Brien K. Ashdown
Amanda N. Faherty *Editors*

Parents and Caregivers Across Cultures

Positive Development from Infancy Through Adulthood

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Brien K. Ashdown • Amanda N. Faherty
Editors

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Brien K. Ashdown: To Brenda and Keith Ashdown, who did a pretty good job of the whole parenting thing, if I do say so myself.

Amanda N. Faherty: To my own parents, Ellen and Tom, who make this parenting thing look easy – thanks for always supporting me in everything I do.

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About the Editors

Brien K. Ashdown, PhD, is an Associate Professor of Cultural Psychology in the Department of Psychological Science and an affiliated faculty member of the Latin American Studies Program at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, NY, USA. He graduated with his doctorate in cultural and developmental psychology from Saint Louis University in 2009 (with a doctoral minor in research methods and statistics) and spent 2 years as an Assistant Professor at the University of Alaska Fairbanks before moving to Hobart and William Smith. He regularly teaches courses in Cultural Psychology (including Introduction to Cultural Psychology, Topics/Seminar in Cultural Psychology, and Research Methods in Cultural Psychology), Adolescent Development, Statistics and Design, and Introductory Psychology.

He has authored or coauthored nearly 30 empirical articles and book chapters and has been an author on more than 60 conference talks and posters. He's a formal Participating Member of the Ronald and Nancy Rohner Center for the Study of Interpersonal Acceptance and Rejection and received early career awards from both Division 52 (International Psychology) of the American Psychological Association and the Society for Cross-Cultural Research. Finally, he currently serves as President of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research (2019), President-Elect of the International Society for Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection (2018-2020), and the Executive Director of Education for the Children, USA.

Amanda N. Faherty, BA, is a Doctoral Student in Developmental Psychology in the Hiatt School of Psychology at Clark University in Worcester, MA, USA, and in 2020 will begin an assistant professorship at Ithaca College in Ithaca, NY, USA. She is currently working under the mentorship of Dr. Jeffrey Jensen Arnett, Ph.D. Her research investigates broad and microlevel sociocontextual influences on the parent-emerging adult (EA)-child relationship and development during emerging adulthood with particular emphasis on culture. In two complementary lines of research, she (a) examines parenting practices in relation to emerging adult well-being and adjustment and (b) identifies microlevel cultural foundations of the parent-emerging

adult-child relationship in order to tease apart the construct of "culture." She received her master's degree in Developmental Psychology from Clark University in 2018. Prior to that, she graduated magna cum laude with honors in psychology from Hobart and William Smith Colleges in 2015. She is beginning a tenure-track assistant position at Ithaca College in Ithaca, NY in August, 2020.

She has authored or coauthored six empirical articles in peer-reviewed journals and has been an author on six conference presentations and nine conference posters. She has received the Best Graduate Student Paper Award from the Society for Cross-Cultural Research. She is currently on the student committee for the International Society for Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection and serves on her department's Diversity and Inclusion Working Committee. Finally, she also has served as the Student Coordinator for the 2019 Society for Cross-Cultural Research Annual Conference and her cohort's graduate representative for Clark University's Psychology Student Committee.

Introduction: What Do We Mean When We Talk About Good Parenting?

Brien K. Ashdown and Amanda N. Faherty

What Do We Mean When We Talk About Good Parenting?

What do we mean when we talk about "good parenting"? How do we decide whether a parent or other caregivers are doing things the "right way"? These are important questions not only for parents and caregivers who are doing the hard work of childrearing but also for professionals who support parents and caregivers – teachers, doctors, therapists, and researchers. Everyone involved in childrearing, either directly as a parent or caregiver, or indirectly as a scholar or teacher, wants to do the best job they can for the children in their care. This can often lead to anxiety and uncertainty about parenting techniques and approaches (Joyce, 2015), and this anxiety is only made worse when parenting experts or other parents present a narrow definition of what counts as "acceptably good" parenting.

One of the main obstacles in the way of helping parents and caregivers understand what constitutes "good" parenting is that most of the research on the topic has focused on European-American, middle-class, mostly White parents and children (e.g., Baumrind, 1996). Because these families constitute the majority of research participants, the findings and conclusions based on their data have become known as what we might call the "gold standard of parenting." Many scholars have made the mistake of attempting to extend this assumed gold standard beyond the population to which it should apply (Chao, 1994). Our goal for this edited volume is to demonstrate that too often, psychological scientists equate "good" parenting with the attitudes and parenting behaviors of White,

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middle-class Americans rather than recognizing that good parenting and childrearing are whatever lead to culturally valued outcomes for the child (Weisner, 2002).

There are some empirical studies that have attempted to incorporate the way that culture influences parenting, childrearing, and child outcomes; however, many of these studies, while making valiant attempts to extend our cultural understanding, unfortunately too often reduce culture to nothing more than a quasi- or semi-independent variable. This approach, which some scholars characterize as a "box" approach (Rogoff & Angelillo, 2002), results in researchers and other scholars categorizing different cultural and ethnic groups into boxes that attempt to encapsulate the entirety of culture's influence on childrearing (e.g., Fuligni & Pederson, 2002; Shek & Chan, 1998). While perhaps better than ignoring cultural influences all together, these box approaches are incapable of taking into account the flexibility, motivations, and consequences of cultural influences on childrearing and parenting. This leads us to ask ourselves: how can any parenting or childrearing approach or technique be understood or critiqued unless the parents' childrearing beliefs and behaviors are fully situated within the appropriate cultural context?

The Importance of the Cultural Context

For decades, Baumrind's (1996) parenting research and consequent parenting types (i.e., authoritative, authoritarian, indifferent/neglectful, permissive) have provided the foundation for parenting and childrearing research in the United States. Many parenting and childrearing experts and scholars continue to argue that authoritative parenting (in which parents and caregivers are warm and kind and demonstrate high levels of acceptance toward the child while also maintaining clear and high expectations for the child's behavior) is the best, healthiest, and most likely parenting type to lead to high levels of adjustment in a child (see Baumrind, 1996; Steinberg, 2001).

While there is empirical evidence to support some of these claims, they are based on the beliefs held by White, middle-class Americans. This limitation in the scholarly literature is not a result only of the characteristics of the participants who have provided the vast majority of the data for these studies. It is also due to the way these studies define healthy adjustment and desired outcomes for the children reared in an authoritative manner, based wholly on Western, mostly US-supported cultural beliefs about how children should behave (Chao, 1994). Researchers and scholars who have broken beyond the constraints of these Westernized ideals of childrearing have documented that authoritative parenting does not lead to the same kind of culturally valued outcomes in children across different ethnic and cultural groups (Chao, 1994, 1995, 2001; Halgunseth, Ispa, Rudy, 2006; Mason, Walker-Barnes, Tu, Simons, & Martinez-Arrue, 2004).

There are various reasons why the type of childrearing that leads to valued outcomes among US parents is not the type of childrearing that leads to valued outcomes among other groups. What is considered a valued outcome is going to vary,

sometimes drastically, from culture to culture and group to group. For instance, Chinese-American parents tend to value children who are well-trained, which results from different types of parenting and childrearing behaviors than European-American parents in the United States engage in (Chao, 1994, 1995, 2001). Different ethnic and cultural groups value different types of child outcomes, leading the child's caregivers to engage in the types of behaviors that will elicit those culturally valued outcomes. For example, Black teenagers in the United States respond to greater levels of parental control with more feelings of love and care than do White or Hispanic teenagers (Mason et al., 2004).

These differences in culturally valued child outcomes, and the way that parents and caregivers will engage in different types of childrearing techniques to elicit the valued outcomes, make it clear that trying to define "good" parenting is a quixotic quest – and, really, a quixotic quest that is culturally blind at best (Berry, 2013) and scientifically imperialistic at worst (Ashdown & Buck, 2018). Too often, relying on research and theory based on Westernized beliefs leads to comparisons between US culture (or, perhaps, another Westernized, White, middle-income sample) and some other non-Westernized group. Unfortunately, this almost always results (albeit often implicitly) in the non-Westernized approach to childrearing being classified and discussed as deficient in some way (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002).

Luckily, some researchers and scholars have recently begun making an argument for why culture should be included in scholarship about parenting and childrearing and that the role of culture in this work should be explanatory. That is, that culture should not be a box into which we place different groups of people but a mechanism to help us understand what child outcomes are valued among a particular cultural group and how parents and caregivers engage in childrearing to elicit those outcomes (Rogoff, 2016; Rogoff & Angelillo, 2002). Until we stop thinking about the cultural characteristics of a person (or group of people) as things that are static and uniform and that can fit in neat little boxes, we will continue to ignore the explanatory power of culture – not only in the field of parenting and childrearing but in all aspects of psychology and other social sciences (Rogoff, 2016; Rogoff & Angelillo, 2002). To avoid this, we must do a better job of defining and examining culture as something that is vibrant, flexible, and fundamentally political and historical (Gjerde, 2004).

As the editors of this volume, we argue that parenting and childrearing are themselves cultural practices and that cultural beliefs and attitudes are already embedded in the behaviors, beliefs, and techniques that parents and caregivers utilize with the children in their care. The outcomes that parents and caregivers attempt to elicit from their children are culturally expected and valued; hence, the way that adults approach childrearing is also going to be culturally expected and valued. This argument removes us from the incorrect and inappropriate approach of trying to identify some type of mythical "gold standard" of parenting that works in all places with all children and for all parents. Instead, it refocuses us toward an attempt to understand parenting and childrearing as inherently cultural in nature and guides us to center parenting practices within the cultural context in which they occur – including the political and historical powers at play (Gjerde, 2004).

We have asked those who contributed chapters to our volume to take this approach. Each chapter in this volume focuses on one or two specific cultural contexts and the way(s) that parents and caregivers engage in particular practices to elicit culturally valued outcomes in their children. We have recruited scholars who have deep and appropriate scholarly experience within the cultures about which they write and who have prepared high-quality and valuable information for our readers. This volume is divided into five different parts, each one containing various chapters that focus on how parents engage with their children at different ages and life stages in specific cultural contexts. These contexts include Rwanda, Bolivia, China, South Asia, Guatemala, Namibia, Saudi Arabia, the Navajo Nation, Egypt, immigrants and refugees in Australia, and various communities in the United States (e.g., a fundamentalist Mormon community, transgender children, Asian Indian Hindu families, alloparenting, and grandparenting).

This Book

Part I: Infancy and Toddlerhood

Taking a chronological approach, the first part of the book focuses on the way that parents and caregivers engage in childrearing practices that elicit culturally valued outcomes in infants and toddlers. There are three chapters in this section of the book that focus on the cultural contexts of Rwanda, African refugees in Australia, and the Navajo Nation. In chapter "Rwandan Infant Caregiving: Promoting a Culture of Peace", *Joyce Yip Green* discusses some of her empirical mixed-method research, framed within an ecocultural model of development, to explore how Rwandan infant caregivers support peacebuilding and Rwandan cultures among the infants in their care.

In chapter "Parenting in an Uncertain World: African Humanitarian Migrant Resettlement in Victoria, Australia" , *Corine Rivalland* writes about the ways in which refugees from Sub-Sahara Africa now living in Australia are adapting their parenting approaches to meet a new, and often challenging, social and political landscape. Finally, in chapter "Understanding Navajo Parents' Beliefs about Cradling and Early Mobility Practices", *Cathron Donaldson, Sara Clancey,* and *Maureen Russell* write about the use of cradleboards and modern baby walkers among Navajo parents living on a Navajo reservation in the United States.

Part II: Childhood

In the largest section of the book, we present six chapters that focus on how parents and caregivers engage in childrearing practices that support and elicit culturally valued outcomes from their middle and older children. These chapters include

fascinating work from the cultural contexts of the Tsimane of Bolivia, China, the United States, South Asia, Asian Indian Hindu parents living in the United States, and Australia.

Chapter "You Don't Have to Know Where Your Kids Are, Just Where They Aren't: Exploring Free-Range Parenting in the Bolivian Amazon", written by *Helen Elizabeth Davis* and *Elizabeth Cashdan*, presents interesting data and conclusions about gender differences in how and whether Tsimane parents in Bolivia support or inhibit their children's spatial explorations. *Nicole B. Capobianco* and *Deborah L. Best*, in chapter "Academic Socialization and Parenting Practices: A Comparison among Chinese and American Preschoolers", discuss some of the similarities and differences in the ways that Chinese parents and American parents socialize and prepare their children for academic success. Chapter "Parenting and Academic Socialization of Young Children: Sociocultural Context for Early Childhood Development in South Asian Families", written by *Ziarat Hossain* and *Giovanna Eisenberg*, and chapter "Unspoken Expectations: Children's Academic Achievement in the Beliefs of Asian Indian Hindu Parents in the United States", written by *Hema Ganapathy-Coleman*, also focus on how parents and caregivers prepare and support their children in academic endeavors. Hossain and Eisenberg write about families living in South Asia (which they define as Afghanistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Maldives, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh), while Ganapathy-Coleman focuses on Asian Indian Hindu families living in and around Baltimore in the United States.

In chapter "Chinese Parenting and the Collective Desirable Path through Socio-Political Changes", *Ziwei Qi* and *Yuxiang Du* present the framework of the Collective Desirable Path and how this helps us understand the changes in Chinese parenting over the last few decades of significant socio-political changes in China. Finally, in chapter "Parenting Far from the Tree: Supportive Parents of Young Transgender and Gender Nonconforming Children in the United States", *Sally Campbell Galman* discusses some of her ethnographic work with US parents and their young (ages 3–11 years) transgender children.

Part III: Adolescence

The three chapters in this section discuss the ways that parents interact with teenagers to elicit culturally valued outcomes in three distinct contexts: Guatemala, Namibia, and a polygamous Mormon community in the United States. *Judith L. Gibbons*, *Erin E. Freiburger*, and *Katelyn Poelker*, in chapter "Parenting Adolescent Girls and Boys in Guatemala", review the literature on gender roles in Guatemala and how particular parenting practices influence adolescent gender behaviors there. In chapter "Parenting into Two Worlds: How Practices of Kinship Fostering Shape Development in Namibia, Southern Africa", *Jill Brown*, *Abril Rangel-Pacheco*, *Olivia Kennedy*, and *Ndumba Kamwanyah* discuss cultural influences and consequences of the practice of kinship fostering in Namibia. In the last chapter of this section, chapter "Theological Parenthood, Demographic Restraints,

and the Making of the Good Polygamous Teenager", *William Jankowiak* talks about parental beliefs and efforts toward making a "good" polygamous teenager in a fundamentalist Mormon community.

Part IV: Emerging Adulthood

The theory of emerging adulthood has attracted a lot of attention from developmental psychologists in the last 20 years, though often the vital role of culture in shaping emerging adulthood has been ignored (Arnett, 2011). In chapter "Emerging Adulthoods: A Micro-Cultural Approach to Viewing the Parent-Child Relationship", *Amanda N. Faherty* and *Deeya Mitra* remind us how important it is to center culture when discussing the way that emerging adults and their parents interact, and they provide two examples (one of how filial responsibility operates in US ethnic-racial groups and the other of decision making in Indian emerging adults) to support their argument. Chapter "Parents and Emerging Adults in India" has *Achu Johnson Alexander* and *Vandana Chauhan* expanding upon the role of culture in emerging adulthood by focusing on parents and their emerging adult children in India.

Sarah Almalki, in chapter "Parenting Practices in Saudi Arabia: Gender-Role Modeling", extends Gibbons et al.'s discussion of gender roles among adolescents in Guatemala by writing about gender role modeling among emerging adults in Saudi Arabia. Finally, *Hani M. Henry* and *Mai Elwy* explain the influences of *takafol* (i.e., mutual benefit) and other family rituals in the way that Egyptian parents interact with their young adult children in chapter "Egyptian Rearing Practices: Takafol and Observance of Family Rituals".

Part V: Other Types of Childrearing

Though the majority of the chapters in this book focus on the way that biological parents interact with and rear their biological children (Chapter "Theological Parenthood, Demographic Restraints, and the Making of the Good Polygamous Teenager" is an obvious exception), we recognize that there are many caregivers other than biological parents who play a role in childrearing. We are also aware that in some cultural contexts throughout the world, biological parents do not have the main (or even any) role in rearing their biological children (Bentley & Mace, 2009). We have tried to be sensitive to this by using language here that includes parenting, childrearing, and caregivers. We have also included three chapters in this section that discuss how non-parental adults play an important role in childrearing and instilling in children culturally valued characteristics.

In chapter "Reimagining the Village: Alloparenting and Community Involvement among the Childfree", *Shelly Volsche* writes about how "voluntarily childfree" adults have a role to play in an evolutionary explanation of parenting and how

these alloparents create the truism that it takes a village to raise a child. *Harry Gardiner*, in chapter “Grandparenting Across Cultures”, reviews what we do and do not know about the role that grandparents play in childrearing. Finally, *Hilary Monk*, in chapter “Australian Intergenerational Families Valuing the Great Outdoors: A Tapestry of Children’s Cultural Learning through Specific Parenting Practices”, presents and discusses some of the qualitative data she has collected from three different intergenerational families in Australia. By interviewing children, parents, and grandparents, she is able to explain some of the ways that values are transmitted across generations

Conclusion

Here, we end our chapter by inviting you to begin reading the other chapters in this volume. Many of the authors have provided further readings at the end of their chapters to help support your further exploration of these important topics. At the end of the book, you’ll also find a glossary with the terms that the authors of the chapters have identified as less commonly known. Finally, each author has provided a biographical sketch at the end of their chapters. Please take advantage of all of these aspects of the book to support your thinking as you read these important chapters.

Our hope is that, after reading the 20 chapters that follow, you’ll be convinced that a hunt for the mythical gold standard of parenting is time and effort ultimately misdirected…and probably wasted. We hope you’ll be convinced that the only way to truly understand parenting practices around the world is to take culture out of a box, accept that parenting is, itself, a cultural practice and that parents are motivated to do what they do in order to elicit culturally valued outcomes from their children. And if you came to this book already convinced of these things, we hope we’ve armed you with even more evidence you can use to convince others!

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Part I
Infancy and Toddlerhood

Rwandan Infant Caregiving: Promoting a Culture of Peace

Joyce Yip Green

Introduction

Most child development research has been conducted in Euro-Western contexts with cultural conceptualizations from dominant cultures imported to other global contexts (Nsamenang, 2008). The understanding of child development had been largely governed by Western theories and applied universally (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Grolnick & Ryan, 1987; Morelli & Rothbaum, 2007). A paradigm shift is needed toward cultural understandings of children and childrearing in the developing world (Nsamenang, 1992; Pence & Marfo, 2008).

Child development within a cultural context has been understood across various fields of psychology (Pope Edwards & Bloch, 2010). Yet, this knowledge of development has been largely cultivated from Eurocentric theories representing a small part of the world limited to Europe and North America. Human development theories indigenous to sub-Saharan Africa present development as a function of social factors within a child's ecological and social systems (Nsamenang, 2006; Rogoff, 2003). Therefore, caregiving goals and practices are influenced not only by the child's biology but also by the African values placed by parents on their child's social integration and cultural participation (Pence & Marfo, 2008).

Current developmental research identifies cultural pathways of development to include the universal developmental tasks of autonomy and relatedness within an ecocultural framework (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Keller & Kärtner, 2013). Autonomy and relatedness needs are manifested within the cultural context and drive the parenting beliefs and goals that influence caregiving behavior. Autonomy reflects independent mental states and personal desires and intentions.

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Socialization goals that orient toward autonomy assist children in self-regulation and independent actions. Socialization goals oriented to relatedness involve interdependent roles that contribute to community and family and their respective expectations (Keller & Kärtner, 2013). Super and Harkness's (1986) developmental niche provides an understanding of the interface between child and culture within environmental contexts. This theoretical framework conceptualizes the environment for a child's development according to three components: (a) the physical and social settings; (b) historically constituted customs and practices of childcare and childrearing; and (c) the psychology of the caretakers, particularly infant parenting beliefs of child development and parenting. Examining the parent or caregiver's cultural belief system provides insight into the behavioral or childrearing motivations that contribute to the development of the child.

Purpose of the Study

Early child development in sub-Saharan Africa has been influenced by the sociopolitical and historical context of colonialism, primarily modeled with the intent to promote independence (Pence, 2011). An indigenous perspective of early child development in some areas of Africa, such as Kenya, Mali, and communities in East Africa, includes parents valuing children as a source of joy, spiritual significance, and future investment (Prochner & Kabiru, 2008). Children are socialized according to their community's culture, values, and traditions. These expectations and values of children to strengthen the community through socialization have influenced caregiving practices of parents, extended family members, and community members as well as early childhood education programs (Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2011).

Parental beliefs, or ethnotheories, have not been examined widely in African populations, with the exception of the Cameroon Nso (Keller, 2007), the Kipsigis in Kenya (Harkness & Super, 2014), and diverse groups in Nigeria (Harkness et al., 2009). Particularly in Rwanda, where children and caregivers are vulnerable to the historical impacts of war, displacement, poverty, famine, and disease, understanding socialization goals and parenting ethnotheories can reveal the cultural parenting practices that serve as moderators to healthy and culturally appropriate child development. A study by the Ministry of Health, Rwanda and United Nations Children's Fund in Rwanda (2014) established the need for more knowledge for caregivers on parenting strategies and early childhood development issues. While the study focused on the knowledge, attitudes, and practices of caregivers of children aged 0–6 years old, the main findings regarding childcare after birth were limited to health practices. More information was needed to explore Rwandan children's social and emotional development, including the influence of caregiving supports on early socialization.

Child Welfare Reform and Educational Policies in Rwanda

Young children in Rwanda face risks to healthy development due to poverty, malnutrition, and chronic illness. The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was the result of a long history of political unrest that began with European colonialism in the early nineteenth century and was perpetuated by social unrest in an attempt for independence after both World Wars (Adekunle, 2007). Marked with the massacre of 800,000 people, as well as the impact of HIV/AIDS, the genocide resulted in a large number of orphans in Rwanda (Boris, Thurman, Snider, Spencer, & Brown, 2006; Minister in the Prime Minister's Office in charge of Gender and Family Promotion, 2008). Chronic malnutrition affects 45% of Rwandan children under age 5. In 2006, 39.5 million adults and children lived with HIV around the world. The largest population living with HIV was found in sub-Saharan Africa, with two-thirds of the 25.8 million adults and children (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS & World Health Organization, 2006). The HIV prevalence among adults aged 15–49 in Rwanda was 3%, with an estimated 7700 new pediatric HIV infections occurring each year (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS & World Health Organization, 2006). Of the approximately one million orphans in Rwanda, increasing numbers of children are orphaned because of HIV/AIDS and many are not provided adequate healthcare or education. The effects of the Rwandan genocide as well as the spread of HIV/AIDS left many children without one or both parents, resulting in 3000 child orphans in the country (Boris, Thurman Snider, Spencer, & Brown, 2006).

Since the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, Rwanda underwent a series of resolutions in reforming its education system to emphasize the elimination of discrimination and promote a culture of peace (Obura, 2003; Republic of Rwanda Ministry of Education, 2011). A mission statement in 1996 from the Ministry of Education established a commitment to peacebuilding and promotion of Rwandan culture. This emphasis on tolerance and peace was established in curriculum changes beginning at the early and upper primary levels and focused on themes of human rights and reconciliation:

> To prepare a citizen who is free from ethnic, regional, religious and sex discrimination;
> To prepare a citizen who is aware of human rights and responsible to society;
> To promote a culture of peace and emphasize national and universal values such as justice, peace, tolerance, solidarity and democracy;
> To promote a culture based on genuine Rwandese culture, free from violence;
> To promote freedom of formulation and expression of opinion. (Obura, 2003, p. 94)

Setting

Rwanda, described by travellers as "the Pearl of Africa" and "the Land of a Thousand Hills," is a country with many natural resources (Adekunle, 2007). Approximately 94% of the population lives in rural areas. It is a densely populated country (415 people per square kilometer) that supports an estimated 10,515,973 people in its

10,169 square miles (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda & Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2012). Kinyarwanda is the official language and widely spoken, with English steadily replacing French as a secondary language. Rwandans are predominantly a community- and family-oriented society. When a child is born, the mother and infant remain in the house for the first 7 days and are attended by family members (Adekunle, 2007). The roles and responsibilities of a woman have expanded, especially in the aftermath of the genocide. The Ministry of Gender and Women Development was established in 1999 and has increased political and social empowerment for women. New laws exist which provide women the right to own private property. Whereas social status has been previously measured by ethnicity or possession of cattle, in post-genocide society, education, wealth, and political position serve as new indicators of status (Adekunle, 2007).

Ecocultural Model of Development

Traditional constructs of child development such as attachment and self-regulation are nested in Western European values of autonomy and self-determination (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Grolnick & Ryan, 1987; Morelli & Rothbaum, 2007). Bowlby's (1988) attachment theory posits that a mother and her infant attain and maintain proximity not only for the purpose of infant survival but for the development of a secure self and mastery over their social world. The assumptions that secure attachment relationships, primarily the result of exclusive attention of a mother's sensitivity to infant signals, mediate healthy psychological development in a child have been challenged as only being applicable in Western European contexts (Keller, 2013).

As infants interact with their environments in the day-to-day activities of their community, they develop a sense of self and autonomy (Rogoff, 2003). The ecocultural model of development (Keller & Kärtner, 2013) begins with the cultural model, based on needs for autonomy or relatedness, which then serve as a guide for caregiving strategies. The socialization goals for autonomy (i.e., independence, self-determination) or relatedness (i.e., obedience, care for others) that caregivers have for their child are influenced by the parental values and beliefs (or ethnotheories) within the child's eco-social context. Socialization goals determine a parent's beliefs and values of caregiving, which in turn influences parenting behavior. Socialization goals are the vehicles through which emotions, motives, and values are translated into action (Keller et al., 2006). Whereas child development has traditionally been understood as reflecting the child's need to develop self-competence, ability to form close relationships with significant caregivers, and behavior and emotion regulation, the ecocultural model of parenting includes parental ethnotheories, related strategies, and socialization goals in the context of environment as pathways to development (Keller, 2007).

Psychology of the Caretaker (Parental Ethnotheories)

Parental ethnotheories are an organized set of ideas shared by members of a cultural group regarding the children, families' parenting goals, and resulting interventions (Edwards, Knoche, Aukrust, Kumru, & Kim, 2006; Harkness & Super, 2014). The belief systems of parents in any culture are influenced by the larger environments surrounding the families, as well as being derived from culturally influenced assumptions and values that then shape the decision-making process of the caregivers. These cultural models are intricately related to the settings of a family's daily life as well as the customs and practices of parenting. Therefore, parenting behavior goes through a hierarchy of beliefs starting from the general ideas about a child's nature influenced by the larger cultural environment and then to specific ideas about developmental domains. These ideas are further reinforced and connected by caregiver practices and behaviors (Harkness, Super, Mavridis, Barry, & Zeitlin, 2013).

African Infant Care Practices

Developmental research in Africa has revealed insights into how culture shapes the physical, cognitive, and social aspects of child development (Super et al., 2011). Super and Harkness (2010) studied infant care practices in Sub-Saharan Africa and discovered that physical and social settings influenced leg, trunk, and back development due to customary methods of holding the infant. In addition, family interactions and culturally structured relationships promoted child development in the domains of motor skills, speech and language, analytic thinking, and cultural practices (Super et al., 2011). Nsamenang (2006) described these distinct developmental tasks as "the acquisition and growth of the physical, cognitive, social and emotional competencies required to engage fully in family and society (p. 295)." Therefore, African children come to develop their identity through active engagement in cultural life, with self-development interconnected with social responsibility.

Research Method

This study examined the cultural models of parenting employed by caregivers of young children across two environments in Rwanda. Specifically, the research captured Rwandan caregivers' socialization goals according to autonomous and relational constructs (Kagitcibasi, 2005) and the parenting ethnotheories (Harkness & Super, 2004) that shape their parenting decisions.

Mothers were sampled from a rural area in the southern province of Rwanda called Byimana in Ruhango District. Byimana is one of the nine sectors in Ruhango

District that is largely rural with a population of over 33,900, according to a 2012 census (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2012). Another set of mothers from an urban area called Kicukiro District near the capital city of Kigali was sampled. Kicukiro District, with a population of 318,564, has a total area of approximately 64 square miles and is comprised of 10 sectors.

Understanding the physical and social settings, customs and practices of childrearing and the psychology of the caretakers (Harkness & Super, 1994) in Rwanda revealed insights into African child development. The overall question guiding this study is: What are the parenting goals among Rwandan infant caregivers? The study is further grounded by the following sub-questions:

1. What are the parenting beliefs of Rwandan infant caregivers?
2. How does living environment influence the parenting goals and beliefs of Rwandan infant caregivers?

This examination revealed the cultural motivations for parenting decisions and the distal parenting practices (face-to-face context and object stimulation), as well as proximal parenting practices (body contact and body stimulation) influencing child developmental outcomes. The study used qualitative and quantitative research methods to capture the experiences of Rwandan caregivers and explore the parenting values, practices, and attitudes about their children within various environmental settings.

Research Design

Basic sociodemographic and background information such as parents' education, social, and economic levels were collected from all research participants. Two questionnaires were administered: one questionnaire identified socialization goals represented by the cultural models of autonomy and relatedness and the other a parental ethnotheory scale that identified caregiving practices (Keller, 2007). More information about the questionnaires is below. A qualitative semi-structured interview with culturally appropriate picture cards depicting the component model of parenting (i.e., primary care, body contact, face-to-face contact, body stimulation, object stimulation; Keller, 2013) was used to complement the findings from the socialization goals and parental ethnotheory questionnaires.

Population and Sample

In order to obtain a sample of urban and rural mothers with young children under the age of 1 year old, participants were selected through purposive sampling from two different environments in Rwanda: urban Kicukiro District and rural Byimana

District. Fifty mothers participated in the study, 25 mothers (50%) from the rural (Ruhango District) environment and 25 mothers (50%) from the urban (Kicukiro District) environment. The majority of participants in both the rural and urban environments had 6 years of formal education or less. Five women in each of the environments were more educated, completing 12 years or more of formal education. All participants completed a screening form that confirmed them as the primary caregiver of at least one child less than 12 months old. The mothers' ages ranged from 18 to 44 years, with a mean of 30 years ($SD = 6$).

Method

Caregivers of young children were contacted by a local partner organization that accessed the mothers through purposive and snowball sampling surrounding the urban and rural areas of Kigali. Recruitment of participants was done through face-to-face recruitment efforts by local helpers from the local partner organization in both Kigali City and the area surrounding the Ruhango District. All conversations were done through interpretation of the local Kinyarwanda language, and written documents were produced in English and Kinyarwanda. An interpreter was trained in the research methodology and equipped with ways to communicate details of the project, including obtaining informed consent in the study. All methodology conformed to appropriate ethical principles and was approved by the relevant IRB. Each participant completed all of the following tasks.

Picture Card Interviews

The data collection began with a picture card interview with two groups of mothers – 25 mothers in the rural environment and 25 mothers in the urban environment – in order to understand the parental goals and beliefs about the caregiving practices during their child's first year of life. Picture cards depicting the component model of parenting were developed by two Rwandan focus groups prior to the study to represent caregiving practices of rural mother-child dyads (Appendix A) and urban mother-child dyads (Appendix B) respectively. Mothers were asked a series of semi-structured questions regarding the five picture cards depicting the component model of parenting and asked to rank order as well as provide their rationale for their choice. Probes were provided to elicit further responses related to the purpose, value, and benefit of each caregiving component.

Socialization Goals Scale

Following the picture card interview, a set of eight cards with statements depicting autonomous (i.e., independent, assertive) or relational (i.e., obedient, concern for others) parenting models were presented to the participants. Four of the cards described autonomous socialization goal statements: (a) develop personal interests, (b) express own preferences, (c) being different from others, and (d) assertiveness. The other four cards described relational socialization goal statements: (a) sharing, (b) maintaining social harmony, (c) learn to care for the well-being of others, and (d) learn to control emotions (Keller, 2007). The statements were presented in pairs to the participants, and they were asked to choose which of the two statements they believed was more important for their child to develop. Keller et al. (2006) used the tool in similar cultural studies to capture autonomous and relational goals. Results from the socialization goals questionnaire provided a richer description of the motivation for parenting according to the two parenting models: autonomous and relational.

Parental Ethnotheory Questionnaire

A parental ethnotheory questionnaire was administered to the Rwandan mothers that describe the different parenting practices with infants. A local translator was present to assist participants with limited literacy and comprehension of the written forms. The ten-statement scale includes five statements assigned to autonomous parenting model and five statements assigned to relational parenting model. The items that assess autonomous parenting styles include those focused on infant self-regulation, reactions to positive infant signals, object stimulation, and face-to-face interaction. The items that assess interdependence include items emphasizing body contact, motor stimulation, and prompt satisfaction of physical needs.

Reliabilities of the scales were considered acceptable according to similar studies across various cultural groups (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.78$ for autonomous parenting beliefs, ranging from 0.52 to 0.83 within groups, and Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.86$ for relational beliefs, ranging from 0.66 to 0.82 within groups), with measures correlating negatively with each other ($r = -0.25$, $p < 0.01$; Keller, 2007). While prior studies assessed parenting ethnotheories at three different levels: content, discourse style, and verbal structure (Keller, Kärtner, Borke, Yovsi & Kleis, 2005; Keller, 2007), due to limitations of scope, time, and resources, this study assessed parenting ethnotheories only at the content level, which refers to explicit and conscious ideas about parenting.

Results

The two cultural models of autonomy and relatedness were explored in both the rural sample and the urban sample.

Parenting Beliefs

Parenting beliefs were assessed through two methods that included the use of picture card interviews depicting the component model of parenting as well as data from the parenting ethnotheory scale (Keller, 2007). Parenting beliefs were analyzed qualitatively from the picture card interview responses as well as quantitatively by examining mean scores of the autonomous and relational subscales. When asked which picture shows the best way to care for a baby, most respondents (96%) chose the picture card depicting primary care (*n* = 48). The picture card that was most often chosen last (43%) among both environments was the card depicting face-to-face contact (*n* = 23) (see Fig. 1).

Cross-Cutting Themes Related to Parenting Beliefs Several themes emerged during analysis of the statements from the picture card interviews as a whole. Cross-cutting themes across all five components of the parenting model revealed parenting beliefs related to promoting healthy physical and emotional development, regulation, ensuring social acceptance, as well as reflecting the tasks that are regarded as

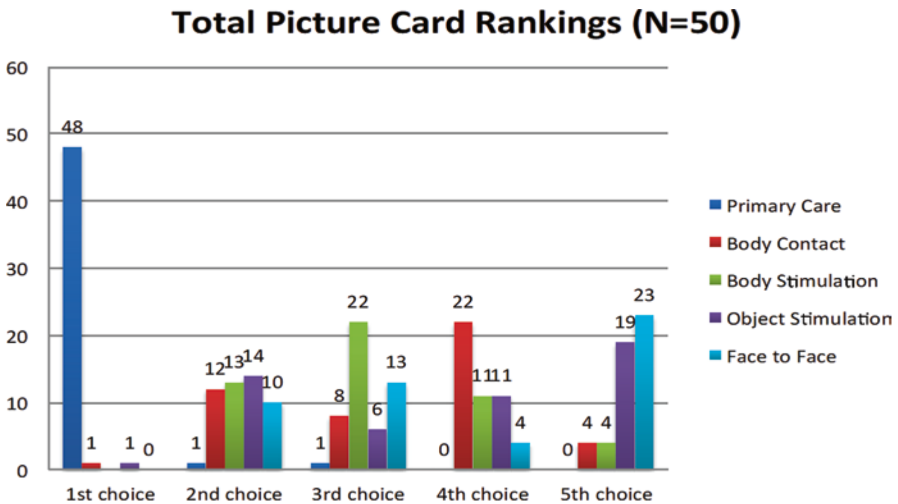

Fig. 1 Overall picture card rankings

a mother's duty. Thematic analysis (Saldaña, 2013) of the parenting beliefs through responses from picture card interviews as well as data from the parenting beliefs scale revealed that Rwandan mothers believe that breastfeeding is the best way to care for a baby, as evidenced by 48 of the 50 (98%) respondents ranking this card as their first choice. Follow-up statements about primary care revealed that breastfeeding is essential for physical growth and development, with breast milk being the primary source of food for infants in the first 6 months of life. In addition to physical care, breastfeeding is also associated with demonstrating love and connection between mother and child.

The picture card interviews revealed a leaning toward relational parenting beliefs in both environments, also supported by results from the parenting belief scale. Comments from the picture card interviews show high value for the social context, attachment relationship, and cultural pride in caregiving. In the context of post-genocide Rwanda, the high preference for relational beliefs and goals could reflect the caregiver's role for peacekeeping and maintenance of societal and cultural pride. Results from the parenting beliefs scale suggest that Rwandan women hold predominantly relational parenting beliefs in both the rural ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 0.58$) and urban ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 0.53$) samples. After calculating a mean based on the survey's Likert scores for each item, the item that received the highest rank for both environments was Item 5*: Gymnastics makes a baby strong* ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 0.95$), followed by Item 1 – *It is important to rock a crying baby on the arms in order to console him/her* ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 0.59$). Both items describe the proximity and beliefs related to parenting practices that involve a mother's attention to body stimulation and sensitivity to negative signals (Keller, 2007). Overall, mothers disagreed with the statement, *It is good for a baby to sleep alone*, with one mother clarifying that a baby can sleep in a separate crib but always in the same room as the mother.

Healthy Physical Development Through Physical Contact

Back-Carrying

As expected, health and development was a theme that emerged throughout the picture card interviews. This was assessed most during the discussion of primary care, body stimulation, and body contact, although some mothers discussed the impact to physical development of object stimulation and face-to-face contact. Rwandan mothers discussed the importance of a good physical shape by ensuring flexible limbs through stretching; promoting sleep by regular infant back-carrying; and the essentials of breastfeeding for healthy growth and development. A primary reason for nursing a baby was also to provide nutrients for the baby to grow well, according to Rwandan mothers in both environments. Most mothers acknowledged that breast milk was all that was needed to feed a baby in the first 6 months of a baby's life.

Back-carrying is an integral part of Rwandan culture. Mothers report that carrying on the back is very important so as to keep the baby off the ground, so that they can limit exposure to dirt and germs. In Rwandan custom, the baby is put on the back as soon as the umbilical cord is removed, typically about 1 week after birth. The women asserted that placing the baby on the back also ensures that the baby does not develop a protruded belly. The protruded belly is looked upon as a negative attribute, as it is considered to be a deformity, and also suggests neglect from the mother. There were also suggestions that carrying a baby on the back helps the baby's back to be straight as well as the mother's back to be straight. For example, using several blankets and towels, babies are placed, with their arms and legs spread apart and across the back, facing forward on the mother's back. A blanket is wrapped tightly around and under the baby's bottom and across and over to support the baby's neck and head. Placing a baby on the mother's back allows for the mother to go on walks and protect the baby because he or she is tied safely on the back.

Stretching After Taking Baby from the Back

In both rural and urban environments, mothers demonstrated stretching in a nearly identical method, by stretching the arms first and then the legs, placing the baby on the lap, and providing gentle massage. This method was reportedly taught by mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and at the health centers. The act of stretching must occur each time the baby is taken from the back to ensure good blood flow and circulation of the limbs. The importance of healthy growth and development is important for mothers so that their children can perform well in school, as some mothers describe that the child's limbs grow stronger from being stretched. Back-carrying and stretching after taking the baby from the back are cultural norms that are viewed as "natural, God-given" ways of caring for a baby, as described by a participant. Also, comments from participants suggested that having a child with physical deformities would bring shame to the mother, thus supporting the importance of stretching a baby to promote flexible limbs.

Most of the women asserted the practice of stretching as a requirement for the health and development of the baby. Some mothers warned that if the baby were not stretched, their muscles would be contracted and may develop deformity. For example, one mother said, "On the back, a baby is in one position. When I remove my baby from my back, I want his blood to circulate well on his body and feel free." When asked about how old the baby should be when you stretch the baby, some mothers asserted that as soon as the baby is able to be placed on the back (typically once the umbilical cord has fallen off) the baby could be stretched. Another mother stated that getting a baby used to stretching alleviates fear, "When a baby is used to this kind of stretching and exercises, he doesn't feel fear like a child who didn't stretch." One mother lamented that she did not stretch with her first child and it led to permanent deformities.

Socialization Goals Themes

Of those participants who selected autonomous socialization goal items reflecting assertiveness and personal interests, many participants provided rationales that pointed to the development of skills and attributes needed for future success and school achievement.

Future Success

Approximately one-third of the statements (31%) described future achievement as a socialization goal. One respondent from the rural environment stated, "It is good to help a child to be competitive because it helps him in his life when older by having good results in school and good results in competition." Another rural respondent attributed competitiveness to future achievement and leadership by saying, "Developing competitiveness will help him to get farther and better goals even to become leader of the country." Similarly, developing a child's self-esteem brings hope for the future as stated by another participant in the rural environment: "When a baby has self-confidence, he cannot be desperate. Confidence helps so that in the future he is a hopeful child and thinks the future is good for him."

Honor and Reputation

Mothers in both environments valued being well-regarded in society. Follow-up statements to relatedness socialization goal items suggested that obeying parents, helping others, and respecting elders projected a positive image to society. One mother in the rural environment stated, "When you obey parents, it means you also obey others. It gives a good image to the public." Another mother stated, "Helping others helps a child to be dignified among others." This suggests the motivation to listen to parents and the elderly, as well as helping others, earns favor from others within society. To another mother, helping a child obey parents also teaches the child to obey others, which will result in a good reputation. The idea that children should respect elders and help others in order to gain favor and earn a good reputation supports the relatedness model (concern for others, obedience, etc.) that was evident in both environments. One woman in the urban environment emphasized the importance for a child to control emotions in order to be liked by others:

> It's very important to know how to control our emotions because there are people who don't know how to do it and sometimes they are depressed or they are angry all the time and that is not good and the other people they are liked by everybody because they know how to control their emotions.

Self-Development

Mothers discussed the importance of helping their child control emotions as a way to establish self-control and discipline. This desire for children to behave and do good in society was reflected during follow-up interviews about socialization goals. In the rural environment, one mother expressed this benefit: "It's good to teach a child to control emotions because sometimes there are some who are not taught to control their emotions, they can be driven by their emotions by doing wrong things." The motivation for self-development in their children was for greater benefit to others in society.

Positive Interactions with Others

The respondents' comments regarding the socialization goals revealed a primary motivation for their children to get along well with others in society. This desire for social harmony and cooperation was reflected in statements such as "When a child has a sense of self, it helps him behave among others. It helps in his conduct among others." Another mother made further connection between self-esteem, self-control, and respect for others: "When a child knows that he is of great importance, then he can also control himself and respect other people." These statements reflect the value for group cooperation, good behavior among society as a motivator for self-control, and esteem.

The emphasis on the importance for social cooperation and relationships was expressed not just from mothers who identified with the relatedness goals but also from those who adopted autonomous goals. Honor and good reputation were identified by societal duty rather than motivated by egocentric themes. And self-development was attributed to respect for others and obeying elders. Participants believed that in order to cooperate with others, one must know oneself first, and, in order to know oneself, one must learn from parents and elders. Therefore, parenting activities were seen as ways to support the development of early prosocial behaviors.

