental warmth and control in this sample. Parents expressed the importance of showing their child that

they are loved and cared for, and doing so was more important than being strict with their children because their young child had to be nurtured. This developmental understanding among Chinese parents (known in the traditional literature as the "age of understanding") has been used to describe Chinese parents' indulgence in their young children before these children are thought to have reached an age when they can understand their actions. When interviewed about the importance of showing love and care, they cited reasons including its importance for the child's emotional development, but also to set the foundation for learning. Parents also talked about how love and care will protect their child from the culturally different outside world. Being strict with their child was thought to be important for the establishment of good morals and behaviors to ensure family and larger group harmony.

Our ChI parents said that they demonstrate love and care for their child through the following ways: spending time with their child (23.66%); providing basic care like warm clothing, food, and shelter (16.1%); making sure that the child had educational opportunities (11.98%); physical displays of love (9.68%); disciplining their child and being stern with him/her (8.63%); making their child's favorite foods (8.62%); sacrificing parents' own needs and comforts for their child (7.53%); buying things that the child liked (6.45%); and finally telling the child "I love you" (4.30%); and praising and rewarding their child (3.23%).

Interestingly, outright spoken forms of expressing affection and praising their child were the least popular ways of showing love and care whereas other more indirect and functional means of investing in the child's future were cited more frequently. Thus, although the importance of love and care was unanimously supported by parents, the ways in which they reported expressing them had cultural undertones. These initial findings indicate the importance of examining specific aspects of parenting in addition to overall parenting styles and utilizing a more emic approach to identify more culturally unique parenting practices and more fully capture the dynamic nature of Chinese immigrant parenting. These results can contribute to advance contextualized and culturally sensitive models of community planning of services (including parenting classes) targeted toward the healthy adaptation of immigrant children and their parents.

Documenting Socialization of Immigrant Children's Learning Beliefs

Currently, the second author is conducting a 3-year comparative longitudinal research project on how European American (EA) and ChI preschool children develop learning beliefs and how they are socialized at home. The sample consists of 300 children and their families, with 100 from middle-class EA, 100 from middle-class ChI, and 100 from low-income ChI families. The EA sample was included as a baseline, representing the US cultural norm toward which immigrant children are socialized. The two SES ChI groups were included because there is very little research involving low-income ChI families. Our goal is to document the kind of learning beliefs that these children develop, related parental socialization, and the relationship between children's learning beliefs and their actual learning and achievement. Data collection starts with children at 4 years of age and continues for 3 consecutive years. We focus on this age group because our previous cross-sectional research showed that 4 is the youngest age children of both cultural groups begin to express some consistent BLs beyond chance.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used to collect data. Specifically, we collect data from children themselves, the caregivers, caregiver-child interactions, and teachers/schools for each family. From ChI children themselves, we first screen their English proficiency in order to determine what language to use with children. Subsequently, we assess both EA and ChI children's literacy and numeracy achievement and collect their stories about learning scenarios. From caregivers, we collect basic demographic data, daily family activities, childcare routines, social networks, child-rearing goals, beliefs, and practices, parent-child relationships, and parental views of learning and school. From the ChI parents, we collect data on their ethnic identity, ethnic socialization, and acculturative process and stress. From caregiver-child interactions, we record the caregiver-child conversations about learning. In addition, we videotape the caregiver teaching the child math skills. Finally, from schools, we collected teacher's independent assessment of children's learning engagement and school records. Thus far, we have recruited 70 EA and 145 ChI families with a total of 215. We have collected the first wave of data from the majority of these children and families, and the second wave of data collection is underway.

Here, we discuss two preliminary sets of analyses from some of our first wave of data: (1) intellectual activities that parents provide to their children outside school and their associated outcomes and (2) mother-child conversations about learning. With regard to the first analysis, we tallied the average intellectual activities from the 7-day Mother Diary where the mother detailed what she or other household members did with the child outside school. The activities included reading books, teaching numbers and simple math, drawing pictures, telling stories, asking the child to recount the day, reciting poems, playing music instruments, and taking the child to a library.

We randomly selected 22 families from half middle-class and half low-income backgrounds. The results pointed to the anticipated direction (slightly short of the conventional significant probability level) that low-income families provided fewer such activities to their children than middle-class families ($t = -1.82$, $p = 0.08$). Total time spent on intellectual activities tended to be correlated with children's total achievement consisting of oral expression, basic reading, and quantitative skills, $r = 0.36$, $p = 0.09$, as measured with the Woodcock-Johnson batteries. More specifically, time spent on home intellectual activities was highly correlated with children's math achievement, $r = 0.55$, $p < 0.01$, regardless of SES.

However, noteworthy is the finding that, despite the possible differential home intellectual stimulation by SES, both middle-class and low-income children showed no difference in their relatively low score on English oral expression (90 for both groups, compared to 119 vs. 112 for reading and 121 vs. 112 for math, respectively, with 100 as the national mean). Although their children performed above the national average at 4 years of age in reading and math, their oral expressivity was below the national average. The disparity is quite striking. This finding may be a result of Chinese immigrant families speaking predominantly Chinese at home. Bilingual development is a complex process, and it is not the primary aim of the present study; nevertheless, we wonder if the early display of low oral expressivity may predict the well-documented phenomenon of Chinese children's quietness or the more negatively perceived reticence in later years. As noted previously, this could present difficulties in their socioemotional adjustment. The large disparity between their below-national mean of oral expressivity and

significant above-national mean reading and math achievement may pose further challenges to Chinese immigrant children among peers when they enter school. This early detection urges us to attend to the *types* of home activities. As we collect and analyze more data from different waves, we will endeavor to explore the possible factors that contribute to this disparity.