Limitations

It is acknowledged that an ideal research scenario in Africa involves local researchers to understand the contextual influences of human development (Marfo, Pence, LeVine, & LeVine, 2011). At the time of the study, this researcher, a multicultural Asian-American from the United States, worked to ensure that local validation of tools and proper translation of materials were accomplished. To mitigate the effects

of personal biases and assumptions, reflexivity, which involves examining one's own feelings, reactions, and motives (Creswell, 2012), was practiced throughout all stages of the study design, data collection, and analysis. I acknowledged my position as an outsider, frequently examining my own personal experiences and beliefs about being a mother and by way of a curious and reflective stance.

The use of a local translator also posed a challenge to the methodology and analysis of the study, as all forms were translated from English and all interviews coded in English. Some concepts of the Kinyarwanda language could be lost in translation, reducing the nuances of the concepts expressed by participants. Nevertheless, a highly educated bilingual translator was used, and an external bilingual reviewer was available to verify the quality of the translations.

Conclusion

Even with its limitations, this research contributes an understanding of Rwandan development by elevating the rich and complex experiences of Rwandan mothers within an ecocultural context (Worthman, 2016). An understanding of the cultural milieus of infants and the socialization goals and parenting ethnotheories of Rwandan caregivers can support the region's emerging early childhood programs and strengthen their child welfare and protection programs.

The cultural pathways of Rwandan infant development were examined in this study by analyzing the socialization goals and parenting ethnotheories of Rwandan infant caregivers. Rwandan mothers of infants in two environments (i.e., rural and urban) provided insight into the caregivers' beliefs and socialization goals, which we are able to examine through the cultural dimensions of autonomy and relatedness (Keller, 2016). Results demonstrate the importance of cultural research that is contextually responsive to African social ontogeny (Nsamenang, 1992) and contributes to a deeper understanding of early childhood development in Rwanda. Further, elevating the voice of Rwandan mothers in the context of post-genocide Rwanda can empower women in rebuilding their social environments through caregiving as an act of peacekeeping (Otitodun & Porter, 2012; Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2011) and provide more evidence of how caretaking behaviors are constructed to elicit culturally valued and appropriate child outcomes.

Appendix A: Picture Cards (Rural Set)

Picture cards from Rwandan mothers in Byimana representing the component model of parenting: primary care, body contact, body stimulation, object stimulation, and face-to-face contact.

(L to R, top to bottom): Primary care; body contact; body stimulation; object stimulation; face-to-face contact

Appendix B: Picture Cards (Urban Set)

Picture cards from Rwandan mothers in urban region of Kigali representing the component model of parenting: primary care, body contact, body stimulation, object stimulation, and face-to-face contact.

(L to R, top to bottom): Primary care; body contact; body stimulation; object stimulation; face-to-face contact

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Parenting in an Uncertain World: African Humanitarian Migrant Resettlement in Victoria, Australia

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Parenting in an Uncertain World: African Humanitarian Migrant Resettlement in Victoria, Australia

Every year, Australia responds to global conflicts by resettling refugees and people with humanitarian needs (Fozdar & Hartley, 2013). These refugees and humanitarian migrants are often from societies whose child-rearing and parenting practices differ widely from that of Australian society.

Humanitarian migrants have experienced conflict, wars, and other traumatic events, which have forced them out of their countries of origin. These families have also experienced life in refugee camps or other provisional accommodations while awaiting a welcoming host country (Renzaho & Vignjevic, 2011). These life-changing experiences have a direct impact on parenting strategies and child-rearing practices of families, which will undoubtedly differ from the strategies they had developed before being displaced and would inevitably change through their participation in the cultural practices of their new host country. Understanding how humanitarian migrants and refugees negotiate complex cultural norms, customs, policies, and laws framing culturally valued parenting and child-rearing practices in a host country is paramount to successful resettlement experiences of families. This chapter discusses the experiences of three families from the Sub-Saharan region of Africa (Sierra Leone and South Sudan) raising children in Australia. It highlights the modification to child-rearing practices of these families and the reasons guiding those decisions. It demonstrates that aspects that constitute good parenting in the host country may, at times, destabilize the parenting practices passed down from generation to generation and lead to conflict between children and parents.

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Literature Review

Resettling in a new country after violent conflict and time in refugee camps brings hope of a peaceful and better life for families (Deng & Marlowe, 2013). However, research indicates that refugee parents experience a range of issues when resettling in a host country whose laws, regulations, and valued family practices differ from the ones that were valued in their home countries (de Haan, 2011). For refugees and humanitarian migrants, the traumatic experiences of war and life in refugee camps would have already affected their parenting practices (Betancourt et al., 2015). Further, refugees and humanitarian migrants are often troubled by memories of wars and the constant worry for the safety of loved ones who stayed behind. These feelings of incertitude do not disappear after resettlement, with families worrying for the safety of their children in their new and unfamiliar environment (Betancourt et al., 2015; Cook & Waite, 2016; Ramsden & Taket, 2013).

In fact, through social media and other means of communication, families remain closely connected to the hardship of family members back home. These ongoing connections add a layer of ongoing difficulty for refugee and humanitarian migrant families who are rebuilding their life in a new country (Marlowe, Harris, & Lyons, 2013). However, regular contact with family members who have stayed back home is also a source of comfort that mitigates the sense of isolation these families experience in their new environment (Robinson, 2013). Another area that the literature highlights as an issue is the loss of the traditional family structure as understood and valued by refugee and humanitarian migrants (Renzaho, McCabe, & Sainsbury, 2011). This loss of valued family structure with defined gender roles has negative effects on family functioning and parent–child interactions (Green, Mellor, & Swinburn, 2011; Renzaho et al., 2011).

In many communities worldwide, gender roles are well-defined and established, with the father as the head of the family and the mother caring for the children and home (Cook & Waite, 2016). After resettlement in a new country, these roles are, at times, challenged. Numerous studies have shown that fathers struggle more than mothers because they have difficulty providing for their family, weakening their position as the head of the family. They also struggle to understand the social expectations of being a father and husband in this new society (Cook & Waite, 2016; Ochala & Mungai, 2016; Ogbu, Brady, & Kinlen, 2014). Lack of resources means that, at times, families are barely surviving and are struggling to meet the basic needs of their children (Betancourt et al., 2015; Cook & Waite, 2016; Liamputtong, 2008). This situation has deep implications for the family structure, because parents are destabilized and feel that they have less control and authority over their children (Betancourt et al., 2015; Cook & Waite, 2016; Deng & Marlowe, 2013). They also fear that children are losing their language and culture, deepening the gap between parents and children in the home (Betancourt et al., 2015; Cook & Waite, 2016; Deng & Marlowe, 2013), and that educational institutions are partly responsible for the breakdown of families.

This feeling of being excluded and ignored by the educational and legal system of the host society compounds the difficulty families have in understanding the

valued socialization, parenting, and disciplining practices in their new environment (Betancourt et al., 2015; Cook & Waite, 2016; Ramsden & Taket, 2013). Parents feel that their valued parenting practices are being eroded by the host society's values and understanding and, most importantly, by institutionalized racism, which keeps parents in fear of losing their children to child protective service (Ramsay, 2016). Despite ongoing difficulties and tension, parents draw strength that their children will have a better future in their new environment than in their country of origin. This feeling of hope justifies the hardship and sacrifice families endure (Deng & Marlowe, 2013). Parents place heightened emphasis on the role of education in helping their children be successful and have a better future in the new country (Ramsden & Taket, 2013).

Parents also draw comfort from their faith and religious community (Betancourt et al., 2015). Most humanitarian migrants and refugees have strong belief systems, and being able to rejoin a religious community in the host country provides families with links to a welcoming community (Betancourt et al., 2015). Engagement with religious communities acts as a buffer, providing a safe space to discuss difficulties experienced during the resettlement experience. Drawing on their understanding of the local context, religious communities support new migrants in accessing childcare and school and provide financial advice, but, most importantly, these religious communities provide hope to families (Betancourt et al., 2015).

The Current Study

The three families discussed in this chapter were participants in a larger study (Rivalland, 2010) that investigated and described how new migrant families and Australian early childhood professionals reached cultural understanding on the education and care of children during transition times in childcare. Transition time in this study was understood as the processes involved in selecting and gaining access to a childcare institution after resettlement and as the discourses that families and early childhood professionals engaged in when discussing the education and care of children.

Theoretical Underpinnings

The study drew on sociocultural theory to describe and understand how early childhood professionals negotiate childcare arrangements with new migrant families and refugee families. "The goal of a sociocultural approach is to explicate the relations between human action on one hand, and the cultural, institutional and historical situations in which the action occurs on the other" (Wertsch, Río, & Alvarez, 1995, p. 11). A sociocultural perspective considers knowledge and culture being actively built through the process of participation in the culture. This means culture

is not static; rather, knowledge and culture are continuously developing through the combined efforts of people working together, altering and using materials and symbolic tools provided by previous generations. Simultaneously, people are constantly in the process of creating new symbols and artifacts (Rogoff, 2003; Vygotskiĭ, 1987; Wertsch et al., 1995). From this perspective, culture is understood as the social traditions and customs of communities, which are in constant flux, adapted and transformed from generation to generation through ongoing participation in activities and particular life conditions of communities in an ever-changing world.

Data collection tools Data were collected through several methods: observations in childcare centers (one day in each center), regular monthly home visits over a 1-year period, note-taking during home visits, and semi-structured interviews with all participants. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim, and the transcripts were returned to participants for memory checking. Data analyses elucidated the different child-rearing practices valued in the homes and in the childcare center settings and foregrounded the strategies used by participants to reach some form of cultural understanding on these practices during transition times. The study was granted ethical clearance from Monash University.

Data collected were analyzed using Rogoff's three "foci" of analysis (Rogoff, 1998, 2003): features of cultural negotiation that could be identified at the level of the individual (e.g., child-rearing practices valued by families), features evident at the interpersonal level (e.g., interactions observed between parents and directors in the centers), and features evident at the institutional level (e.g., the rules and regulations of different institutions). Although these foci could be isolated from each other, a sociocultural analysis understands them to be inseparable and mutual, providing holistic evidence of an individual's participation in his or her cultural context. As Rogoff (1998) explains, "using personal, interpersonal and community/institutional planes [foci] of analysis involves focusing on one plane, but still using background information from the other planes, as if with different lenses" (p. 688).

The Participants

The wider study (Rivalland, 2010) considered seven early childhood professionals, four center directors, one social worker, and five new migrant families. The new migrant families comprised one Sierra Leonean and two Sudanese families, both humanitarian migrants, and two Chinese families who had migrated under spouse visas. All families had been in Australia for less than 3 years, and all had children in childcare and/or primary schools. All of the early childhood professionals and center directors were Australian-born, apart from one center director who migrated to Australia as a young child. In this chapter, the focus is on the three African families, because they experienced a similar range of challenges as regards negotiating their parenting practices in this new culture. Table 1 provides a snapshot of each of these three families.

Table 1 Snapshot of three families

Family	Country of origin	Family composition	Schooling	Religion	Employment status
One	Sudan	Mother, father, uncle (father's younger sibling aged 17) 5 children 2 girls aged 9 and 8 years 3 boys aged 6, 5, and 2 years	Mother had no schooling, father completed primary schooling, and uncle did not complete primary schooling	Practicing Roman Catholic	Mother and father unemployed
Two	Sudan	Mother, father, aunts (mother's younger sisters aged 20 and 18 years) 4 children 3 boys aged 2, 3, and 6 years 1 girl aged 3 months	Mother and aunts did not finish primary school and were illiterate in their mother tongue; father finished primary school but did not attend secondary school	Practicing Roman Catholic	Mother and father unemployed
Three	Sierra Leone	Mother, father, mother's younger sister aged 15 years and father's younger brother aged 18 years 2 children 1 boy aged 5 years 1 girl aged 3 years	Mother did not finish primary school and illiterate in mother tongue, father left school at age 15 years, and uncle attended school sporadically in refugee camp	Practicing Christian	Mother unemployed, and father part-time employment in an old-age care facility

Contextual Information

Sierra Leone This small African nation is located on the west coast of Africa and became independent from the United Kingdom in 1961. From 1991 to 2002, the country was torn by civil war. Rebels went on a rampage, killing, and mutilating the populations of entire villages (United Nations Development Programme, 2006). Sexual assault as a weapon of war was common. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2018) reported that Sierra Leone was still one of the poorest countries in the world. A large proportion of Sierra Leonean families who resettled in Australia have limited or no proficiency in English. Some are also illiterate or have low levels of literacy in their own language (UNICEF, 2018). The Sierra Leonean family who participated in this study witnessed the killing and mutilating of close family members before fleeing to neighboring countries. Their first child was born in a refugee camp, and the second child was born shortly after resettlement in Australia.

Sudan and South Sudan Prior to 2011, Sudan was the largest country on the African continent (Bureau of African Affairs, 2008). Since its independence in 1956, Sudan has experienced continuous political and religious conflict, civil war, famine, and drought, which led to displacement of the Sudanese population into neighboring countries (Bureau of African Affairs, 2008). On July 9, 2011, the Republic of South Sudan was created (UNICEF, 2012). This new country came into existence after five decades of civil war between the Muslim communities occupying northern Sudan and the mostly Christian communities occupying southern Sudan (UNICEF, 2012). Religion was also one of the main causes that led to civil war (UNICEF, 2012). The two Sudanese families who were part of this study are Catholic, and religion plays a very important part in their lives, both spiritually and in their day-to-day living and resettlement experience. Before resettlement, these two families spent several years in a refugee camp in countries bordering Sudan.

It is important to understand the general similarities and cultural understandings of these migrant families, with the caveat that there is no intention to claim that there are no cultural differences in parenting practices of these very different countries and families. Images of the child, the migrant, the early childhood professionals, and institutions are all social constructions (Rogoff, 1990, 1995, 1998, 2003) and hence are different from one society, culture, or family to another. However, the three families in this study referred to the position of family and child-rearing practices of their communities in some similar ways.

Findings

The Importance of the Family

The family is highly valued and considered the bedrock of society in most African countries (Zervides & Knowles, 2007). The family unit works as a collective whereby each member contributes to the group and community cohesion, and respect for elders and allegiance to the family is customary (Dei Wal, 2004; Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Extended family members, such as grandparents, uncles, and aunts, are part of the family unit and are involved in helping with child-rearing practices. Elders are particularly respected by the community. They play an essential role in enculturating the younger generation to the cultural norms and values of their communities (Dei Wal, 2004; Zervides & Knowles, 2007).

Traditional gender roles are still prominent in the majority of African countries (Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Men are considered the head of the family, and women have responsibility for domestic tasks, such as food preparation, household chores, and child-rearing. Men are usually community leaders, and because the schooling of boys is often prioritized, women are, on average, less educated and have lower levels of literacy (Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Children are not given special status, an authoritarian parenting style is valued, and children are to listen and respect

adults. Chastising and corporal punishment are still prominent ways of disciplining children (Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Children may roam freely with peers, while older siblings take care of younger siblings.

Families' Disempowerment Through Support Services

After resettlement, families are referred to many support services to help them familiarize themselves with their new environment and culture (Adult Migrant English Program, 2009). One of the most important supports provided to families is free access to English lessons:

> The Australian Government considers learning English to be one of the first and most important steps a new settler can take towards settling successfully in their new community and achieving their personal, social and economic goals. If your English is less than 'functional', you may be entitled to free English language lessons under the Adult Migrant English Programme. (AMEP hereafter; Adult Migrant English Program, 2009, p.39)

To meet their visa requirements, the three families discussed in this chapter attended English lessons at AMEP. This institution was responsible for organizing free childcare for clients with children under the legal school age, which was the case for these three families. However, as the following quotations indicate, the families did not feel that they had control over this process. They explained that they were not offered different options or even asked whether they had any needs or expectations for their children's education and care:

> **Family One**: My support worker chooses [the childcare service]. She tells me there is a place for your child. I go and drop my child. She tells me where to go.

> **Family Two:** Facility for migrant when you come [to Australia], you are under the 202 visa on the Centrelink, they provide childcare facility… We do not choose. They say where to go.

> **Family Three:** My support worker say, "Here is the address, you drop your child there." I do not choose.

This lack of control led to a feeling of isolation and disempowerment with far-reaching effects on the families' engagement or lack of engagement with the centers and educators. This resulted in educators having a negative view of the families and of these families' aims and expectations for their child's education and care.

> **Educator:** I don't know what they are doing over there [AMEP] with them [African migrants], but a lot of them come in here and don't know what the rules are and things like that… Then, the families are coming in at 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon…They [AMEP] are not paying for [the parents] to go shopping or seeing [their] friends afterwards, only the time [they] are at school should [their] child be here.

> **Educator:** I actually don't think they have any expectations. From my experiences, I get an impression that they think we are just a babysitting service. Do you know what I mean? They just drop off their children and go, a lot of them, because they can't communicate. Well they don't communicate to us.

Feeling excluded and ignored by the educational and legal system of the host society negatively affected the families' child-rearing practices in this new environment (Betancourt et al., 2015; Cook & Waite, 2016; Ramsden & Taket, 2013). As Rogoff (2003) posits, culture is always in flux through our interactions with institutions, people, and artifacts. In this study, the interactions between institutions and the three families could not be considered one of mutual respect and shared understanding. This situation resulted in the families being confused regarding the cultural expectations of raising children to succeed in Australian society. Another aspect that complicated the interactions between the families and the centers was the fact that the three mothers were illiterate in their own language and knew very little English. The three mothers relied on their husbands or children to negotiate the transition between home and childcare center.

The Language of Power

As highlighted in the literature, fathers are the ones who struggled the most after resettlement and positioning in the host society (Cook & Waite, 2016; Ochala & Mungai, 2016; Ogbu et al., 2014). The fathers, who shared stories of how they had protected their families through the ordeal of wars, explained how they needed to first identify the dangers to plan their safe escape. In Australia, there were no physical threats to the family; however, these fathers struggled to make ends meet and felt that their ability to protect their families was diminished, leading to a feeling of inadequacy (Cook & Waite, 2016; Liamputtong, 2008). They did not understand the social expectations of this new society and unanimously identified that the only way to survive and become successful in the Australian context was to master the English language. Roberts-Holmes states, "[l]anguage is a significant marker of identity, and identity is inextricably linked to the ways in which we understand ourselves" (2006, p. 107). The process of communicating through one language and the dismissal of other languages placed migrants with little English in an asymmetrical power relationship (Robinson, 2013). After one and a half years in Australia, these families understood the power of the English language:

> **Father Three:** Only speaking English is most important, speaking and writing, …In this country, if you cannot read and write you find life difficult. Everything is written, you have to read signs, if you can't read it's difficult for you in any school….

> **Father Two:** My children need to learn English to be successful in this country. This is very important, very important.

> **Father One**: If you cannot read and write in this country, you die.

Altering Parenting Style

All three families altered their parenting practices to prioritize the acquisition of the language that would give them an entry point in the host society. Considering that all three families had low levels of literacy or were illiterate in their own language, this task was all-consuming. In the extracts quoted in this section, it is clear that these families, under the fathers' guidance, developed strategies to break the institutional codes of the host society in the hope of achieving better social positioning for their children. Valenta (2008) posits that "the status of an immigrant impacts on his/her ability to reproduce positivities, as well as to engage in relations with the hosts [early childhood professionals]" (p. 206). In this study, families remained at the periphery of the centers with no meaningful interactions with the educators, while their children were slowly being homogenized to the dominant cultural norms. Gutierrez and Correa-Chavez (2006) argue that these types of engagements are a form of cultural silencing, which is reinforced through a new form of segregation via language dominance:

> **Family One:** I leave my child at the center for the longest hours possible. This is the only way they will master how to read and write in this country. We expect them [educators] to teach them [children] things that can change their life because they can't be in a center for that long, and when they come out, they are not any different compared to when they came in

> **Family Two:** My children and my wife need to sit and watch the TV programs. The teacher said, "watch TV, is good for learning English." So, they do not play outside a lot; now they need to watch the TV to improve their English

> **Family Three:** The teacher said that I should listen to him [son, 5 years old] and see that he pronounces the words correctly. Last week, I took my son to the library, my wife too. We looked at books that they can read and we took 10 books each for my wife and my son so that they can improve on their English. They need to read these books, and then, I read questions, so each book I ask them questions, I want to know if they can answer the questions and write it so that they can improve with their English.

The Erosion of Culture

The three families discussed in this chapter faced a wide range of parenting challenges owing to their history of dislocation and experiences of violence and loss. These traumatic events destabilized the traditional parenting practices, which were originally passed down from generation to generation. As observed in the quotations in this section, the families were all struggling with the erosion of their cultural norms (Betancourt et al., 2015;Cook & Waite, 2016 ; Deng & Marlowe, 2013). They viewed the family, home, and community as sites of cultural practices, where they could impart their traditions, values, and cultural knowledge to their children. However, the families understood that with cultural contact, cultural changes occur.

They understood that their children's engagement with educational institutions was eroding their cultural values (Cook & Waite, 2016; Deng & Marlowe, 2013). As observed in the following transcripts, all three families articulated that the maintenance of their cultural practices might result in the rejection of some cultural practices of the host community and the maintenance of their own cultural values. The maintenance of one's values, religion, and culture is a right that new migrant families have when migrating to Australia (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs, 2019).

> **Family One:** It will be very difficult …. it will be very difficult, now the children are very young, it is now that we have to shape them because it is now that…you can shape it, you can shape them, as they move along they drop some (of their cultural values) and adapt some; you must adapt some, but if you don't tell them that this is not good they go on with the system; then, I become trouble for you; it would be very difficult to change them, but now they are small and young they have to accept our culture.

> **Family Three:** Lots of things I saw in Australia. We saw that the kids keep doing things that are not part of our culture. Yes, we like our kids to respect their elders. They need to know when not to speak and have respect for everybody because as for me I always put myself down to everybody. I do that, and people say you shouldn't do this and you shouldn't do this because of my religion. I always want to send to my kids the message that I do not say that they shouldn't adopt the culture of this country [Australia], but they should know our culture, which is very good for them. Therefore, at school, they learn the Australian way, but at home, we maintain our culture because this is what we want.

> **Family Two:** I want to pass our cultural values on to my little girl, but I think I will face some difficulties because she is growing up in a society where it is all normal and when I start telling her, "No look, this is not normal" but she needs to learn our ways, she needs to understand our culture.

While children were being slowly assimilated in the childcare context and in the valued Australian ways of *being a child*, these values were not always welcome in the home environment. At childcare centers, children learned to become independent and assertive in their wants and needs. Girls were encouraged to speak up and question when they did not understand something. These new ways of being caused friction within the home environment because parents considered that their children were becoming rude and disrespectful toward the elders. This viewpoint has deep implications for the family structure, because parents felt destabilized, had less control and authority over their children, and considered educational institutions partly responsible for the breakdown of their family structure (Betancourt et al., 2015; Cook & Waite, 2016; Deng & Marlowe, 2013).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated that families, through their resettlement experiences, identified the skill set needed for their children and family to be successful in their new environment. Children and mothers were encouraged to watched television

programs and read English books; children were left in childcare for the longest hours possible to master the English language and be successful in the Australian community. These were, from the parents' perspectives, good parenting practices. However, spending long hours in childcare and/or school had the unintended consequence of children being enculturated into *becoming an Australian child* at the expense of the more traditional gender norms and cultural practices valued in their home and community contexts. This situation led to a weakening of the traditional family structure, and parents felt that they were losing their authority over their children, deepening the gap between children and parents in the home environment. This situation could be mitigated by creating conditions of supports which would enhance communication between new migrant families and centers.

This study demonstrates that it is essential that early childhood professionals working in institutions, such as childcare centers, understand the home environment of children including those of humanitarian migrant and refugee families. The three families discussed in this chapter did not have the social capital necessary to interact with educators at the childcare centers. This lack of meaningful communication resulted in conflicting expectations between the home and center settings. While there were inconsistencies across home and center, the three families showed a willingness and desire to do what was necessary for them adapt to new cultural norms and environments. The current findings suggest that there is a need for educators to reach out to families specifically those who came to Australia as refugees and/or on humanitarian visa in order to alleviate the negative impact on parenting practices due to lack of meaningful communication between home and center.

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Corine's research focus addresses alternative theories of child development, equity, and social justice. Her work aims to contribute to the early childhood educational research with the view of implementing more equitable and socially just early childhood teaching and learning practices.

Understanding Navajo Parents' Beliefs About Cradling and Early Mobility Practices

Cathron Donaldson, Sara Clancey, and Maureen Russell

Introduction

Parents throughout the world commonly use baby equipment to soothe babies, to keep them safe, and to allow their caregivers opportunities to tend to other children or household duties. Often parents believe that baby equipment will help facilitate their child's development (Chagas, Mancini, Tirado, Megale, & Sampaio, 2011; DiLillo, Damashek, & Peterson, 2001; Pin, Eldridge, & Galea, 2007). This chapter will examine the use of both traditional and modern-day baby equipment among Navajo families. Cradleboards and baby walkers meet the practical needs of parents on the Navajo Nation and help to instill values that are part of their unique culture.

Background Information

The Navajo, or *Diné*, are American Indians who live in the southwest region of the United States in a sovereign nation that spans parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. The Navajo Nation is 27,000 square miles with a population of approximately 173,000 individuals and has the largest population of American Indians living on a reservation in the United States (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012). The Navajo Nation is considered a rural area with a population density of 6.33 people per square mile compared to the average population density in the United States of 345 people per square mile (Arizona Rural Policy Institute, n.d.). Many Navajo families live in very

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rural and isolated locations with limited access to healthcare, transportation, and nutritious food (Bowie, Brown, Clark, Sawyer, & Worden, 2018).

Poverty is widespread on the Navajo Nation. The median household income is $25,963, with 41% living below the federal poverty level (Arizona Department of Health Services, 2019) and an unemployment rate estimated to be between 26.12% and 28.32% (Navajo Nation Division of Economic Development, 2010). Fifty percent of all children on the Navajo Nation live in overcrowded conditions in households with a family income of less than $15,000 (RPI Consulting, 2011). The majority (59%) of Navajo Nation housing structures are single-family homes, and, of these, 17% are mobile homes and 11% are *hogans* (traditional Navajo homes originally constructed of logs and earth). Homes within the Navajo Nation are generally smaller than the average home in the United States, with Navajo homes having a median of three rooms while the US median is 5.4 rooms (RPI Consulting, 2011). Half (51%) of all individuals living within Navajo tribal lands report having incomplete bathroom facilities, and more than half (55%) report having incomplete kitchen facilities. Complete bathroom facilities include hot and cold piped water, a flush toilet, and a bathtub or shower. Complete kitchen facilities were defined as having hot and cold piped water, a range or cook stove, and a refrigerator (RPI Consulting, 2011). In contrast, in the United States, 99% of housing units possess complete bathroom and kitchen facilities. Lack of complete facilities is likely related to the absence of overall infrastructure, along with the income constraints of Navajo families (RPI Consulting, 2011).

Navajo Traditional Beliefs

In Navajo philosophy, *K'e* is a concept that expresses the social and familial relationships between the child and the people in his or her world and is the basis for the child's self-identity as a Navajo person (Begay, 2018). A Navajo child's identity develops from family relations, clan membership, and the location of the family home on the Navajo Nation. Interdependence between family and community members is highly valued and provides basic support for kinship and economic activities (Hossain & Anziano, 2008). Traditional Navajo society consists of matrilineal family groups within an extended family structure, where women are the owners of the land and livestock and transfer of property follows the female line (Blanchard, 1975). Along with mothers, grandmothers and aunts are responsible for child rearing in the traditional Navajo structure. Some research suggests that parent role differentiation is significantly smaller in Navajo culture than in the Anglo culture, and Navajo fathers' involvement with children tends to be higher than that of men in most other cultures (Hossain & Anziano, 2008).

In the 2000 census, about 68% of Navajos used their own language at home, and about 26% of Navajos did not speak English well (Ogunwole, 2006). Navajo

parents and grandparents impart much of their cultural knowledge, often in the Navajo language, through traditional stories that reinforce the teachings of how to live in balance with nature and with others. These stories reinforce *K'e* (the child's sense of belonging), help children to understand the consequences of behavior, and encourage problem-solving and decision-making (Frankland, Turnbull, Wehmeyer, & Blackmountain, 2004). The ultimate goal for human life is to be happy and in harmony with the universe. Knowledge that is needed to achieve happiness and harmony includes proper mind development, survival skills, positive relationships, and understanding and relating to the environment and home (Benally, 1994). Navajo values are encompassed in the Blessing Way teachings and the Protection Way teachings that offer practical rules for living everyday life and encourage harmony and avoidance of negativity. The Blessing Way teachings offer guidance on how to have a positive frame of mind and to make good choices (e.g., possess kindness, express a thankful attitude). The Protection Way teachings give direction on behaviors to avoid (e.g., avoid being lazy, avoid negative thoughts; Begay, 2018).

Navajo Parenting Practices

Many Navajo parents have adopted modern parenting practices of the majority culture of the United States; however, traditional beliefs and practices continue to influence parenting on the Navajo Nation. Navajo children are thought to enter the world with predetermined identities, and parents are expected to encourage each child's uniqueness (Connors & Donnellan, 1998). Children are encouraged to learn about themselves and about their environment so that they can more easily overcome mental and physical hardships (Franklin et al., 2004). Family members model and explain self-regulated behavior and self-management strategies rather than directly enforcing them (Deyle & LeCompte, 1994).

Use of Infant Equipment

One area of parenting practice in Navajo culture, which is affected by both traditional and modern beliefs, is the use of infant equipment. This equipment can reinforce the idea of *K'e*, as positioning of equipment can allow the infant to observe, take part in the family, and further a sense of belonging. Cultural parenting practices, including the use of equipment, could potentially impact the developmental trajectories of an infant. In early intervention practice with Navajo families, two pieces of infant equipment are commonly used in Navajo households: the traditional cradleboard and the modern baby walker.

Traditional Infant Equipment: Cradleboard

The Navajo cradleboard is a "traditional kind of Native American baby carrier. The baby is swaddled (wrapped tightly in a thin blanket) and strapped to a specially designed flat board, usually made of a wood plank" (Native Languages, 2015, "Native American Cradleboards," para. 2). The cradleboard is important to the spiritual development of the child because it resonates with the natural elements of the world (Claw, 2018). The cradleboard is believed to offer many benefits to the infant as he or she transitions through the first few stages of life. These benefits include physical strength and posture, the promotion of good sleep habits and self-regulation, and perhaps most importantly spiritual development that aligns with the Navajo belief of *K'e* and following the Blessing Way (Claw, 2018).

Use of the cradleboard provides a balanced foundation for the baby to begin a spiritual and meaningful life. In conversation with Navajo traditional medicine man Lorenzo Max, he reports that the Navajo believe everything in nature and life is balanced or paired between male and female energies. Similarly, one side of the cradleboard is believed to be female ("Mother Earth") and the other side is male ("Father Sky"), with energy at the center of the cradleboard representing a balance between the two for love, happiness, and understanding (Calamity, 2011). This spiritual energy is believed to transfer to the baby in the cradleboard to grow up with compassion and less stress and depression (L. Max, April 1, 2019, personal communication). Construction of the cradleboard has great spiritual significance. The cradleboard frame is usually made of a wooden backboard with a wooden hoop (called the "rainbow") attached to the top of the board over the infant's head. The rainbow is intended to protect the baby's head if the cradleboard should fall over. It is also believed to bring good thoughts to the child and is often decorated in beadwork made by a member of the family (Beeshligai, 2018). "My grandparents and parents tell me the rainbow helps him [my child] from getting bad dreams and nightmares" (Navajo parent, June 27, 2019, personal communication) (Fig. 1).

The backboard consists of two long wooden planks which are made of cedar, pine, or another type of strong wood. The wood represents the tree of life, thought to be strong and stable. The strong and straight qualities of the wood are believed to transfer to the child using the cradleboard. Likewise, some Navajos believe that if a tree is felled, broken, or struck by lightning during a storm this can foreshadow tragedy or a violent death for the child (Jett, 2005). Wood for the cradleboard is taken from the east side of the tree after corn pollen is sprinkled. The orientation of the wood on the tree should match the orientation of the cradleboard, with the lower area by the feet and the upper area by the head. Prayers may be recited or sung during the construction of the cradleboard, and a traditional ceremony would be held when the cradleboard is completed (Jett, 2005).

When the infant is on the cradleboard, he or she is swaddled in a blanket and strapped tightly to the board with the use of cords. These cords are strung through 12 loops in a zigzag pattern across the baby, representing lightning. The cords also

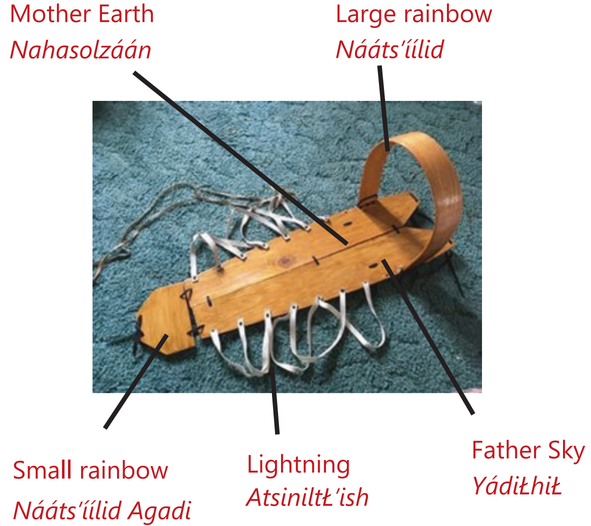

Fig. 1 Navajo cradleboard with labeled parts

hold the baby's arms straight at their sides and the legs straight and together on the board, both of which are believed to help the child develop good posture for a correct walking form (Manolescu & Noble, 2005).

Straps, cushions, and blankets for the cradleboard are traditionally made from sheepskin and buckskin (Beeshligai, 2018). A towel or blanket is rolled up and is placed between the baby's legs on the board (Chisholm, 1983), which reduces chafing. At the bottom of the board is a footplate where the baby's feet rest, representing the earth on which the child will stand when he or she is able to walk on their own (Beeshligai, 2018). Navajo parents believe the board encourages babies to have good posture and develop strong and straight legs and eventually to stand tall and not slouch (Beeshligai, 2018; Manolescu & Noble, 2005), rather than become bow-legged (Manolescu & Noble, 2005).

Oftentimes, the cradleboard is propped in such a way that the infant can watch what their family members are doing. The cradleboard is easily transportable and can be moved to the area where the mother is working (Claw, 2018). According to Chisholm (1978), although an infant in a cradleboard has less physical contact with its mother than an infant carried in its mother's arms, the infant in the cradleboard often spends more time in physical proximity of others. Because the infant is easily transported in the cradleboard even when sleeping, the infant may have increased social interactions as compared to an infant who is placed in a crib in a separate room for sleep (Claw, 2018). "Sometimes parents put their boards up so the baby can look around and visualize. They say it will help the baby's coordination… because he would see people walking around. My mom would always tell me to put the board up, so he could watch people" (Navajo parent, June 27, 2019, personal communication).

Cradleboards are used when the child needs to be calmed and to promote sleep. Babies are strapped in when they grow tired and fussy and will often calm as soon

as the straps are placed around them (Claw, 2018; Johnson, 2018; Manolescu & Noble, 2005). Most families use cradleboards during the day and again for sleeping during the night.

The Navajo initiate use of a cradleboard with a newborn infant after the umbilical cord falls off (Beeshligai, 2018; Johnson, 2018). The time that an infant spends in a cradleboard varies; a newborn infant may be in the cradleboard for 15–18 hours a day (Chisholm, 1983), and the total time decreases as the baby grows, sleeps less, and becomes more active. Navajo families typically use cradleboards with infants through the first year of life, and many families use it well into a child's toddlerhood (Claw, 2018; Manolescu & Noble, 2005). Families often stop using a cradleboard when the child no longer expresses an interest or need for its use or when the child becomes too tall and the straps too short to secure his or her body to the board (Chisholm, 1983; Claw, 2018). "Most kids would get out (stop using it) at about 6-7 months, but some stay in…past the time when they are able to walk. They actually like being in the cradleboard" (Navajo parent, June 27, 2019, personal communication).

Using the cradleboard creates a comfortable routine for the child and prepares the child for self-regulation (Beeshligai, 2018). "It's comforting for him when he's wrapped. When you tie it, it's like a safe spot (for the baby). They say when a baby is first born they feel lost in a way so that's why they put them close to their mother so they can feel close" (Navajo parent, June 27, 2019, personal communication). When the baby grows hungry or rouses from sleep, he or she is taken out of the cradleboard for feeding, comforting, or playing. The times when the baby is strapped and unstrapped from the cradleboard provide opportunities for social contact between the baby and the mother (Chisholm, 1978). In all these ways, the use of the cradleboard fosters attachment and bonding between the mother and baby as well as between the baby and other family members. The use of the cradleboard sets the stage for emotional and mental development (Beeshligai, 2018).

The sense of attachment and belonging is consistent with the cultural belief of *K'e* (Beeshligai, 2018). Navajo families believe that when the child grows up after using a cradleboard, he or she will walk in beauty, which means he or she will live a positive life, think good things, and receive good things in return (Beeshligai, 2018; Begay, 2018). Thus, the cradleboard promotes physical development, supports the child's sleep and self-regulation, and promotes the Blessing Way teaching of emotional stability and connection between the baby and his or her family (Beeshligai, 2018; Claw, 2018). "(The benefits are) that it keeps away nightmares, helps with (the baby's) posture, gives them great sleep, and straightens the feet" (Navajo parent, June 27, 2019, personal communication).

When the infant is on the cradleboard, he or she is often tightly swaddled and wrapped with little ability for active movement or exploration. As a result, healthcare practitioners have questioned whether or not the use of the board may have adverse effects on motor skills. However, there has been no evidence that time in the cradleboard results in delayed or atypical motor development (Chisholm, 1978, 1983). One classic study found that Hopi children were slightly delayed in walking development as compared to Anglo children, but this effect was found in Hopi

infants regardless of whether or not a cradleboard had been used with the infant (Dennis & Dennis, 1991).

Because of the practice of swaddling the infant's legs together in extension on the cradleboard, there is concern for developmental hip dysplasia. In development, the position of maximal stability of the hip bones is when the legs are bent and spread apart, so that the femur stays in the hip joint. Hip dysplasia refers to an abnormal development of the hip joint where the head of the femur is not completely set into the hip socket (Shaw & Segal, 2016). In the general population, hip dysplasia occurs at a rate of approximately 1 in 1000 babies (International Hip Dysplasia Institute, 2018; Shaw & Segal, 2016). Prolonged positioning of an infant's legs so that the hips are extended and adducted (straight and together) causes the muscles of the hip to pull on the femur so that it is more vulnerable to being pulled out of the hip socket (Clarke, 2014). In this position, the infant's hip joint has minimal direct contact between the femur and the pelvis, with increased risk of dislocation or dysplasia. Hip dysplasia can lead to several problems later in life if not corrected, ranging from a small limp to a painful gait and early-onset arthritis (International Hip Dysplasia Institute, 2018; Shaw & Segal, 2016; Wenger, 2013).

A higher incidence of hip dislocation (3.3%) has been historically noted in Navajo infants who were positioned on a cradleboard (Clarke, 2014; Schwend, Pratt, & Fultz, 1999; Shaw & Segal, 2016). In a 34-year follow-up study of Navajo children originally diagnosed with hip dysplasia that remained medically untreated, 40% of hips continued to display abnormalities on radiographs into adulthood (Schwend et al., 1999). Once Native American parents began using absorbent diapers in the 1940s, which helped to spread the baby's legs into abduction, there was a decrease in dysplasia among Native American infants (Schwend et al., 1999). As stated earlier, infants are often positioned on the cradleboard with a cloth between their legs to prevent friction and irritation (Chisholm, 1983). This cloth may also help spread the legs for safe hip positioning to prevent dysplasia, but because there are no recommendations as to the size of the cloth, the legs may still be too close together.

Modern Infant Equipment: Baby Walkers

As the infant grows older and more active, use of the cradleboard decreases. Another piece of infant equipment that is used frequently by the Navajo is the modern baby walker. In a study by Chagas et al. (2011), the authors noted that cultural beliefs influence the use of modern infant equipment. Parents have voiced that they use walkers with their infants with the belief that it will help their child learn to walk earlier (Chagas et al., 2011). From observation of Navajo families, a baby is placed in the walker multiple times a day for anywhere from 30 to 60 minutes to a few hours at a time. "(Walkers are beneficial) because they get them (children) to strengthen

their legs and coordinate their steps. So, when he's ready to learn to walk, they can do it on their own" (Navajo parent, June 27, 2019, personal communication).

Consistent with the Navajo belief of *K'e*, Navajo parents may use a baby walker to promote independent movement, which furthers a sense of self-identity within the family. Begay (2018) describes that motor skills and physical strength are valued in the Navajo culture. Running before the sun comes up in the morning is a traditional practice that is supported by the Navajo teaching of survival and pertains to the physical and mental well-being of a person (Calamity, 2011). The Protection Way teaching also supports physical activity through its instruction to "avoid being lazy" and "develop self-discipline" (Begay, 2018).

Throughout the world, parents often believe that when babies are in walkers they can be more independent (Siegel & Burton, 1999) and explore their environment in a safe way (Chagas et al., 2011; DiLillo et al., 2001). However, walkers have long been recognized by medical associations as a safety hazard, with high numbers of injuries and emergency department visits resulting from its use. Falling down stairs or tipping on uneven flooring may result in head injuries, fractures, or even death (Badihian, Badihihan, & Yaghini, 2017; DiLillo et al., 2001; Sims, Chounthirath, Yang, Hodges, & Smith, 2018). Infants in walkers have also been found to suffer greater numbers of burns as the infant in the walker can reach dangerous items such as a pot of boiling water on a stove. Other recorded injuries include drownings from falls into water, such as a bathtub, and poisonings from access to medications and substances thought to be out of reach (Sims et al., 2018). The infant is able to move much faster in a walker with wheels, so a parent is not always able to reach the child before an accident occurs. Additionally, parents often mistakenly believe that the infant is safely contained in the walker, and the caretaker does not supervise the infant as closely as is necessary to prevent injuries (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2018; Sims et al., 2018).

Walker sales have been outlawed in Canada as a result of injury risk associated with their use (Woudstra, 2018), and the American Academy of Pediatrics (2001, 2018) has called for a ban on walker sales in the United States. One result of the concern for injury from use of walkers has been the promotion of the use of alternative infant equipment such as exer-saucers or jumpers, which do not allow unrestricted mobility as the walker does (DiLillo et al., 2001). However, equipment such as this has not been widely adopted within Navajo families, and the baby walker continues to be a popular item in many Navajo homes.

In contrast with concerns for increased injury risk in research reports, families and health providers on the Navajo Nation report they are not aware of injuries from walker use. This may be partly due to the fact that the majority of Navajo homes are one-story dwellings without stairs. Interestingly, Navajo families report that walker use actually prevents some burn injuries. Many homes have freestanding wood stoves in the middle of a room as a heat source, and families report the wide base of the walker prevents the infant from getting too close.

Parents report various reasons why they use walkers with their infants. When the baby is fussy, Navajo parents will use the walker to help soothe him or her. Many families believe that using the walker also offers the child a change of position that

helps keep them happier throughout their day (Chagas et al., 2011). Placing an infant in a walker also can give the parent time to complete household chores without needing to carry the baby (Chagas et al., 2011; DiLillo et al., 2001; Siegel & Burton, 1999). Another reason Navajo families use infant walkers is that the babies are off of the floor. Many traditional homes have dirt or concrete floors which families consider unsafe for their babies. More than half of individuals residing in the Navajo Nation live in structures that are reported to be dilapidated or requiring serious repairs, many with worn flooring (RPI Consulting, 2011). In traditional *hogans*, there is a single open room. This makes it easy for the parent to keep an eye on the child who is in the walker and to ensure the child safely explores the environment.

Evidence is inconclusive regarding the impact of walker use on motor development (Abbott & Bartlett, 2001; Australian Physiotherapy Association, 2007; Bartlett & Fanning, 2003; Garrett, McElroy, & Staines, 2002; Pin et al., 2007). Time in an infant walker is associated with decreased floor playtime for the developing infant. Unrestricted floor play is considered important for balanced movement exploration and cognitive development (Siegel & Burton, 1999). The Australian Physiotherapy Association has developed a position statement (November 2007) warning of the impact of walker use on decreased floor play and independent mobility exploration for infants. Although some studies have reported that infants who experience frequent walker use, especially early in upright positioning, are delayed in the development of motor skills including walking, other research studies have not found this same effect (Garrett et al., 2002; Pin et al., 2007). Regardless, at a minimum, walkers do not cause an accelerated rate of development of independent walking skills as many parents mistakenly believe (Pin et al., 2007). Delays in walking may be more prevalent when walkers are used with children who experience developmental delay (Siegel & Burton, 1999).

Some Navajo parents have been observed to begin the use of a walker when an infant is not yet able to stand on their own, as early as 4–6 months old, before their feet touch the floor when placed in the walker. At this age, the infant does not yet have the balanced muscle strength to maintain an upright posture when placed in the walker, and as a result, the infant may overutilize extensor muscles in an effort to remain upright (Pin et al., 2007). In some infants, this may alter motor patterns or delay acquisition of normal balanced upright posture in standing and walking, particularly if use of the walker limits time of independent movement exploration on the floor (Siegel & Burton, 1999; Simpkiss & Raikes, 1972). No studies have been done on average age for independent walking in the Navajo, so no conclusions can be made for the impact of walker use in this population.

Conclusions

Practitioners working with different cultural groups such as the Navajo need to develop an understanding of the beliefs guiding parenting practices that may influence child development. Although there are potential safety concerns with use of

infant equipment, there are also many benefits. Educational programs for Navajo parents on safe use of cradleboards and infant walkers need to be culturally sensitive to maintain respect for the Navajo values and heritage.

The concept of *K'e* should be embraced when working with Navajo families. Positive aspects of the use of infant equipment should be emphasized, including harmony with nature, overall self-regulation, strength, and balance. Respect for cultural and family values always needs to guide educational and developmental recommendations. The Navajo cradleboard has great cultural meaning with many positive effects, especially on social-emotional development, when used safely with infants. The baby walker can be an enjoyable experience for an infant and fits the practical needs of many Navajo families. Use of this equipment by Navajo families supports the belief of *K'e*, as expressed through the development of supportive relationships between the child, his family, and his environment.

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Part II
Childhood

You Don't Have to Know Where Your Kids Are, Just Where They Aren't: Exploring Free-Range Parenting in the Bolivian Amazon

Helen Elizabeth Davis and Elizabeth Cashdan

You Don't Have to Know Where Your Kids Are, Just Know Where They Aren't: Exploring Free-Range Parenting in the Bolivian Amazon

Over the last few decades, parenting norms, particularly in the United States and Western Europe, have shifted strongly in favor of intensive parenting techniques, which place emphasis on constant direct supervision as well as constant protection from risks of harm (Ashton-James, Kushlev, & Dunn, 2013; Thomas, Stanford, & Sarnecka, 2016). These norms have been further intensified in response to stricter legal consequences associated with "neglect" and an increase in the availability of written resources and online media focused on improving parenting skills (Radey & Randolph, 2009). As an alternative to intensive parenting styles and tightening social norms, "free-range" parenting has emerged as an alternative strategy. This movement, first popularized in the United States by the pediatrician and author Spock (1946), suggests children can and should function independently (i.e., limited parental supervision) as they age and develop. However, how these strategies help or hurt child learning is still not fully understood.

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This chapter will explore the relationship between parenting preferences and variation in child mobility, which predicts navigation and spatial reasoning among Tsimane children (Davis & Cashdan, 2019). Using qualitative and quantitative data, we aim to explore (1) whether parenting really is "free range," (2) how a "free-range" parenting style affects children's mobility, and (3) whether gender differences in travel distance (generally favoring males) and increased harm avoidance (generally favoring females) are also found in a "free-range" environment.

Why Mobility Matters

A growing body of research suggests spatial skills and strategies are related to greater performance in mathematics and science (Geary, Saults, Liu, & Hoard, 2000; Newcombe, 2010). Further, findings suggest that spatial reasoning can be taught, leading to improvements in success in the skills critical for performance in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics—STEM fields (Goldin-Meadow, Cook, & Mitchell, 2009; Uttal et al., 2013). Given that sex differences in many spatial tasks favor males cross-culturally (Gaulin, 1992; Levine, Huttenlocher, Taylor, & Langrock, 1999; I. Silverman et al., 2000; Vashro, Padilla, & Cashdan, 2016; Voyer, Voyer, & Bryden, 1995), that males range farther than females cross-culturally (Cashdan & Gaulin, 2016; Gaulin & Hoffman, 1988), and that navigating large ranges is, quite simply, a spatially demanding task (Jacobs, Gaulin, Sherry, & Hoffman, 1990; Sherry & Hampson, 1997; Silverman et al., 2000), it has been suggested that mobility may play an important role in the development of spatial skills.

However, despite evolutionary arguments offering logical explanations for why sex differences in spatial abilities and mobility might exist (Ecuyer-Dab & Robert, 2004; Miner, Gurven, Kaplan, & Gaulin, 2014; Silverman et al., 2000; Vashro & Cashdan, 2015), the sex differences are not invariant across societies, and limited samples from non-W.E.I.R.D. (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic; (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010) societies leave many unanswered questions regarding the effect environmental variation and cultural norms—such as how children are parented and what restrictions are placed on girls and women—could have on mobility and the spatial competencies associated with it.

Study Population: Where Childhood Isn't WEIRD

The Tsimane forager-horticulturalists live in lowland Bolivia within the Beni Department of the Bolivian Amazon. The Tsimane described in this chapter live between 60 and 70 km (crow's flight) from San Borja and Yucumo, two market towns with greater access to wage labor opportunities and commercial goods. Travel to and from the market towns is mostly conducted by boat and, depending on seasonality and river depth, can take between 13 and 20 hours (using an outboard motor).

The Tsimane are a natural fertility population, and—unlike many Western societies—Tsimane children spend much of their time in mixed age, mixed sex peer groups working, learning, and playing. Tsimane children also have greater freedom to explore than is typical in Western societies, and their tropical forest environment presents different spatial challenges. The environment is navigationally challenging, with visibility often limited by cloud and tree canopy cover and with most travel on small footpaths and along winding rivers and tributaries that can change seasonally. Daily life for Tsimane children depends largely on age (Stieglitz, Gurven, Kaplan, & Hooper, 2013). As children age, they begin to assist their families with subsistence activities, such as fishing, hunting, and other skill-based tasks. By 9 years old, Tsimane children are helping with gardening, foraging, and other domestic tasks (e.g., collecting water). All these activities require both boys and girls to spend considerable time walking and working in the densely forested areas surrounding their villages.

Many Tsimane children attend school, but Tsimane formal education should be classified as performing at the lower end of a graded "educational continuum" relative to schools in industrialized countries (Davis, 2014). Classes in Tsimane elementary schools are conducted roughly 4 hours per day and 5 days per week. This allows for considerable time outside of school hours to engage in subsistence and foraging behaviors, as well as play (Stieglitz et al., 2013).

Factors that Affect Mobility

Mobility has costs, as well as benefits, making it particularly important to understand what intrinsic and extrinsic factors might influence whether, at what age, and how often people are mobile. These factors include, among other things, individual characteristics, cultural variation, and environmental influences.

Harm avoidance Harm avoidance plays a significant role in shaping travel patterns and spatial performance, particularly among females who are more fearful generally (Campbell, 1999) and more cautious about navigation specifically. Given that women must manage both the energetic costs of carrying infants (Jones, 1986) and the risk of getting lost or hurt, it is not surprising that men report higher self-confidence and lower anxiety when encountering novel environments (Devlin & Bernstein, 1995; Lawton, 1994).

Recent studies among adults and children have supported the notion that harm avoidance is associated with a more cautious style of spatial exploration. In the United States, more harm-avoidant adults explored a virtual environment with greater cautiousness (e.g., increased number of pauses, revisiting of previously traversed areas), which was associated with poorer navigation in that environment (Gagnon, Cashdan, Stefanucci, & Creem-Regehr, 2016). The same appears to be true of children in Western societies: fearful children explored a maze more slowly, with a trend to poorer navigational recall (Schmitz, 1997).

Cultural variation and childhood Cross-culturally, middle childhood (ages 6–11) is distinguished by the broadening of the child's social world and learning opportunities outside of the family (Hewlett, Fouts, Boyette, & Hewlett, 2011; Lancy, 2014; Lew-Levy, Lavi, Reckin, Cristóbal-Azkarate, & Ellis-Davies, 2018). Evidence from the United States (Hart, 1979; Matthews, 1987) and several small-scale, non-Western societies (Whiting & Edwards, 1973) have reported striking sex differences that favor boys in range size—the total area of travel—during middle childhood. In many foraging societies, sex segregation begins to increase during this stage as children begin to participate in adult activities, identifying with adults of their same sex and imitating their behaviors (Draper, 1976; Endicott & Endicott, 2008; Flannery, 1953; Gallois et al., 2015; Wallace & Hoebel, 1952). Adolescence (ages 12–18), on the other hand, is less about preparing for adult work roles than about preparing for adult mating and marriage (Schlegel, 1995), which may have further implications for boys' self-initiated motivations for travel (Miner et al., 2014). Although gender differences in children's range size and spatial ability are not unique to Western societies, modern Western societies are highly unusual in matters affecting children's spatial experiences. Childhood differences and predispositions can be amplified or muted by culture, parenting, and the child's local environment.

Cultural variation in parenting How and when females can move through space may be determined by social constraints on mobility and exploration, particularly during critical phases of child development. These cultural patterns are also affected by the sources from which parents get their information.

In the United States, parents report getting most of their parenting advice from books and family members (Radey & Randolph, 2009). In contrast, Tsimane parents are less reliant on learning parenting techniques from books, arguments from authority (religious and political authorities), and formal schools. This distinction alone may contribute to the Tsimane developing a more accurate perception of environmental and social risks for their children than is the case in industrialized societies, particularly for girls, whose mobility is restricted in other populations (Clark, 2015; James & Embrey, 2001; Katz, 2014).

Forager children are typically given far greater latitude for independent spatial exploration than are children in the West. For Tsimane children, it is reasonable to expect that as early as middle childhood, children are frequently engaging in higher-risk activities away from the home (e.g., hunting, gathering, and fishing), and parents begin giving less verbal instruction to their children (Cristia, Dupoux, Gurven, & Stieglitz, 2019).

Environmental variation Risks—as perceived by both children and their parents—may have profound effects on spatial exploration and reasoning. Recent findings showed that infants around 1 year old associate snakes with fear (DeLoache & LoBue, 2009), suggesting that humans may have an evolved predisposition for avoiding dangerous animals. Inclement weather often deters people from taking certain routes or traveling during certain times of the day (Khattak & De Palma,

1997; Kilpeläinen & Summala, 2007), and studies show humans overestimate the distance between themselves and the environmental obstacles they perceive as dangerous (Stefanucci & Storbeck, 2009; Wu et al., 2019). The magnitude and nature of these environmental risks may also shape parental constraints on children's mobility.

Method

Sample

The study was conducted with 35 parents (21–60 years, 60% female) and 83 of their children (6–18 years, 51% female) from one upriver Tsimane community. Data collection required visiting individual households to conduct interviews and recruit subjects. The distance of homes from our project area (village center) ranged from 0.1 to 8 km away (M = 2.3 km, Mdn = 2.9 km) and often required river crossings with small canoes.

In all, this study collected data on ~ 58% of the children in the villages who were listed on the census as alive in 2015 by the Tsimane Health and Life History Project (Gurven et al., 2017). Though the project updates the census every few years, migration and mortality made determining the exact number of children in and around the villages difficult.

Age Ages for every child were collected and cross-validated through three channels: individual interviews, parent interviews, and census data. Children were also categorized into one of two developmental stages, middle childhood (6–11 years) or adolescence (12–18 years; see Table 1).

Table 1 Study sample characteristics

	Total sample		Middle childhood (6–11)		Adolescence (12–19)	
	N	Mean (SD)	*N*	Mean (SD)	*N*	Mean (SD)
Child demographics						
Sex (% female)	84	51%	51	49%	44	21%
Age of child (yrs)	84	10.68(3.6)	51	8.24(2.4)	33	5.69(3.2)
Parent demographics						
Gender (% female)	84	69%				
Age of parents (yrs)	35	38.92(10.6)				
Mobility						
Average daily distance (km)	50	5.26(2.6)	26	5.21(2.6)	7	5.31(2.7)
Time in bounds (%)	32	87.70(23.4)	16	89.58(20.1)	16	85.83(27.4)

Harm avoidance We assessed child and parent harm avoidance in three domains: physical harm, spatial anxiety, and social anxiety. We had separate interviews for children and their parents.

Children For physical harm, we asked the following questions: (1) Do you get worried you will see or be hurt by animals (e.g., snakes, jaguars, leopards) when you are traveling in the forest? (2) Do you worry about being injured when you are traveling alone? Answers range from rarely = 0, sometimes = 0.5, to often = 1 and were summed to create a scale of harm avoidance from 0 to 1. To assess spatial anxiety, we asked: (3) Are you concerned that, if you take a new route, you might get lost? Answers range from rarely = 0, sometimes = 0.5, to often = 1. Finally, to assess social anxiety, we asked: (4) When you visit communities that you don't know well, do you feel safer if you go with other people or do you feel comfortable going alone? Responses were coded 1 = comfortable going alone and 2 = prefer to go with others.

Parents An interview with qualitative and forced choice Likert scale questions was conducted with 35 pairs of parents (70 people in total) whose children had participated in the study. Questions discussed parents' concerns, preferences, and personal experiences regarding child safety, exploration, and being lost.

From the forced choice Likert scale questions, we created a composite variable called "Worry about child safety" by asking the following questions: (1) When your child is in a place you do not know well, are you worried they might become lost? Answers range from rarely = 0, sometimes = 0.5, to often = 1. We also asked: (2) Do you worry about your children getting lost when they travel alone or without adult supervision? Answers range from rarely = 0, sometimes = 0.5, to often = 1. Finally, we asked: (3) Do you worry about your children getting hurt when they travel alone or without adult supervision? Answers range from rarely = 0, sometimes = 0.5, to often = 1.

Mobility We measured daily mobility and percentage of time within the village boundary. Participants were given QStarz BT-Q1000XT GPS data loggers on randomly selected days during the study period. Each GPS unit was placed inside a small, water-resistant travel case and secured to a lanyard that each child wore around their neck. After 3 days, participants returned the device, and the individual's tracks were recorded using QStarz GIS software on a laptop. Children were then asked to recall places visited, time spent out of the community, and purpose of travel (e.g., work, school, or play) during the tracking period. The following variables were calculated from the track data: (a) average daily distance traveled and (b) percentage of time spent inside and outside village boundaries. To confirm whether children spent their time within village bounds or outside of the village, a perimeter polygon was calculated using GPS points for each house in the same village (Fig. 1).

Each GPS unit required approximately 2 hours of charging via a solar panel and 12-volt battery. There was variable availability of solar and stored battery power due to cloud cover and tropical storms, and on some days, weather conditions also inter-

Fig. 1 Satellite image of houses within the village used to construct the community's boundaries. Numbers indicate location of different family homes

fered with the ability of the units to maintain contact with satellites. Of the 68 individuals we tested, we discarded the data from14 individuals due to poor battery charging, incomplete tracks, and damaged GPS units.

Statistical methods We first assessed the effects of gender and age on each of the variables of interest. We then used linear regression to determine associations between parent and child reported harm avoidance, child development, and gender. All statistical analyses and graphics were performed in R, version 3.4.3 (R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria). Graphical representations were produced in R package ggplot2.

Outliers Tracks from three females were removed from the GPS data. Two had traveled extensively in a motorized canoe, and one child's data was removed because she lived outside the designed boundaries of the community. The removal of their data did not significantly affect the results.

Results

See Table 1 for demographics of the sample; the average age of girls and boys was similar, both overall and within each developmental stage. All parents interviewed had no fewer than two children.

Does "Free-Range" Parenting Really Exist?

Parents reported being equally concerned about the safety of their daughters and their sons ($t(82) = 0.21$, $p = 0.834$), and there was no significant difference in the restrictions parents placed on travel within the village ($t(82) = 0.37$, $p = 0.714$) or outside the village by gender ($t(82) = -0.44$, $p = 0.659$). However, parents were clear that in many cases boys and girls would not need to travel to certain areas. Parents also expressed in interviews that girls and boys could travel together.

Parental restrictions based on personal knowledge During interviews, most parents stated that they often do not know where their children are, but they did know where their children aren't. Parents remembered in detail the times they themselves had been lost, recalling the time of year, the amount of time they were lost, where they were going, and how they found their way home. When asked whether their children had ever been lost, nearly every parent said no. Of those who did report their children being lost, two resulted in fatalities, and one occurred during a rainstorm when a child was going for firewood. The parent stated that they quickly recovered their child and brought them home.

We next asked parents how old their children would have to be in order to travel to and around some higher-risk areas, such as the river or forest. The mean age parents gave for allowing their child to travel to and around the river alone ($M = 10.85$, $SD = 2.30$) was significantly lower than the mean age children could travel into and around the forest alone ($M = 15.70$, $SD = 2.30$), $t(43) = -1.68$, $p = 0.097$, $d = 2.70$). However, many parents said they couldn't answer questions about the appropriate age at which children could go certain places, because their children had not reached that age yet. We received that answer from 20% of parents when we asked about travel to the river and 50% when we asked about travel to the forest. In these instances, the parents stated they would not know until their children had reached the appropriate age.

Does a "Free-Range" Parenting Style Affect Children's Mobility?

During the interviews, parents explained that children were not allowed to go to new places alone. Regardless of the location, all parents insisted that children would visit a new place with adults or older siblings first. And, when those places were in the

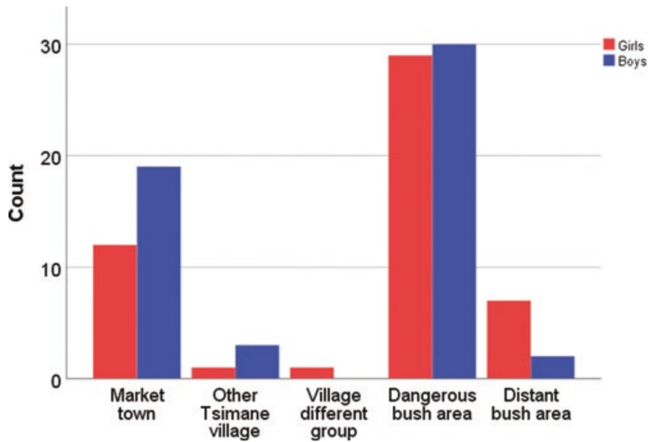

Fig. 2 Frequency of reported restricted areas for sons and daughters

forest or distant villages, parents stated that children could only go with parents or an adult caregiver first.

Controlling for age and sex, parents who gave their children more freedom within the village also were more likely to allow for greater freedom outside the village ($r(84) = 0.33$, $p = 0.002$). However, those parents also reported greater worry for child safety when their children were outside the village ($r(84) = 0.36$, $p < 0.001$) or visited new places alone ($r(84) = 0.25$, $p = 0.020$).

Parents also reported that they did not allow their children to travel alone to certain areas, such as the market town (Fig. 2). More parents restricted solo travel to the market town for their sons than for their daughters. Parental concerns about children visiting the market town were more varied for sons than daughters (Fig. 3) and included the market town being too far, too far and risk of environmental hazards (e.g., wild animals, dangerous terrain), too far and interpersonal risk (e.g., physical harm), and too far and that their sons would get lost. For daughters, an overwhelming majority of the responses regarding restrictions focused on places being too far and a risk of environmental hazards (Fig. 3).

Children agree with parental concerns about risks When interviewed, over 90% of children agreed that they could not and would not go to unfamiliar places alone for the first time. Older children who were interviewed—particularly those who had traveled farther from home—expressed a preference for traveling with others. Most also reported that they were not as good as their parents or other Tsimane adults at finding their way. Younger children, on the other hand, were more likely to report they were good at finding their way, though this response referred to travel within a much smaller range.

Children were also asked (1) whether their parents worried about their safety and (2) whether their parents should worry about their safety. There was no effect of age ($\beta = 0.22$, $p = 0.828$, 95% CI [−0.03, 0.04]) or gender ($\beta = 0.08$, $p = 0.784$, 95% CI

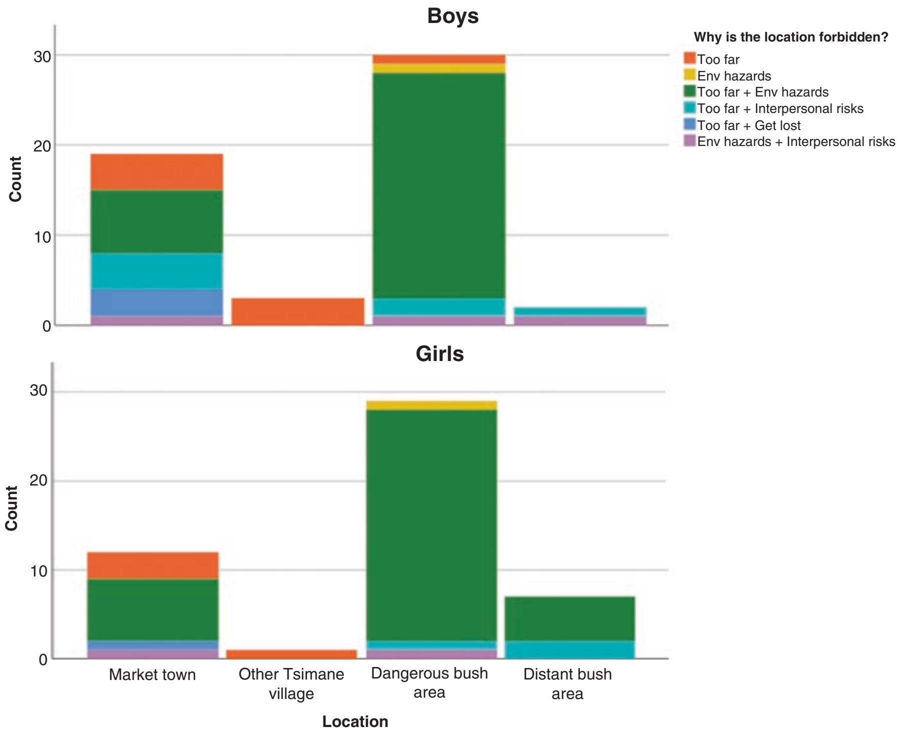

Fig. 3 Reasons parents provided for their children's travel restrictions

[−0.15, 0.35]) on whether children thought their parents should worry about them. Across all ages, boys and girls stated that their parents do and should worry "sometimes" or "often" (Fig. 4). Children also expressed a preference to travel with others. Only adolescents stated that they could travel with similarly aged peers, rather than older siblings, family members, or parents.

Does "Free-Range" Parenting Produce Gender Differences?

We first report findings from our child interviews and child mobility, which have been discussed further in Davis & Cashdan (2019). We then turn to the adult interviews, to understand how parenting is related to children's views and behavior.

Child reported harm avoidance Boys and girls reported similar levels of harm avoidance regarding physical harm (threat from injury and from dangerous animals) and spatial anxiety (concern about getting lost). They differed only in reported social harm avoidance (feeling safer going with others to communities they don't know well), with girls being more concerned.

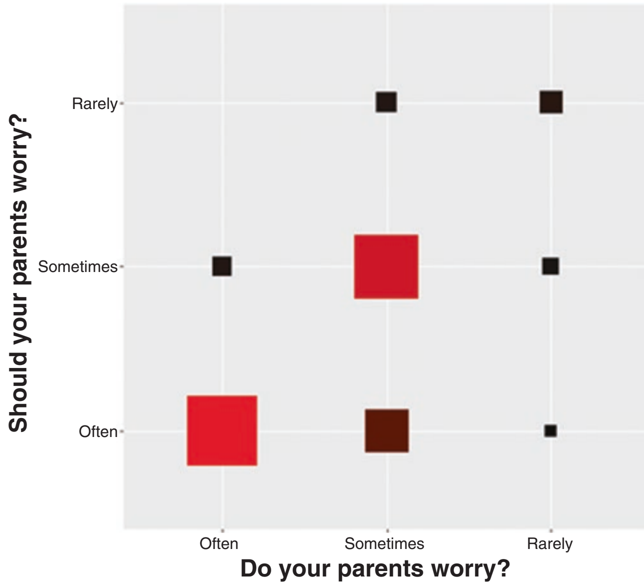

Fig. 4 Relationship between children's interview responses to two questions: (1) Do your parents worry about your safety? (2) Should your parents worry about your safety? *Note.* Larger square size indicates the frequency of the response pair. The lighter color red indicates more responses among similarly sized squares. There was a slightly greater frequency of the response Often/Often than among those who answered Sometimes/Sometimes

Mobility and exploration by age and gender The daily mobility of boys and girls was similar. Daily distance traveled by boys was 5.28 ± 2.58 km, and for girls it was 5.23 ± 2.63 km ($N = 50$). There was not a significant difference for mean daily distance traveled by age group ($\beta = 0.11$, $p = 0.466$, 95% CI [−0.14, 0.30]) or gender ($\beta = 0.31$, $p = 0.833$, 95% CI [−1.40, 1.73]) ($d = 0.02$; Fig. 5). Travel outside the village involves different activities and risks, and so we also looked at children who spent at least 1% of their time outside the village. Among this group, there were no gender differences, but older children spent more time outside their village (age: $\beta = -0.48$, $p = 0.045$, 95% CI [−7.91, −0.90]; gender: $\beta = -0.27$, $p = 0.25$, 95% CI [−41.75, 11.50]).

Discussion

"Free-range" parenting does exist but perhaps not in the way it is presented in W.E.I.R.D. societies. Tsimane parents report worrying about their children, and they do restrict where, when, and how children can travel. Though parents allow their children to roam without constant supervision, children do not travel to new or distant locations without going with a parent or other adult first.

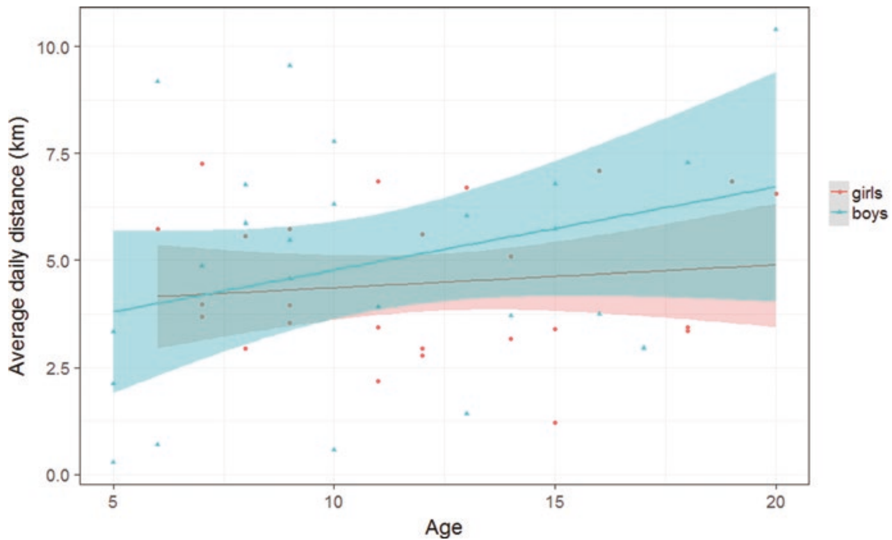

Fig. 5 Age by average daily distance traveled by girls (red) and boys (blue) in a Tsimane village ($N = 50$). There is no significant gender difference in daily mobility patterns for children between the ages 6 and 19 years. Variance in travel distance is greater for boys across the sample

Personal Knowledge and Experience

Parents report using individual experience to determine when a child is mature enough to travel alone to places in and out of their community, rather than depending on social norms and age specific benchmarks. Further, children report that they know their parents worry about them and that their parents should worry about them. These responses highlight that children, as well as parents, are aware of the environmental dangers and risks associated with solo or novice traveling. For example, the Maniqui River is wide and has a fast current. Felled logs often get swept into the currents and obstruct travel paths during the rainy season, and caiman can also be found along the river and in the river's smaller tributaries. However, as children age, they begin fetching water, washing clothes, and bathing in the streams without their parents. The mean age parents reported children could visit the river alone was 10.85 years; this average reflects not only risks but also the need to use canoes to travel across tributaries to reach other parts of the village, which requires skill and the strength to maneuver the canoe and pole. Occurring even later, the mean age for going to the forest alone was 15.70 years old, which is due to the dangers associated with getting lost as well as environmental threats like dangerous animals and weather. Every single person interviewed reported being fearful of jaguars when in the forest alone, regardless of age.

Interestingly, parents more frequently reported restricting their sons' travel to the market town than their daughters'. Miner et al. (2014) found that boys increased

travel in adolescence during mate-seeking years. Thus, limiting a boy's travel to a city where he can easily meet mates seems counter-intuitive. Unlike Miner et al., we did not find a significant gender difference in adolescents' travel to the market town (although we found a trend in the same direction favoring boys' increased travel); however, the lack of gender difference in self-reported travel is likely an artifact of our sample size[1] and age range. Reported restrictions for boys to travel to the market town are most likely because there is a greater probability of boys traveling unaccompanied. Girls do not travel to the market town without parents or closely related kin, and because men do nearly all the river navigating—which provides access to the market town —it is more likely that boys will begin traveling alone or with friends during their teen years. Further, an increase in offboard motor use on canoes has made the journey to the market town easier, faster, and more accessible to younger, less experienced boys. Reasons for restricting travel for sons included distance and environmental hazards, both related to the journey's approximately 70 km river distance. Parents also cited interpersonal dangers as a reason their sons should not travel alone to the market town. Reasons cited were strangers, alcohol, and the unknown in the market town.

Mobility in a "Free-Range" World

Our previous findings showed that Tsimane children's harm avoidance was not related to mobility among Tsimane children (Davis & Cashdan, 2019). Unlike in W.E.I.R.D. populations, there was no significant difference by gender for reported harm avoidance, daily mobility, or average time spent in the village. As Tsimane children age, they begin to travel from home with greater frequency and spend more time outside the village. As they age, Tsimane children also report slightly higher harm avoidance, suggesting that as they travel more, they become more cognizant of potential risks and dangers.

Given these findings, we suggest the lack of gender differences in harm avoidance and mobility between Tsimane boys and girls is likely to be a result of parenting behaviors, or child training practices (Barry III, Child, & Bacon, 1959), in this society. Being productive and knowledgeable are both culturally valued traits among the Tsimane. Understanding how to navigate the forests and rivers is a complex and risky task, but it is necessary for learning how to become productive hunters, foragers, and horticulturalists. Thus, children are given the opportunity to explore freely within spaces, first introduced by parents or other experienced alloparents, that continue to expand throughout childhood.

[1] We had a relatively small sample of boys and girls over the age of 12 ($N = 7$) who visited the market town. The lack of significance was likely due to limited power in our sample.

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Academic Socialization and Parenting Practices: A Comparison Among Chinese and American Preschoolers

Nicole B. Capobianco and Deborah L. Best

In the fields of cross-cultural and developmental psychology, there has long been a fascination with cultural differences among East Asian (i.e., collectivistic) and European American (i.e., individualistic) societies. Tobin and colleagues' (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989) classic study was among the first to highlight that differential expectations exist within the classroom when comparing preschools in Japan, China, and the USA. Interest in cultural differences in school expectations and academic success has only increased as studies have shown East Asian students outperform American students on various measures of academic achievement and school readiness (Beaton et al., 1996; Geary, Bow-Thomas, Fan, & Siegler, 1993; Kinlaw, Kurtz-Costes, & Goldman-Fraser, 2001).

Many scholars have begun to explore why such cultural variations in school success might exist. Notably, Chua's (2011) book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* attributed such cultural differences to Chinese-style parenting, highlighting the stringent academic expectations Chinese mothers typically place on their children. It is not surprising that researchers have traced cultural differences in academic success back to parents. Although children are influenced by a variety of people from an early age (e.g., siblings, grandparents, peers), parents are commonly regarded as the primary agents of children's socialization (Taylor, Clayton, & Rowley, 2004), though peers and others play important roles as well (Edwards, 1992). In socializing their children, parents aim to instill the values and skills necessary for success within a given society (Taylor et al., 2004).

In both Chinese and US society, education is culturally valued and often determines the level of individual success (Chao, 1996). Thus, academic success is an important goal of socialization in these cultures. In many cases, parents engage in

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academic socialization when their children are quite young, aiming to prepare them for school entry. Though approaches to academic socialization may vary based on cultural beliefs and parenting practices, the ultimate goal remains the same in both China and the USA: parents are striving to help their children achieve the culturally valued outcome of academic success. This chapter aims to exemplify the inherently cultural nature of academic socialization by exploring the parental practices that lead to school readiness in young children of both Chinese and European American descent.

The Context: China and the USA

Before looking more closely at how parenting practices affect children's academic socialization, a brief examination of the cultural context is in order. Parenting cannot be understood unless it is examined in its economic, social, political, and historical context (Taylor et al., 2004). China is the world's most populous country with a population of 1.42 billion, with a median age of 37.3 years, and with 59.3% living in urban areas (worldometers.info). The USA ranks a distant third, with a population of 327 million, a median age of 37.8 years, and 83.7% living in urban areas (worldometers.info). China ranks second only to the USA in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and both play influential roles in global economic development. However, given China's large rural population, their per capita GDP lags far behind the average of the East Asia and Pacific region as well as the USA. With global development becoming increasingly dependent on technology, education has become a central requirement for success. Because of this, parents in China and the USA value educational opportunities for their children and they strive to help them be successful in educational endeavors within these differing cultural contexts (Chao, 1996).

Parents and Education in China

While parents in both countries are aware of the economic pressures their children will eventually face, these pressures are often a more central concern for Chinese parents, particularly for middle-class mainland Chinese parents (Zou, Anderson, & Tsey, 2013). Zou and colleagues found that these middle-class parents believed that the younger generation faces overwhelming pressure from fierce workforce competition. Between China's increasingly affluent urban population and difficult university entry exams for "key universities," these Chinese parents become heavily invested in their children's education. Extracurricular lessons were a must-do activity for Chinese children. In addition to helping children with homework, more than 2/3 of these parents enrolled their children in expensive training courses to improve their children's academic performance. Chinese parents considered education "crucial" for their children's lives, believing it is a way to enhance their future social status.

Tobin and colleagues (Tobin, Hsueh, & Karasawa, 2009) have examined the changes that have occurred in the 20 years since they first looked at preschools in China (Tobin et al., 1989). In their earlier project, the first single-child cohort was just arriving at preschool and generated much public anxiety. There was concern that growing up without siblings would stunt the children emotionally and socially and would lead to their being spoiled (Tobin et al., 1989). Preschools were thought to give children "growing up without siblings the experience of living in a group" (Tobin et al., 2009, p. 38), a solution to difficulties created by the one-child policy. In spite of these concerns, the single children were active, willing to try new ideas, to demonstrate their abilities, and to have higher grades in school. Single children turned out to be independent, self-confident, creative adults, characteristics consistent with the emerging market economy. However, they were lacking in perseverance and social skills needed to care for others, characteristics that had been valued in the traditional Chinese agricultural society. Parents put pressure on preschools to provide more academic preparation so children would get an early start toward becoming economically successful adults. Tobin and colleagues (2009) found that pressure on children to excel academically begins early, leaving play and creativity out of the preschool curriculum.

Parenting and Education in the USA

Parents in the USA also value education, but these parents typically emphasize the importance of social success over academic success (Ryan, Casas, Kelly-Vance, Ryall, & Nero, 2010). Indeed, Latino and other ethnic minority parents in the USA judge social and academic success as equally important in contrast with European American parents, who believe that their children's social success is more important than academic success (Ryan et al., 2010). When European American parents are more involved in educational activities, their kindergarten children show improved social skills and ability to control their emotions, which have been related to better math performance (Hill & Craft, 2003). However, the picture is different for African American kindergarteners, with parent involvement improving children's academic skills and performance, rather than their social skills. Although parental evaluation of what leads to academic success may differ in the Chinese and American cultural contexts, parental perceptions, involvement, and academic socialization practices have important consequences for children's success.

Academic Socialization

Academic socialization refers to the parental beliefs and practices that contribute to children's development of school-related ideals and competencies (Taylor et al., 2004). Like any type of socialization, academic socialization is rooted in the cultural

values and norms of a given society. Parents form ethnotheories, or beliefs about appropriate parenting practices, based on a variety of factors, including cultural values, societal norms, family traditions, and personal experiences (Super & Harkness, 1986). In both the USA and China, academic achievement and appropriate classroom behavior are valued by the majority of parents. Parents want to see their children succeed, and academic achievement is often essential for success in both of these cultures. Thus, the culturally valued outcome of academic success becomes integrated into parents' ethnotheories. These ethnotheories then influence parents' expectations of and interactions with their children. For example, parents work to equip their children with early academic skills (e.g., counting, reciting the alphabet) and appropriate school behaviors (e.g., taking turns, sitting quietly) as they approach school age. As such, the culturally valued goals of academic socialization are reflected in both parents' beliefs and practices. In this way, academic socialization cannot be separated from culture.

School readiness encompasses the skills preschool-aged children must acquire prior to kindergarten or formal school entry. Such skills include children's early academic competencies, like counting and recognizing letters, as well as their ability to regulate behavior, cooperate with others, and act appropriately in the classroom (Fitzpatrick & Pagani, 2012). The preschool years are an interesting time in which to examine academic socialization. In both the USA and China, preschool is typically the first educational group setting in which children are placed (Ren & Edwards, 2016).

For American children, a multiplicity of family types has grown over the years, from two-parent nuclear families to one-parent families, cohabiting couples, gay and lesbian families, and extended families (Teachman, Tedrow, & Crowder, 2000). This diversity in family life has led to variations in childcare, with the family having a lesser role in the "nurturant socialization" of children (Fine, 1992). American families have become more dependent upon mothers' incomes, and there are more opportunities for women in the workplace (Teachman et al., 2000). As a result, many families turn to out-of-home, non-parental childcare prior to preschool (e.g., childcare centers, family care homes, relative care; Kamerman & Gatenio-Gabel, 2007). Indeed, preschool for 5-year-olds has become a common American experience, and preschool for 4-year-olds is moving in that direction.

In contrast, Chinese children are usually cared for by parents or family members prior to preschool (Ren & Edwards, 2016). Indeed, Chinese grandmothers play an especially important role in childcare and are sometimes seen as overly protective (Chen, 2004). However, childcare centers are developing as a result of economic demands on families, and some families hire an *ayi* ("auntie"), or nanny, to provide care. In these newly developing childcare centers, discipline is highly valued, more than creative expression, and they may seem harsh by Western standards (InterNations, 2019). Thus, for both Chinese and American children, preschool is a time in which they most likely encounter novel academic and social experiences. The new challenges of the preschool classroom, combined with the developing cognitive abilities of the preschool-aged child, may cause parents to give more attention

to academic socialization goals. In both China and the USA, school readiness becomes an important objective of academic socialization during this time.

Cultural Values and Parental Ethnotheories in China

In order to fully understand academic socialization, one must first understand the cultural values underlying academic socialization goals. The importance of benevolence, filial piety (i.e., respect for parents and elders), loyalty, harmony, dignity, hard work, useful skills, thrift, justice, and perseverance are among the virtues of Confucianism (Shek, Yu, & Fu, 2013). Within Chinese culture, there is also a strong emphasis on education. The cultural value of education dates back to ancient times and persists in modern Chinese society (Ren & Edwards, 2017). For many Chinese individuals, academic success secures a career and provides an opportunity for upward social mobility (Ren & Edwards, 2017). Given the historical and modern benefits of education, it is not surprising that generations of Chinese parents have emphasized academic preparation and success (Ren & Edwards, 2017).

The 2001 *Guidelines for Kindergarten Education* reformed early childhood education in China, introducing the notions of rights and respect for children and emphasizing learning through play (Tobin et al., 2009). Some believed the *Guidelines* were too Westernized and have pushed to restore Confucian culture and classic Chinese children's texts into the education system (Tobin et al., 2009). Many parents enroll their children in traditional schools where pedagogy includes classic texts and traditional procedures for learning. The Chinese government has implemented the Three-Year Pre-School Education Action Plan, which is designed to universalize preschool education (ages 3 through 5) by 2020 (OECD, 2016). In 2014, the enrollment rate in the three-year program reached 70% (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015). The composition of these programs will certainly be important for Chinese children in the future.

Cultural Values and Parental Ethnotheories in the USA

While the USA has a less extensive history of academic achievement with weak early childhood education compared with many other countries (OECD, 2000), several common American values promote education and academic success. Many have come to America in search of the "American Dream," first described in 1931 by James Truslow Adams. He defined the dream as a place where life would be better for everyone, where each could attain the fullest of all capabilities, not just wealth, regardless of one's birth or position in life. This notion has certainly changed over time (Library of Congress, 2019), but many often think that education can be used to pull oneself out of poverty and difficult circumstances (Wadsworth & Ahlkvist, 2015).

Certainly, academic achievement is important for success in modern American society. As American universities become more selective and the job market becomes increasingly competitive, academic achievement is emphasized by many parents (Kadvany, 2019). American colleges report receiving record numbers of applications and acceptance rates are as low as 4–6% at the most competitive schools (e.g., Stanford, Harvard, Yale; Hartocollis, 2016). As a result, parents pressure their children to achieve, fearing downward mobility because it is becoming more difficult for younger generations to move up economically as their parents did (Kadvany, 2019).

Parental Expectations

Cultural values and societal norms clearly influence parents' beliefs about education. However, parents also draw on their own school experiences and memories when shaping their attitudes, beliefs, and values about school for their children (Taylor et al., 2004). For example, Barnett and Taylor (2009) found that parents who had positive recollections about their own parents' involvement in school-related activities were more involved in getting their children ready for school experiences and were also more engaged in their children's school activities.

Parents' expectations may affect children's school success in several ways (Gorad, See, & Davies, 2012). First, parents' expectations may influence the resources, such as time and money, they devote to their children's education. Second, parents' expectations may shape their children's own expectations about school success. Third, parents' expectations may shape the way parents respond to opportunities, problems, and staff at their children's school. Neuenschwander, Vida, Garrett, and Eccles (2007) have demonstrated the importance of parents' expectations on children's academic outcomes as well as their children's ability self-concepts in adolescence. Parents' educational expectations predicted students' standardized achievements in both math and language, even after controlling for prior performance in each subject area. Parent expectations were related directly to student achievement and also indirectly through students' ability self-concepts. It would be surprising if similar influences were not seen at earlier ages.

Parents' expectations of their children greatly influence academic socialization. Parental expectations shape parents' beliefs about their children's competencies and guide parent-child interactions (Ren & Edwards, 2017). For example, there is both cultural and individual variation when parents expect children to develop certain skills. This variation is captured by developmental timetables or parental beliefs about the timing of skill and behavior development in their children (Ren & Edwards, 2017). The purpose of developmental timetables is not to determine whether parents have an accurate understanding of developmental progression but rather to understand parental expectations (Ren & Edwards, 2017).