The second data set is on caregiver-child conversations about learning, again addressing the topic of parenting in real time. The preliminary findings are qualitative in nature since we have looked at only a few dyads. We asked each caregiver, frequently the mother but sometimes the father and grandmother, to recall two specific incidents where she or he believed that the child showed either good or not-perfect learning attitudes/behaviors about which to talk with the child. We then left the caregiver and child alone to converse about the situation for unlimited time. These conversations typically lasted between 10–15 minutes. We transcribed the conversations verbatim.

These conversations revealed rich and detailed information of parental socialization processes. With regard to two main structural elements, turns and length of responses, EA pairs showed more turns and longer child-responses. ChI middle-class pairs were in the middle, that is, having more turns and child responses than the low-income pairs but fewer than the EA pairs. For stylistic elements, EA caregivers tended to co-recall the events with the children more and leave more space for children to fill in their perspectives. Middle-class ChI caregivers appeared to be more like the EA caregivers whereas the low-income ChI caregivers used more instructional talking style where the caregiver talked more and the child listened attentively and responded less verbally. EA caregivers were mostly reluctant to address their children's less-perfect learning; however, the low-income ChI caregivers were most ready to point out their children's imperfections and their need to self-improve. Middle-class ChI caregivers were in the middle again. Moreover, EA and middle-class ChI caregivers shared similarly soft and gentle emotional tone in their talking. Finally, for content of the conversations, EA caregivers elaborated most on their children's positive learning and promoted positive emotions (e.g., "You must be proud of yourself?"). However, in talking about their not-perfect learning, caregivers separated the imperfect behavior from the goodness of the whole child, with the goal to comfort the child. Middle-class ChI caregivers acknowledged their children's good learning as do the low-income caregivers. However, they seldom focused on emotional responses to either good or inadequate learning attitude/behavior. Instead, they stressed their children's need to continue to self-improve. For less-perfect learning, they did not discuss the difference between behavior and the whole child. Rather, their focus was on strategies for how to improve. Low-income ChI were most forthcoming in pointing out their children's inadequacies. They were clear about what they expected of their children and talked directly about how to learn better accordingly.

As stated earlier, due to the preliminary nature of our analysis, these patterns needed to be taken with caution. As we analyze more data, more accurate findings will emerge. Nevertheless, it is still useful to offer some summary remarks about what we have been able to glean. Accordingly, the two ChI groups may display different patterns of adaptation and maintenance of their cultural values in their child-rearing practice. Middle-class ChI parents may adapt to the host cultural norms at a deeper level due to their greater exposure to American life with higher education and higher SES level. However, it is erroneous to assume that they wholly embrace the cultural norms of the host

culture at the expense of their own. Their adaptation appears to be more selective. Guiding children's learning may still be viewed as an essential parental obligation, but their style may be somewhat altered to adjust to the demand of the host culture. Low-income families may have less access and exposure to American cultural norms and styles. They may therefore rely more heavily on the parenting model from their own culture they know well. The developmental outcomes may be two-fold. On the one hand, their effort to uphold Confucian values regarding learning may serve their children well in their education. On the other hand, parents may be less cognizant that certain elements of their socialization may result in developmental outcomes that may pose socioemotional challenges to their children in later years.

Implications and Conclusion

The authors' ongoing research documents some emerging trends of ChI families and child development. In light of our introduction of Chinese cultural norms regarding socioemotional functioning and intellectual development, the ChI parents appear to continue to endorse the basic values of Chinese culture, particularly the Confucian tradition and use that to guide their practice. They are also displaying expected acculturation and adjustment. However, the authors have also documented hitherto not well understood challenges in both domains that may be quite specific to the Chinese immigrant families

Although preliminary, the findings have implications for families as well as education policy. For families, there is a great need to provide research findings to this increasing population in the US. Many parents, particularly better-educated parents, are aware that raising children in a vastly different culture is bound to face challenges. Yet, few are clear about how such challenges arise in their family, and what to expect, and how to respond to them. Research findings that present the developmental paths of differences in parenting styles, particularly the specific communicative forms of love and care, between the mainstream culture and Chinese culture can guide parents in choosing a style that suits their needs. Likewise, it is the type of intellectual activities, not a general category of intellectual stimulation that may be more predictive of specific child outcomes. It is important for parents to know what types of intellectual activities are linked to which specific child outcomes before they can make informed decisions about their interactions with children. Such dissemination of research findings is even more acute to low-income parents due to their much greater life hardship and reduced access to research information.

Similarly and toward greater impact of research, schools that serve immigrant children also have a great need for research-based guidance. Yet, currently there is little such advice because research is generally lacking. Our preliminary and more conclusive findings in the near future can inform daycare centers that what happens inside the daycare center may not suffice to promote successful adaptation for these children's socioemotional needs. Daycare centers may offer programs to address issues regarding parenting style and child outcomes and to support parental effort much more extensively than has been customarily done in the past.

In trying to promote Chinese immigrant children's intellectual development, schools stand to benefit from understanding parenting factors at home that contribute to the

success of children's learning as well as factors that result in uneven development such as the disparity noted in our findings. Understanding ethnic strengths promotes positive development of children's ethnic identity and pride. Understanding the nature of challenges can enable schools to develop specific ways to communicate with parents, particularly low-income parents, about these issues in order to help their children reach their full intellectual potential.

Both authors are collecting a large amount of data pertaining to many other related areas of Chinese immigrant families and children. This research, we hope, will document many more specific developmental processes and outcomes that will enlighten our scientific theories of child development. At the same time, we also strive to promote the well-being of not only Chinese but all immigrant children, in the US and throughout the world.

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