There is considerable variation in Chinese and American mothers' developmental timetables. Chinese mothers tend to expect academic skills and filial piety from

their children at a relatively young age (Ren & Edwards, 2017). Conversely, American mothers tend to expect improvements in social-emotional development during early childhood (Ren & Edwards, 2017). American mothers typically expect children to acquire social skills related to peers and to be verbally forthcoming around 3 ½ years of age (Hess, Kashigawi, Azuma, Price, & Dickson, 1980; Ren & Edwards, 2017). These early maternal expectations are associated with improved social competence in preschoolers (Ren & Edwards, 2017).

It seems that parents value and have early expectations for developmental skills that are important in their society (Chao, 1994). Chao found that Chinese American mothers fit the Chinese model of so-called good parenting with more authoritarian styles and an emphasis on training ("Mothers primarily express love by helping [their children] succeed, especially in school", "Mothers must train [their children] to work very hard and be disciplined," p. 1116). They believe academic success is due to effort, not innate ability, so children are encouraged to work hard. In contrast, authoritative parenting styles are more common and more effective with American children, and parents believe effort is not as critical as ability (Okagaki and Frensch 1998). An intervention study with low-income parents in the USA found that increases in parents' academic expectations (e.g., enhanced value of education, belief that their children would succeed in the school context) contributed to and mediated gains in their children's literacy skills (assessed directly) and gains in self-directed learning (as rated by kindergarten teachers; Loughlin-Presnal & Bierman, 2017). These findings suggest a specific impact of parent expectations on children's academic progress rather than a more global impact on general aspects of children's development.

Interestingly, East Asian mothers' academic expectations tend to emphasize effort, while those of European American mothers often emphasize ability (Kinlaw et al., 2001). These varying conceptualizations of academic ability are associated with parents' own educational experiences. More highly educated European American parents tend to view ability as independent of social skills and motivation to achieve (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). In a study of Finnish families, Räty and colleagues (2012) found that highly educated parents' expectations were based on their children's competence in literacy and problem-solving skills. In contrast, vocationally trained parents' expectations focused on their children's creativity and social skills. Such variability in how parents conceptualize their children's competencies and school performance certainly influences parents' expectations, involvement, and support of their children's academic efforts.

Parental Transition Practices

In order to foster school readiness in young children, parents engage in transition practices. Parental transition practices are parent-child interactions aimed at preparing children for school (Puccioni, 2015; Taylor et al., 2004). For example, parents may read to their children, teach them to recite the alphabet, or practice counting

together (Puccioni, 2015). The model of academic socialization proposed by Taylor et al. (2004) asserts that parents' attitudes toward and beliefs about schooling shape their parental transition practices and ultimately foster (or hinder) children's school readiness. Puccioni (2015) finds support for this model in a longitudinal study conducted with a US sample. Results showed that parents who valued school readiness as highly important had children with higher average achievement scores at the beginning of kindergarten. These parents also reported engaging in more transition practices when compared to parents who placed less importance on school readiness. This model of academic socialization has not been directly tested in Chinese samples. However, Chinese culture historically places high value in education and knowledge. Chinese parents typically adopt these values and engage in transition practices, such as homework help and enrollment in rigorous preschool programs (Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song, 2013). Taken together, it seems that both Chinese and American parents' values about school influence their use of parental transition practices, which in turn shape their children's school readiness.

Looking more specifically at parents' beliefs and academically oriented activities, Meagher and colleagues (Meagher, Arnold, Doctoroff, & Baker, 2008) found that US mothers who placed more importance on shared reading as an opportunity to learn provided more scaffolding during reading with their children, tailoring the learning opportunity to the level of the child. Indeed, mothers who believed it was important to have fun during shared reading were more likely to praise their children during the shared reading activity (Meagher et al., 2008). Thus, it appears that parental beliefs shape transition practices, while also influencing the ways that parents socialize their child in preparation for school.

Parents also engage in transition practices to encourage appropriate school behaviors. A recent study of Chinese parents and preschool teachers found that both groups stressed the importance of children being able to separate from their caregivers without anxiety or distress as well as the value of having group experience prior to entering preschool (Xie & Li, 2018). Being independent from adults and being able to care for themselves were considered important parts of readiness for preschool in China. Teachers emphasized emotional maturity, social competence, language development, and communication skills and de-emphasized basic knowledge such as knowing colors and shapes. Many Chinese parents were concerned that their children would not "fit in" a group environment because they had not had opportunities to play with same-age children prior to preschool.

When Hong Kong Chinese parents were asked about their expectations for the transition to kindergarten, Ip and colleagues (2016) found that parent socioeconomic level was an important factor. In their parent-child interactions, mothers from higher-SES families read, played, and cognitively stimulated their children more than lower-SES mothers. When mothers were warm, responsive, and sensitive during their interactions with their children from infancy to preschool, their children were higher on all social and cognitive domains of school readiness. These findings were similar to those of Chan (2012) who looked at the transition from preschool to first grade. These studies exemplify the important role that parental transition practices play in children's academic readiness and school transitions.

The Home Learning Environment

Another way in which parents prepare their children for school is via the home learning environment. In the home learning environment, parents ideally provide children with stimulation, support, and guidance while also meeting their physical and nutritional needs (Taylor et al., 2004). Many features of the home environment influence children's school readiness. For example, the quality of verbal stimulation and literacy-promoting behaviors (e.g., reading books to children) increases young children's vocabularies and is related to later reading achievement (Taylor et al., 2004). Additionally, American parents who recognize the importance of play for learning and who provide play materials in the home tend to have children who are more creative, curious, and independent in the classroom setting (Taylor et al., 2004)

Looking at American children's experiences from birth to 54 months of age, Downer and Pianta (2006) replicated the many studies (e.g., Bradley & Caldwell, 1984) that show maternal sensitivity, warmth, and responsiveness, along with a stimulating home learning environment, to be strong predictors of academic and cognitive achievement in the first grade. Indeed, more educated US parents engage in more reading and cognitively stimulating play with their children.

The classic studies by Stevenson et al. (1990) found differences between the support and activities that American and Taiwan Chinese parents provide for their children. When asked to describe their first-grade child's after-school activities, Taiwanese mothers described academic pursuits (e.g., reading studying, playing academically related games such as puzzles and chess), and their children indicated they liked these activities. American mothers described non-academic activities such as social interactions with friends and family, television, sports, and extracurricular activities (music and dance classes, Boy and Girl Scouts). Interestingly, about a third of the American mothers said their children had chores to do after school, but only 6% of the Taiwanese mothers mentioned chores, indicating that chores would take time away from school work. It is apparent that academic success is central for Taiwanese mothers, as it is reflected in their routines and home environments that emphasize academic rather than social and creative activities that are important for American mothers.

Parental Involvement in Formal Education

Parental involvement in children's formal academic lives is another important mechanism through which academic socialization occurs (Taylor et al., 2004). There are many ways in which parents may become involved in their children's schooling. For example, parents may volunteer in the classroom, frequently communicate with teachers, or help with homework outside of school. Taylor et al.'s (2004) review of the literature consistently showed that parental involvement in school is related to children's school readiness and achievement (Taylor et al.,

2004). Of course, a variety of factors influence the degree to which parents may become involved in education. A school climate in which parents feel welcome may contribute to more parental involvement (Taylor et al., 2004). However, parental involvement is also largely based on parents' attitudes toward school (Taylor et al., 2004). Parents who have more positive feelings toward school or who had positive experiences during their own schooling may be more likely to become involved in their children's education (Taylor et al., 2004).

One study found that East Asian mothers report spending more time helping their children with homework as compared to mothers in the USA (Kinlaw et al., 2001). In a series of cross-national studies, Stevenson and colleagues (Chen, Lee, & Stevenson, 1996; Stevenson et al., 1990) developed a cultural-motivational theory of academic achievement. They found that in a setting, such as Taiwan, where cultural beliefs emphasized education and the importance of effort in achievement, rather than innate ability, parents were more involved in their children's school activities. Parents from Taipei, Taiwan read to their child regularly; taught their children the alphabet, words, phrases, and sentences; and read newspapers with them daily. Mothers, fathers, and older siblings helped with homework. Going to school and doing well were considered Taiwan Chinese children's two main responsibilities. As such, they enthusiastically enjoyed school and did not demonstrate the stereotyped expectations of stress and lack of creativity.

Conversely, American parents were more likely to equate achievement with innate ability, were more satisfied with their children's performance, and were less involved with school work. Homework help came mainly from mothers in the American sample. As children grew older, mothers abdicated much of the responsibility for school achievement to teachers and believed their children's motivation decreased over time. Taken together, these results show that a variety of cultural values and beliefs influence parents' tendencies to become involved in their children's education.

Conclusion

Researchers cannot ignore cultural differences in academic achievement nor can these differences be explained away by variation in intellectual ability. Thus, we must ask why Chinese students often outperform American students in their academic pursuits. Although the research highlights numerous factors that influence children's school readiness and academic achievement, the findings all point to the importance of cultural beliefs surrounding education.

Parents are the primary agents of children's socialization, meaning that they instill cultural values in their offspring so that the children will become successful adults within their cultural context. In this way, parenting and culture are intertwined. Parenting in both China and the USA involves varying degrees of academic socialization, as academic success is culturally valued and economically important in both societies. Thus, Chinese and American parents share the socialization goals

of school readiness and academic achievement for their children. While their goals are the same, the approaches they take to attain them are often quite different. These differences appear in parental expectations, transition practices, and involvement in their children's education. By examining this cultural variation, the disparity between Chinese and American academic success becomes less mysterious. It seems clear that the cultural values reflected in Chinese and American parenting practices shape children's school experiences and academic achievement.

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Parenting and Academic Socialization of Young Children: Sociocultural Context for Early Childhood Development in South Asian Families

Ziarat Hossain and Giovanna Eisberg

Introduction

This chapter explores the sociocultural context of parenting and academic socialization of young children and its link to early childhood development in South Asian families. Parenting and early childhood development in South Asian countries such as Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan (known also as the Indian sub-continent, a geographic region of South Asia) today still are best understood within the tradition of multigenerational family and practices of parents', especially fathers', investment in children's education (Hossain & Atencio, 2017). The cultural belief structure of hegemonic sex roles underscores the father's masculine identity and his authority role and influence on children in these societies.

Conventional narratives suggest that both the mother and the father take active interest in children's education with the broader support of an extended family network. In particular, grandparents, aunts, and uncles play a major role in assisting parents to academically socialize young children (Babu, Hossain, Morales, & Shivani, 2018). South Asian parents**,** usually fathers**,** used to arrange a *guru* (learned man or teacher) for the child to learn computation (math), reading, writing, and life skills in early days. Nowadays, parents become actively engaged in sending their children to academic institutions (Sreekanth, 2010).

Noticeably, behavioral scientists have paid little attention to understand the nature and cultural context of parental academic socialization of young children in South Asian families. Keeping this in mind, this chapter elaborates on four themes as follows: (1) demographic and sociocultural contexts of families, (2) the conceptual and cultural underpinnings of parenting, (3) the roles mothers and fathers play in children's academic socialization, and (4) the influence of parental practices and engagement on early child development in South Asian families.

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Demographic and Sociocultural Contexts of South Asian Families

Demographic analyses indicate that the current South Asian population of 1.69 billion is expected to rise to 2.32 billion by 2050 (World Bank, 2014). With 76% of the South Asian population, India is the most populous and culturally diverse country in this region, followed by Pakistan (11%) and Bangladesh (9%) (Asian Development Bank, 2018). The remaining 4% live in other South Asian countries such as Afghanistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and Maldives. Whereas the majority of Indians are Hindus, the majority population in Bangladesh and Pakistan are Muslims (Babu et al., 2018). Almost one-third of the South Asian population is below the age of 15 years, and about 8% of the population is 60 years or older (Singh, Singh, & Arokiasamy, 2016). Early marriages, two-parent families, and extended networks are predominant family characteristics and social norms (Deosthale & Hennon, 2008). These demographic characteristics reinforce the assumption that the South Asian population is vast and young, and parents and extended family members together participate in children's socialization functions (United Nations, 2011). This chapter discusses research findings primarily derived from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan because about 96% of South Asians live in these three countries and they share common social and cultural aspects of parental practices regarding children's education and development.

Various South Asian cultural scripts encourage parents to play both actual and ceremonial roles in family socialization. For example, fathers and grandfathers assume the breadwinner and authority roles in the family (Hossain & Atencio, 2017). The practice of co-residence among grandparents, adult children, and grandchildren results from filial commitment as well as the necessity of social and economic reciprocity among family members. This practice leads to an "interdependent" conduit in that parents are morally responsible to socialize and take care of their children and in turn, adult children take care of their aged parents (Babu et al., 2018). South Asians usually conduct parenting functions within a marital relationship. Marriage (*nikah*), as an institution, provides a culturally appropriate pathway within which to raise children with good moral, academic, and social skills across South Asian families. Marriage dissolution and divorce are a rare occurrence, mostly because a deep sense of responsibility toward the well-being of their children inspires couples to maintain married and selfless lives. De Silva (2003) points out that conservative beliefs and social stigmas toward divorce are still strong throughout South Asia. For women, divorce is associated with discrimination and shame that often undermine their social status and family support (De Silva, 2003). Such negative consequences of divorce and the parental commitment to raise children together may explain why many South Asian parents tend to stay in difficult or unsatisfactory marital relationships (Idrus & Bennet, 2003).

Another set of cultural parameters that influence the parenting role are the hegemonic belief structures about masculinity, extended kin and flexible family boundary, and patrilineal hierarchy in the family (Hossain, 2013). These beliefs and

practices underline fathers' providing role for children and the family. Whereas the father or the grandfather has the patriarchal authority, the mother must observe domesticity and a subservient role in the family. Because factors such as women's education, nuclear family formation, and women's participation in the paid sectors have been influential in reshaping contemporary attitudes toward sex roles (Bhandari & Titzmann, 2017; Hussein, 2017), fathers and mothers show an increased level of collaboration and engagement in children's education (Hossain, 2018; Roopnarine & Gol-Guven, 2015). The traditional norm of a joint family system is still strong, however, and often safeguards the perpetuity of differential parenting roles in child development.

Religious beliefs strongly influence marriage and divorce practices in South Asian families. Hindu couples with *Sanatan* ideologies see marriage as an eternal engagement, and therefore, divorce is not conceivable (De Silva, 2003). Women are entrusted with keeping the marital life intact, and motherhood symbolizes women as powerful because they are a reincarnation of the Hindu goddess of wealth, *Laxmi* (Bhatt, 2008). However, the religious sentiment of the *Sita Syndrome* (self-sacrificing Hindu wife in the holy books *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*) encourages a woman to sacrifice her own well-being in order to follow her husband, raise children, and serve the family. In line with the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, the *Manusmriti* (Laws of Manu – Hindu writings of social rules and men's and women's statuses) instruct women to obey their husbands (*pativrata*) and perform family chores (Roopnarine & Gol-Guven, 2015; Yunus, 2005).

The paradox is that women are considered to have divine power and imagery and yet are expected to submit to their husbands' authority and perform almost all household chores. A wife respects and manifests the profound value of marriage through fasts and prayers for the husband's health and well-being across religious groups. Although Islam allows divorce, the patriarchy often gives legal authorities and power to Muslim men, who often make divorce a difficult procedure for women (Quah, 2015). The Islamic *Sharia Law* (the Quranic interpretation of social rules and regulations) and the *Sunnah* (sayings and deeds of Prophet Mohammed) direct the mother and the father to be warm with and teach their children (Hossain & Juhari, 2015).

Because of the influence of the patriarchy and hegemonic sex-role ideologies, many Muslim men undervalue the Islamic teachings of equal parenting and delegate childrearing roles to their female counterparts (Hossain & Juhari, 2015). South Asians believe that marriage is a sacred union, and it elevates women's social status in society (Hossain, 2018). The motherhood through marriage ensures women's respectable status, and the fatherhood through marriage signifies a man's family lineage, authority, and community leadership roles. Both the mother and the father jointly offer an intact family environment for their children to grow and learn.

Although there is a rising trend in nuclear family formation, especially in urban areas, most South Asians still reside in joint and/or extended households (Roopnarine & Gol-Guven, 2015). Family members in a joint household pool economic resources and share family chores. Socioeconomic factors such as widespread poverty take a toll on parents' engagement in children's education. Approximately one-third of

South Asians (i.e., 560 millions) live in poverty, and an overwhelming proportion of these people survive with an income of less than $2 per day (Asian Development Bank, 2018). Loss of agricultural jobs due to landlessness has resulted in the migration of millions of people who resort to the marginal or informal economic sectors (e.g., shoe-shiners, house-cleaners/cooks, bus conductors) in South Asian cities. Marginal sector occupations are characterized by extremely low incomes, insufficient or no pension income, and few opportunities for savings and insurance. The economic hardship perpetuates a cycle of poverty that abjures many parents an opportunity to engage with their young children (Babu et al., 2018).

Today, the social class divide, through the caste system and income differentials, also influences the levels and styles of parents' engagement with their children (Roopnarine, 2015). Lower-caste parents are usually poor but function in an environment that permits them to be highly engaged with their children. Upper-caste parents typically subscribe to the notion of a clearly defined sex role that delegates the task of raising young children to the mother or other hired or non-hired "help" in the family. Furthermore, factors such as urbanization, migration, post-industrial attitudes toward marriage and the family, and a growing sense of individualism have been causing a shift in the family support system for children (Alam & Karim, 2006). For example, increasing numbers of young family members leave home to seek jobs in larger cities, and women's participation in the paid workforce restrict their time to spend with their children.

Taken together, it is apparent that both the traditional norms and the evolving contexts of demographic, economic, and social changes have implications for parents' engagement in children's education in contemporary South Asian families (Singh et al., 2016). The norms of extended family and embedded identity, sense of parental duty, age-old traditional sentiments of family loyalty and obligation, and collective moral responsibility for family welfare provide the context for South Asian parents to socialize and educate their young children.

Conceptual and Cultural Underpinnings of Parenting

Contemporary behavioral scientists have been using culturally appropriate methodological and theoretical paradigms (also known as ethno-theories) to understand parenting and early childhood development in ethnic minority, immigrant, and international families (Roopnarine, 2015). These newly emerging ethno-theories, such as the bioecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), underline family strengths within its own context and can help us understand how the context of parental beliefs, cultural norms, and environmental factors influence parent-child interactions in the family. In other words, parents provide the most intimate, instrumental, and caring environment for their children to learn. Bronfenbrenner described these resilient and sustained interaction patterns as proximal processes and provided empirical evidence that supported the idea that these interactions were potent predictors of child development and academic outcomes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris,

1998). Utilizing Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory as a conceptual guide, the discussion in this chapter underscores the ecological contexts including parental characteristics, cultural beliefs and practices, and socioeconomic conditions to grasp South Asian parents' academic socialization with their young children.

The tenets of the bioecological systems theory underscore how various contextual factors, such as one's family composition, cultural values and social support, economic conditions, and historical events, exert an important influence on parental roles in child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Five embedded subsystems (the micro-, meso-, exo-, macro-, and chronosystems) describe the reciprocal interactions between humans and their immediate as well as their extended environments. In line with this view, a child's own personality traits, parents' and peers' engagement, and both the home and school environment directly influence the nature of the child's school achievement and peer interactions. This interactionist and contextual view toward human growth and development has been applied to understand parent-child interactions and early childhood development across various cultural communities (Farnfield, 2008; Hossain & Atencio, 2017; Parke et al., 2004). For example, parents' personal well-being is linked to such factors as employment, marriage, and social networks; these factors, in turn, influence the course of parental engagement linked to children's behavior and development across cultural groups (Parke et al., 2004). More importantly, the constructs of the bioecological system theory have been shown to be relevant to immigrant and international families that value family solidarity, social support, and interdependent relations within various subsystems of family interactions (Hossain & Atencio, 2017). Environmental factors vary greatly across cultures and regions, and therefore, applying Bronfenbrenner's theory as a conceptual framework is appropriate to explain parents' engagement with their children's academic activities in South Asian families.

Mothers' and Fathers' Roles in Children's Academic Socialization

Both cultural and religious scripts emphasize the importance of parents' engagement in children's education and academic achievement in South Asian families. The Hindu holy book (the *Vedas*) and the goddess of learning and knowledge (*Saraswati*) highlight the importance of education and instruct parents to take steps to educate children (Roopnarine & Gol-Guven, 2015). Hindu students from all academic institutions celebrate the annual *Saraswati puja* (worshipping goddess *Saraswati*) so that they receive Her blessings to do well in school. The students show their respect and gratitude toward the goddess by praying, singing, dancing, and offering *Prasada* (food) to the goddess. In fact, the *Saraswati puja* is a community event, and parents and teachers also participate in it.

The Hindu religious scriptures (the *Dharmasastra*) categorically instruct the father to play the role of teacher for his children (Roopnarine & Gol-Guven, 2015).

Likewise, the Muslim holy book (the *Qur'an*) and *Hadith* (written documents of the sayings and deeds of Prophet Muhammad) unequivocally instruct a Muslim father to educate his sons and daughters equally (Hossain & Juhari, 2015). It is the father's sacred obligation to invest in children's education and welfare so that children grow up with knowledge and good moral values. These religious sentiments about the importance of parents' investment in children's education transcend SES and cultural groups in South Asia. As a result, parents, especially fathers, show strong interests in their children's education, inculcate the value of education in their children, and directly assist them with homework and school activities in South Asian countries.

Bangladesh

Correlational research suggested that variables such as fathers' age, the number of children in the family, length of marital relationship, and extra-familial support influenced the amount of time fathers spent in children's academic socialization at home in rural families (Hossain & Atencio, 2017). Parental education and marital union are important cultural values that promote parents' engagement in children's education in Bangladesh. In other words, traditional cultural norms underscore the importance of parental engagement in academic socialization within the marital relationship. Presumably, contemporary events and issues such as social media, education, and modernization encourage young fathers to engage actively with their children.

Both rural and urban mothers from lower-to-middle-income families spent more time in children's academic interactions at home than their counterparts did. Compared to fathers, rural and urban mothers spent about 53% and 62% more time each week in academic interactions with their children at home, respectively (Hossain & Atencio, 2017). This study further reported that rural and urban fathers spent about 6.4 and 11.4 hours each week to tend to their children's academic needs at home, respectively. In view with the tenets of the bioecological systems theory, routine proximal processes allow parents to use the available time for the continuity of parent-child academic interactions within the home environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998).

The above reported findings highlight the fact that urban parents spent more time in children's home-related academic work compared to rural parents in Bangladesh. Hossain and Atencio (2017) further reported that both rural and urban parents spent very little time in the areas of academic interactions at school. The prevailing sociocultural values affirm the notion that teachers are a trusted authority and it is their responsibility to educate children within a school setting. Although Bangladeshi parents become less actively engaged in children's academic work in school environments, they extend their moral support to teachers by not engaging in classroom and school activities (Hossain & Juhari, 2015). Likewise, South Asian parents living in the United Kingdom participated less in children's school and classroom

activities, but they actively engaged in finding a good school for their children (Crozier & Davies, 2006). South Asian parents' limited engagement in children's school and classroom activities is in line with Dale's (1996) typology of the "expert model." This model highlights parental beliefs that teachers are the experts and the students are passive learners and supports the idea of parental non-interference with school activities. In line with this model, Bangladeshi parents often agree with the schoolteachers who use physical punishment to discipline a student for not performing well in class and/or not completing homework (Islam & Akhter, 2015). In essence, these views and findings help us understand Bangladeshi parents' limited engagement in children's academic work in a school setting.

Furthermore, the fact that rural fathers spend far less time than mothers do in children's academic work is a function of both micro- and exosystemic factors that usually discourage fathers to spend time with their children (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Personal beliefs about fathers' providing role and the availability of extended family members minimize rural parents', especially fathers', time engagement in academic socialization with school-age children. At the same time, parents receive help from other family members and recognize schoolteachers as the primary teaching agent for their children. On the other hand, because of the growing urbanization, both mothers and fathers in urban families are inclined to engage themselves in children's academic socialization at home. These parents typically have less access to extended kin for helping children with their academic work.

India

A recent study conducted on families residing in metropolitan Mumbai suggested that about 50% of fathers helped school-age children with homework (Saraff & Srivastava, 2010). Another study on Gujrati families in India suggested that 44% of fathers arranged study times for their older children (Sriram & Sandhu, 2013). This latter study also reported that 57% fathers attended parent-teacher meetings and other school activities and 53% monitored the child's academic progress in school (Roopnarine & Gol-Guven, 2015). These studies, however, did not report the levels of mothers' engagement in children's academic work.

Most Indian parents directly engage themselves to help their children succeed in academic life. For example, Sreekanth (2010) reported that parents showed perseverance and sacrificed their own interests for their children's education. They attended parent-teacher meetings, supported children with homework, discussed career goals, and encouraged children to be more successful than themselves (Sreekanth, 2010). These parents took time and invested resources so that their children could attend reputable schools. Another study conducted on urban families with an intervention design reported that about 80% and 67% of 6th graders with reading and writing difficulties, respectively, studied on their own at home. Parents or other family members did not have time to help these children (Manjula, Saraswathi, Prakash, & Ashalatha, 2009). After intervention (i.e., providing

resources to the parents), the majority of the parents engaged themselves to help children, who improved their reading and writing competencies.

Pakistan

Recent findings suggested that mothers and fathers were equally involved in children's educational activities in Pakistani families (Chaudhry, Khaliq, Agha, & Hassan, 2015). This study also reported that about 93% of parents took direct initiatives to send their children to school daily, and parents' occupations positively influenced their engagement with children's academic work. Other studies reported that the levels of parents' education were positively correlated with children's academic performance (Jamil, Atta, Baloch, Danish, Younis, & Siddiq, 2011; Shah & Anwar, 2014). According to Jamil et al., parents' high education was positively correlated with children's high GPA in both rural and urban families in Pakistan. Furthermore, parents actively engaged in arranging for a tutor for their children (Shah & Anwar, 2014). Although factors such as mothers' education, parents' interest in children's education, and parents' time spent in reading to children were positively linked to children's schoolwork, Pakistani parents spent very little time in visiting children's schools and/or engaging in school-sponsored activities (Riaz, Zafar, Maann, & Ali, 2010).

Overall, in view of the traditional expectation of son preference, patrilineal family structure, and sex-segregated socialization norms in South Asian families, parents typically invest more in sons than daughters (Babu et al., 2018). Under the auspices of the patriarchy, male children are considered the torchbearers for family heritage, protect family properties, and perform all social and religious rituals (e.g., lead the funeral procession after a parent's death) for the family. Therefore, the family and social expectation is that women will bear male children and the family will usually invest more resources in the development of male children (Bumiller, 1991; Rajadhyaksha, 2012). In addition, the belief is that daughters will leave the parental home after marriage, but the adult sons and their spouses will provide and take care of the older parents.

Empirical findings from recent psychological investigations, however, indicated changes in parental attitudes toward sex-biased treatments of children. Although rural mothers still preferred to spend more time in academic socialization with their sons, urban parents and rural fathers spent similar amounts of time in academic socialization with their sons and daughters in urban families in Bangladesh (Hossain & Atencio, 2017). Likewise, urban parents in India treated their sons and daughters similarly (Roopnarine, Talukder, Jain, Joshi, & Srivastav, 1992), and in some cases, more girls than boys reported to have received greater acceptance from fathers (Sinha & Mishra, 2007). These findings indicate that contemporary parents are moving away from the traditional norms of son preference and are willing to treat their sons and daughters similarly. This shift has implications for reevaluating the "forgotten daughter" paradigm that undermines parents' equal contributions and

commitment to both male and female children's social and academic development. Future research should investigate how South Asian parents equally encourage both male and female children for their academic success.

The Influence of Parental Practices and Engagement on Early Child Development

Parental engagement in academic socialization entails various aspects, such as arranging a private tutor or other learning resources, or helping with their child's homework or other school-related matters. In order to understand the link between parental academic socialization and early childhood development across societies, it is important to look at the child's family life, cultural and societal factors, and the overall environmental experiences of the child. Specifically, a positive relationship with a child, one with supportive, nurturing, and cordial attitudes, resulted in fewer behavioral problems, higher self-concept intellectual development, and better classroom achievement across cultural groups in South Asia (Crozier & Davies, 2006; Rohner, Khaleque, Elias, & Sultana, 2010). Rohner's (2016) theory of parental acceptance and rejection (IPARTheory) suggests that school children who receive little parental warmth and experienced neglect or rejection do less well in school. On the other hand, parents with high community and social support engage more in children's academic work. In line with Rohner's IPARTheory, Islam and Akhter (2015) suggested that teachers' verbal or physical punishment increased the levels of psychopathology, such as anxiety and depression, among students in South Asia.

Compared to research on Western families, we have limited psychological research on parental engagement and parental and teacher acceptance of school-age children and its effect on early child development in South Asian societies. Available literature from South Asian families suggests that parental engagement improved children's academic work and social skills such as self-esteem and positive peer interactions (Manjula et al., 2009; Sreekanth, 2010). Furthermore, fathers who were engaged with their children also became more caring of their spouses, and such caring engagement improved employed wives' mental health in Indian families (Roopnarine & Suppal, 2000). In view of increased maternal employment in the paid sectors in South Asian societies, family scholars (e.g., Jesmin & Seward, 2011) argue for introducing paid parental leave policies. The paid parental leave policies would not only permit parents to be involved with their children early on but could also redefine traditional sex roles, recognizing mothers being providers and fathers having the capability to be nurturers.

Rohner and his colleagues (2010) sought to determine the relationship between mothers' and father's acceptance and adolescent perception of their parents. Using Bangladeshi samples, they documented that the cultural and societal norms for schooling were rooted in a combination of Islamic and indigenous cultural values. Because of patriarchy and provisioning roles, Bangladeshi fathers felt they should

be entitled to loyalty and respect from their family members. On the other hand, traditional Bangladeshi mothers were responsible for providing emotional support and nurturance to children and conducting household chores. The overall findings indicated that parental acceptance from both the mother and the father had a high correlation with psychological adjustment of adolescent male and female students in Bangladesh. These findings also aligned with similar studies conducted in other Asian societies (Ahmed, 2013). Additional findings from Rohner et al.'s (2010) study revealed that teacher's approval and acceptance influenced the parents' acceptance of the student. Parents' and teachers' acceptance and praise promoted the child's social skills and academic growth. Although these findings are a reminder of Asian mothers' self-sacrificing roles (i.e., *Sita Syndrome*) in raising a child, mothers perform their parenting roles with the full support from extended family members (Sharma, 2000).

Other sociocultural contexts and factors suggest that South Asian parenting is done within an intact and marital union, and the mother and the father together form the proximal process of a micro-level environment for the child to grow. Although parents in low-income Bangladeshi families lacked social capital such as contacts and access to influential people in the community, mothers harnessed their own social knowledge and skills to contribute to the children's academic achievement (Asadullah, 2008). Furthermore, children's poor health due to lack of nutrition influenced their school enrollment, attendance, and cognitive development in Bangladesh (Khanam, Nghiem, & Rahman, 2011). It was evident that parents' wealth and educational level had positive consequences on children's growth and early development.

Indian mothers residing in India and in the United States adopted different attitudes toward their parenting styles and parent-child interactions that influenced the growth of their children. Whereas Indian mothers residing in the United States utilized the authoritative parenting styles for developmentally appropriate positive child outcomes, mothers in India also reported positive child outcomes even when they used the authoritarian parenting styles including corporal punishment (Jumbunathan & Counselman, 2002). Likewise, Pakistani parents favored physical punishment to discipline a child, especially when the child misbehaved and/or lost attention from schoolwork (Malik, 2010). These findings underscore the importance for us to consider the sociocultural context of child development because cultural beliefs and practices differ across cultural and ecological settings. Broadly speaking, South Asian parents widely used an authoritarian parenting style including physical punishment to discipline or motivate their students toward academic work (Shah & Anwar, 2014). Although South Asian parents with traditional childrearing practices are typically controlling, restrictive, and protective, they teach their children not to show aggression, public displays of negative emotions, downplay and inhibit personal grievances and strong feelings, and demonstrate self-control (Yunus, 2005). Regardless of the levels of parents' controlling behavior, reports from studies on Indian families suggested that children showed friendly attitudes, positive social interactions, and cooperative play when parents are engaged with their children (Shah & Anwar, 2014).

Another important point is that parents are making visible contributions to both male and female children's academic work. Findings from the recent national PECE (Primary Education Completion Exam) and JSC (Junior School Certificate – Grades 6 to 8) examination results showed that the gender gap in educational success in Bangladesh has disappeared. Out of 2.2 million students who participated in the 2018 JSC national examination, female students performed better than male students in all three categories of evaluations (exam participation rate, pass rate, and grades). Additional analyses suggested that 66,108 students received a perfect GPA score in the 2018 JSC exam and 59% of the perfect score recipients were female students. These national data on early education demonstrate that both male and female students are equally competitive in both basic science and non-science areas. We also observe a reflection of this trend in higher education. In 2018, about 42% of 3.8 million university students were female students in Bangladesh (Habib & Adhikary, 2018). Likewise, male and female children in India are doing equally well in their schoolwork and academic achievement (Sharma & Jha, 2014). These findings support the notion that South Asian parents invest in their children's education, which has a positive impact on both male and female children's academic work.

In essence, extant research findings are in line with cultural and religious practices that encourage parents to invest in children's educational development and welfare. Similar to other Asian parents (Li & Lamb, 2015), South Asian parents, especially fathers, take an active role in children's education. The collective cultural orientation provides a concerted platform where parents, extended network, and teachers jointly contribute to early childhood development and education. At the same time, religious beliefs and practices (e.g., *Saraswathi puja*) and instructions (e.g., *Hadith*) guide South Asian parents to invest in children's educational growth and development.

Summary and Conclusions

In South Asia, family socialization and parental responsibilities center on the expectation of raising children well. Religious and cultural norms affirm that children are valuable to continue the family lineage and it is the parents' obligation and desire to invest in children's academic growth. Whereas Hindu belief supports an argument for son preference, Islamic values ask parents to invest in both male and female children's education equally. In line with the patriarchy and hegemonic sex-role practices, cultural norms encourage the father to engage in children's education. Professional and economic success in life and interdependence enable grown children to fulfill filial obligations to their parents and grandparents (Babu et al., 2018).

Parents' commitment to children's academic socialization is unquestionable and a salient feature of South Asian parenting. Parents even sacrifice opportunities for their own professional development and reschedule their office or business hours so that children's educational needs are met (Sreekanth, 2010). In line with sociocultural and religious beliefs for educating children and the respect for "guru" (teacher),

parents treat teachers and academic institutions as important sources of support for their children's education. These narratives toward teachers' authority, importance, and academic roles for educating children transcend across South Asian families.

Although traditional cultural practices encouraged parents to invest more in male children (Bumiller, 1991), contemporary urban parents tended to demonstrate sex-neutral attitudes toward parent-child socialization and interactions (Hossain & Atencio, 2017). Consequently, female children are becoming as successful as male children are in their academic life. We need empirical research to assess how parental attitudes, expectations, and participation influence male and female children's educational success and upbringing across South Asian societies. In view of the proximal processes of the bioecological systems perspective, these psychological investigations will help us understand how sociocultural and contextual factors, such as parental attributions, cultural norms, and religious values, determine the dynamics and pathways for early childhood education and development in less studied South Asian families. For South Asians, parenting is a life-long responsibility that places children at the core of the family and prioritizes parental commitment to children's educational development and well-being.

Although parents' education is an important factor (Hossain & Atencio, 2017; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010) that contributes to children's academic success, poverty remains the major problem for millions of children's access to education and parents' engagement in children's academic socialization in South Asian families (Wilson, 2015). Families in poverty lack social capital to influence their children's academic growth and social skills (Asadullah, 2008; Babu et al., 2018). In view of increasing opportunities for mothers to take on paid employment, future research can shed light on how parental access to resources influence children's academic growth and development in the family (Rajadhyaksha, 2012). Future research should also examine the intricate relationships between cultural scripts and changing ecological contexts and the way these factors influence parenting and early childhood education and development in South Asian families (Ball & Wahedi, 2010; Hossain & Atencio, 2017).

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Unspoken Expectations: Children's Academic Achievement in the Beliefs of Asian Indian Hindu Parents in the United States

Hema Ganapathy-Coleman

Unspoken Expectations

My cultural psychological study of parental belief systems, or ethnotheories, examined distinctive patterns of socialization and beliefs among ten first-generation, immigrant Asian Indian Hindu parents with a second child around the age of eight, in Baltimore, Maryland.[1] Since the eighties, parental ethnotheories have been studied intensively within the discipline of psychology (Ganapathy-Coleman, 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Goodnow & Collins 1990; Harkness & Super, 1996; Saraswathi & Ganapathy, 2002; Serpell, Baker & Sonnenschein, 2005). My study used as its theoretical anchor the developmental niche framework (Super & Harkness, 1986), which suggests that child development takes place at the confluence of three coordinated and interrelated structures: the physical settings surrounding the child, customs of childrearing, and caregiver beliefs and psychology (i.e., ethnotheories). In this chapter, I am concerned mainly with parental ethnotheories.

During initial visits to caregivers' homes, I provided each primary caregiver with a diary for keeping a detailed, weeklong record of the child's everyday routines and activities. At the end of the week, I used the recurrent routines and activities identified from an analysis of the diary to customize and personalize an ecological inventory. This inventory was used to record information on the resources available to the child, such as co-participants for activities as well as games, toys, and com-

[1] My study utilized the methodology of the Baltimore Early Childhood Project (ECP), a longitudinal project undertaken at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County from 1993 to 1998 by Serpell, Baker, and Sonnenschein (2005). That study examined child socialization and parental beliefs in different sociocultural environments (African- and Euro-American, middle-income and low-income) and how these variations impact children's academic performance.

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puters. Posing questions such as "What does this mean to you?" enabled me to explore the subjective personal meanings (Bruner, 1990) that a parent attached to particular recurrent activities. I used the significance that parents ascribed to those activities and routines to infer inductively derived tentative themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and implicit ideas that parents valued and that informed their childrearing. These themes, preserved in the parents' own words, provided the starting point for the first in-depth, semistructured ethnotheory interviews, in which I posed questions in order to obtain clarity about the themes. Based on the responses received in the first interviews, several other aspects of parental belief systems were covered in the next set of three or four interviews: socialization goals, factors that impact the attainment of stated goals, relative socialization responsibilities of home and school, parents' perceptions of their child's strengths and needs, and the attributions parents expressed for the strengths and needs they perceived in their child (Serpell, Baker, & Sonnenschein, 2005). Participant observation, usually at their homes, was used initially to develop trust with participants and, throughout the study, to recognize contextual concerns that shaped parental beliefs.

From analyzing the interviews,[2] I concluded that the parents placed enormous emphasis on independence, family closeness, and knowledge of culture and religion as socialization goals. But the caregiver diaries and ecological inventories revealed something intriguing and different from what emerged from the interviews: the parents invested significant amounts of resources in facilitating their children's academic excellence. Nine of the sixteen children whose parents participated were high academic achievers. These children were in gifted and talented programs; winners of national spelling and geography bees, math competitions, and science fairs; and successful or aspiring applicants to the competitive summer programs at the Center for Talented Youth at Johns Hopkins University. Aside from family-oriented activities and schedules aimed at inculcating an appreciation of "Indian" culture and Hindu religion, their daily routines were dominated by homework assignments, parent-supervised rehearsal for academic competitions, creative writing, journaling, workbook-based academic skill practice, television viewing for educational ends, attendance in scholastic extracurricular activities, and playing educational games, often on the computer. The children also had academically inclined hobbies. For

[2] Based on iterative readings of the transcriptions, I constructed a detailed listing of parental responses to each of the questions. The list was collapsed into six conceptual categories: personal/individual centered, social/interpersonal, academic, intellectual, moral, and cultural. Three independent coders assessed the credibility of the coding categories. We identified problem items and codes, and delineated decision rules, repeating the process until we reached an inter-coder reliability of 0.87 to 1. Subsequent reanalysis yielded a value of 0.93 for Krippendorff's alpha. Following coding of all the responses, I generated frequency counts and percentages to identify the most common response domains in different sub-areas from aggregated responses. I also examined individual level data in order to study key phrases or words occurring within the broader context of an individual parent's unique belief system. I shared tentative interpretations of findings with selected individuals from the Indian American community, and reformulated the interpretations through negotiated dialogue until a consensus was reached.

example, Lakshmi,[3] a university instructor, said, "He will mix … soap … and milk or something and see how it looks under the microscope…."

Or consider this exchange with Naina:

H: And what about this … enrichment program?

Naina: …. It is Math … sometimes he will enjoy it, sometimes he won't … we educate them that … it will help you think and analyze things … they are kids … couple of years from now it might help them.

H: What are these computer games … he plays?

Naina: We have … reader rabbit … math mania … math games … reading games, letters, spelling games … there is rtastro.com … he likes to … play games about different planets and stuff like that … very nice website… for kids to learn about the solar system … there are games and puzzles….

Or as Komal said:

…We … have educational toys … she's got that book … that's sort of like a toy to her. She's been playing ever since she got it … Leap Frog … I bought … other books … she loves playing with…. And she has learned the … U.S. map … all the states … and … all the body parts … she also plays with Math workshop … a computer game.

But belying this preoccupation with academically-oriented activities, only 5% of the aggregate responses to my questions around the socialization goals that parents most valued were academic−/literacy-related goals like "get good grades," "attend college," and "be academically successful." Ten percent were intellectual goals, such as "have a broad understanding of the world," or "be creative." Parents rarely emphasized academic success directly. When they did, it was only to say that studies must come before play, or to fleetingly mention incentives and rewards for good academic performance, or the opportunities and supports they provided for academic success. Much of this emphasis on academics came from one set of parents. When I directly asked participants about the importance of children's academic success as a socialization goal, all ten parents readily agreed that it was crucial. But they hardly ever brought up academic success spontaneously as a valued goal.

In fact, when parents were asked to rank the socialization goals that they had expressed as important in raising their children, nine of ten explicitly placed academic goals lower than social and cultural goals. The only mother who emphasized education said, "education is the main goal … I would like to see all the time the 'A+' grade, that is my goal … he knows that main goal is…study, that's it." Ironically, that child was a good student but *not* a high achiever like the children of the other parents. As Pallavi, one of the parents who downplayed academic goals noted, "….it is very important that they … do well in studies but … other things should also come along. Probably that is *more* important (laughs)…." Similarly, Neeta said, "…. if you are just academically successful, not really know how to get along with people, you may not be as successful in life … not be as happy…." Or as Lakshmi summarized, "…I just want him to be happy as much as possible."

It would, therefore, seem reasonable to conclude that the parents simply consider academic goals to be less important than social or cultural goals. And parental

[3] All names are pseudonyms.

statements like the ones above would have laid the discussion to a rest if it were not for the fact that the daily routines that the parents established for their children revolved around activities that primed school success. Their overt silence around the topic of their children's academic achievement and de-emphasizing of goals in that domain were not the product of terminated conversations or natural lapses. I had spent well over a year in repeated and intense exchanges with these parents. They had welcomed me into their homes, shared their meals with me, and spoken candidly of their deepest fears and dilemmas around parenting in a foreign country (Ganapathy-Coleman, 2013a, 2013b, 2014). They had also spoken more generally about life, family, and marriage. So their silence did not strike me as premeditated, or noncooperative; it struck me more as "attributable silence" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 325). What then are we to make of this intriguing silence around academic goals in childrearing, after duly noting that the parents in this study were whole-hearted participants and that their reticence went on continuously, despite their persistent, fierce pursuit of academic goals in the daily routine? Attempting to answer this question is the main objective of the present chapter. I engage here with silence as an ethnographic object: Why is there this silence? What might such silences mean? And how might it operate within the ethnotheories of the parents in this study?

Silence Studied

Psychology assumes that good research practice consists of an orderly, prescribed sequence of activities that produce concrete, verifiable evidence primarily through what participants tell us, or in what we observe them doing. But consequences flow from accepting this premise. Thinking and saying are distinct behaviors that cannot be conflated. We obfuscate even as we claim to clarify; what is spoken is often contoured by what is left unspoken. What is left unsaid offers insights into the contextualized concerns, legacies, and power dynamics that frame particular ways of thinking and living. Our silences reveal as much about us—if not more—than our words. Yet silence remains remarkably understudied within the social sciences, and certainly within psychology, where it has been studied mostly in the context of social psychology, psychoanalysis, and psychotherapy, particularly with regard to trauma and abuse. I assume here that researchers are obliged to attend to and interrogate the meanings behind the silences that accompany interview data, especially when other data counter the perspectives offered by interview data.

Silence has been showcased in a distinguished line of work within philosophy, history, anthropology, religious studies, literature, and sociolinguistics (Achino-Loeb, 2006; Glenn, 2004; Kalamaras, 1994; Noelle-Neumann, 1984; Picard, 1948; Tannen & Saville-Troike, 1985). It is a topic within discussions of trauma and violence (Bernal, 2017; Kirmayer, 1996), memory (Ricoeur, 2004), cultural censorship (Basso, 1970; Sheriff, 2000), political censorship (Butler, 2004; Jaworski, 1997;

Scott, 1990), legal privilege (Wildman & Davis, 1995), and religion and spirituality (Bauman, 1983; Endo, 1966; Ueda, 1995). Most scholars concur that the definition, description, and interpretation of silence represents an enormous challenge because it can mean so many things: peace, resistance, respect, pain, vulnerability, disempowerment, loss, or something else.

Silence can be unintentional, a strategic code choice, or imposed by others. Studies of silence at the macrolevel inform us that some silences seen only in the public domain are enforced to prevent the free flow of information in order to maintain the status quo (Bernal, 2017). Such silences often coexist with a critique of power in private in what Scott (1990, p. 4) designated a "hidden transcript." In cases where silence is identified as a broad characteristic of an entire group's coerced behavior, it is understood as political censorship. But in cases where there is no identifiable coercion, silence becomes harder to explain.

At the microlevel, most people recognize the meaning and power of expressive silences within everyday conversations. We have all experienced the awkwardness of wordlessness in some interpersonal interactions. When silence is observed as a pattern across contexts within certain groups, it is interpreted as cultural censorship, or as conventional silence in that culture. Silences that are part of conversations within particular groups have been studied by sociolinguists as a style of communication that indicates problematic or conflicting emotions that require monitoring (Basso, 1970; Saunders, 1985). But colonial stereotypes have been used to inaccurately interpret such silences. As Basso (1970) noted with reference to the silence of Native Americans, with no regard for extralinguistic influences like cultural or social contexts, it has been interpreted as, "the outgrowth of such dubious causes as 'instinctive dignity,' 'an impoverished language,' or, perhaps worst of all, 'lack of personal warmth'" (p. 214). Drawing from his ethnographic work with western Apache people, Basso underscores that complex and subtle distinctions in situational variables determine if and when members of that society refrain from speaking. Context has tremendous bearing on an individual's decision to speak or not.

Some groups have been identified and studied as "silent groups": minority groups within societies, women, and lower classes. The participation of these groups in public discourses is not granted legitimacy, they are (un)officially censored, and as a result, they mute themselves (Houston & Kramarae, 1991; Lakoff, 1975; Spivak, 1988). While silence is ubiquitous in human communication, groups organized by racialized identities, ethnicity, gender, language, and social class have strikingly divergent interests at stake in the selective suppression of discourse.

The particular interests that underpin such silences must be studied with care. In what follows, I single out the relative silence of immigrant Indian Hindu parents, around the topic of children's academic achievements, as something that we must receive and interpret to render their intentions and practices fully intelligible to us.

Silence as a Discourse of Oppression and Powerlessness

Silence is thought to coincide with oppression and powerlessness and with gendered forms of injustice.[4] Previous scholarship examines the silence among people who have been diagnosed with diseases such as HIV and their families (McHugh et al., 2018) and those who suffer from mental illness and suicidality (Szlyk, Gulbas & Zayas, 2018). A considerable body of literature examines the deafening silence among women who have endured assault and other types of violence, including domestic violence (Peters & Wolper, 1995; Romito, 2008). For these people, the stigma attached to their diagnoses and experiences renders it literally unspeakable. And in scholarship about women, silence is often considered a sign of weakness, synonymous with femininity, passivity, oppression, stupidity, and obedience (Glenn, 2004). But some of the literature has reframed silence as an exercise of choice and power by women and others (Ingram, 2016; McLaren, 2016). In all cases, silence is a product of power imbalances; those who have less power stand to face humiliation and pain if they speak out, and so they remain silent.

Eight of the ten parents in my study were women. Belonging to the middle- and upper middle-income groups, they were well educated—educational levels ranged from bachelors to doctoral degrees—and were in their 30s and 40s. Although they were immigrants, as educated, economically privileged, and professionally successful, highly vocal individuals, they cannot be characterized as an oppressed group. In light of this, as well as how well their children were doing academically and how open and talkative they were around their other socialization goals, the parents' silence around academic goals for their children cannot be plausibly attributed to any sense of obedience, gendered pressure, or inferiority. Furthermore, the casting of silence as always pathological, passive, and negative comes from uniquely Western perspectives that are not shared in many parts of Asia or even by many sociocultural, discursive, and religious Western traditions, which see silences as meaningful and empowering (Kalamaras, 1994). So what meanings might underlie the silence of these parents around the value they attached to academic goals for their children?

Isolation and Conformity

Noelle-Neumann (1984) examined the variables at play when people remain silent in the context of political elections and ideological and lifestyle-conflict situations. In elucidating the social psychological mechanism of this process, Noelle-Neumann used Asch's conclusions from his conformity experiment (1951) to argue that a fear

[4] See writer Rebecca Solnit's essay (2017) on the synonymousness of silence and power, especially pertaining to women's powerlessness at https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/mar/08/silence-powerlessness-womens-voices-rebecca-solnit

of social isolation means that people observe others carefully, mostly at a subconscious level, to gauge the opinions and behaviors that will incur approval or rejection. When they evaluate behaviors or opinions as likely to elicit rejection, people hide them by remaining silent rather than expose themselves to rejection and isolation. This phenomenon is called conformity bias. Conversely, those who detect that their stance will garner public support tend to express themselves vocally and unhesitatingly, further silencing those who have the opposite opinion, setting into motion what Noelle-Neumann called "the spiral of silence" in the title of her work (1984). Thus, minority views go unexpressed for fear of social isolation and opprobrium. Furthermore, those who speak up tend to be younger, more educated, and men.[5]

Working from this framework, a reason for the silence of the immigrant Indian parents around academic goals lies in the fact that except among a small group of cultural elites, it is not normative in US society to emphasize academic achievement as an important goal for children to achieve. So-called geeks are not celebrated. In the United States, it is common for children's social and extracurricular achievements to be feted and studied (e.g., Darling, Caldwell & Smith, 2005; Feldman & Matjasko, 2005; Mahoney, 2000).[6] The study of children's engagement in extracurricular activities has often happened against the backdrop of concerns over standardized testing of children in US schools, the loss of leisure time and school recess to intensive sessions of teaching to the test, and the resulting rise in disorderly behaviors by some children due to pent-up energy. Facilitating extracurricular activities, especially those that provide outlets for physical energy and cultivate athletic prowess, is a way to reduce the incidence of antisocial behaviors. Such an intense focus on extracurricular activities, especially those that are sports-based, is not found in India, where, for the most part, such activities are perceived as peripheral to academics. In India, conversations among parents with school-going children inevitably gravitate towards the topics of schools, examinations, and "studies."

As immigrants in the United States, perhaps conformity bias exerts social control on Indian parents. So they fall in line with the covert pressures of society, unwilling, at a personal level, to deal with both the uncertainties that can accompany nonconformity and the anxieties that the disjunction between their own and the dominant ideology of childrearing could trigger in the majority population. Appadurai (2006) speaks of the fear that majorities feel when they are reminded unwittingly, by minorities, of the brief space that lies between themselves as majorities and their imagined ideals of a "pure" national and ethnocultural whole, unsullied by minorities. Appadurai calls it the "anxiety of incompleteness" (p. 8). It is possible that these parents, worried that concern with their children's academic excellence will

[5] Noelle-Neumann's perspective has been critiqued for various reasons. For instance, she does not consider disinterest, or shyness, or attempts to not embarrass someone with an opposing viewpoint as reasons for people's silences.

[6] Years ago, when my then-elementary school-aged daughter enthusiastically endorsed reading as her favorite hobby, her teacher pronounced that she needed to be "more normal and watch TV."

mark them as deviant or "other," or create an anxiety of incompleteness in the majority group, do not bring up academic success as an important goal.

This seems only partially plausible when we consider that the parents were convinced that immigration had opened up more and better opportunities for their children. The parents were well acculturated to the United States and, hence, aware of the emphasis on extracurricular goals in US society. Accordingly, they had enrolled their children in various supplementary activities, including those that were sports-oriented. Perhaps as a social and cultural minority, they had experienced social pressure to accept the norms favoring extracurriculars. They may see such conformity as an act of tacit negotiation (Moscovici, 1985), a way of living with others without conflict. Crucially, far beyond the possible reason of a fearful compliance, they also genuinely saw participation in extracurriculars as a chance to acquire credit and opportunities for their children that they may themselves have not had growing up in India. Thus, conformity bias offers only a partial answer to my question about silence around their academic aspirations for their children. Perhaps a clearer answer is found in Noelle-Neumann's clause, "… the spiral of silence reserves the possibility of changing society to those who either know no fear of isolation or have overcome it" (1984, p. 139). As we will see, the idea of swimming against the current does not, by any means, preclude conformity of the sort just discussed but actually exceeds it and deserves a closer study, especially in light of the concept of innovation.

Subversion and Resistance

Theorizing about situations where there are definite majorities and minorities, Moscovici (1985) noted that the majority holds a definite viewpoint, demarcating it as exclusively legitimate and normal. In the middle/upper middle socioeconomic status (SES) of US society of my participants, Anglo-American as well as African American parents were vocal in their commitment to helping their children reach the goal of self-actualization and attaining the full potential that forms the essence of individualism (Ganapathy-Coleman, 2004). The idea was to expose the child to as many activities as possible so that at least a couple would coincide with the child's natural proclivities, enabling the crystallization in the child of a particular way to "be himself/herself." As a strategy, parents enrolled their children in a range of extracurriculars: soccer, basketball, tennis, swimming, and ballet, to name a few. Physical coordination, social skills, and a spirit of sportsmanship rooted in teamwork were the anticipated gains.

In contrast to the Indian American parents, however, African American and Anglo-American parents overtly considered education as more important for their children. While 13% of the goals of African American parents and 8% of the goals of Anglo-American parents were in the academic domain, only 5% of the goals of immigrant Indian parents related to academics. Much like the Indian American parents, the Anglo-American and African American parents too did not emphasize it in

their interviews relative to their other socialization goals. But diverging from the Indian American parents, academically inclined activities were only moderately represented even in the daily routines of the children of the Anglo- and African American parents. These took the form of practices that are relatively common among contemporary middle-class families, like storybook reading at bedtime and games of Scrabble (Serpell, Baker & Sonnenschein, 2005). In addition, the middle-class African American and Anglo-American parents did not make available the type of targeted material resources and finely tailored support for their children that the Indian American parents did in the area of academics.

When I asked Neeta, a doctor, to elaborate on some of the activities she had mentioned in her caregiver diary, she described,

> When he was little … I had those computer programs like Jump Start … workbooks, which he enjoys doing…. If he is not working on…[homework], once he finishes, then he has to do little bit of his workbook, and he likes doing those…. we are working on his creative writing, every month he has to write a piece, I … ask him to pick a … topic and write out the points … and we make a first draft and second draft and third … it's not initiated by him … I suggest to him and then I tell him he has to do it and he has to do it.

As discussed in the previous section, the Indian parents may have looked to the majority in the United States for guidance and sought conformity with the emphasis on extracurricular activities. Through this method, they hoped to win inclusion and recognition, as well as more exposure and opportunities for their children. But "… located at the other end of the spectrum from conformity" is "the process of innovation in its 'authentic' form" (Moscovici, 1985, p. 20) for social systems, which are open, are defined as much by innovation as they are by conformity. Moscovici, who critiqued both Asch and Noelle-Neumann for overemphasizing the notion that the majority in a group has a large influence on the minority, argued instead that minority opinions can persist and resist group pressure.

The Indian parents in this study were not mere followers of mainstream norms. They were minorities who proposed alternative norms to the dominant ones; they were antinomians[7] within the United States. So, while they adhered to the rules, they simultaneously innovated, by adding to the extracurricular mix Indian classical dance and music lessons and classes where their children learned about "Indian" culture, heritage, languages, and Hinduism. They additionally participated in a range of academically oriented extracurricular activities (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005; Peguero, 2011).

The pressure that immigrant Asian children as a group generally experience to pursue academic goals, due to the grip of the "model minority" stereotype, has been documented (Kao, 2000; Pang, 2006; Peguero, 2011). Although there is little on this topic as it pertains to immigrant Indian children, the parents in my study were undoubtedly steering their children towards academic success. So at the same time that they involved their children in sports and culture- and religion-focused

[7] The term antinomic refers to the holding of a different set of norms than the majority group and that are then offered as an alternative to prevailing norms (Moscovici, 1985).

extracurricular activities, they also enrolled their children in scholastic extracurricular activities like spelling and geography bees and Kumon, which Naina alluded to as "math enrichment classes." In this view, academic excellence wins as many, if not more, and better opportunities in the long run than sports- and art-oriented extracurricular activities and especially in combination with such activities.[8] This line of thinking is especially salient among highly educated parents (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008).

The parents in my study did not openly oppose dominant norms. In fact, they saw advantages to adopting some of those norms. But dissatisfied with the majority group's consensus that social and extracurricular goals are among *the* most important goals, they redefined that norm by weaving in a simultaneous emphasis on academic achievement, a norm in their home country. As an antinomic minority within the United States, they interrogate the order and vision of the majority by publicly maintaining a certain level of conformity, while privately subscribing, with tenacity and consistency, to an alternate vision for their children. This is their tactic (de Certeau, 1984), their act of innovation in their host society, through which they demonstrate that in acculturating, innovation need not battle conformity. Berry (2001) would designate this as the strategy of integration. But making a far more nuanced distinction, Moscovici (1985) called this combination of public conformity and private nonconformity "compliance behavior"; it is conformity, *but only outwardly*.

This line of reasoning helps us to explicate the parents' multipronged, not-entirely-conformist socialization focus. But why did they not talk openly about the importance of academic achievement? Theoretically, minorities are said to lack power, competence and resources, and hence, influence. But the parents in this study were a competent minority with substantial resources. They represented a fairly elite group, and elites can afford to be antinomians, should they choose. So we cannot claim that they reveal to us anything significant about the phenomenon of innovation (Moscovici, 1985). Ideas of conformity and innovation help us in partially understanding the silence of these parents around the cherished goal of academic success for their children. I found myself wondering if there could also be sociocultural or religious reasons for their silence.

Cultural and Religious Basis of Silence

It is well known that in ancient India, education was profoundly valued. The teacher, or *guru,* was worshipped as god by the student, or *shishya* (Kale, 1970; Raina, 2002; Sarangapani, 2003), and legend has it that a network of educational institutions, responding to the needs for primary and advanced education, imparted a rigorous

[8] The parents did not say this explicitly; I infer this from my experiences and interactions as an immigrant parent.

and scholarly training (Mukerji, 1961). Relatedly, in the *ashrama dharma* model, the prescribed model of the Hindu lifecycle,[9] the period spanning the ages of 8–18 years (eight being the age of the children of my participants) was labeled as *brahmacharya.* During *brahmacharya*, the young person was expected to remain celibate and to show an uncompromising dedication to education in preparing for a career and livelihood. A daily routine arranged around everyday household practices and scholarly pursuits formed the backbone of *brahmacharya*, marking an age-based transition from the parental indulgence and unstructured life that characterized life before the age of eight.

Although the parents in my study were situated in the Western world and within the zeitgeist of current streams of thought, they also possessed a cultural memory (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995; Boym, 2001) of the value of education, a memory that many contemporary parents in India also possess and one that is reinforced in Hindu religious practice. For instance, Saraswati is the Hindu goddess of knowledge, music, and arts, and Hindu students worship her widely. There are festivals commemorating her, her statues decorate the halls of educational institutions, and Hindus invoke her before educational endeavors. The thought of their absent culture's emphasis on education, learning, and routine, especially between the ages of 8 and 18, provided these parents with a framework within which to live and parent in a foreign country. It is plausible that the silence of these parents around the importance of education as a socialization goal for their children presupposed a tacit understanding, on my part as a compatriot, of the *ashrama dharma* framework and its prescriptions and the reverence for the gifts rendered by goddess Saraswati.

Furthermore, according to many Hindu philosophical frameworks, humility is a desirable quality not only in the perfect student but also in the educated adult. A popular Sanskrit verse in the Hitopadesha, a twelfth century collection of Sanskrit fables and verses, reads:

Vidya Dadaati Vinayam, Vinayaadyati Patrataam
Paatratvaaddhanamaapnoti, Dhanaaddharmam Tatah Sukham.

Translated it means: Education gives humility, from humility comes worthiness, from worthiness one gets wealth, from wealth (one does) good deeds, from that (comes) joy.

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[9] In the classic *Ashramadharma* conception, the ideal life cycle is divided into four *Ashramas,* or stages, with corresponding developmental tasks (Kakar 1979, 1981; Motwani 1958): *Brahmacharya* (student life, characterized by discipline, celibacy), *Grihastha* (family life, including making a living, procreation, and childrearing), *Vanaprastha* (preparation to leave material life by a conscious broadening of perspective through travel/pilgrimage), and *Sanyasa* (final renunciation of material life for the exclusive pursuit of spirituality; wisdom). Another stage, *Balya* (childhood, the golden period), with numerous substages, can be found as the first stage in folk versions of the *Ashramadharma* model. The entry into each stage and substage is announced by a rite of passage, ritual, or sacrament known as a *Samskāra* (Kakar 1979, 1981). The stages were set up originally to apply only to members of the top three of the four castes, Brahmins, the priestly class; Kshatriyas, the ruling class; and Vaishyas, the merchant class. Other castes adapted the stages to meet their needs. Congruent with a mostly patriarchal societal structure, the *Ashramadharma* model was prescribed for men only.

When the parents were asked to enumerate the talents, skills, qualities, or abilities that they were proud of in their children, they offered a list of personal and social qualities such as being socially adept, affectionate, playful, independent, perceptive and observant, and street smart. Peripherally, and only sometimes, did they speak of their children's talent in math, their child's desire to improve in academics, or their hardworking nature. Perhaps it was their modesty around their own and their children's academic achievements that came through in their silence around their children's academic talents. The ideal of humility resulting from education applies to all areas of achievement. Given this, a generalized modesty must translate into silence around *all* areas of their children's achievements rather than a relative silence only around education with a willingness to speak of other areas. My data indicated that parents were measured even in their celebration of their children's achievements in interpersonal and other domains. Overall, humility seemed to drive at least part of the silence of the parents around their children's educational accomplishments.

To recapitulate, considering their high level of structural acculturation and their SES, feelings of isolation and oppression do not explain the silence of these parents around the academic achievement goals that they hold for their children. Public conformity to the norms of US society and private nonconformity provide a partial explanation. Explanations of a cultural and religious kind and of cultural memory offer additional insights. What other reasons could account for the expectation of academic achievement and its relentless inculcation and pursuit, its incorporation into the daily routine, but the silence of the parents when it came to articulating the centrality of academic success in socialization?

Silence, Privilege, and Power

Since 1965, within the United States, the group homogeneously labeled as Asians—irrespective of their startling diversity of geographical and ethnocultural origins or their variety of physical characteristics—have been stereotyped and lauded as "model minorities" (Leonard, 1997; Prashad, 2000; Takaki, 1989). They are held up as an example of hard work, educational and professional success, and acculturation within the so-called melting pot. Asian Indians are a particularly sparkling example because of their facility with English, which many other Asian groups (e.g., Chinese, Koreans) lack. This portrayal of Indians as a "model minority" is premised on the assumption that Indians, despite being new immigrants, manage to succeed within the United States; they are perceived as exemplifying the idea of "pulling yourself up by your bootstraps." Two dimensions of this portrayal deserve attention: first, the reasons for it and, second, its veracity.

With regard to the reasons for the edification of Asian Indians in the United States, Prashad (2000) offers sharp insights. Indians are cast as remarkably successful despite not accessing state support. This claim enables the United States to argue that it must be due to some innate character flaw (and not centuries of slavery,

sedimented structural inequities, and systemic racism) that African Americans as a demographic group, despite generations spent within the United States, have been unable to reach marked levels of success. When Indians work in prestigious occupations, study in well-regarded institutions, show evidence of assimilation while also remaining politically inactive and pliable, or toe the agenda of conservative whites in active politics, they are treated as honorary whites. But when they assert themselves culturally, they face an anti-immigrant backlash. Under all circumstances, they face racism. Ethnic inclusion for Asian Indians, as for other nonwhite immigrants, is a mirage. Despite this, Indians, co-opted through praise by the dominant group, allow themselves to be recruited into antiblack racism in return for a promise of ethnic inclusion. The model minority stereotype is a carefully constructed weapon by White America in a "divide and rule" strategy that prevents the synthesis of any sort of solidarity among nonwhite groups (Prashad, 2000).

With respect to the veracity of the model minority notion, besides the fact that its origins are far from innocent, the numbers of currently economically disadvantaged Asian Indians in big cities like New York and their history in the United States as itinerant peddlers, seamen, factory workers (Bald, 2013a, 2013b), and laborers inform us that Indian immigrants within the United States have never been a homogeneously successful group. Furthermore, the idea that Indian immigrants within the United States have been successful solely on account of their hard work and entrepreneurial spirit is fundamentally untrue. It is false because it imagines all immigrant Asian Indians to be a naturally brilliant group with no history, moorings, or means, who magically establish themselves on a different continent, and succeed against all odds. Moreover, it places the immigrant Indians of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s in the same category as the immigrant Irish and Italians who came to the United States fleeing economic hardship, the rural Indians of the 1800s and early 1900s who worked as peddlers (Bald, 2013a), African Americans who to date are trying to overcome the legacy of slavery as seen in persistent forms of racism, and many of the recent impoverished Hispanics who toil on US agricultural land.

The fact that US immigration laws enacted in 1965 filtered new entrants mainly by their SES and techno-professional qualifications is well chronicled (Leonard, 1997; Prashad, 2000; Shankar & Srikanth, 1998; Takaki, 1989). A large number of immigrant Indians of the post-1965 years in the United States were members of the socially and culturally dominant class and caste groups in India and, hence, beneficiaries of the consequences that flow from an individual's arbitrary birth into a particular social class and caste.[10] They may not have been from families with vast resources of wealth, but the parents in my study had adequate material means and access to social and cultural power in India. They were not haunted by the dispossession that refugees and those fleeing poverty or oppression experience. These parents had willingly left India in order to pursue aspirations exceeding what they

[10] Due to the increase in the numbers of Indian immigrants who are not highly educated in the U.S. and the concomitant increase in their representation in working class, non-professional occupations, the stereotype of the Indian immigrant as a member of the model minority group has become weaker (Prashad, 2000; Kibria, 2002).

had inherited. Unlike many other immigrant groups, they were not struggling to learn English. Seven of the 10 parents knew English well, having learned it in private, English-medium grade schools in India.[11] They also did not run into the barrier of limited access to jobs predicated on a high level of training and skills; they possessed such proficiency due to the highly subsidized, quality, public higher education made possible for them by the Indian government. All but one of the parents in my study had received educations in reputed colleges and universities in India. The educational levels of the parents in my study ranged from bachelor's degrees (two out of 10) to doctorates (three out of 10). Seven of the 10 parents had also specialized in disciplines such medicine, math, computer science, and finance management, which enjoy greater societal prestige than the humanities and the social sciences. Already advantaged by their SES and caste and the cultural codes of conduct they had internalized through their upbringing, the pedagogic legitimacy of the educational institutions they had attended meshed with their financial means to further consolidate their social status within India (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This legitimacy, this economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984), inherited in India, throws its full weight behind middle-SES Indians to propel them through the US immigration system that differentially selects potential immigrants, mostly according to their social origins.

As a mainly highly skilled and well-qualified group with financial means entering the US from India, a country marked for its civilizational and cultural greatness, these parents exemplified the stereotype of the model minority. Armed with their social and cultural class and academic qualifications, which they internalized in the form of durable practices, dispositions, and beliefs—or habitus (Bourdieu, 1986), whose symbolic and economic value is recognized in the global marketplace—they have acquired an additional patina by participating in higher education within the United States. Their occupations included publishing company representative to medical office manager, homemaker, financial service provider, doctor, and university instructor. They lived in single-family homes in suburban Baltimore and made a wide range of educationally focused materials available to their children, who were accomplished students. Their caregiver diaries and ecological inventories indicated the availability of not just televisions (including cable channels and access to documentaries and other educational shows), music players, and fiction and nonfiction books, but also personal computers, educational software and videogames, participation in Kumon classes for training in math, and parent-designed, individualized activities.

As highly educated professionals, these parents had not merely appropriated these resources materially. They were also skilled consumers of educationally oriented devices and resources. Now they bequeath these to their children by investing time, money, and effort to support their children in mastering the principles and practices of the educational process. Through routines and practices, they produced

[11] The other three parents knew English but were less fluent. They had been educated in private, vernacular language schools in India.

within the family the conditions that are necessary to inculcate and reproduce in their children the cultural arbitraries[12] that they have appropriated and that have been instrumental in their success. But the sheer transformativeness of their training practices as seen from their routines, recurrent activities, and the resources they offer to their children is masked, in the sense that they themselves do not fully recognize how systematic and dogged they are about transmitting a cultural arbitrary that, to them, seems as natural as the water they drink or the air they breathe. A part of their silence around academic success as a valued socialization goal in parenting can be attributed to taking for granted this ingrained cultural arbitrary. Silence here is an unconscious discourse, an ideology, representational device, a mode of knowing (Kalamaras, 1994).

The sheer range of education- and literacy-related activities and routines that these parents provided their children proved that the family was accomplishing a significant amount of pedagogic work. Yet the parents did not overtly highlight this work or their goal of academic achievement; such practices and the valuing of academic prowess are simply a tacit part of their lives. One does not discuss what one takes for granted "…because innocence is the privilege of those who move in their field of activity like fish in water" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 57). Cultural elites can place enormous emphasis on educational investment while remaining unconscious of it. It is so much part of their habitus that it falls outside the purview of analysis.

I recognized that this was probably a large part of the reason for their silence, but to attribute their underemphasizing of educational success to absorbed social class struck me as deterministic. I wondered how the parents would react to this interpretation and concluded that they would agree only partially with me.

The Significance of Practice

To say that the parents are Indian middle−/upper middle-class cultural and social elites is one thing. To say that this also becomes a description, an explanatory label of everything they stand for and think, is wrong (Latour, 2005). Social class influence is a macro variable that acts on humans and makes them act but by no means is it decisive. By willingly participating in US cultural and social systems while also balancing the cultural pulls of their homeland in raising their children, the parents demonstrate that they can manage habituses beyond those determined by their birth. That they do so informs us that class-structured consciousness explains some things but it can be too deterministic, too reductionist; it can ignore individualized self-design (de Certeau, 1984). Although our habits contain the accumulated sediments of our social class, they are also the sites for perturbing the presumptions and constraints of social class and other variables. We gain better insights into the choices

[12] As pointed out by Bourdieu, culture is arbitrary in both, its form and content. Furthermore arbitrary powers that are difficult to specify impose and perpetuate it through institutional and social conditions.

of these parents by making a partial attribution to acculturative pressures, social class, and cultural and religious variables and then focusing on how they define themselves within the spaces of the routines, activities, and practices they enact and create for their children.

In pursuing horizons far beyond what they knew, in following personally based generative principles of action as embodied in daily routines, the parents in this study were exercising individual will and spontaneity. They were stressing educational routines surpassing what they may have themselves followed growing up. In doing so, they were nurturing the disposition of respect for education to grow into new, heightened forms, forms that imagine an "ought to be," excellence and perfection. For these parents, an ethic of practice orients them towards guiding their children to do even better than what they themselves are already carrying out successfully. Here, the purpose of daily and incessant practice of an "academic" manner is to value education for its own sake and to make academic dispositions into second nature, performing it as if it is something natural. In this way, perhaps they "pass off the wondrous as effortless" (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 184) and say nothing of it. Here, the silent worship of education and the cultivation of educationally oriented dispositions and habits are not merely an automatic enactment of social class. They are deliberate actions for carrying out the good of education for its own sake and to excel at it through daily striving towards it in a way that it is incorporated into human existence. Such striving was sacred for these parents, and one does not casually speak of something so sacred for fear of dishonoring or jinxing it.

Concluding Remarks

To claim that nearly everything that these parents think about and enact in the task of parenting can be found in what they put into words, or what we see them doing, is to miss the unstated motivations and cognitions that powerfully drive parenting. Here I have attempted to describe and explain the speaking silences that shape the beliefs and practices of a group of immigrant Indian parents as they socialize their children into the dispositions they value.

As a social, cultural, and numeric minority who live in a country that espouses pluralism but is nevertheless rife with racism, to exert influence or exhibit difference or disagreement overtly could invite racism stemming from jealousy and/or fear. So these parents publicly comply with many of the demands of their new country, also seeing long-term benefits for their children in such conformity. But then they subvert the will of the majority by expanding the widely shared definition of extracurricular activities to include Indian music and dance, lessons in Hinduism and "Indian culture" and languages, and academic enrichment lessons. This rearticulation keeps them within the boundaries of their host land while simultaneously enabling them to contain their new life within the roadmap provided by the religio-cultural norms of their homeland that remains an implicit but potent force in their lives in the form

of a cultural memory. Then, privately, they also direct their children's daily lives to the unyielding pursuit of scholarly achievement.

The parents in my study understated their agenda of educational success for their children partly because silence signifies humility and humility is central to Hindu understandings of education and achievement. In addition, they did not advertise their children's academic accomplishments because privilege claims silence for itself. Displaced from the social hierarchies that automatically conferred honor on them in India, as an immigrant group in the United States, the parents work silently to reclaim recognition for themselves and their children in a new country. They do so by pressing into service the accumulated symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984) they have inherited and appropriated in their homeland and that they transfer to and enact in their host land. They themselves are well-established economically in the United States. To an extent, education is employed as the conduit for transmitting and acquiring power and sustaining power structures. But their children's academic achievements further legitimize them in their host land and win for them social recognition. Educational achievement as a form of virtuous success is used to compensate for the disadvantages of their ethnic identity.

The parents understand the value of education, based not only on a cultural memory of reverence for learning but also memories of their own educational achievements. The ideological consequence of this understanding is that they transmit it, not by preaching it, but by quietly weaving it into the routine. Their dispositions, routines, and embodied practices are close to the school's mode of inculcation and are recognized in the academic market. But unlike the practices and routines of school, which are articulated, theirs are more complex, intense, and implicit. This makes for an "insensible familiarization within the family circle" of educational acquisition "which tends to favor an enchanted experience of culture which implies forgetting the acquisition" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 3). So the children enjoy a sustained, implicit academic apprenticeship with the parents as live instruments who enable them to appropriate, through sustained practices, the cultural and social capital that predate these families and, thus, facilitate its intergenerational transmission (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986). Contrary to Noelle-Neumann's argument, here, the victors, not the losers, in the academic game tend towards silence.

The inculcation of a habitus offers a starting point for understanding the silence of the parents around academic goals and the education-based routines and activities they organize for their children. But their silent yet relentless pursuit of academic goals for their children in the daily routine is not merely due to absorbed social class but also to a deep desire for self-improvement in education, a cherished ideal driven by the knowledge that only through dedicated daily repetition of a valued activity can the individual achieve perfection. Such behavior does not seek to merely reproduce the structures of social domination. Due to its potential for self-generative personal and spiritual growth, the disposition for repeatedly carrying out academically focused activities through their incorporation into daily life possesses a moral and ethical dimension for which the homage is silence.

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Hema Ganapathy-Coleman's ethnographic and qualitative research is focused on the culturally based beliefs, or ethnotheories, of Asian Indian parents, both immigrants in the United States and parents living in the state of Gujarat, India. She has been especially interested in the everyday activities and recurrent routines that parents use to socialize their children into their ideas of "the good child" as related to religion, education, and ethnic identity, as they live at the confluence of often-conflicting demands. Her current project examines ideas about educational success and failure among parents and teachers of middle and low socioeconomic status in Gujarat, India.

Chinese Parenting and the Collective Desirable Path Through Sociopolitical Changes

Ziwei Qi and Yuxiang Du

The Sociopolitical Reform and its Impact to the Chinese Family Parents are the most important influencers to the child's psychological, social, and behavioral development (Chow & Zhao, 1996). The dynamics of parent-child relationships in China are complicated by cultural, ideological, political, economic, and social factors which have changed in the past decades. Therefore, to understand today's Chinese parenting, we must understand the changing social structure in China. Chinese society is ancient and has been characterized by an extensive set of informal social controls and a strong emphasis on internal social control—as reflected in the personal quality of "virtue" (Berndt, Cheung, Lau, Hau, & Lew, 1993). In addition, Chinese society has, for centuries, been organized in a highly communitarian manner; people have been oriented toward collective rather than individual goals (Liu, Zhang, & Messner, 2001). Before the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the Chinese family had long sustained itself through the mutual dependency of each family member and as a common property-owning union following the principles of patrilineal tradition (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016). The mutual dependency refers to the tradition that every member of the family should take care of the younger and provide support for the elder. The patrilineal relationship means that males are central to the family's very existence and receive the inheritance of the family from generation to generation. It is this tradition that led to a patriarchal style of the family where power is presumed to be in the hands of male figures in the family (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016).

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The social and economic reforms that have taken place since 1979 have broken down these traditional values. Drastically contrasting with the structure of Chinese families before the economic reform, the patrilineal ideal lost its popularity as it was evidenced by the elimination of inheritable property and patrilineal heritage. According to Jankowiak and Moore (2016), Chinese families in the 1980s functioned as individual enterprises whose members were linked together through bonds of sentiment instead of duties. Lu and Chang (2013) stated that the style of Chinese parenting was long sustained with an authoritarian and restrictive fashion. It was and, for some, is still an ideal parenting style which cultivates an obedience and socially inhibited child. Social inhibition is rather considered as a positive virtue for Chinese due to the Confusion heritage.

The traditional views about Chinese parenting may no longer be widely present due to rapid social changes in the past decades. The one-child policy might be one of the reasons behind these changes. According to Lu and Chang (2013), the one-child policy has affected the traditional understanding of fatherhood and motherhood in Chinese society. The role of gender in parenting has undergone changes in reflecting a new era. Next, the authors will introduce the impact of one-child policy, parental involvement with their child's well-being and intellectual growth, and changing pattern of parenting philosophies in contemporary China.

The Impact of One-Child Policy on Parenting Chinese families in the twenty-first century have undergone a series of significant changes. Among many of these changes, the one-child policy has impacted the structure of families in both urban and rural areas (Wang & Cai, 2017). In the urban area, the family was restricted by size as a result of the passage of this policy. It resulted in one child per family for the majority of families (with some exceptions) in the urban areas. However, the one-child policy in rural families was considered relatively relaxed compared to the urban areas due to the fact that it was assumed that rural families needed more children (at least one male) to take care of the land and family (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016). Accompanying the policy on family size, many other changes occurred during the reform era which specifically impacted the style of family life in the next decade.

The one-child policy resulted in a generation of children who were singletons and were seen as the very embodiment of the future of the family. This generation, also known as the "after the 1980s," are often positioned in a contradictory status: they were newly empowered individuals, but at the same time burdened by the sense that they represented the future to their parents (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016). It is important to understand that the parents who were born in the 1950s and 1960s had gone through a series of social and economic transitions during Mao's era. The movement of "up to the mountains, down to the villages" during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s sent millions of students to the rural provinces to conduct labor works, and many of them lost their opportunities to pursue a higher education (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016, p.15). As a result, in the next decade, many of those who went through the labor reformative (Schiffrin, Robinson, Liu, & Solomon, 1973) had to work as factory workers and earn minimum wages that

barely supported their families. Many of them who became parents needed to use all sources of supports (both financially and emotionally) to allow their child to be academically successful and to be able to find a prestigious and highly paid job.

Parental Involvement and children's Well-being and Intellectual Growth Parenting is considered highly important to the well-being of the children and the family as a whole since ancient China (Berndt et al., 1993). The perceptions of parenting in mainland China has been well studied (Berndt et al., 1993; Lu & Chang, 2013). According to their studies, mothers and fathers differ in their position to the child on warmth and control. Traditionally, fathers were expected to be not only the main provider for their families, but also the moral guidance for their children. As a result, a father should be the role model and suppress his expression of love toward the children (Berndt et al., 1993). These fathering behaviors could produce resentment and acute anxiety for children in their later life (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016). A mother, according to Jankowiak and Moore (2016), is more likely associated with traits such as being warm, less disciplined, and the primary caregiver of the family. In China, these differences between fatherhood and motherhood in Mandarin Chinese are called *yan fu* (strict father) and *ci mu* (loving mother), and it was considered as the golden standard of the roles for fathers and mothers (Ying et al., 2015).

In contemporary China, the patrilineal structure of the family gradually lost its popularity (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016). In more recent years, this ideology has been abandoned primarily in urban areas due to the improvement of women's status in the workforce. Women have become more likely to be involved with decision-making processes at home, especially when they are one of the economic providers of the family (Ying et al., 2015). One example of such a change is the popularity of the "tiger mother," a Chinese American mother figure who takes on both a caretaker and stern disciplinary role with her children. In this particular case, the "tiger mom" stereotype demonstrates how a mother can be strict and loving at the same time. This phenomenon is also commonly referred to as "tiger parenting" (Chua, 2011; Tam, Kwok, Ling, & Li, 2018), where parents exhort extreme pressure to push their children to achieve the highest academic performances through an authoritarian style of parenting. By authoritarian style of parenting, the parents tend to involve themselves in their children's educational experience, spend time to study with their children, and arrange extensive and diverse extracurricular participation for their children at the very young age. Academic dissatisfaction is considered as unacceptable and shameful to the family (Tam et al., 2018). Opposite to the expectation, a Hong Kong study showed that "tiger parenting" is directly related to children's level of anxiety. For example, there has been a higher rate of student suicide reported due to academic distress.

In contemporary China, parental involvement plays a significant role in children's psychological well-being and intellectual growth (Wang & Cai, 2017). According to Wang et al. (2019), the relationship between child and parents in early childhood has a long-term effect on the child's psychological well-being. The development of a secure attachment requires parents to provide a safe and emotionally

warm environment to the child. Cheung and Pomerantz (2015) compared the level of parent involvement in children's learning between the United States and China. In their study, they found that the level of involvement of the parent with their children fostered the transmission of values from parent to the child. This finding is unique to the culture of Chinese parenting because children's learning is a major responsibility of parents, particularly in the academic arena. Different from American parents, who view intense academic training as inappropriate, Chinese parents may involve with their children's learning as often as they can. For example, Chinese parents may check their children's homework, attend parent-teacher committee hosted by school, attend extracurricular class during the weekend with their children, study with their children for certain school subjects, and let their children know what they want their children to become one day. In a study conducted by Wang and Cai in 2017, it shows that not all types of parental involvement will facilitate academic success of children. Instead, parental involvement should be a combination of both work and leisure involvement. Leisure involvement includes playing sports, dinning out together, and talking about the child's school experience with the parents. In their study, they found that leisure involvement sometimes is more important to academic success of the children. It seems that, for a child, a pair of loving and reasonably disciplined parents is most desirable and highly praised.

The Changing Parenting Philosophy in Contemporary China

Families in Urban Cities Culturally, Chinese children had been socialized to learn to be obedient, silent, and well-behaved through the threats of punishment from the parents (Quoss & Zhao, 1995). Because of the "open market" reforms (by exposing areas to powerful global influences, particularly the relatively liberal Western societies), Chinese parents in urban cities started to question the validity and effectiveness of the traditional parenting styles (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016).The Western family parenting style is typically perceived by Chinese families as a way of promoting creativity and independence (Quoss & Zhao, 1995). The key difference between Western and Chinese parenting styles is the level of parental control during the informative years of the children's growth. According to Nelson, Hart, Yang, Olsen, and Jin (2006), parental control in Asian culture refers to "a form of parental governing that is demonstrative of involvement and concern" (Nelson et al., 2006, p.2). Parents who prefer a higher control of their child's development tend to behave authoritatively with a high demand of obedience and academic achievement, but not necessarily to be overly restrictive and punitive. Due to the influence of Western culture, the young generation of Chinese have been experiencing a significant culture shift. The media plays a significant role in Chinese youth's everyday life. Music, movies, and fashion trends all somewhat opened a new horizon to the Chinese youths. The intergenerational gap, a term coined referring to the increased cultural and value gaps between the generations, signified a growing emotional detachment between the parents of the 1950s and 1960s to children of the 1980s and

after. In order to amend the cultural divergence between parents and their child, parents during the reform era picked up new skills, including providing parental love while granting a certain degree of autonomy to their child (Quoss & Zhao, 1995).

Due to the economic shift supported by changes in the economy, the styles of parenting has changed. One of the changes was that parents valued more on the cultivation of children with social skills and individual creativity (Jankowiak & Moore, 2016). Education and academic success became national obsessions because they were seen as the assurance to enter the best university in the country and secure a highly paid job after graduation. Accompanying with the one-child policy, Chinese parents have set up a goal for their children to achieve academic success.

Some might argue that the eagerness to raise these high-achieving children is a utilitarian-orientated approach because the expected outcomes are highly valued (for the grown child) (Tobin, 2014). In other words, the parent may truly value the process involved in cultivating warm and supporting parent-child relations, while they may also believe that to be able to find a stable and well-paid job is equivalent to the best care they can offer for their child.

Families in Rural Areas Children of rural migrants have experienced very different lifestyles compared to their urban counterparts (Hu, Lu, & Huang, 2014). With the emergence of private enterprises and foreign investment companies, along with the increasing freedom of urban workers (who could now choose their own careers), many urban residents refused to take low-skilled, dirty, and monotonous jobs (Zhou, Chen, & Ye, 2014). As a result, these undesirable jobs were rapidly becoming available to rural migrants—who decided to move to urban areas seeking better paying jobs (compared to their work in the rural areas) in the cities. Over time, more businesses began to realize the benefits of hiring migrant workers who were willing to take jobs with low pay and fewer benefits, along with their desire to learn new skills and migrate permanently (Zhou et al., 2014).

Many of these rural migrants were parents who could not afford housing, food, and education for their children (Zhao, Zhou, Wang, J, & Hesketh, 2017). Recently, Chinese news media has focused on the issue of the children of rural migrants, calling them "left-behind children" as they grew up in rural areas while their parents were away in cities working as rural migrant workers. The reasons vary as to why these migrant workers left their children behind, but a major reason was that the children had rural *hukou* (household registration). The *hukou* system required each citizen to register in one and only one place of regular residence (Wang, 2017). Citizen's rights depend on their *hukou* registration location. A *hukou* holder cannot attend school or hold a job outside of their registered area. The children from the rural area could not attend the schools where their migrant parents would reside (in the cities) nor could they get appropriate health care. Migrant parents who are working in the cities normally would send remittance back to family members and their children. During the Lunar New Year (late January or early February each year), parents normally go back to their rural home with gifts and clothes they bought

from the cities. Many migrant parents expressed their regret toward the separation from their children, but they also expressed some positive aspiration that they could bring their children to the cities one day (Qi, 2018). However, an unwanted consequence of the separation between parents and children is a reported high level of depressive symptoms among left behind children. Wang et al. (2019) conducted a meta-analysis on the depressive symptoms of the left behind children in China. They found that the depressive symptoms among left behind children is 30.7%, which is higher than the non-left behind children (22.8%). Overall, left behind children in rural China have been experiencing acute depression and maladaptation when facing negative life events due to the long separation with their parents who are working in the cities (Wu et al., 2017).

The Collective Desirable Path (CDP): The Underlying Assumptions about Chinese Parenting Culture

Factors for Adopting the Collective Path Given China's tremendous changes in the past several decades, it is impossible to have a static view on parenting culture in the country. However, there are still some stable cultural assumptions that can serve as an underlying foundation for people to understand the ever-changing and complex parenting culture of China. These assumptions are presented here as a framework, the collective desirable path (CDP; see figure below). The framework describes that parents in China, a collectivist and competitive society, collectively perceive a particular path as necessary to ensure success for their children. The proposed framework CDP could provide some insights into the parenting culture of China.

It is important to understand some contributing factors of the Chinese society's adoption of a collective path. These factors include Chinese culture being a highly collectivist culture, fierce competition among society members, the one-child policy from the 1980s to 2010s, and success as narrowly defined by Chinese society (Cheng, 2011) (Fig. 1).

Collectivist Culture According to Hofstede (2001), China's score on individualism is only 20 out of 100, which indicates China is a highly collectivist society. Families as societal units in collectivist cultures have much bigger impacts on individuals than families in individualistic cultures (Hofstede, 2001). At times, members of a family need to sacrifice their own interests to maximize the interests of their family. In return, members will likely receive a strong support from their family (Ling & Poweli, 2001; Shi & Wang, 2011). The family usually supports individuals' successes in education, career, and life. The value of family, harmony, and filial piety are constantly reaffirmed in Chinese parenting (Ho, 1994). Children are taught to think and act as a member of the family who can contribute to the prosperity of their family.

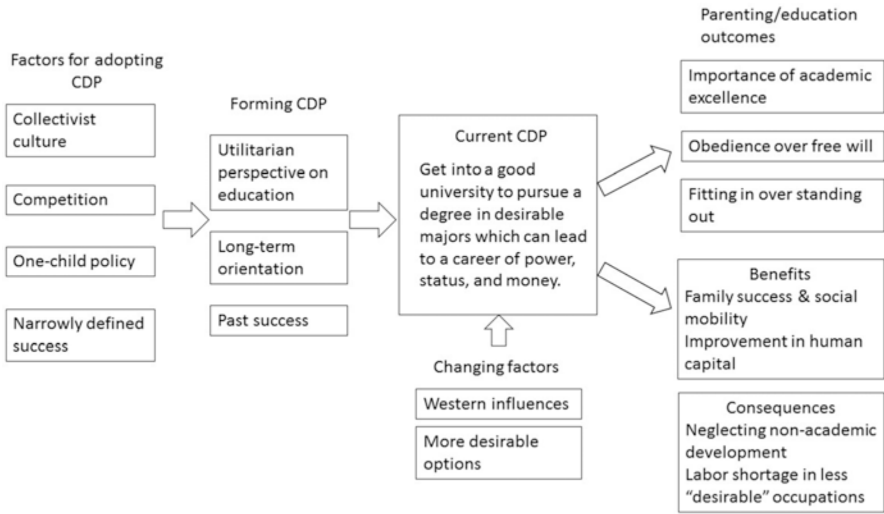

Fig. 1 The collectible desirable path (CDP)

In collectivist cultures, individual decisions tend to be largely influenced or even determined by larger societal units such as families (Ling & Poweli, 2001; Shi & Wang, 2011). This mindset tends to produce conformity in thinking and behaviors of societal members. Members tend to accept these ways as guidelines or even as truth for their thinking and behaviors (Hofstede, 2001). Therefore, it is natural for China, a collectivist society, to adopt a uniform parenting path in its culture.

Competition The cultural factors of high power distance and high masculinity contribute to fierce competition in Chinese society (Hofstede Insights, n.d.). There are two additional contributing factors: the sheer size of China's population and the influence of a collectivist culture (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). The first one is easy to understand as with more population one faces more competitors. In 2018, 9.75 million high school seniors took *gaokao*, the National College Entrance Examination (Tang, 2018). Each student faces millions of competitors in order to gain acceptance into the top-ranking universities. The second factor requires an understanding of differences between individualistic cultures and collectivist cultures. Harmony, compromise, and peace seeking are highly desired in collectivist family. Members of a family are considered in-group members, whereas out-group members are treated with less positive attitude. Competition among families can be as fierce as among individuals in individualistic culture (Triandis et al., 1988). In order to win competitions, families tend to find some proven (almost guaranteed) ways to secure their chance. The one-child policy also contributed to the fierce competition in Chinese education. The previous section has already discussed the impact of the one-child policy on Chinese parenting. Families with fewer children have a greater desire and more resources to help their limited number of children to be successful.

Narrowly Defined Success This factor is very important because paths to success could vary considerably if the definition of success is widely interpreted. The definition of success in Chinese society has been very consistently narrowly defined. A person's career success is usually linked back to his/her ability to support the family (Cheng, 2011). Monetary success is the core of success in Chinese culture. A person's success is important to the survival and prosperity of his/her collective unit. Therefore, Chinese families favor careers with good monetary returns and paths leading to them (Cheng, 2011).

Forming Collective Desirable Path

Utilitarian Perspective on Education The influence of Chinese history on parenting is shown in Chinese paradoxical attitudes toward education. On the one hand, there is genuine reverence for knowledge. On the other hand, people approach education with a pragmatic perspective (Jin & Dan, 2004).

The reverence for knowledge dates back to the great Chinese philosopher and educator, Confucius. In Analects, he argued that everyone, no matter of their class, could be educated and become a noble person. He claimed that education should include these four aspects: *wen* (literature), *xing* (morals), *zhong* (trustworthiness), and *xin* (integrity; Confucius, 1999). Teaching and education became an important of Confucianism. People in ancient China understood the importance of parenting and education. San Tzu Ching, one of the Chinese classics in the thirteenth century, stated,

> If foolishly there is no teaching, the nature (of human) will deteriorate… To feed without teaching is the father's fault. To teach without severity is the teacher's laziness. If the child does not learn, this is not as it should be. If he does not learn while young, what will he be when old? (Wang & Giles, 2011, p. 1)

Because of these historical influences, Chinese society remains very respectful toward education, teachers, and knowledge (Jin & Dan, 2004). While Chinese society holds a reverent view on education because of Confucianism, it adopted the utilitarian perspective after the introduction of *keju* (the imperial examination system). According to Crozier (2002), it was created in 587 AD in the *Sui* dynasty as a way of selecting talent for the emperor. It became the main method of talent selection since then, survived changes in dynasties, and was finally ended in 1905 by the last emperor. Participants who were successful on *keju* were rewarded with government positions, good pay, and high status. The benefits of *keju* turned education into a tool people could use to achieve prosperity and social mobility. Parenting and education centered on what would be tested on the exam. For example, poetry was part of *keju* in the *Tang* dynasty, which made writing poems an important part of education at that time. Since the *Yuan* dynasty, poetry was no longer required in *keju*; writing poems became a much less important component in education (Crozier, 2002).

Even though *keju* no longer exists in modern China, the concept of using one set of exams to decide students' destinies is still used via *gaokao*. Every year, millions of high school seniors take *gaokao* in early June, with the results deciding which university they can attend. With *gaokao* inheriting the spirit of *keju* in selecting talent, the utilitarian view on parenting and education is held strongly in Chinese society (Crozier, 2002). *Gaokao* has changed millions of people's lives for the better and continues to be seen as a dependable way to success (Tang, 2018). When education is perceived as a dependable way to reach this goal, it became a collective desirable path for members of the society.

Long-Term Orientation According to Hofstede (2001), China's score on this dimension is 87 out of 100. This indicates that China is a pragmatic culture that uses thrift, investing, and perseverance to achieve future goals. A long-term oriented society is likely to invest heavily in education and use it as a path to achieve goals in distant future (Hofstede, 2001). This description echoes the utilitarian view on education. Its outcomes are long lasting and rewarding to the families. It is natural for a long-term oriented culture to choose education as a desirable path to success.

Past Successes The forming of a collective desirable path requires past successes and continuing success to enhance its desirability and collective acceptance in the society. Stories from a relative, a neighbor, or a colleague about people who achieved success through education reinforce other people's confidence in the path.

Parenting Outcomes of Adopting the Path

Importance of Academic Excellence The importance of *gaokao* in the CDP means academic excellence becomes the central focus of Chinese parenting and education (Tang, 2018). *Gaokao* plays a decisive role in placing students into different future trajectories such as no college education, mediocre college education, good college education, and best college education. All the parenting and education efforts since children were born are geared toward the crucial exam that could decides one's destiny in the minds of these parents (Tang, 2018). The heavy focus on students' academic excellence in *gaokao* forces parents to favor practices that can enhance their children's academic performance. Other aspects of education and development, such as physical education, art and music, character education, communication skills, and adventures and experience are ignored especially when *gaokao* is closer in time (Tang, 2018). The ramification of this singular focus could be very negative in children's all-around well-being and development because the development in other areas are ignored (Liu & Wu, 2006).

Obedience over Free Will Having the path predetermined for children eliminates many of their options. In doing so, children have fewer opportunities to explore what they like and what they would like to do in the future. Adopting the CDP indicates that parents know best for their children's education and development.

Therefore, parents are less likely to respect their children's choices (Liu & Wu, 2006; Muthanna & Sang, 2015). Following a path to achieve the predetermined goals requires obedience and rule following. The parents are also likely to discourage disobedient behaviors such as expressing free will, voicing disagreement, and questioning authority. This can be damaging for nurturing independence, critical thinking, and creativity. For example, Chu's (2017) book, which is based on her American son's experience in a Chinese kindergarten, describes a typical Chinese classroom. The learning environment in the book promoted discipline, order, and efficiency and ignored the wills and thoughts of individuals.

Fitting in over Standing out A related outcome of the CDP is parenting that encourages children to fit into collective norms, rules, systems, and expectations. Standing out as a unique individual is strongly discouraged because the parents believe the benefits of fitting in outweighs the benefits of standing out in the Chinese society (Griffiths, 2013). A famous Chinese saying, *Qiang da chu tou niao* (birds which stand out get shot), shows that Chinese culture tends to favor conformity and modesty. The path usually does not produce unique individuals who challenge norms and collective mindset. On the contrary, it provides an effective template for people to fit in and achieve narrowly defined success, which can be beneficial to the prosperity of the collective unit family (Griffiths, 2013).

Stability and Change of Collective Desirable Ppath

Western Influences Parenting culture and practice from the West has greatly influenced Chinese parenting since the country opened its door in 1978 (Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song, 2013; Shek, 2006). This influence is more evident in the younger generation of parents who grew up in the open society (Luo et al., 2013). There are many channels and media for Chinese parents and society to be exposed to Western influences in parenting and education. These channels and media include such things as books, television programs, movies, exchange programs, and educational programs. Qualities such as critical thinking, creativity, leadership skills, voicing opinions, and independent thinking are recognized as desirable qualities in children development for Chinese children (Luo et al., 2013). However, efforts and time invested in developing these qualities are usually limited to the early stages of parenting and education when academic excellence is not an urgency. These influences tend to be less important or even disappear as the students move closer to *gaokao* (Luo et al., 2013).

Variations of the CDP The CDP provides a template for a path to success. As the society changes, the template modifies itself as well. Twenty years ago, a degree from a vocational college or an associate degree was enough to guarantee a good job for the receiver (Tang, 2018). The competition has become fiercer since then; therefore, these degrees are no longer in the path. Nowadays, earning a bachelor's degree, or preferably a master's degree, from a high-ranking university is considered

a viable path to success (Tang, 2018). With globalization, a more desirable path is to pursue a degree from a foreign higher education institution in countries such as the United States, Australia, Japan, the United Kingdom, or Canada. According to a report from the Ministry of Education of China (2018), there were more than 1.45 million Chinese students enrolled in overseas higher education institutions. The expectation is that the degrees these students receive will give them an edge in competing for desirable jobs in China.

Benefits and Consequences of Adopting the Path

Two types of benefits are clearly associated with adopting the CDP in Chinese parenting and education. First, it provides a relatively dependable path to success, which can benefit individuals and families. As a result, social mobility can help families to get out of poverty and reach prosperity. Second, the focus on education and investment helps to improve human capital in China. With the continued improvement in human capital, the economy continues to develop in a sustainable way (Hannum, An, & Cherng, 2011).

Adopting a collective path in parenting can also have negative impacts on individuals, families, and the society. Excessive attention on academic excellence will leave less time, energy, and attention to be used on other important aspects of children development such as physical education, art and music appreciation, and character education (Liu & Wu, 2006). Test scores become the focal point of parenting and family communication. Stress, conflict, and disconnect arise in family relationship when children are not executing the collective desirable path well. It also affects the society on a whole when most members adopt a similar path. It leads to a surplus in "desirable" schools, majors, and career paths that could cause shortage in other areas (Kim, Brown, & Fong, 2016).

Conclusion

The parenting culture in China inherited values, beliefs, and practices from people in the past and embraces changes and new ideas brought by societal reforms and open environment (Luo et al., 2013; Shek, 2006). In this process, fatherhood and motherhood are being redefined, the gap of parenting culture between urban and rural families is widening, the differences among generations are showing, and the cancelled one-child policy is still revealing its effects in many aspects of family life, including parenting.

The CDP is an important framework to help people understand Chinese parenting and education in the time of change. Even though many changes have occurred in this country since it opened its door to the world, the conditions for adopting a collective path remain the same despite the fact that the content of the path may

change. As long as China remains a collectivist culture with fierce competition among citizens, the need to adopt a dependable path toward success is desired collectively by members of the society. The negative effects of adopting a path that relies mainly on academic success can be detrimental to the well-rounded development of children and well-being of the society.

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Parenting Far from the Tree: Supportive Parents of Young Transgender and Gender Nonconforming Children in the United States

Sally Campbell Galman

> The timeworn adage says that the apple doesn't fall far from the tree, meaning that a child resembles his or her parents; these children are apples that have fallen elsewhere—some a couple of orchards away, some on the other side of the world. Yet myriad families learn to tolerate, accept, and finally celebrate children who are not what they originally had in mind. (Solomon, 2012, p. 5)

Parenting in the Zoetrope

On the day of the 2018 Trans Rights Rally the mood was somber. Days before, the Trump administration announced it would consider "defining gender as a biological, immutable condition determined by genitalia at birth, the most drastic move yet in a governmentwide effort to roll back recognition and protections of transgender people under federal civil rights law" (Green, Benner, & Pear, 2018, np). Nonetheless, the pink, blue, and white banners whipped under the gray sky, and a crowd gathered on the statehouse steps, shivering in the unseasonably brisk October temperatures. A woman dressed in a light sweater came to the podium and took a deep breath before speaking into the microphone. "I am here today as a woman, a Jew, a Lesbian," she said, "and the proud mother of a trans daughter." The crowd let out a cheer that echoed off the columns and steps. She continued, "I want you to know that I see you, and you will never be erased." The crowd erupted in another cheer. She drew a breath and gripped the edges of the podium with her thin white hands, and, as tears ran down her face, she went on:

> As a mother, my journey has not been what I had expected. I remember when we thought Abby was a boy, and when she saw her first pair of princess shoes. Any trepidation we might have felt about raising a black trans girl, a kid who would become an adult who,

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> statistically, would be more likely to face violence than anyone else, all of that worry was soothed by her smile. This was not a choice, and it was not a problem to be solved. This was our kid. Our happy beautiful girl. And our job was singular and clear: To love the heck out of her. Abby showed no signs of dysphoria, but instead showed *euphoria.* We just love her and follow her lead. And we learned from reading that while suicide rates for trans kids are staggering, those rates come down to match their cisgender peers when raised in a loving, supportive environment and loved for who they are. You are loved and will never be erased.[1]

And indeed, they have not been. Despite its deliberate and unrelenting assault on transgender and gender nonconforming[2] people, the Trump administration has failed in its ostensible goal of erasing them.[3] Recently, Massachusetts was in the midst of its own struggle on behalf of transgender citizens. Question 3—a ballot initiative to repeal Massachusetts' progressive 2016 transgender rights and nondiscrimination law—had been introduced by legislative, forum-shopping, outside hate groups who took advantage of Massachusetts' accessible referendum process.[4] The possible repeal was narrowly defeated on election day. As a scholar in transgender people's and children's rights, I provided commentary after the polls closed. I had the unpleasant task of writing two separate statements, one titled plainly "If We Win" and the other "If We Lose." I wrote the latter first, to get it over with, and also because 2 years in Trump's "galloping zoetrope of despair" (West, 2017, np) and its concomitant disorienting, constant, whirling emergency led me to believe that we could lose. But we didn't.[5]

Perhaps the most interesting and unusual part of these struggles is that much of the trans rights movement is led by a coalition of transgender, gender nonconforming, and cisgender people, and among this latter group are the cisgender parents of young transgender children. This runs headlong into the complexity of American parenting culture: while American parents generally believe they protect and advantage their children by making choices *for* them based on greater parental experience (Harkness & Super, 2006), the parents of transgender children, as will be discussed in the pages that follow, cannot rely on knowing the road ahead. So safety and

[1] This speech is paraphrased to disguise personal details.

[2] The popular and empirical literature uses many terms to describe children's and adults' gender identities and experiences, including but not limited to "transgender," "gender nonconforming," "gender-creative," "gender fluid," and several others that may or may not be appropriate for use in all communities. Even though many of these terms have specific contextual meanings and should be subject to careful scrutiny, for the purposes of this discussion I will use two terms favored by the included child participants and their families: (1) gender nonconforming and (2) transgender. "Gender nonconforming" is used in this paper to indicate children who do not, for whatever reason, conform with conventional gender expectations or who see themselves as being neither male nor female, or both male and female, possibly preferring to use the pronoun "they." The term transgender, meanwhile, is used here to indicate a child who identifies as a different gender than they were assigned at birth (such as a child who was identified female at birth and is an affirmed male).

[3] https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/22/politics/transgender-trump-protection-rollback-trnd/index.html

[4] https://commonwealthmagazine.org/politics/taking-the-laws-into-their-own-hands/

[5] https://www.wbur.org/news/2018/11/06/question-3-transgender-ballot-yes-wins

advantage take on different shapes: many become political activists and loud voices for transgender rights.

Alternatively, it is not uncommon for cisgender parents of transgender children to *not* affirm their children's identities, either actively or passively (Kane, 2006; Tishelman et al., 2015)—paradoxically often also out of a desire to keep the children safe and give them the perceived advantage of conformity. So for parents to rally behind a group that they are not members of, all for the sake of their children, and in significant numbers, and not without significant costs to themselves, represents a change and a new wrinkle in the story of American parenting.

How do cisgender parents take on this mantle? What is the experience of parenting someone whose life trajectory may be so different—even unknowable—from one's own? Why is the activist energy from some transgender children's parents not directed at their children, trying to force them into the "safety" of conformity? These are the questions underpinning the analyses in this chapter.

Transgender Children and Their Parents

Until recently, the majority of research on childhood has been based on a dichotomous understanding of gender informed by early models of gender identity development (Pyne, 2014). Transgender children and their parents were "almost nonexistent" (p. 489) in the body of research in cultural studies of children and families, education, and similar areas (Biblarz & Savci, 2010). The vast majority of the already limited research on these children has historically focused on adolescents and has been largely informed by clinical frameworks for understanding sexual preference rather than cultural practices, family, or identity. Biblarz and Savci (2010) note that a critical review of even the small amount of research on transgender and gender nonconforming populations indicates a need for examining the experiences of "transgender people in the context of more traditional areas of family studies research" (p. 489). Almost a decade since Biblarz and Savci's work, there has been only slight increase in the body of empirical literature (Galman, 2017b). A focus on descriptive studies of supportive families and caregiving practices is essential; much of the existing research landscape is defined by stories of medical abuse and neglect (Donovan, 2002; Williams & Freeman, 2007), social ostracism and peer violence (Sullivan & Stoner, 2012), school failure (Luecke, 2011), and family strife (Kane, 2006).

For the cisgender[6] parents who participated in the larger ethnography informing these analyses, parenting has been complicated by the experience of what Solomon

[6] Research on the experience of transgender parents is similarly growing; however the overwhelming majority of transgender children have cisgender parents (Bartholomeus & Riggs, 2018).

(2012) calls their children's "horizontal identity." In a culture that so obviously values affinity, gender conformity, and assimilation (Coontz, 2016), American parents of children who are different from themselves occupy an unusual position. As Solomon (2012) describes, while most children participate in the parental culture and experience, transgender children fall "far from the tree" and develop horizontal identity. He explains:

> Because of the transmission of identity from one generation to the next, most children share at least some traits with their parents. These are *vertical* identities. Attributes and values are passed down from parent to child across the generations not only through strands of DNA, but also through shared cultural norms … Often, however someone has an inherent or acquired trait that is foreign to his or her parents and must therefore acquire identity from a peer group. This is a *horizontal identity*. (p. 2)

For many American parents, this challenges core cultural beliefs and practices centering on parental power and dangerous unknowns (Galman, 2017a; Jones, Holmes, MacRae, & MacLure, 2010; Mintz, 2006). At the most basic, "many parents experience their child's horizontal identity as an affront," writes Solomon (2012):

> A child's marked difference from the rest of the family demands knowledge, competence and actions that a typical mother and father are unqualified to supply, at least initially … whereas families tend to reinforce vertical identities from earliest childhood, many will oppose horizontal ones. Vertical identities are usually respected as identities; horizontal ones are often treated as flaws. (p. 6)

Many parents struggle as they must confront the common belief that, as parents, they somehow create—or fail to create—gender conformity or nonconformity. Finally, parents' ideas about what constitutes "good" parenting may be at odds with what transgender children of cisgender parents[7] need to thrive.

This is compounded by the current political and social climate in the United States.[8] Despite an uptick in positive visibility and protective legislation in the late Obama administration, as of this writing things are not looking up for transgender people—or any marginalized group—in America, and parents feel it (Galman, 2018b). In times like these, the slow pace of gradual acceptance detailed in the literature (Dobrowolsky et al., 2017; Kuvalanka, Weiner, & Mahan, 2014) might be compressed, stressed, accelerated, or altered by this social and political climate. For example, bathroom bills, rollbacks of protection, violence, and a cascade of attempts to ban, block, erase, and marginalize transgender people had this effect on parents and children alike (Gessen, 2018).

Parents, in addition to being stalwart advocates, must continue to do the everyday work of parenting even as their children's worlds become more dangerous and the work of American parenting more complex. As one current study participant said of parenting her transgender 12-year-old, "I get up in the morning and make her lunch…get her off to school and smile and nag and tell her not to forget her flute for

[7] In this study, none of the transgender children had transgender parents. Indeed, the occurrence of such a parent-child dyad would be significant and unusual.

[8] https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-enormous-emotional-toll-of-trumpism

band practice and…wave to the bus with the biggest smile I can muster, and there she is, with her friends, laughing, and as soon as bus turns the corner I absolutely collapse in terror." Another mother described how she began distance running simply because she needed "somewhere to go and cry where [my] 7-year-old wouldn't see me and ask what was wrong."

Gender and American Parenting Culture

American children spend their lives being so trained toward future selves such that they cease to exist in the present moment. Therefore, it is no surprise that when some transgender children come out to the adults in their lives, affirming that they really are *not* the natal sex, many adults dismiss the children's statements as the play of incomplete, unsophisticated children.

The literature suggests that having a transgender child affects a cisgender parent's identity in powerful ways (Field & Mattson, 2016). Kuvalanka et al.'s (2014) study of cisgender mothers of transgender daughters found that mothers struggled but eventually accepted their daughters, and more than one mother noted that acceptance was jump-started by learning about the rates of suicidality associated with unsupported transgender youth. This may have led to mothers becoming not just experts, but also advocates, seeking out new, supportive communities when families of origin and others failed to support their trans daughters. In this way, the mothers were changed by their daughters, and the communities changed by the mothers as they moved from acceptance to fiery advocacy.

Supportive parents' political visibility and shifted identity are seen consistently across much of the literature on parents of transgender children (Dobrowolsky et al., 2017; Field & Mattson, 2016; Gray, Sweeney, Randazzo, & Levitt, 2016; Kuvalanka et al., 2014). While in the recent past cisgender parents of transgender children may have felt shame, they now act with urgency, spurred on perhaps by cognizance of the risk their children face in terms of real-world mortal danger (Galman, 2018b). They are also doing something very unusual, according to Dobrowolsky et al. (2017): they are trying to use the emotional currency of parenthood to reach the "hearts and minds of parents who might not otherwise support" their trans children (p. 580).

Methodology

These analyses come a larger dataset ($N = 77$) of ongoing ethnographic research on young (age 3–11) transgender and gender nonconforming children and their supportive families in the United States. Following James (2007), the larger study involved semistructured ethnographic interviews, participant observation, and a collection of task-based methods for child participants. The data featured in the current

analysis come from interviews with parents, both in formal interview settings and in extended participant observation in family contexts. As noted elsewhere (Galman, 2017b, 2018a), the nature of this study, with its focus on resilience, has selected for parents and caregivers who support their transgender children. Hence, this work neither captures nor focuses on the complexities, as well as the extensive psychological damage, that comes from having unsupportive parents (Bosse, 2018).

Of the parents enrolled in the study, the vast majority I interacted with were the mothers, despite the fact that most families consisted of a cisgender male/female parental dyad. Others, including Kuvalanka et al. (2014), have found this pattern problematic: women in the United States do the primary emotional carework and that even fathers who are accepting are less involved. Kuvalanka and colleagues suggest more data is needed on cisgender fathers and their experience as parents of transgender children.

I present a vignette below with a critical eye and do so without reinforcing "the idealized notion of the (white) mother as caretaker of the family while simultaneously erasing the double and triple jeopardy of race and class experienced by families of color" (Dobrowolsky et al., 2017, p. 580). However, I explore Lela and Zach's story with full acknowledgement that more must be done to capture the stories of parents and families of color with a transgender child and take these findings with most poignant caution in mind: white mothers of transgender children are new to risks and fears that Black mothers have understood for a very long time (Dobrowolsky et al., 2017).

Finally, I was forthcoming with all study participants that my role as a researcher was informed by my experience as the parent of a transgender child. As I have written elsewhere (Galman, 2018a), this helped with rapport building, but could be a disadvantage when recruiting participants who were less supportive or unaffirming. Similarly, careful treatment of subjectivity and interrogation of my own assumptions were essential to producing trustworthy work with my semi-insider status. Lastly, as mentioned above, fathers are also notably absent from these data. This is a clear limitation of the study and one I am reflecting upon following the guidance of others who have navigated these and other gender questions in field work (Williams & Heikes, 1993).

What follows is a representative ethnographic vignette[9] of Lela and her son, Zach. I have drawn from the tradition of vignette writers in ethnography (Van Maanen, 2011) who use representative tales to highlight cases that speak to larger study themes.

[9]All participant names and identifying details have been altered to protect their confidentiality. Because this population can be more easily identified in many context, significant details have been changed to further disguise them.

Vignette: Lela and Zach

Zach is 11 years old. He keeps his blonde hair short, buzzed on one side, with purple tips on the fringe that falls over his deep green eyes. He loves soccer more than anything on earth, except for maybe computer games and skateboards. The first time I met Zach, when he was eight, he came bounding out of the front door to meet me, the screen slamming behind him with a thunderous clap, and he gave me a crushingly strong handshake. "That's the sign of a good man," he said, "To greet people with a smile and a firm handshake!" His mother, Lela, has been teaching him to be a "good man." "My dad is great, but he isn't the one who does, like, the *guy* things with me, like teaching me how to be a *man*—that's my mom. And what she can't teach me about being a *trans*man, I talk to Mick or Charlie." Mick and Charlie are two older transmen that Lela has found through her networks to be mentors to Zach. They have dinner with the family one night every week and go to Zach's soccer games. Lela takes a breath and ruffles Zach's hair. "It's sometimes hard that I have to, uh, outsource parenting, but Zach needs these guys. I don't know what they know."

Zach lives in a leafy, affluent suburb outside a major Midwestern urban center with his mother, father Mark, and younger brother, Jeb. Lela playfully ruffles Zach's hair and he hams it up with a wide smile before running out into the backyard to jump on the trampoline with Jeb. Lela runs her hand over her freckled face and through her thick blonde hair and lets out a loud sigh, "Those brothers," and smiles. "Not what I thought I was getting."

Lela remembers the day that Zach told her he was a boy, and her reaction was initial panic. "I had never seen or heard anything about this, and here was my five-year-old daughter, who I always thought was kind of a tomboy, telling me that she—he—was an actual boy. And I didn't believe him. I tried to just keep it quiet, saying things like, 'that's interesting'–minimizing—and he would go on and on and say, loudly, 'Mama, I am a BOY!' and I just hoped it would go away. My husband and I just changed the subject. We thought that we were being good parents because we didn't get mad—we just let it go and ignored it like he was telling us there was a dragon under his bed. And I feel terrible about it now. We even had this, uh, photo session—it was for my mother's birthday—we all got family pictures and this was when Zach was maybe six-years-old, and we all had to dress up for a family portrait. I made Zach wear a dress. It was this pink and purple velvet number and I ∗made∗ him wear it and he was miserable and I threatened him and he finally capitulated and I think back on it and I cry. He wanted to wear his little suit and tie that we had gotten him for dress up. And I look at those pictures and it breaks my heart, because I compare them with the ones we have of him in his suit and tie and anyone can tell which kid is happy. And it's not the kid in the dress.

Anyway, I was deep in denial, and one day in the bathtub Zach said to me, 'Mommy, can I go back to heaven and get a different body?' And that scared me. It really did. And then one day—this was bad—he took my sewing scissors and cut off all his long hair, and because he was only six, he cut his ear trying to get the hair short enough and it bled everywhere and my heart stopped. He was only trying to

cut his hair, but my kid, covered in blood and wanting something that I wasn't giving—acceptance, validation—was more than I could handle. So, I took him in my arms and said that if he was a boy, really a boy, then let's go get some boy clothes and a real haircut and talk to the school and he was so happy. He chose his name that day and he's been Zach ever since."

The school was ultimately more accepting, but still an uphill struggle. When Zach wore his suit to the first school Valentine's Day Dance after he transitioned, it was very well received—parents came up to Lela and Mark and asked about Zach's preferred pronouns. Even some very conservative parents reacted well. Lela observed that "Of course there are some kids who have said things like, 'That's against God's law' and I just tell their parents to get them under control. In the past I might have been worried that someone in the community might not like me, like I wouldn't get invited to the mothers' brunch or the Church picnic or whatever, but at this point I'm pretty much saying 'throw it on the fire.' Hate me if you want. That nice Polish girl is gone."

Lela went to the school committee and demanded a nondiscrimination policy and that teachers and staff receive gender diversity training. "Things are so gendered here—like how the boys and girls graduate from elementary school wearing red for girls and white for boys, how there is no gender neutral restroom, how Zach had to walk all the way down the hall to use the nurse's bathroom until I had an attorney from the Transgender Legal Project help me contest that one, and the teachers who still make everyone line up boy/girl—people say, well, Zach is a boy so he just goes in the boy line! And my response is that even having to think about gender in that way so many times a day, and in that binary way, is damaging to all people, not just trans people. Just because Zach has transitioned doesn't mean you can go back to business as usual!" Lela says that things are getting better all the time in her community, and for Zach, "but it's work. It's almost a full-time job for me. I'm a quiet, private person afraid of making enemies and now, well, I've made them and so what."

Lela admits that Zach's transition has not been a bed of roses for her. While she supports him unconditionally and has moved heaven and earth for him, she mourns the daughter she misses, and the culture and world she never questioned. "I would never tell Zach this, or even let him see me crying, but I would be lying to say that these feelings do not exist—Zach was always my child, so it's not like I have lost anything, nothing at all, I love him—but the idea of a daughter is gone—the matching dresses and girls' nights and church things that are a big part of mother/daughter stuff in Polish culture—and I have to say I mourn that. Everything is on its head, but in a good way. It's better now, I know. I'm thinking a lot, actually, about the way I was raised—to be a nice Polish girl—and all the things I did or didn't do, the chances I did not have . . . the expectations and the choices I didn't know I had."

But this afternoon's visit was a joyful one. A bathroom bill in their state had been recently voted down after relentless protest by transgender people and their allies. Lela, who was already connected with transgender lobbying groups, immediately got involved when she heard about the bill. "I'm like the mother bear—you know how when you're hiking and they tell you don't ever go near a baby bear because the mother will kill you? Right. Don't go after my baby. The mothers of trans kids will

murder you right there." Murder aside, Lela and many others worked together to launch and support a relentless grassroots campaign to quash the bathroom bill. For Lela, the win was exhilarating. "We did this! And I feel like I worked hard on nights and weekends, but it was great for me. I never had a voice, ever, and now I have a voice and also people around me who get it, and get Zach. I never had that before. For him, or for me."

Discussion: Beyond Remedy

As Solomon (2012) noted, while vertical identities, like inherited hair or eye color, are valued and seen as natural, horizontal identities, such as being transgender, "are often treated as flaws" (p. 6). Bartholomeus and Riggs (2018) found that cisgender parents of transgender children were continually put in the position of remedy-seeking for their transgender child, who constituted an "imposition" (p. 98) such that parents are required to engage in constant vigilance and an array of parental responsibilities to advocate, educate, respond, and protect. This remedy-seeking and safety-making is exhausting, especially considering that much of what a parent must do—the "battles regarding the use of toilets/bathrooms and change rooms, or which uniforms to wear or sports teams to play on" or medical insurance that will cover/not cover treatment or friendships that will or will not stand the test of tolerance (Bartholomeus & Riggs, 2018, p. 14–16) are a constant game of whack-a-mole that in no way names cisgenderism as the real culprit. Cisgenderism is a structure that puts genitals or medical assignments of gender ahead of human dignity and the right to gender self-determination, pathologizing, and punishing as it goes (Bartholomeus & Riggs, 2018).

Cisgenderism affects all people including "on people who are cisgender in that the gender binary creates narrow and restrictive expectations, such as in the form of what people do, like, wear, and feel based on gender" (Bartholomeus & Riggs, 2018, pp. 15–16). For Lela, what began as individualized advocacy (making sure Zach could use the correct bathroom, buying him a suit to wear to the dance) moved to larger advocacy to create a more tolerant world for her child (defeating the bathroom bill). This movement included Lela embracing horizontal identities and giving up her role as the one best model for her child. She found trans adults to support that horizontal identity and in doing so built support for herself. As she says herself, this shift from advocacy as remedy to advocacy as activism is rooted in an interrogation not of the problem of having a transgender son, but rather the problem of cultural cisgenderism, which hurts not only her child, but every child. She says, "Even having to think about gender in that way so many times a day, and in that binary way, is damaging to all people, not just trans people. Just because Zach has transitioned doesn't mean you can go back to business as usual!"

Like Lela, many supportive parents are changed by the experience of having a transgender child. Cisgender mothers often experience "bigger transformation than

their transgender children" (Kuvalanka et al., 2014, p. 375). Lela found herself transformed from a shy, approval-seeking, and traditional wife and mother into a political actor and firebrand who proudly dares contrarians to "hate me if you want!" While many parents only advocate specifically for their child, others seek to create a more tolerant community and world for their child and any others, even at great cost to themselves (especially if they are nonwhite, nondominant group mothers; Gray et al., 2016; Johnson & Benson, 2014). Change, then, can fan out like shock waves: children change the parents; parents change the world (Johnson & Benson, 2014).

However, not all parents of transgender children are changed, or become public advocates, and not all even support their children, as this work requires swimming upstream in the US parenting culture. One wonders what makes these parents more likely to act in ways that disrupt both normative parenting and gender discourses. One thing that might be different about parents like Lela is that they are more willing to accept secondary stigma, even if it means being alienated from their communities, in order to support their child (Johnson & Benson, 2014). I suggest a combination of prior experiences with marginalization combined with fear for their child as the recipe for willingness to support, transform, advocate, and recognize their child's horizontal identity.

As in the case of Lela and others (Kyi, 2018), the realization that their child was in danger outweighed the pressure for conformity. For Lela, the sight of her child covered in blood and asking to return to heaven to get a new body was a wake-up call. Lela notes that the heavy binarism and gendered expectations in her own gender socialization were painful, and others also drew connections between the experience of parenting a transgender child and their own critical awareness of experiences of sexism.

Conclusion

The Limits of Parental Love and Power

In reflecting on Lela and Zach's story, like so many stories participants shared, I think again about Abby's mother's speech at the October rally:

> As I stand here speaking at a rally for the first time in my life [I know] Abby knows she is loved, but at some point, a parent's love will not be enough. So, we vote, we speak out, we donate, we listen, we see you. We fight for your right to live authentic lives, to be treated with dignity. To know that you were born perfect and you are perfect still. You are indelible and you will never be erased.

That is the answer to the central question about why these parents are different: they realize the limits of parental power, and the fallacy of total parental protection and power, and also see the lessons from a world that does not love their child. At some point, a parent's love will not be enough, so it might be a better idea to change

the world than attempt to change their child. This is at the core of a challenge to cisgenderism and remedy. It can be as simple as Lela's seeking out transmen—members of that same horizontal identity group—to help her son learn about his identity, but it is also about confronting and changing the cisgenderist structures that abound. It is possible that this is also a function of power: rather than using parental power to change the child, Lela and others focus it on changing the child's world.

We know that the things that are good for transgender children are also good for cisgender children; in schools, in communities, and in peer relationships, the principals of universal design mean that everyone benefits when the most marginalized among us are given equitable access (Oakleaf & Richmond, 2017). It holds true, then, that the same might apply to parenting. All children require an approach to parenting that actively addresses and examines the effects of cisgenderism in parenting relationships and seeks to challenge structures before challenging children's core identities. This is not just remaking the work of parenting, but also in remaking the parent into an advocate, an activist, and also a person who humbly follows their child's lead while also being willing to be changed, and to change others, no matter how far from the tree.

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Part III
Adolescence

Parenting Adolescent Girls and Boys in Guatemala

Judith L. Gibbons, Erin E. Freiburger, and Katelyn E. Poelker

Norma, pseudonym for a Guatemalan mother of six adult children and eight grandchildren, suggests that being a good parent means providing love, affection, care, advice, and a good upbringing to your children. She says you need to fight for them to have a good life. At age 15, a daughter should be humble, responsible, hardworking, affectionate, and well-prepared for her future life (e.g., she should know how to iron and cook). She would be studying to be a teacher or a doctor. A son at age 15 should be kind, well-mannered, responsible, and studious. He should be in school, studying to be an auto mechanic or a pharmacist. Norma achieves her parenting goals by giving her children advice, monitoring their friendships, establishing curfews, and not permitting them to be out late at night.

Eric, pseudonym for a Guatemalan father to four adult children, sees parenting as a great responsibility, a commitment to one's children, stating, "one has to do everything for them." At 15, a daughter should be responsible, obedient, and self-confident; a son should believe in God and be spiritual, as well as responsible in his studies. A daughter might be studying to have a university degree or be a doctor, whereas a son would also study for a university degree, but definitely not engineering or law, as engineers and lawyers are unprincipled and shameless. Eric achieves his parenting goals by supporting his children and giving them opportunities. Eric's advice to other parents is to let children choose their own career, to not force or encourage them to enter a specific field. Norma and Eric agree that both daughters and sons should still be in school at age 15 and should not have boyfriends or

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girlfriends who would distract them from their studies. They deny that they treated their sons and daughters differently.

These responses reflect, in part, persistent values among Guatemalans: the importance of family, of being hardworking and responsible, as well as showing care and affection for others (Flores, Gibbons, & Poelker, 2016; Gibbons et al., 1993; Gibbons & Stiles, 2004; Gibbons, Stiles, Schnellmann, & Morales-Hidalgo, 1990). A common saying among Guatemalan parents, "*todo por mis hijos*" ["everything for my children"], reflects the sentiment of unconditional love and support for their children (Escobar-Chew, 2013). The vignettes above also reflect a common finding that parents are often unaware as to how they treat sons and daughters differently. As evidenced by Raley and Bianchi (2006), "even when parents believe that children should be treated the same, regardless of gender, they may not actually rear children in androgynous ways. In fact, they may not even be aware of differential treatment" (p. 404).

The purpose of this chapter is to describe gender roles among Guatemalan children and adolescents and to explore how parents encourage or foster the gender-differentiated behaviors and beliefs.

The Guatemalan Context

Guatemala is a Central American country of approximately 16 million people (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2018). Despite its relatively small geographic size, the country is demographically youthful and immensely diverse. For example, nearly 60% of Guatemalans are under the age of 25, suggesting issues related to children and youth are essential both when thinking about the country's present and future (CIA, 2018). Guatemala is comprised of two primary ethnic groups – the indigenous Maya and the Ladinos (people of mixed indigenous and European descent). Historically, indigenous Guatemalans have been discriminated against and report fewer years of formal education, lower income, and overall lower social status (Ashdown, Gibbons, Hackathorn, & Harvey, 2011). With respect to languages spoken, Spanish is the country's official language, but there are more than 20 indigenous Mayan languages spoken in addition to Garífuna and Xinca (Instituto Internacional de Aprendizaje para la Reconciliación Social [IIARS], n.d.). Most Guatemalans subscribe to a religious belief, and the majority (approximately 87%) identify as Christian (Fanjul de Marsicovetere, Gibbons, & Grazioso, 2014). Historically, Guatemala has been a predominantly Catholic country, but evangelical Protestantism has made inroads (Ashdown & Gibbons, 2012). Although the indigenous groups oftentimes subscribe to their own set of beliefs, a blend of traditional Mayan practices with Catholic ones is common as well (Hart, 2008; McEwen, 2004).

There is considerable economic disparity in Guatemala, making it the country with the 11th highest wealth disparity in the world (CIA, 2018). Thus, it is not surprising that the country also suffers from high rates of poverty resulting in economic hardship for many families. For example, over 50% of children under age 5

experience chronic undernutrition (World Food Programme [WFP], 2018). With respect to education, although tuition is free in Guatemala, uniforms and additional education fees (e.g., textbooks) are not covered and many families are unable to afford those expenses (Global Education Fund, n.d.). Despite many social and economic challenges, the country (like Latin America as a whole) has made great strides regarding gender parity in education, especially at the primary level (United States Agency for International Development, [USAID], 2018). However, indigenous girls remain the group most likely to be out of school in Guatemala (UNICEF, 2008).

Culturally speaking, Guatemala is characterized by collectivistic values including *respeto* (respect), *familismo* (familism), and *simpático* (niceness, warmth, hospitality; Dries-Daffner, Hallman, Cantino, & Berdichevsky, 2007; Gibbons & Stiles, 2004; Hofstede, 1980). The latter two values, like collectivism, speak to the importance of the family and the value placed on positive interpersonal relationships. In Guatemalan teens' drawings of the ideal person, depictions of entire families were prevalent, and their peers interpreted family drawings as representing togetherness and unity, responsible and loving parenting, and working together for the family's well-being (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004). Guatemalan children are taught to respect authority and to obey – including their parents' rules and directions (García Egan, Batz, Pauley, Gibbons, & Ashdown, 2014). Despite the emphasis on group harmony and the importance of family, there is evidence that some groups in Guatemala (e.g., university students) may be becoming more individualistic (Ashdown & Gibbons, 2012). This is not surprising, especially considering the ease with which people from around the world can access minority world (or Western) media and connect with others across the globe in real time using social networking sites.

Adolescence

Adolescence is a period of many transitions spanning the three domains of development – biological, cognitive, and socio-emotional. Some of those changes may be more explicit, like the growth spurt, while others are subtler, like advances in executive functioning or newfound participation in romantic relationships (Arnett, 2012). Although a few of the developments during adolescence are universal (e.g., puberty), the majority are best understood when addressed within cultural context, including issues related to gender (Best & Bush, 2016; Poelker & Gibbons, 2016).

More specifically, adolescent boys and girls may experience this transitional developmental period differently. As Mensch, Bruce, and Greene (1998) describe it, "During adolescence, the world expands for boys and contracts for girls. Boys enjoy new privileges reserved for men and girls endure new restrictions reserved for women" (p. 2). In other words, boys are given more autonomy to explore, try new things, and spend time away from home than are girls (Mensch et al., 1998). Girls are often given less freedom than they enjoyed during childhood (Mensch et al., 1998). Parents may insist on increasing restrictions for their daughters because they

want to keep them from getting pregnant and to keep them safe from older boys and men who may try to take advantage of their budding sexual maturity (Dries-Daffner et al., 2007). The greater autonomy and freedom of adolescent boys compared to their female counterparts is even evident in preindustrial societies as documented in the anthropological record (Schlegel & Barry, 1991).

Gender differences may be experienced more intensely during adolescence than in other developmental periods. According to the gender intensification hypothesis, adolescence is a time of heightened gender socialization; it may be especially intense for girls (Hill & Lynch, 1983). This increased socialization results in the strict reinforcement of gender roles, and gender-appropriate activities and careers are emphasized. It is important to note, though, that the theory may not apply equally to all adolescents and may be most pertinent for youth whose parents emphasize a strict conformity to the culture's gender roles (Arnett, 2012).

Gender Role Ideologies in Latin America

Broader core cultural values shape the roles that adolescent boys and girls are expected to fulfill in their families and communities. Gender norms in Latin America are oftentimes referred to as *machismo* and *marianismo*, respectively. Given the cultural diversity in Latin America, these social constructs likely share some features across the region, but may also vary from country to country (Gibbons & Luna, 2015).

Machismo encourages men to be strong, brave, protective, powerful, and independent (Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzalez, 1995). However, *machismo* has also been associated with more negative traits including interpersonal dominance, aggression, emotionlessness, excessive alcohol use, and sexual promiscuity (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008). These hypermasculine behaviors enforce women's status as inferior to that of men. Evidence from Guatemala specifically supports this definition (e.g., Gibbons, Wilson, & Rufener, 2006; Menjívar, 2011; Metz & Webb, 2014; Wilson & Gibbons, 2005). Behaviors associated with *machismo* also reinforce a hierarchy of masculinity among men in which less "macho" men are seen as inferior to more "macho" men. Adolescent boys in Guatemala, raised in the shadow of those expectations, are likely influenced by those cultural values and those values contribute significantly to the development of their gender role expectations.

Beyond the masculine traits and roles associated with *machismo*, the cultural script of *caballerismo* also influences expectations for Latin American men. *Caballerismo* has been associated with qualities of emotional connectedness, affiliation, nurturance, chivalry, and taking on social responsibility (Arciniega et al., 2008). In one sample of men of Mexican descent, greater endorsements of *caballerismo* correlated with greater well-being (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015). It has also been associated with life satisfaction and effective coping styles (Arciniega et al.,

2008). Additional research to understand how Latin American women view *caballerismo* is a critical next step.

Like gender role attitudes for men, *marianismo* includes both positive and negative characteristics regarding prescribed gender norms for Latin American women. For example, *marianismo* has been associated with a pressure for women to be self-silencing, spiritual pillars, and submissive to male authority (Piña-Watson, Lorenzo-Blanco, Dornhecker, Martinez, & Nagoshi, 2016). The term "*marianismo*" originates from the Christian conceptualization of the Virgin Mary (Quiñones Mayo & Resnick, 1996). Therefore, the construct suggests that women should model this image of purity. When assessing various beliefs of *marianismo*, Guatemalan women prioritized traits connected to virtuosity and chastity; religiosity was more highly valued by the older-generation Guatemalan women compared to women from younger generations (Sierra de Gamalero et al., 2014).

Research with Guatemalan adolescents suggests that they have adopted some of these roles and values of their parents, as evidenced in their descriptions and drawings of the ideal person (Flores et al., 2016; Flores, Gibbons, & Poelker, 2017). Guatemalan youth prioritized maintaining spirituality in the family as generally important, but as more important for the ideal woman than the ideal man. Additionally, adolescent girls rated spirituality as more important for the ideal person than did adolescent boys. The expectation that women will be the spiritual pillars of their family, a central tenet of *marianismo*, may help to explain these findings. However, as a religious culture, spirituality and religiosity are relatively important for both men and women as exemplified in Eric's prescription for a son.

When adolescents were asked to rate the importance of other characteristics, their views of the ideal person were similar to the depictions expressed by Norma and Eric at the start of the chapter. For example, Guatemalan adolescents characterized the ideal man and woman as kind and honest (Flores et al., 2016). Girls thought it was more important for the ideal person to like children than did boys; this finding is consistent with the gender role ideologies discussed earlier. Consistent with the values of *caballerismo* that men should be the financial providers for their families, adolescents thought it was more important that the ideal man be wealthy compared to the ideal woman. Furthermore, when considering the importance of having a good job for the ideal man, adolescent boys and girls rated it of equally high importance. Adolescent girls, however, thought it was significantly more important for the ideal woman to have a good job than did adolescent boys. This interaction was not unique to Guatemala teens; across samples from 21 countries both girls and boys saw occupations as crucial for men, but only girls saw them as important for women (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004). Perhaps adolescent girls view the possibility of being a successful career woman as central to their ideal future selves, while adolescent boys may not value, or may even be threatened by, the occupational success of a future spouse. Another possibility is that girls are depicting the reality they see – that girls take on more chores in the home than do boys and that women do the majority of the world's work (United Nations, 2015) – facts that may be less evident to boys. A third possibility is that employment outside the home, especially if

women have access to their own income, is key to women's empowerment (Blofield, Ewig, & Piscopo, 2017; Poelker & Gibbons, 2018).

Related studies provide more insight into gender roles in Guatemala. Coope and Theobald (2006) reported that Guatemalan girls are often discriminated against in terms of food – that fathers, then sons, are fed before mothers and finally daughters. In a study by Domek and colleagues (2019), a Guatemalan mother opined that fathers need to take a greater role in child-rearing (implying their nonparticipation in many families). With respect to hypothetical sexual encounters, Guatemalan youth portrayed boys as conquerors and girls as vulnerable to the influence and coercion of boys (Singleton, Schroffel, Findlay, & Windskell, 2016).

Machismo and *marianismo* may not just be reflected in adolescents' and their parents' values, but may also inform access to resources like education. Within the indigenous communities of Guatemala, many expect that boys will receive an education, whereas girls should focus on upholding their household duties rather than studying (UNICEF, 2008). More specifically, indigenous parents allow their daughters to attend school, but only if they are able to continue making the same substantial contributions to housework (UNICEF, 2008). If a girl's schoolwork means less time for household chores, she would be deemed "lazy" and would be forced to discontinue her studies. In addition, parents' educational experiences influence the value they place on a girl's education. Therefore, it is probable that parents without formal education themselves are unaware of the benefits of academics for young people (UNICEF, 2008).

In a recent Oxfam report with adolescents representing eight countries from Latin America and the Caribbean (including Guatemala), responses revealed that traditional gender role attitudes are still entrenched in Latin American culture (Oxfam, 2018). For example, approximately 50% of young women said they believed that men acting violently against women is normal. As argued in the report, the normalization of violence towards women further establishes male superiority, a common attitude associated with *machismo*. Additionally, the overwhelming majority of young Latin Americans (15 to 25 years of age) reported that men have stronger sexual urges, suggesting that female sexual pleasure is less important. This finding may indirectly reflect the values of *marianismo*, in that women are expected to be sexually pure. The value may also be implied in Eric and Norma's expectations that their daughters be humble and obedient. Furthermore, rigid gender role beliefs pervade the expected duties of men and women. More specifically, 56% of young Latin American men expressed that women should keep to domestic responsibilities, whereas men should focus their efforts on providing financially for the family. The latter finding is consistent with the central principle of *caballerismo* that men are the providers for their families. These findings demonstrate the need to foster more equitable and positive gender role values among Guatemalan and other Latin American youth to help ensure that the gender role expectations passed down from parents to their children are more equalitarian. Parents' specific behaviors and efforts to model positive gender roles will likely then shape how those young people view gender both as adults and as future parents.

The great extent to which Latin America youth endorsed traditional gender roles in the Oxfam (2018) report is surprising given the existing evidence that globalization may be shifting adolescents' adherence to traditional gender roles (Flores et al., 2016). For example, when comparing data from Guatemalan youth with their peers from 25 years earlier, youth in 2014 were significantly less likely to draw the ideal person in a gender stereotyped role (e.g., a woman cleaning or a man going to work) than their peers in 1988–1990. Longitudinal research would be especially beneficial in this domain to assess how parents' practices might either encourage or discourage the values promoted by globalization over time and whether the trend toward endorsing gender equality reported by Flores et al. (2016) will continue into adulthood. Ultimately, it would be interesting to know how or if views on gender roles shift when the current generation of youth become parents themselves.

Parenting Guatemalan Youth

Little research has examined parenting practices in Guatemala, and of the sparse literature on Guatemalan parenting, most articles have focused on child-rearing during infancy and early childhood (e.g., Escobar-Chew, 2013; Mosier & Rogoff, 2003; Myers, 1994; Solien de González, 1963). Solien de González (1963) captured key parenting practices during childbearing and infancy, such as the importance of breastfeeding. With respect to the division of childcare between Guatemalan mothers and fathers, mothers are the primary caretakers of children and fathers seldom participate, a pattern found in the broader Latin American region (Menjívar, 2011; Myers, 1994). It is possible that fathers are seen as the financial providers rather than caretakers in the home or that fathers are viewed as unequipped for child-rearing.

In addition to parenting customs and beliefs during early development, several articles have specifically targeted corporal punishment in Guatemala (e.g., Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2015; McMillan & Burton, 2009; McMillian, 2007; Speizer, Goodwin, Samandari, Kim, & Clyde, 2008). Parenting, including the normative use of physical punishment, may be, in part driven by poverty (Coope & Theobald, 2006); parents may want better for their children, but lack the knowledge or resources to provide a better, healthier way of life. The consequences for children may be not only lower self-esteem, but also less effective parenting when they eventually raise their own families. This observation reinforces the idea that parenting behaviors, themselves shaped by context, may inform culturally expected or desired outcomes for youth.

To our knowledge, the intersection of gender and parenting in Guatemala has been absent in the literature with two exceptions – a study of Guatemalan mothers' ethnotheories (García Egan et al., 2014) and a qualitative study of Guatemalan mothers by Escobar-Chew (2013). In the former study, interviews with mothers

ranging in age from 20 to 70 years revealed gender differences in mothers' expectations for their sons versus daughters during middle childhood. For example, girls should be involved in work at home (e.g., cooking, cleaning) and boys should work hard in school. Although mothers were not queried specifically about adolescent children, some volunteered that teenage girls should be pure and not sexual; expectations about gender differences were also projected into children's future adulthood. In the future, it was most important for mothers that their adult sons and daughters should be hardworking and respectful (García Egan et al., 2014). Girls should grow up to be good spouses and mothers who take good care of the home and are a good example for children. They should maintain their virginity and dignity. At work, they should be well-mannered and obey their bosses. Men should think like adults and refrain from acting like children while also abstaining from drugs and alcohol. Along those lines, men should have good friends, hold a job, and be responsible at work and with children. They should also act according to the upbringing that they received during childhood. Moreover, mothers mentioned that desirable behaviors were learned at home from parents by conversing with their children about these responsible behaviors and values and by leading by example. They also discussed manners with their children, religion, what they should *not* be doing, and the importance of being obedient and kind. Conversely, the undesirable behaviors were taught by friends and peer groups "in the street." Some commonalities between genders did persist like being respectful. Those similarities may speak to the overall values of Guatemalan culture. The findings from García Egan et al. (2014) contrasted with Norma and Eric's claims at the start of the chapter; both parents denied an intent to treat their sons and daughters differently.

Escobar-Chew's (2013) qualitative interviews of Guatemalan mothers reinforced the idea that girls often receive protection and restrictions, whereas boys have more privileges and more freedom. One mother reported, "Daughters need to be protected a lot…where I live, I never let them go out, even worse when there are men around them" (Escobar-Chew, 2013, p. 111). Sons are often influenced by the machistic behavior of their fathers, "Machismo and the media encourage male teens to demonstrate he is 'a man' by learning to drink alcohol under pressure from their own fathers or peers" (Escobar-Chew, 2013, p. 39).

Caveats and Change

From international studies it is clear that both parents' attitudes and their behaviors contribute to the gender socialization of their adolescent children (e.g., Meuss, 2016; Platt & Polavieja, 2016). However, the correlations between parents' and their children's gender role ideologies are modest. In one cross-lagged study the correlations ranged from 0.20 to 0.26 (Min, Silverstein, & Lendon, 2012). In a study of endorsement of benevolent sexism, the contemporaneous correlation between mothers' and daughters' attitudes reached 0.35 (Montañés et al., 2012). Although we have focused here on parents' contributions to Guatemalan adolescents' gender

socialization, it is critical to note that gender ideologies, values, and behaviors are influenced not only by parents, but by peers, school environments, the broader community, and the international media (e.g., Mather, 2018).

Internationally, gender ideologies are becoming more egalitarian. This has been described in a classic book as the "rising tide" of gender equality (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Studies by Manago (2014) among the Maya of Mexico have demonstrated generational differences in attitudes about gender behavior, with grandmothers expressing more traditional perspectives than their adult daughters, who in turn were more traditional than the adolescent granddaughters. Among Guatemalan women, older generations were more likely to endorse *marianismo*, especially the belief that women should serve as the spiritual pillar of the family (Sierra de Gamalero et al., 2014). In 2014 compared to 25 years earlier, Guatemalan adolescents' drawings of the ideal man and the ideal women were significantly less likely to depict gender-stereotyped roles (Flores et al., 2016). Thus, the pattern of cultural change among the Maya and in Guatemala is consistent with the international trends toward gender equality.

Understanding the origin or drivers of the cultural shift away from gender inequality may shed light on the outlook for future gender roles in Guatemala. One theory of social change (Greenfield, 2009) posits that the shift from small-scale subsistence societies to more complex urban environments impels a host of value changes including an ideology of greater gender equality. Guatemala leads the region in urbanization and is above the world average (CentralAmericaData.com, 2016). Thus, according to Greenfield's theory, gender roles should change rapidly. Another theory links increasing economic and social security, and more specifically reduced fertility, to the press for gender equality (Inglehart, Ponarin, & Inglehart, 2017). Fertility has decreased dramatically in Guatemala, from an average of 7.12 births per woman in 1950–1955 to 3.19 in 2010–2015 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2017). These data also portend greater gender equality. Note that neither of the theories of change negates the role of parents. For example, more educated and economically secure parents are likely to discourage early pregnancy in daughters as evidenced by both Eric and Norma who discouraged early dating in their children.

Future Directions

As indicated above, there is only limited evidence directly addressing parenting in a Guatemalan context and most of that research is dated and has focused largely on younger children and on corporal punishment (e.g., Myers, 1994; Solien de González, 1963). Given the country's complex shifting gender role ideologies and the high percentage of young people in Guatemala, the roles that parents play in their (adolescent) children's lives, and gender development more specifically, should emerge as a high priority of researchers in the future. More specifically, there are several important gaps that emerge from the evidence reviewed earlier in this

chapter. The idea that during adolescence the world expands for boys but contracts for girls seems consistent with Guatemalan culture, but we do not know the level to which Guatemalan parents support this concept. Observational studies, reports of parents' values, beliefs, and behaviors, along with their adolescent children's views of their parents, could contribute empirical support to this idea. From there, evidence-based and culturally informed intervention programs could be developed to promote gender equality at home.

Furthermore, although the studies by García Egan et al. (2014) and Escobar-Chew (2013) make an important contribution to our understanding of Guatemalan mothers' approach to their role of raising children, fathers' views were not represented. Given that one cannot fully understand many issues in Guatemala without viewing them through a gender-informed lens, it is imperative that we understand the fathers' perspectives and their own behaviors when addressing issues of parenting. Anecdotally, we have heard from colleagues working in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) focused on issues of women's empowerment and gender equality that, although mothers are often supportive of their daughters' educational advancement and achievements, fathers may not share in that enthusiasm. In a recent study related to teen pregnancy in the country, the participants, adolescent girls, often noted that their mothers were consistently urging them to stay in school and continue with their studies (Lemon, Hennink, & Can Saquic, 2017). The participants did not mention similarly supportive messages from their fathers. The extent to which Guatemalan fathers endorse such efforts for their daughters has not been systematically documented to our knowledge.

Furthermore, Guatemala is a country rich in diversity – in ethnicity, language, urban/rural residence, and socioeconomic status (SES). That diversity needs to be captured in the parenting literature; in particular, the intersectionality of those demographic factors must be considered to more fully understand the joys and challenges that parents face when raising Guatemalan children, as well as the various approaches to parenting employed by members of those different groups. For example, evidence suggests that with widespread access to minority world/Western media, adolescents in the majority world (i.e., the global south) are facing unique challenges with identity development and the need to create a hybrid or "remixed" identity (Jensen & Arnett, 2012; Rao et al., 2013). Thus, the spreading and sharing of ideas from the minority world via globalization may be shaping adolescents' sense of self even when the values of their traditional cultures and those of the minority world conflict. In light of the ease with which adolescents can access minority world media, many questions remain regarding parents' reactions. How do parents in Guatemala view these new minority world values? Do they limit adolescents' access to the Internet, television, etc.? Is minority world media a major a concern in more remote indigenous areas of the country and do parents have different reservations/concerns for their sons versus their daughters?

Although it does not seem to be well-studied in Guatemala, we must be also aware of the modern-day issues surrounding gender identity. More specifically, changing definitions of gender and more fluid conceptualizations of gender identity

could eventually have implications for the predominant gender role identities in Guatemala and in Latin America more broadly. Chile may be leading the way in this domain. In September 2018, the Chilean government passed a law permitting transgender individuals older than 14 years of age to change the name and gender on their official government record (Associated Press, 2018). Although a bill permitting change of gender was introduced in late 2017 to the Guatemalan congress, it has not yet been approved nor implemented in law (Visibles, 2017). Research on transgender persons in Guatemala has, to our knowledge, been limited to health issues, such as AIDS (e.g., Ikeda et al., 2018), although it is widely acknowledged that lesbians, gay men, and transgender persons face stigma and discrimination (Barrington et al., 2016). In light of the country's overall socially and religiously conservative history and traditions, we anticipate that conceptualizations of gender as fluid would likely be controversial in many Guatemalan households, serving as a source of friction for young people and their parents. However, sustained exposure to alternative perspectives via minority world media and activism by Guatemalan LGBTQ persons may contribute to a (gradual) shift.

Moreover, there is room for methodological growth in how we approach the issues of parenting and gender in cultural context. Longitudinal projects may be of particular interest. A longitudinal approach would afford researchers a more comprehensive understanding of how the culture's gender roles and parents' beliefs about gender shape a child's life beginning in infancy. A cross-sequential approach would afford us not only a longitudinal perspective, but also a means by which to account for cohort effects. Given that many issues surrounding gender roles in Guatemala are dynamic, this approach may be particularly applicable to this line of research.

Investing in mixed-methods studies is also another important methodological approach. The combination of the qualitative and quantitative methods could greatly extend our knowledge in this area. Using qualitative research to extend our understanding of the intersection of parenting, adolescence, gender roles, and Guatemalan culture provides a solid first step, which would allow researchers to build understanding that is rooted in Guatemalans' lived experiences. From there, culturally informed quantitative investigations can be designed to answer additional remaining questions. For example, to further explore the role that fathers play in the lives of their adolescent children, researchers might continue to use the concepts of parental ethnotheories and the developmental niche (Super & Harkness, 1986) that García Egan et al. (2014) employed as a framework in their study with Guatemalan mothers. The sources of qualitative data could give rise to pertinent questions related to how mothers' and fathers' views on child-rearing are both similar and different.

Future studies also need to take into account the possible direct and indirect ways that parents can influence their adolescent children's gender development. They may directly reinforce gender stereotypic behavior, but they can also influence indirectly by choice of neighborhood, schools, or media in the home that may also affect gender socialization.

Conclusion

Adolescence in Guatemala is undoubtedly shaped by cultural gender roles and ideologies. Yet little research has focused on how/if Guatemalan parents treat their children differently based on gender or if parents purposely influence their children's gender development by implementing specific parenting behaviors. In one exception, Guatemalan mothers did have distinct goals for their sons and daughters (García Egan et al., 2014). Given the conflicting responses from Norma and Eric at the chapter's start in comparison to the study on mothers' ethnotheories, additional research is needed in the Guatemalan context to further understand both mothers' and fathers' views on child-rearing, particularly in the realm of gender development. Having that information could be used to inform interventions designed to encourage effective parenting and the well-being of Guatemalan adolescents.

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Parenting into Two Worlds: How Practices of Kinship Fostering Shape Development in Namibia, Southern Africa

Jill Brown, Abril Rangel-Pacheco, Olivia Kennedy, and Ndumba Kamwanyah

In Sierra Leone, there is a saying that there are seven ways to be a mother and only one includes giving birth (Bledsoe, 1990). African child-rearing is often described by its socially complex, interwoven relationships within and among families (Brown, 2013; Weisner, Bradley, & Kilbride, 1997). However, this saying in Sierra Leone has often made me (JB) take pause as a developmental psychologist working in Namibia but raised in the rural United States and imagine, what are the other six ways? Most of my research over the last 20 years has been to better understand the other ways of mothering and caregiving in sub-Saharan Africa (Brown, 2009; Brown, 2011; Brown & Bartholomew, 2014).

This chapter explores other ways of being a mother in Namibia by exploring the child-rearing practice called *okutekula* among the Ova-ambo – an agropastoralist group living in both rural and urban Namibia. *Okutekula* is the process of raising a nonbiological child and its cultural logic exposes deep values of reciprocity, respect for authority and tradition with the flexibility to adapt to rapid changes both in families and economies. We will use the practice of *okutekula* (child fosterage) to illuminate how the Ova-ambo bridge two worlds, the market economy and a more traditional economy of affection, by highlighting each economy's differing rules, and the costs and benefits of investing in each economy. To understand the complexity and cultural intuition of fosterage, we will first review the literature on how the practice is situated in child care in Africa and provide an introduction to Namibia and the Ova-ambo people.

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Namibia: Cultural and Historical Context

Namibia is situated in the southwestern region of Africa and is home to more than 2.5 million people (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2018). To the west lies the Atlantic Ocean, which meets the Namib Desert that stretches nearly the entire length of the country's coastal region. On its eastern border lies another vast and barren desert, the Kalahari. Namibia is not only characterized by its diverse topography, but by its harsh climate as well. Extreme heat and low rainfall – especially in the southernmost regions – make for arid conditions where agriculture is difficult to sustain. As a result, the climatic conditions have affected the settlement patterns. The most densely populated areas are to the north, where rainfall, albeit still low, is greater than the rest of the country and makes agriculture a possibility (Wallace & Kinahan, 2013).

A relatively new nation, Namibia achieved independence in 1990 from South Africa (Joyce & Cubitt, 1997), taking strides in building a land thriving on mining and agriculture, but the nation's history with colonization goes back further than its African neighbors. Germany first penetrated the Southwestern African land in the 1880s, influencing much of the political strife, settlement patterns, and postcolonial culture still seen today. With the mix of Europe's conquest for the continent of Africa and a movement of missionaries with the intention to convert, the land was seized from indigenous peoples for decades (Joyce & Cubitt, 1997) before the South Africa's Afrikaner-led National Party assumed power in 1948. During South African occupation, Namibians suffered under the party's brutal apartheid policy (Bartholomew, 2012).

Under apartheid, Black Africans in Namibia were forced to settle in traditional homeland reserves along ethnic lines and affiliations and were subject to forced labor, extremely poor education, famine, and immense poverty (Hayes, Sylvester, Wallace, & Hartmann, 1998). In response to the oppression and disenfranchisement of Black Africans caused by apartheid, notable liberation movements arose to fight for the liberation of Namibia. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was established in 1960 and later launched a guerilla war against South Africa through the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN; Bartholomew, 2012). Eventually, after military engagement, mass mobilization, and international intervention, on March 21, 1990, under a free and fair UN-supervised election, Namibia became an independent nation.

Namibia's arduous fight for liberation posed a threat to the security of family structures and, consequently, reconfigured family ties. The impact that reconfiguration of kinship networks has had since colonial occupation suggests that present-day Namibian families are socially interdependent, meaning that common goals are established with others and peoples' lives are more intimately affected by the actions of others. Thus, the experiences that followed independence are contextual factors that have played a role in forming the psychological experience of Namibians (Bartholomew, 2012), (Kim & Berry, 1993; Kim, Park, & Park, 2000; Nsamenang, 1995).

As it stands today, Namibia's population is approximately 87.5% black, 6% white, and 6.5% mixed (CIA, 2018). The ethnic groups in Namibia can be divided into roughly 11 different tribes. However, the majority of Namibians are Ova-ambo, a collective tribe which is made up of 12 subgroups (Brown, 2013). The Ova-ambo reside primarily in the most northern part of the country in an area made up of four political regions. The Ova-ambo have traditionally lived in villages as agropastoralists, relying on the farming of millet and herding of cattle and goats (Brown, 2011). Ova-ambo societies are generally matrilineal, where clan membership and inheritance follow maternal descent (Brown, 2011). The fundamental social unit in the Ova-ambo people is the family (Joyce & Cubitt, 1997), which serves as the crux for many of the cultural practices from parenting to production.

Child Care in Africa

Knowledge about child care in Africa is plentiful. Much of what is known about child care systems in Africa was contributed by anthropologists and demographers starting in the middle of the twentieth century. This literature included descriptions of customs in which babies were breast-fed for 2–3 years, carried on their mother's backs, and later turned over to the care of older children or young adults. Subsequent researchers have looked at subsistence systems, gender roles, and family composition and have made predictions about parent-child behavior (Whiting & Whiting, 1975). Levine (1963) compiled information on child-rearing practices from the ethnographic data available and identified three patterns common to Africa: (1) casual nurturance of infant care, (2) emphasis on obedience and responsibility in child training, and (3) the use of corporal punishment.

In Western societies, children are typically raised by their biological parents in a central nuclear family unit. Only in nontypical situations are children adopted or put into the foster system to be cared for by non-natal parents. Thus, in the West, parenting and mothering involve a merger of roles to be assumed or performed by a single person or couple who is biologically related to the child (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985). This is not the underlying assumption of family in many African societies. The maternal home is but one of several possible homes for the child.

A systematic attempt to better understand African children as well as children of different cultures was undertaken by Whiting and Whiting and their colleagues (Whiting & Edwards, 1988; Whiting & Whiting, 1975), resulting in a large body of knowledge about what activities African (particularly Kenyan) children and parents engage in. Analyzing the behavior of mothers towards children, all communities were categorized as having maternal behavior focused on training, control, sociability, and nurturance. Training was defined as the assigning of chores or child care and the teaching of etiquette. Control was defined as reprimanding, punishing, and seeking to dominate with an emphasis on restraint and submission. Nurturant acts in Nyansongo, Kenya, constituted only 2% of the total of mother-child behavior interactions involving children age three to seven. While nurturance is low and training

is high, children are participating on their own level in activities that have components of play and work (i.e., caregiving, livestock chores). With age and skill level, play transforms into work. In contrast to five other cultures, the sub-Saharan communities ranked first in training, followed by control, and then a mix of sociability and nurturance.

Through his research on sibling caregiving in Kenya, Thomas Weisner (e.g., Weisner et al., 1997) delineates the core characteristics of socially distributed child care in terms of a cultural complex – a set of loosely interwoven ecological circumstances, beliefs, and practices that coexist and contribute to one another. Socially distributed child care includes but is not limited to:

- Child caretaking often occurs as a part of indirect chains of support in which one child assists another, who assists another. Support is not always immediate and not necessarily organized around exclusive relationships between parent and child.
- Children look to other children for support as much or more than they look to adults.
- Mothers provide support and nurturance to children as much by securing that others will support their children as by supporting their children directly. Fostering and other forms of child sharing are common.
- Care often occurs in the context of other domestic work.
- Aggression, teasing, and dominance coincide with nurturance and support and come from the same people. Dominance increases with age.
- Food and other material goods are used to threaten, control, soothe, and comfort.
- Elaborate verbal exchanges and question-framed discourse rarely accompany support and nurturance for children. Verbal bargaining and negotiations over rights, choices, and privileges between the caretaker and child are infrequent.
- Social and intellectual competence is judged by a child's ability to manage domestic tasks, demonstrate appropriate social behavior, do child care, nurture, and support others.
- Children are socialized within the system through apprenticeship learning of their family roles and responsibilities.

Together, these practices and values create the context of care. One notable difference from Western caregiving is the widespread care of infants by siblings and other children in Africa, even where adult women are willing and able to provide surrogate care for mothers. A great deal of attention has also been paid to the developmental implications of sibling caregiving in Africa (Weisner et al., 1997). Thus, socially distributed nurturance of children and shared family caretaking of children have a base in the psychological and cultural world of African families. Socially distributed child care still holds deep moral, cultural, and economic influence today as evidenced by the specific practice of child fosterage throughout Africa (Swadener, Kabiru & Njenga, 2000).

Okutekula: Child Fosterage

To paint an ethnographic snapshot of *okutekula* requires a visit to a home in sub-Saharan Africa. One often finds many children of different ages living in one house or homestead. Some are the biological offspring of the mother and father. Some are relatives (e.g., nieces or nephews) of the mother or father. Others are not biologically related to either the mother or father. Fosterage has been defined in several ways. In early work in West Africa, Goody (1973) defined it as, "institutional delegation of the nurturance and/or educational elements of the parental role. Fosterage does not affect the status identity of the child, nor the legal rights and obligations this entails. Fosterage concerns the process of rearing" (p. 23). Biological parents still hold legal rights to the children they foster and most continue relationships with the children throughout their time in fostering arrangements with another family. Other definitions exist, with most agreeing that fosterage is the rearing of a child by someone other than the biological parent. Unlike adoption in the Western sense, fostering involves no permanent change in kinship or status and no permanent forfeiting of rights. It is an additive, not a substitutive, model of child-rearing that allows for biological and social parenting (Bowie, 2004). Namibia has one of the highest rates of child fosterage in all of Africa, making it an excellent place to look deeper into the cultural logic of the practice (Monasch & Boerma, 2004). Please see Table 1 for a summary of fosterage rates across the continent.

Motivations and Outcomes

Ester Goody (1973) was one of the first to describe the practice of fosterage among the Gonja of Cameroon. In her field notes, she documented the Ganja word *kabitha* as, "a girl given to someone" and *kaiyeribi* as "a boy given to someone."

Table 1 Patterns of fostered children as a percentage of all children under age 15 in selected countries

				Living with			
Country	Survey	Year	N	Both	Mother	Father	Foster/neither
Southern (median)				**50.7**	**18.4**	**2.7**	**11.3**
Namibia	**DHS**	**2000**	**13,641**	**26.4**	**29.2**	**3.6**	**26.3**
Zimbabwe	DHS	1999	11,313	45.6	20.5	3.6	12.5
Botswana	MICS	2000	9950	26.1	33.1	2.1	19.4
Eastern (median)				**70.7**	**10.7**	**1.8**	**5.2**
Kenya	MICS	2000	16,394	57.9	20.5	2.3	7.0
Uganda	DHS	2000	19,538	60.4	12.4	4.0	9.9
Western (median)				**66.3**	**9.8**	**3.1**	**9.0**
Central (median)				**65.6**	**12.1**	**3.2**	**7.9**

Monasch and Boerma (2004)

Understanding the nuances of fosterage still proves to be a complex task. The motivations of the recipient family and the donor family are often multifarious (Brown, 2011) and encompass the desire to teach discipline (Bledsoe, 1990), provide a better education for a child (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985), gifting and sharing between families (Madhavan, 2004), establishment of social bonds (Bledsoe, 1990), enhancement of fertility (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985; Pennington, 1991), the need to be childless when entering a new relationship with a man (Pennington, 1991; Vandermeersch, 2002), and times of crisis, like sickness and famine (Madhavan, 2004). Payne-Price (1981) sampled 45 cultures worldwide using the Human Resource Area File (HRAF) that reported adoption practices. Of the 45, 35 reported adoption or fosterage practices. The three primary motives for fostering a child were (1) the need for a helper, either short or long term; (2) the need for an heir, and (3) tokens of friendship. The need for a helper was identified as the primary motivation. Motivations to foster out a child included illegitimacy, poverty, too many children, death of one parent, and death of both parents. The Namibian fostering system is a recognizable variant of the more general customs that surround fostering throughout Africa (Brown, 2009).

The predictions regarding child fosterage conducted by most researchers trained in Western paradigms of developmental psychology usually question how this practice could not harm "nonbiological children." Disparities do exist between fostered children and biological children. Oni (1995) sampled 1538 Yoruba households in Nigeria in order to understand the effects of fosterage from both the foster parents' and the child's perspective. Her findings reveal differential treatment of foster and non-fostered children. When a child was ill, the biological mother was not the first person to notice the child's illness 11% of the time. In contrast, the fostered mother was not the first person to notice illness in the foster child 58% of the time. Before an illness was noticed, foster children reportedly complained in 29% of cases, compared to 4% for biological children. The mean duration of time between awareness of illness and treatment also favored biological children. In follow-up case studies, adults who were fostered out as children overwhelmingly described the experience as one filled with pain and favoritism (Oni, 1995).

Similarly, Bledsoe and Brandon (1992) found that children fostered were at greater risk for death and fell sick more often than their biologically related counterparts. The authors conclude that this may be due to discrimination and deprivation in times of food shortages. Anderson (2005) utilized a demographic survey to examine whether the coefficient of relatedness (i.e., how closely the child is biologically related to caregivers) predicted greater household expenditures on food and education for 11,211 Black South African children. Controlling for characteristics that might vary between households, he found that the more closely related (biologically) a child is to the household, the less likely he/she is to be behind in school. Similarly, being more biologically related to the household is a positive predictor of expenditures on food, health care, and clothing. In rural samples, however, increased relatedness was associated with reduced expenditures on food and health care.

While research from a Western lens might highlight the deviant nature of not living with kin, the outcomes that show the cultural intuitiveness and positive outcomes of practices like child fosterage should not be overlooked. Most of the

research mentioned above compares children within households, not taking into account how the fostered children compare to their own biological kin elsewhere. Instinctual to fosterage is upward mobility, with families negotiating "better" arrangements for their children (Brown, 2013). What does not show in the quantitative analyses, however, is how child fosterage allows parents, kin, and children to meet what might be otherwise thought of as irreconcilable demands to prepare children for both traditional life and the ever-increasing modernity that Africa is facing.

The Changing Face of Childhood

Rapid social change in the last 100 years can be found throughout the world, but particularly in countries that were colonized and are working to create newer nation-states. During the colonial period, Christianity was introduced across Africa. By changing cultural values, many African traditional institutions that were critical in making people live collectively together and strive for shared values and common bonds were weakened or destroyed, replaced by Christian values. Liberation did not fix the broken cultural systems. Today, the legacy of colonialism in post-independence Africa largely continues, including in how children are raised, parented, and educated. The Ova-ambo people are faced with the task of responding to both postcolonial and globalized realities and influences. The most radical innovation of the globalized world is compulsory formal education. Worthman and Trang (2018) compiled data from around the world on how the average years of schooling have increased over time. Schooling did not rise alone, however, but in union with a shift towards peer-dominated culture (i.e., moving away from respect for elders and respect for hierarchy), an emphasis on chronological age (i.e., moving away from developmental age), the invention of education based on a labor economy, a reduction of subsistence roles for children and adolescents, and the reduction of social rites and passages other than formal education. Education in Namibia has closely followed this narrative. In 1992, shortly after independence from South Africa, primary school completion rates were 38% across the country. Ten years after independence, completion rates were 98%, which have remained the same until today (USAID, 2018).

There are several theories about why globalized trends towards a formal education and a market economy exist. The existence of globalized education, particularly in Africa, can be explained in terms of the nature of the postcolonial nation-state which is a colonially inherited system (Nunn, 2003; Rodney, 1973). Colonial states in Africa were shaped and influenced by pro-market and pro-West policies. That very same policy outlook came to influence the formation of Africa's postcolonial nation-state at the dawn of independence. As a result, the postcolonial African nation-state gave way to market-oriented neoliberal economic policy prescriptions (such as the famous structural adjustment program) promoted by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund. The West neoliberalism thus offers a globalized education rooted in the market economy (Naidoo & Williams, 2014).

Scholars are split on the beneficial effects of both globalized education and a global market economy. Some in economics and political science argue that globalized education is not sensitive to culture and content, thus at worst wasting the time of children and parents. In developmental science, scholars have explored antecedents and predictors of these rapid globalized changes. Reduced early mortality and increased life expectancy are critical life history factors that make the investment in formal education worthwhile, affecting and reshaping parenting and childhood around the world. Whether seen as more beneficial or harmful, these rapid globalized changes are here to stay in many communities, including Namibia. With children moving away from homesteads, chores, and rural household responsibilities into schools that are marketed as preparation for the market economy, child-rearing must and does adjust.

Work has been done to illuminate how communities respond to the rapid social changes of formal schooling and the market economy in Africa. Carolyn Edwards and Beatrice Whiting (2004) returned to Ngecha, Kenya, after 25 years and found that shifts had occurred in parental ethnotheories in postcolonial Kenya. As mothers' education increased, so did hoped-for values for their children that were associated with high performance in school and not with traditional child-rearing. For example, obedience and respect were valued less when formal schooling was introduced and as mothers' formal education levels increased (Edwards & Whiting, 2004). Learning from a community's response to change helps illuminate the cultural intuition of child-rearing practices. One way to navigate these changes is to retain traditional practices of caring for children that are flexible enough to be infused with new meaning, keeping continuity and cultural consistency while responding to new opportunities.

Two Worlds: The Economy of Affection and the Free Market

I (JB) am often asked what is the difference between child fosterage in Africa and the foster system in the United States and, more broadly, child care in the United States. People who approach a child care facility requesting care for their child in exchange for money are there to meet their goals through a formal institution with written rules. An informal institution in African communities arises when a group of people agree voluntarily to do something together and then let a code of unwritten rules develop to guide their activities and their dealings with those who breach these rules.

Fosterage exists in the informal realm most closely understood through other concepts like the economy of affection (Hyden, 2006), which is alive and thriving in all parts of Africa. In the economy of affection, relations of power and structures are predominantly personal and informal. There is a fundamental social logic to African communities, and it is informal. It deals with face-to-face interactions whose core principles are: (1) whom you know is more important than what you know, (2) sharing personal wealth with others is more rewarding than investing

money in stocks, and (3) help today generates returns tomorrow. This system exists side by side with a capitalistic market economy. Postcolonial reality exposes indigenous people to two faces of nationhood; one is modern-driven nationhood, which is formalized with well-developed institutions and intellectual resources. The other – which we call the indigenous nationhood – is, structurally, in the face of modern economies, weak and fragmented. It is also invisible and largely operates at an informal and cultural level, focusing on community, kinship, and relationship, yet imbued with meaning to the majority of Africans in regulating social interaction. The two models are not homogenous though because they differ in terms of their makeup, structure, and scope. However, both are essential and can supplement each other in shaping people's ways of life, but because of the structure of postcolonial African economy, the two can also work in contradiction (Kamwanyah, 2018).

Hyden (2006) offers this definition of the economy of affection, describing that it happens when "personal investments in reciprocal relations with other individuals are used as a means of achieving goals that are otherwise seen as impossible to attain" (p.73). The economy of affection is a particular and rational way of dealing with choice in contexts of uncertainty and in situations where place influences what people prefer. People engage in informal institutions for a variety of reasons. Hyden explains four primary reasons: (1) to gain status, (2) to seek favor, (3) to share a benefit, and (4) to provide a common good – all motivations mentioned above to foster a child in or out. The importance of sharing in the economy of affection has multiple benefits. The less well-off experience the ethos of sharing as legitimate and feel that asking for a favor from one with more resources is an expectation. Such favors generally fall within the family structure, but with growing social mobility the boundaries of the economy of affection are being extended. While the economy of affection has been used to explain more economic practices, when applied to child care in Namibia it provides the most meaningful framework we have come across to understand the cultural logic of fosterage from all the actors: children, donor, and recipient families.

Namibia not only inherited skewed economic distribution but also inherited a dualistic economy comprising of a modern market-based economy and traditional subsistence-based economy (also referred to as informal economy). These two economies were classified along racial lines, with Whites dominating the formal market economy and Blacks, the informal economy. The distributions of economic resources, especially land, also mirrored the same patterns of racial lines. The modern market sector produces most of the country's wealth, but the majority of people, especially in rural areas, depend on the traditional subsistence sector through agricultural activities and cattle herding. Since independence, multiple policy reforms have been implemented to address these historical imbalances, yet Namibia's economy is still characterized by skewed resource distributions at racial and urban-rural levels and imbalances between the formal and informal economy. While *okutekula* is only found in Black communities, it is a practice that bridges the formal and informal like few other practices found in Africa.

This might lead you to wonder: how does the practice of *okutekula* afford both parents and children varying levels of access and socialization into both the market

economy and the informal economy of affection? We would like to use one ethnographic example from fieldwork that exemplifies how the practice of *okutekula* serves as a culturally intuitive practice into both worlds.

The Kolos

Outside of the capital city of Windhoek, in the township of Katatura, in the area called Wanaheda (a name that blends the names of ethnic groups in Namibia: Wambo, Nama, Herero, and Damara), the Kolo family lives in a cement three-bedroom house. Built in 1997, the house has running water and electricity, paid for with a prepaid debit card. The house is painted a bright purple with a matching purple fence for security. When you enter the front gate, a sitting area that is usually filled with children and adults runs into a kitchen where a table and five chairs are located. Tate Kolo works in the Namibian Defense Force and during the past 2 years has been away intermittently in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola. Meme Kolo completed grade 12 in the north and currently has a job in the Office of the President. The house, however, serves as a place for many to visit. Upon each of my visits, other adults were staying, described as "visiting." Because Windhoek is the administrative capital where people come to shop or attend workshops, the Kolo house is a base for a large network of extended kin when in Windhoek. The Kolos have fostered in nine children in the last 20 years since living in Windhoek. The Kolo's first foster child was Ndeshi at age eight, who is the biological child of the Hangula family, who live in the tribal homeland in the north of the country, a nine-hour drive from the capital. Meme Kolo was herself fostered to the Hangulas as a nine-year-old girl and the first child to be fostered to the Hangulas. Now grown with children of her own, she has fostered two of her children to the Hangulas in the rural homeland. Visits happen often between the homes. Today, a visitor from the Hangula house brought cooking supplies and money to help buy bricks for the new construction of a small house in the compound.

The Hangulas

Following the road to the east of Eenhana, paralleling the Angolan border, is the Hangula homestead. The Hangulas' home has both cement houses and traditional huts. No running water or electricity is present in the home, and water is carried in from the village about two kilometers away. The family also has a modern home in the town of Eenhana and describes it as "the house for the big *Tate*," meaning Tate Hangula. This home has indoor plumbing and electricity. They own a *bakkie* (pickup) and often give rides to neighbors. They are a well-respected family in the village and describe themselves as "Christians." Meme Hangula is usually seen wearing a traditional Ova-ambo dress with a decorative Western-style brimmed hat.

Both Tate and Meme Hangula are trained as teachers. Tate works as the principal of a nearby primary school where he has worked for the past 18 years. Meme Hangula teaches at the local primary school. Currently 13 people live in her house, four adults and nine children. The Hangulas have fostered in and out 12 children over the years. The first girl arrived shortly after they were married and is the mother and head of the household of the Kolo family. The first biological child they fostered out was Ndeshi, their third born, sending hero Meme Kolo to study at a better school in Windhoek. When the Hangulas visit the capital, they stay with the Kolos. Money, prepaid phone cards, traditional foods, and gifts are delivered whenever someone is travelling to the capital from the village.

The Significance of the Rural-Urban Relationship

Namibia is a country created, torn apart, and reshaped by migration, both forced and voluntary. Rural households have always struggled to make ends meet and having someone earn a cash income has always been important. Urban migration becomes imperative and remittance back to rural homes equally important. Urban migrants may try to negotiate ways of ensuring that their burden of transferring money back home to family does not become too heavy, but cannot escape the obligation altogether without losing social status (Hyden, 2006). For urban dwellers, life is very much tied to demands from relatives and friends in rural homelands, which are both specific (e.g., "send 50 dollars for transport to the hospital") and general in nature (e.g., "please send money when you get paid").

Through our ethnographic work, some of this obligation is fulfilled through child fosterage and the transferring of children between households, in both directions. Rural families look for relatives or others to serve as "fictive kin" in urban areas with more access to the market economy and with more resources. Equally, urban families send children to rural areas to teach them tradition and to help with the work of the subsistence household. It is this exchange that maintains *okutekula* in the face of enormous social change.

The nature of child fosterage and the exchange and movement of children can be further understood through social exchange theory. Based on a fundamental characteristic of social life, what we need and value like goods, services, friendship, approval, status, and information can only be gotten from others; we depend on one another for such valued resources and we can only provide them through exchange (Molm, 1997). Childcare falls within this social exchange, and while financial resources are passed among households, exchange theory differs from classic economic exchange theory in one important way. Classic economic exchange theory assumes that there are not long-term relationships between exchange partners. Social exchange assumes that more or less enduring relations between exchange partners do exist and that recurring interdependent exchanges occur across time (Hyden, 2006). The Kolos and the Hangulas have had a relationship linked by *okutekula* for nearly 50 years, beginning when Meme Kolo was fostered to the

Hangulas as a young girl. Through the daily practice of child-rearing, social bonds are built and nurtured in ways that only *okutekula*, with the intimacy created by sharing a child, could facilitate.

Fosterage as Preparation for both Worlds

While the motivations to foster a child are many (Brown, 2011), fostering for the purpose of education makes up a large proportion of the cultural practice and many rural children are fostered to more urban areas for educational reasons (Brown, 2009). Most children fostered into the Kolo's home were there to attend school in the capital. The clear goal of formal education is to prepare children for jobs in the market economy. With unemployment high, however, and the economy of affection alive, parents also use fosterage to teach cultural values like perseverance and relatedness. Ndeshi was fostered to the Kolos at age eight to attend school, but she also remembers being told she was leaving home to learn perseverance. She recounted, "My father used to tell me, he wants me to be strong. I was told that the reason they are doing this is if you grow up with your parents you won't be disciplined because it isn't easy to stay with others. He was strict. It doesn't mean he didn't love me but he wanted me to have a brighter future and for him it was to be apart from the people you love most."

Although Ndeshi understands her parent's motivation for fostering her was to communicate the lesson of perseverance and strength, she also knows that it was to prepare her with a better education than can be found in the rural areas. Women hoped for their children to learn the lessons that fostering teaches but they were implicit, ones that had to be lived. In past research using life history interviews with women who were fostered, many reported this connection (Brown, 2011). One woman remembered, "My mother died earlier so I got that love but not too much; let me say that if you are staying longer with your mother then you have to learn more, how to suffer, how to survive. That is what I used to tell my kids 'don't think you will always stay with your parents.' That is why I foster them out."

To apply the economy of affection to child care is intuitive. It is a means of achieving goals that are otherwise unattainable. But what are the goals of African parents like the Kolos and the Hangulas? What do they hope for their children and how does child fosterage move them closer to the goal? In data collected with 70 Ova-ambo mothers in 2009, using Suizzo's (2007) parental ethnotheories measure, we know that mothers living in more rural areas want it all, comparatively. Figure 1 shows the mean scores of Ova-ambo mothers next to Suizzo's US sample of White, middle-class mothers for comparison (Suizzo, 2007).

One finding, that to Western developmentalists might seem perplexing, exposes how Ova-ambo mothers want both power and achievement, but not agency and self-direction. Research coming from European countries finds that children need to be self-directed to achieve in a Western context that privileges "what one knows." Ova-ambos also want more relatedness at near equal rates of power and achievement. This

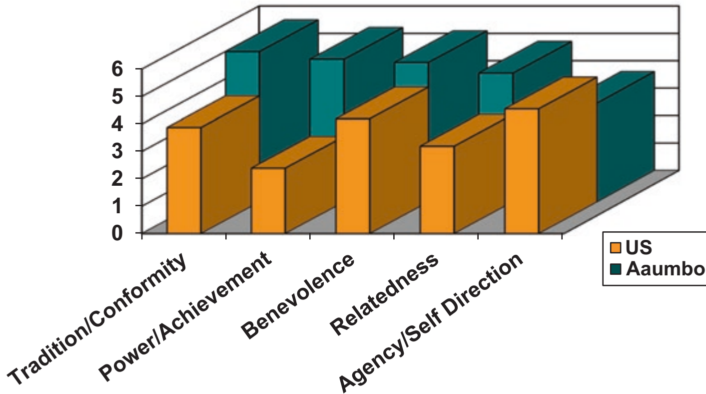

Fig. 1 Values and goal means for Ova-ambo and US mothers

data only makes sense to us when understanding how parents integrate the demands of these two economies when answering these questions. For example, when in the economy of affection, power is also gained through relatedness and not individual agency. You gain power and status and ultimately opportunities by *who* you know rather than *what* you know. The relational, collectivistic worldview creates a differing pathway for parents. These ethnotheories are instantiated in practice through *okutekula.* Social networks are solidified (relatedness and tradition and power) and the child has access to a better educational setting (power and achievement).

Finally, fosterage is not just a practice for children. Parents are also agentic benefactors. *Okutekula* secures relationships and creates fictive kin. As rapid social change and urbanization is upon this community and rural life is diminishing, *okutekula* creates a space for cultural knowledge sharing and extended relationships. Aligned with the goals of the economy of affection, building status and trust between kin and non-kin is achieved by fostering and described as a primary reason to foster non-kin (Brown, 2013). Meme Hangula describes her choice to foster in Eunice, a nonrelative. Trust had been established between the Hangulas and Eunice's family and taking in Eunice strengthened these ties, "We decided to have Eunice stay because we want to be trustworthy to some other people who are not our relatives." Feelings of pride accompanied the responsibility of taking in a new child. Meme Kolo expresses how she felt fostering in a new baby, "I can feel proud because somebody is trusting me…you will never be the same with the family; you are in a new position, and it is a nice feeling." Further, people do not always participate by sending their own children. There are times when families deny requests to send their children to others. However, they are still connected to the practice, either themselves or as a recipient of a child. Overall fosterage is geared towards promoting equality in society in the sense of "none should be left behind." In the notion of the African Ubuntu, of one is nothing without the collective others. That is the ability to imagine life from the perspective of others, which is a collective responsibility in action (Kamwanyah, 2018).

Conclusion

We argue that African parents are parenting for two worlds: one, the formal system and two, the informal system. Child fosterage is a cultural practice that is flexible enough to meet several goals. It prepares people with embodied capital to be used in the market economy. Fostering for better educational opportunities is common. It also strengthens ties between kin and non-kin, preparing people for the economy of affection. Fostering to the rural areas is still prevalent, especially at a young age, and teaches traditional values not easily taught in the city where nuclear families and globalization are increasingly prevalent (Brown, 2011; 2013).

Traditionally, research on orphans and vulnerable children in Africa failed to recognize the prevalence of an economy of affection and its robustness in Africa, because in most of Western academic work there is a natural tendency to standardize. Similarly, in development work there is a tendency to look at comparable institutions and introduce reform. This is not possible in the case of the child welfare system in African communities, as child care, like many social practices, is deeply imbedded in the economy of affection, not the formal child welfare system, and anyone interested in child welfare in sub-Saharan Africa is confronted by it. For example, among the matrilineal Ova-ambo, the maternal uncle is the first place to foster a child and assumes the responsibility of the child. This is the first choice whether or not the family is in crisis. Orphan care is anything but random, and formal institutions are nonexistent in most communities. It is imperative to better recognize the cultural logic of parenting if international aid or resources are involved and could potentially disrupt intuitive systems of existing care. In returning to Bledsoe's (1990) observation that there are seven ways to be a mother in Sierra Leone, we are sure that *okutekula* would be on this list in Namibia. A practice that has survived, evolved, and thrived in response to some of the most oppressive and swiftly changing cultural landscapes of our world.

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Theological Parenthood, Demographic Restraints, and the Making of the Good Polygamous Teenager

William Jankowiak

Every society, in its own way, strives to transmit its beliefs, values, and life orientation essential to its cultural survival (Weber, 1993). Because religious communities draw upon an inclusive cosmology, that cosmology serves as the primary lens through which people perceive and evaluate each other's behavior as good or bad (Henrich, 2016). For religious subcultures, whose values often stand in opposition to mainstream society, successful transmission can never be assured. To this end, religious communities must remain vigilant, if they want their children to develop into a good person who shares their values (Henrich, 2016). It further provides parents with a conceptual framework for identifying the cultural standards or values their offspring need to make the right choice, as who to listen to and who to seek out for advice. Parents need the framework of religion so that they can give accurate advice and constructive discipline and, when necessary, point their children to the right spiritual advisors. In this way, the religious cosmology has a direct influence on an individual's personality and biography and, thus, their understanding of what it means to become a "good person."

In this chapter, I will focus on socialization practices found in Angel Park, a Mormon fundamentalist polygamous community situated in western intermountain USA, in order to probe how parents attempt to, in their words, "raise up the good child" into becoming a "respected and esteem adult." I want to understand how religious ideas, along with often unvoiced, secular American cultural values, shape the criteria parents use to assess who is and who is not a "good person." Fundamentalist Mormon religious beliefs and mainstream USA cultural values are often at odds with one another. This can result in a bracketing both sets of values whereby an individual can hold onto religious-inspired ideals while also embracing American cultural values, habits, and practices without fully considering that some values undermine the community's religious ideals. For example, embracing the importance

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of dyadic bonding that insists on celebrating an individual wife's birthday and anniversary day through spending the day only with her husband stands in contrast to the public ideal that idealized the harmonious united plural family (i.e., one man and several wives).

My focus is the teenage years – the time when youth are more prone to doubt, if not reject, parental instruction and to question, if not defy, community ideals (Schlegel & Barry, 1991). It is a time when neither parental instruction nor community ideals are simply accepted. Exploring which ideals and cultural practices are more readily challenged provides insight into the cultural contradictions and structural restraints individuals face in their journey into adulthood.

The Setting: Opening of an Enclave Culture

There are numerous Mormon fundamentalist communities scattered throughout the southwestern parts of Canada, Mexico, and the USA. One of the oldest and largest is known as Angel Park, which is located in the intermountain western USA. Angel Park shares similar theological values, public values, and life orientations (or a person orientation toward the future) with other North American polygamous communities. Over the course of time, the various polygamous communities transformed themselves into different societies (Bennion, 1998; Bistline, 1998; Bramham, 2008). Whenever discussing a polygamous community or individual family, it is essential, therefore, to consider not only the profound variations found between different communities but also those within each community. This is critical when examining Angel Park, which, until the late 1980s, was a united community that broke apart over clan loyalty and ad hoc theological justifications (Bistline, 1998). The split resulted in two autonomous communities that are openly hostile to each other and are economically, politically, and socially independent of one another.

Given the uniqueness of the polygamous family system, it is easy to overlook the commonalities that fundamentalist Mormons share with mainstream American culture. Forged out of the nineteenth-century American frontier experience, fundamentalist Mormonism embraces many American middle-class values: a basic frugality of means, emphasis on controlling one's destiny, a striving of upward mobility, and a belief in individual responsibility (Ulrich, 1980). In this way, the fundamentalist community resembles something of an "old middle class republic with its independent citizen adventurous and yet rooted in family, home, and community" (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1991, p. 66).

A note on methods: the research was conducted between 1993 and 1999 in Angel Park. I lived, as an invited guest, in numerous Angel Park homes where I shared over dinners family members' concerns, hopes, dreams, and attitudes toward American society and their beliefs, feelings, joys, and disappointments living in a plural family. During the mid-1990s, I also met individuals who were once active in the religion or what they referred to as "the work" who now as "outsiders" were very open in sharing stories about life in Angel Park. I found they were not ashamed of their

lifestyle, but were proud and ready to explain the norms that guided their behaviors. Moreover, they were forthcoming about the plural families' strengths and, for some, the problems that are systemic to polygamous family life. During this time, it was not unusual for families to visit my home whenever they were passing through the city. While staying in the community, I attended, whenever possible, Sunday church meetings that allowed me to listen to which religious and social ideals were frequently voiced. I understood these ideals as representative of what the community's leadership wanted its membership to most aspire to. Myself, unless qualified, in the text, recorded all the quotes, in the course of ongoing conversations with Angel Park members.

Mormon Theology: Norms for Living a Respectful Life

Angel Park's worldview is embedded in several nonnegotiable tenets. The first tenet is the belief that God is a polygamous man who loves all his children but confers on men an elevated spiritual essence, which ensures that men who live "righteously" (i.e., create a plural or polygamous family) will obtain a higher spiritual standing. Men have the potential to become, in the next life, godheads with dominion over all their descendants. Men who live in a plural family will have a higher ranking in the next life (Jankowiak & Allen, 2005). The Mormon cosmological creed provides for a "life-orientation or a total cognitive world view" (Spencer, 1979, p. 243). Accordingly, men in the role of a husband are charged with the duty to constantly expand their kingdom by entering into the institution of plural marriage (Musser, 1944). Fundamentalists believe that men and, to a lesser extent, women are a reproductive "instrument in the service of God" (Spencer, 1979, p. 247).

A second tenet holds that the father-son relationship is the core axis for the transmission of cultural and spiritual essence. First articulated by Joseph Smith in 1832, this tenet is a "theme that predominates throughout the Book of Mormon" (Clark & Clark, 1991, p. 286). The axis elevates sons over daughters because males are preordained with special essence. Mothers take this seriously and tend to treat sons, the more esteemed gender, with more tolerance for behavioral transgression than their daughters (Jankowiak & Allen, 2005).

The polygamous family's parenting expectations and styles of guidance are derived from these two theological tenets that legitimatize the status of men as the religious center and authority in the family. From an organizational perspective, it is expected that serious and consistent familial attention be paid to the father as both the ultimate adjudicator of family affairs and the representative of spiritual authority. In effect, the community is anchored in a patriarchal governed family system. A man's centrality is routinely expressed and reinforced as he leads the family in Sunday school service (usually conducted in his home), conducts daily family prayers, arranges the marriages of his children, disburses the family income, and reveals his religious dreams to his wives and children (Jankowiak & Allen, 2005). A man sharing his dreams is understood to show his connection with the spiritual

world, which further legitimizes his authority. All these routine activities contribute to promoting social solidarity of the family. They also serve to uphold a nineteenth-century Victorian image of family life with its "upstanding father, and a warmly embracing mother" (Fass, 2016, p.10).

Although Angel Park members frequently acknowledge in conversation that individuals have agency or personal autonomy, mainstream American society's most esteemed value, it is not their only value. Angel Park, like seventeenth-century America, continues to value self-sacrifice, obedience, good manners, self-reliance, and being well-behaved (Ulrich, 1980), which are seen as virtues, not values. Taken together, these virtues provide members with a fixed moral compass necessary to create the proper life orientation that makes life worth living.

Variations in Parenting Socialization

In spite of the community's glorification of the patriarchy and the expression of male authority, there is a range in men's approaches to their organization of the family and how best to raise their offspring. In Angel Park, I found there are three leadership or management styles: a stern authoritarian style, an easy going diffused one, and one of indifference to any and all family leadership obligations.

Like nineteenth-century Mormon polygamous fathers, contemporary polygamous fathers inclined toward an authoritarian approach have a clear idea how best to organize their family (Hulett, 1939). In contrast, other polygamous fathers, due either to being away for long periods of time or those who feel overwhelmed by pressing family responsibilities, withdraw psychologically as heads of the family and relinquish its management to their wives or to an individual wife who takes responsibility for managing the larger plural family (Hulett, 1939). The easygoing father, like his nineteenth-century counterpart, remains active and engaged in daily family affairs while also preferring to delegate parenting authority to his wives (Hulett, 1939).

Every father, regardless of his management style, repeatedly reminds his offspring, especially teenagers, of the essential difference between "natural man" and the "socially mature man." The image of the natural man, a nineteenth-century idea that holds that all humans have biological or innate drives such as sexual desire, status competitiveness, and individual aggression that requires sustain concentration to overcome what fundamentalist beleive to be our more natural inclinations. Church leaders stress the importance of self-mastery at Saturday and Sunday meetings where the membership is reminded that it is essential for an individual to master his or her innate drives. It is through controlling these drives that a person learns how to live a proper moral life necessary for becoming a good person. One young man from Angel Park vividly recalled his teenage years when his father would often take him aside and remind him of the necessity of such mastery. His father warned him that: "failure to do so meant you failed to master yourself which can also mean you are not worthy to remain in the community." The experience of felt guilt combined with the implied threat of social ostracism serves as a powerful restraint on behavior.

Angel Park has made self-sacrifice one of its primary virtues. Fathers routinely refer to and talk about the need for sacrifice whenever their wives or children request something he cannot readily provide. It is thought that to create and maintain a harmonious family, each member must "pursue the good in common" (Bellah et al., 1991, p. 9). This pursuit customarily requires making some kind of sacrifice for the plural family's well-being. To this end, fathers regularly admonish wives and children about the importance of making and sustaining a deeper more spiritual commitment to the family. Many younger men and women readily recall being deeply moved by this ideal and motivated to achieve it. Moreover, they often and easily recall how much they respected their father for his strong religious convictions combined with the daily sacrifices he made to support the family.

For example, a young father informed me that the "purpose of polygamy is to raise up for God righteous children." He elaborated on his conviction: "without righteous principles children do not have a clear path to salvation. They can easily lose their faith and be lost to the outside world. Parents have a responsibility to teach, educate their children to follow God's rules." He used the term "righteousness" and I asked him what it entails. Smiling he explained: "it is easy and it is difficult – To be righteous is to follow God's laws – you should have sex with only your wives, you should produce children who want to obey God's laws, you have to hold regular Sunday (or family) meetings - you need to guide your children and provide valuable instruction so they know what to do." I asked him how does he respond when a child, especially a teenager, misbehaves. "You need," he said, "to discipline them; you can hit them until they do the right thing" or "you can seek priesthood guidance and they can pray for [your] son or daughter." He reluctantly added that: "if they refuse to adjust and become the devil's child, then you have to reject them otherwise they will infect the entire family."

An example of a young person's religious dedication spurred on by the memory of his father's admonitions is heard in the words of a 19-year-old male: "My father would lecture us for six solid hours on the importance of making a total commitment to living together in the larger plural family. He would quote scripture and sermons and tell us stories of redemption and triumph." I noted that six hours seemed like such a long time and wondered if he might have gotten bored. With no hesitation he said: "No, [I] thought it was the best time." Afterwards he admitted that he tried to live up to values of cooperation and "be a better person when interacting with his half brothers and sisters and their mothers."

If teenagers, male or female, do not admire, respect, or fear their father, they normally reject his counsel. For example, one 30-year-old woman remembered her father telling her "to stop putting makeup on." But she refused, saying: "I just ignored him and he yelled at me, but I continued to ignore him. I did try to be more reserved when he was around, however. But in the late evenings I would secretly leave to meet with friends at parties where I would wear loose clothes, make-up, and do whatever I wanted. I was free." Her attitude is typical of those youth who feel a "real ambivalence toward fathers who had been aloof, authoritarian figures for most of their lives" (Foner, 1984, p. 116).

There is a gender difference in the way some fathers advise, counsel, and discipline their sons, having greater expectations for their sons than their daughters. Mothers, however, tend to be more tolerant of a son's challenging behavior than of a daughter's. After puberty, girls are more closely monitored. The often-unvoiced family concern is about sexuality and its control (Schlegel & Barry, 1991). Given the community's Puritan mind-set, sex is regarded as an essential force, but a dangerous one. The regulation of youth's sexuality, especially that of females, is a paramount concern. One example is a typical exchange that mothers have with their daughters. When a teenage girl wants to go for an evening stroll, a mother will say, "please hold on and I will go or one of your brothers or sisters will go with you." When this happens, the girl is, in almost all cases, no longer interested in going. This tight restriction does not hold for boys, who are allowed to travel outside the community, even if just to hang out with friends.

Mothers Parenting Style: Affectionate to Indifference

Although men are the patriarchs of their family, most families outside of a ritualistic setting (e.g., Sunday service and Priesthood meetings) are organized around the mother(s). While women are deeply committed to upholding patriarchal values and with it male privilege, my observations found they are also the repositories of the pragmatics of everyday nurturing – a nurturing that is more situational-based than theologically directed. Their primary goal is to raise decent, loyal, respectful children who want to live the "principle" (i.e., establish and maintain a plural family). To this end, mothers strive to keep their family together, despite the various challenges they face.

This arrangement ensures that there will be stronger emotional ties between mothers and her children than between fathers and his children (Parker, Smith, & Ginat, 1975). It goes from birth to adolescence, but is further strengthened by the fact that the arrangement remains long afterward and only lessened by the children's marriage and beginning of a family. In Angel Park, polygamous families are de facto matrifocal units embedded within the overarching ideal of a plural family. Although women endorse and uphold in public discourse their husband's position as the family's spiritual and administrative authority, in practice most focus on their own de facto matrifocal unit.

In this setting matrifocal units often arise within patriarchal social organizations (Sered, 1994).

Because a mother's primary responsibility is to provide for and morally instruct their children, they become their children's primary source of emotional support. It is a mother's ability to provide emotional nurturance that accounts for the de facto rise of matrifocal units within the larger father-centered patriarchal family. The significance of the matrifocal unit is vividly revealed whenever a person is asked about their birth order. The common response is to first provide their birth position within their mother's family and then their birth order within their father's more complex

family. For example, one man, in his 40s, epitomized this tendency when he noted: "I am my mother's second child, my father's twelfth child, and I am my father's sixth son" (Jankowiak & Diderich, 2000, p. 136).

Mormon fundamentalist women, like eighteenth-century New England women (Ulrich, 1980), are idealized as an affectionate archetype whose presence and actions modify some of the overt rigidity found in the patriarchal system that stresses discipline, obedience, and deference. My long-term observation found that the quality of the mother-child bond, however, depends on a woman's personality, her work schedule, and the number of children. During my four-year stay in the community, I noticed that a few women were simply indifferent to the daily responsibilities of childcare. Others were committed to closer relationships, but their work schedule often prevents them from being present. Some others noted that, of all their children, they were closer to their last-born because they had more time to interact with them. My sibling relationship survey found that the mother-child bond was strongest among the last-born children (Jankowiak & Diderich, 2000). As one middle-aged mother confined to me over a cup of coffee: "I just had more time with the last two children."

I also found that women who were college educated tended to have a closer relationship with their children. They were in general more open to talking, often engaging their children through the use of clever analogies and thoughtful suggestions. For example, a young man told me that he grew up in a family that encouraged discussions about theology and other matters. He felt that he could talk with his father or mother about issues and they never criticized him for asking questions about the meaning of life, God's purpose, or whether the polygamous system is a fair system. He reported that he often had long talks with his mother (and to a lesser extent with his father), but nevertheless "enjoyed discussing theology with both parents."

In other families, mothers were less knowledgeable about theological matters and, at times, apprehensive of entering into open discussions about theology. However, in these families, mothers maintained their focus on the children and remained actively involved in their development by offering encouragement, advice, and, at times, financial support. I was repeatedly told that what they desired above all else was for their offspring to remain in the community, and if this was unfeasible, they strove to maintain frequent contact with them.

Mothers in the community strive to raise a moral and good person (one and the same in fundamentalist religion) through modest living. A 45-year-old woman recalled how "my mother would try to be happy even when we had very little to eat. She would just make jokes and encourage us to sing happy songs." Mothers customarily give love and demonstrate generosity to help their children identify with proper values. A mother of seven teenagers felt strongly that loving support is essential to guide teenagers into adulthood, explaining it this way: "Kids need to see they belong. They need to realize they have love and a place and a future." Many mothers discipline their offspring by invoking religious values and expressions. For example, a 28-year-old female recalled how often religion was invoked around the house: "my mother would casually ask if my behavior was the result of the devil influencing me.

I hated when she did this, but I did modify my behavior." Smiling, she added: "at least for a while." While it is typical for mothers to discipline their offspring by referring to religious maxims, the parenting style of a mother in the community depends on her level of education, the degree to which she embraces the role of nurturer, and whether or not she has sufficient time to be present in her child's life.

Both males and females model themselves on their father's and mother's everyday behavior and will bring their assimilation of that behavior into their own marriage. If their mother or father was passive-aggressive in seeking resources, they are often similarly inclined. Further, when the family environment is contentious and openly hostile, individuals are prone to negatively critique the community's cultural practices. On the other hand, if their mother or father customarily sought to be a conciliator and bring sister/co-wives together, they also adopted that approach, even when they lacked their parents' skills to be successful. The pull of influence is so strong, so dominant, that children will emulate the same parenting despite it going against the grain of their personality.

Public Education and Cultural Transmission of Religious Values

If fathers are the public voice of community values, the local public- and privately operated religious schools act as a secondary institution that further serves to reinforce the community's core values. Because the overwhelming majority of the teachers, administrative staff, and students are from the community, the typical restraints on actively and forcefully voicing theological convictions in a public school are overlooked. Youth recall that they were often lectured in their classrooms about the importance of living God's law to form a plural family. They are regularly reminded that the devil is constantly active in the world and always trying to seduce them away from their religion.

Many young people remember school-wide assemblies where they were warned against romantic love because of its implied expectation of, and desire for, exclusivity. Romantic love would only intensify the jealousy that they would likely experience when they join a plural family. They were instructed in the need to adapt to the limited time with their husband as well as the competing needs and expectations of the other wives. To successfully do this, they were encouraged to make a renewed dedication to live God's law and complete his "work" (i.e., form a polygamous family). Everyone believed that the Devil would try to undermine the ability to live up to religious ideals, which in many community members resulted in palpable fear. Taken together, schoolteachers, administrators, and parents formed a unified cluster or group in stressing the importance of upholding the Mormon fundamentalist doctrine. To date, their efforts are highly effective, as evidenced by the fact that the community continues to see a great majority of daughters marrying into a plural family (Quin, 1991).

Although schools are guardians of the community's stated values, youth learn from their peers that there are other, often unvoiced, values or modes of thought that stand in opposition to the community's religious-inspired values. In bringing youth from different families together in one place on a routine basis, high school offers and provides, for some youth, support for the outward expression of alternative values. In 1999, the leadership of a rival sect, the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, fearing its youth would become spiritually "contaminated" or "sullied" through contact with unbelievers or sinners, decided to pull their children out of the local public school in favor of homeschooling. In the process, the community maintained a firm hold on its historically based insistence that there are only two stages of life: childhood and adulthood. In contrast, Angel Park's leadership continued to promote the benefits of extended education that, albeit tacitly, also recognized adolescence as a distinct life stage.

Although community leaders, teachers, and parents set goals and boundaries, siblings also act as a significant socializing agent, though they themselves are overall loosely supervised by adults. In this community, children tend to raise each other (Weisner, 1982). Older siblings neither indulge nor coddle younger siblings. They are allowed to explore, but the strong preference is for younger children to stay within their own family compound and play there. The dynamic of this child-rearing is conducive to the formations of an implicit hierarchy where the older children influence younger who are more inclined to look up to older children than to their parents for guidance and direction. In this way, they learn valuable behavior that allows them to culturally survive through imitating the behavior of same-sex siblings. For example, a youth recalled when he was five years old he was hit by his nine-year-old brother for being "pushy" (that is, not knowing his place): "I learned my place and the importance of not challenging those who are higher in the pecking order." Another youth remembers with fondness the enjoyment of spending time with his family: "we would make our football teams from the larger family, we would go to the barn and hang out, that was the fun years." In contrast, Floria Jessop, who lived in the Fundamentalist of Latter Day Saints (FLDS), a different fundamentalist community, recalls: "The rivalry among kids is intense where you have to hustle and fight for everything" (Jessop & Brown, 2009, p. 38). In this setting, children learn that life is a struggle and that competition is more "the law of the land" (their term for American legal jurisprudence) than cooperation. The reality of sibling rivalry goes against the community's cherished ideals, which heightens a teenager's suspicion that the community's cherished ideals may not only be unattainable but are also less than desirable.

Social Structural Realities and the Devaluation of the Plural Family

Most Mormon fundamentalist youth have internalized and accepted the community's core values and its life orientation. A 22-year-old male's life goal is highly representative: "to live in spiritual peacefulness, marry, have children, a family, and

to support that family." It is the life goal that Angel Park parents strive to instill in their offspring. To this end, everyone endeavors to raise a "good child" who has the awareness, ability, and dedication to achieve the community's highest ideal: living a decent life through the creation of God's ideal family, which is a polygamous family. The community recognizes that not everyone has the talent or dedication to achieve this ideal. It is well known that many are called but fewer receive God's blessing, and there is the understanding and expectation that most efforts to form a plural family will fail.

Angel Park youth are aware of the community's expectations and subsequent critical judgment if they cannot achieve its most cherished ideal. They take seriously the belief that rejection of community norms will "result in their going to Hell because God has rejected you." Whenever youth secretly gather together, the issue of whether they want, or are able, to form a plural family is a recurrent topic. These gatherings are ad hoc, are always secret, and take place at midnight outside the community. Young men and women from different school cliques and families attend. With them they create an anti-structure or nonhierarchal liminal zone where the use of drugs and alcohol are intertwined with intense discussions about their parents' behavior, co-wife interaction, the validity of their religion, and overall what makes life worth living. A 28-year-old woman recalls: "when I was 14-years-old we would meet secretly and discuss sexual attractions and what it meant to be a moral person – our talks last entire nights." She adds that: "We discussed our love crushes we had or what we observed of our friends." At these gatherings youth are not above expressing their personal exasperation, often making fun of religious ideals and what they consider parental hypocritical behavior. One angry female told her peers of an incident where her mother asked what she is going to do for the day and she yelled out: "I will stay home all day and praise the Lord." Her peers laughed and identified with the experience.

The community strongly condemns these midnight gatherings where youth freely interact. It is not unknown for youth to become romantically involved and want to marry an age mate. If such marriage occurs, it results in the woman being removed from the marriage pool. Angel Park is keenly aware that frequent peer group gatherings are a threat to the community's placement marriage family system, whereby the religious elite, or, the Priesthood Council, are believed to have special insight into who God wants a person to marry. Community members believe that if teenagers have opportunity to freely socialize without adult supervision, some will decide to marry without Priesthood Council's advice, which could result in making a mistake that will result in having less than satisfactory marriage. The tacit opposition of Mormon fundamentalist communities toward male adolescents is derived from the reality that there is always an insufficient number of females to support a polygamous community. Their ambivalent attitude toward unmarried male youth is typical of polygamous communities around the world where "old men often have hostility toward young unmarried men" (Foner, 1984, p. 33). In turn, young men often are "bursting over with envy and resentment toward the older [men who are] in control" (Foner, 1984, p. 22; also see Schlegel & Barry, 1993). The intergenerational antagonism is symbolically played out every Thanksgiving when the married

men play a pickup football game against the unmarried male youth in what locals refer to as the Turkey Bowl. In the game, onlookers report the bachelors are noticeably more physically aggressive than the married men.

Mormon fundamentalist youth do have a deep-seated commitment to their faith while simultaneously harboring a suspicion that the plural family is an institution with serious problems. Young males who are from a low-ranking family are seldom given a wife and thus most leave the community to find a mate, which inevitability results in her refusal to move to the polygamous community**.** Once a youth has left the community, there is a revision of how they conceptualize their childhood. Having an intimate understanding of the plural family's difficulties, they come to define themselves in opposition to the community's faith-based norms. However, when a youth comes from a highly functioning family (i.e., home stress is reduced or relatively slight), or part of an elite family, he recognizes that he will indeed be assigned a mate and tends to be less drawn to leaving the community. The ability of elite families to hold on to more of their sons arises from a form of "clan cannibalism," whereby elite males attract daughters from non-elite family who prefer to marry into the more elite families (Chagnon, 2013).

Whatever the quality of a youth's home life or his father's social rank, there are other social structural factors that contribute to a limited marriage market. It is telling that the community adopts a blind eye to the reality of the shortage of females. In avoiding the structural deficiency inherent in a plural family system, the community finds solace in its nineteenth-century metaphysical perspective that puts the inability to find a mate on the individual's lack of character or weak moral fiber (Hulett, 1939). For the community, the youth who leave represent God's rejection of them as suitable candidates for living in "God's chosen community." In the common parlance of the community, a youth is either a "good" person or a "devil" person. The distinction is common in many fundamentalist communities who habitually, constantly, draw lines between the "elect" and the "damned" or unsaved (Williams, 1991, p. 811). A youth's departure is regarded as a simple example of one "losing the spirit of the Lord" and therefore "losing the spirit of the Work."

Females, in contrast, have no worries about finding a spouse. They are concerned about the quality of their future husband – whether or not he is a decent man and if he is too old. This does not mean that some females do not have occasional existential doubts about the viability and suitability of forming a plural family. Unlike males, however, they have safety: certainty that they can always return and be immediately honored for doing so. Nonetheless, many females struggle with the existential decision to stay or leave. A number of them admit to having been "wild" as teenagers and, in their words, "sinned often." Some girls will leave the community and take up with a boyfriend, drink in excess, and, surprisingly, join in sex parties only to discover later in their early twenties that they truly belong in the community and leaving was a mistake.

For example, one young woman wrote a letter to her mother praising the polygamous family, admitting she got close to being damned but now wishes to return to become a plural wife, stating that she feels refreshed and fulfilled in the prospect of doing so. She thanked her mother for her love and never abandoning the hope that

she would return. In Angel Park, prodigal daughters are warmly invited back and immediately married in another family. There is less desire and less willingness to accept youthful prodigal sons who, unable to find a wife from inside the community, must look outside the community to find a spouse. When this occurs, most seldom return. When the community does welcome back a male, he is always middle-aged (fortyish), and if he wants a wife, he is often given a postmenopausal widow.

Conclusion

The critical issues that polygamous parents must deal with include: (1) lack of nurturing or bonding between half-siblings, (2) anxiety over possible co-wives' aggression directed toward their own children, and (3) the doubts about their offspring's ability to live the work (i.e., form a polygamous family). Although parents respond in their own way to these issues, they often do so in a different voice, rooted for the most part in gender. Men, as the real or symbolic head of the family, tend to talk in moral axioms and religious dogma, whereas women respond with greater variation, making pragmatic adjustments that take account of situational factors. This is due, in large part, to mothers being more involved with their own natal offspring because of their daily interaction. This is not unique to Angel Park, but can be found in other polygamous communities where "women often have stronger ties of affection to children and grandchildren than men do" (Foner, 1984, p.115). The behavior pattern, however, is not unique. Nineteenth-century diaries, for example, are filled with entries of women thinking about the strength of their involvement with their offspring (Ulrich, 2017).

Most Angel Park women, like many women in other polygamous cultures, do not oppose the system from which they gain such an honorable position (Lindholm, 2002), that is, a position of meaningful status. They believe their ideal place is in the home and derive esteem from upholding the family system. It is rare that anyone who remains active in the religion to publicly reject the official doctrine of plural love. It remains an ideal worth striving for, if only in people's imagination. For most, it is an ideal best left in the abstract realm while one works at doing one's best in day-to-day life. Most men tend to ignore the contradiction and think of the plural loving family as a goal they can someday achieve if not in this life, then in the next life. The fundamentalists' communitarian impulse is for everyone to live in the spiritually unified and socially harmonious plural family. To do so, however, requires overcoming structural tensions and restraints common to plural family living. In addition, there are demographic factors that are often too powerful for most males to overcome. This is common to every polygamous community. For example, Bennion (2012) reports that 65 percent of the males in her Montana community left over the inability to find a mate. Families that strive to raise a "good person" must take into account more than just a straightforward application of church doctrine. The demographic realities ensure there will always be a skewed ratio of more males wanting a wife than there are potential wives available. This skewing further

accounts for young males' acute anxiety over whether they can marry and thus remain in the community. It is the sociological factor that leads youth to engage in serious, and often internal, reflection on the viability of their religion. As a result, successful adolescence socialization depends upon more than effective parent-child interaction, a necessary but insufficient condition for producing what the community deems its major spiritual and cultural ideal: the production of men and women not only *capable* of forming a plural family, but those who actually *do it*.

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Part IV
Emerging Adulthood

Emerging Adulthoods: A Microcultural Approach to Viewing the Parent-Child Relationship

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Despite the conceptualization of emerging adulthood (EA) almost two decades ago (Arnett, 2000), the field of lifespan psychology, and consequently the subfield of the parent-EA child relationship, remains dependent upon studies of primarily Western, White, often American, college students (Syed & Mitchell, 2013). The cultural nature of this developmental period is often neglected and there is still a lack of understanding of the sociocultural variations – the many emerging adulthoods – that exist (Arnett, 2011). By acknowledging the cultural nature of emerging adulthood, as well as utilizing a recent conceptualization of culture (Vélez-Agosto, Soto-Crespo, Vizcarrondo-Oppenheimer, Vega-Molina, & García Coll, 2017), we argue in this chapter that the parent-EA child relationship must be understood from a microcultural lens that posits that the relationship and practices present are cultural in nature. As such, the relation between parenting practices and EA well-being and adjustment outcomes must be grounded in the cultural context in which they take place. First, this chapter will present our theoretical argument and accompanying support. Second, we will present two initial applications of our theoretical argument. We will then conclude with suggestions for using this conceptualization of a microcultural approach in the future.

Emerging Adulthoods

Emerging adulthood(s) – the transitional time in life from 18 to 29 years of age – was originally conceptualized as a developmental cultural theory in the United States (Arnett, 2000, 2011). Due to a combination of sociocultural changes, including the rising age of first marriage and parenthood, increased job instability in the

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years of the twenties, and prolonged and widespread education beyond high school, individuals now take longer to reach these adult roles and transitions, such as marriage, in most industrialized, developed countries. Arnett (2000), in his original proposal, specifically linked these sociocultural changes in the United States to four historical revolutions – the shift to a service economy (technology revolution), the sexual revolution, the women's movement, and the youth movement. Similar shifts in economies coupled with the rising age of first marriage and parenthood and increased participation in education beyond high school are also evident in other OECD countries (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, including the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Japan, S. Korea, Australia, and New Zealand; Arnett, 2011) and even in specific subpopulations in non-OECD countries such as India, Nepal, and Argentina (Facio & Micocci, 2003; Regmi, van Teijlingen, Simkhada, & Acharya, 2011; Seiter & Nelson, 2011).

The theory was further conceptualized as sociocultural in nature due to its existence only under certain cultural and demographic states, including those of higher socioeconomic status (SES) with greater education, often accompanied by delaying marriage and parenthood (Arnett, 2000). While the conditions that contribute to emerging adulthood (EA) are not present in all countries, small minorities of individuals in developing countries exhibit behaviors in line with EA. This is only expected to increase in these and other countries due to the spread of globalization (Arnett, 2011). Although the original theory was conceptualized with variations in mind, a lack of understanding of these variations still exist among scholars. While EA in the United States was delineated by five general characteristics including self-focus, identity exploration, optimism, instability, and feeling in-between, it was also noted that the features (and most often the subfeatures) of EA may vary across cultures and contexts (Arnett, 2000, 2011). Therefore, to account for these sociocultural variations, it may be more accurate to say there are many emerging adulthoods (Arnett, 2011). While some variations of EA can exist due to transnational differences, there are also likely within-country variations due to differences in SES (Arnett, 2011).

Despite the original conceptualization of emerging adulthood(s) as sociocultural in nature and delineating the sociocultural variations of the life stage itself, the overwhelming majority of literature on this life stage has occurred in Western societies, usually within the United States and often with White college students (Rosenbaum, 2001; Syed & Mitchell, 2013). While there have been some recent studies that look to address this lack of diversity by attempting to include ethnic minorities in the United States (e.g., Syed & Azmitia, 2009), individuals not in college in the United States (e.g., Mitchell & Syed, 2015), and the full-age range of EAs between 18 and 29 years in the United States (e.g., Faherty, Lowe, & Arnett, Under Review), such studies are not in the majority within the field. As a result, researchers are limited in their ability to delineate and understand the many emerging adulthoods and, thus, contribute to the literature based on a small, specific subsample of US college students. This has large implications for interpreting the relation between parent-child interactions during EA and well-being and adjustment outcome variables for EAs, as the relations between parent-child interactions and well-being outcomes are often interpreted without the appropriate cultural context. Specifically, results are often

not grounded in the microlevel US college culture and often spoken of as universally applicable across the entire worldwide population of EAs. Therefore, there is a lack of understanding of the link between culturally appropriate well-being and adjustment outcomes for EAs and parent-child relationship indicators during EA.

While research on EA in other cultures and countries, besides the United States and Europe, is expanding to South America (e.g., Facio, Resett, Micocci, & Mistrorigo, 2007), to parts of Asia (e.g. Mitra & Arnett, 2019; Seiter & Nelson, 2011), and to less studied subsamples (e.g., ethnic minorities in the United States; Syed & Mitchell, 2013), an understanding of "the cultural basis of emerging adulthood" is still lacking (Arnett, 2011, p. 255). In order to thoroughly investigate and define the cultural basis of this developmental period, we must first comprehend the specific cultural beliefs underlying the behaviors (Arnett, 2011). In order to do this, a microcultural approach is necessary. Drawing from Vélez-Agosto and colleagues' (2017) reconceptualization of Bronfenbrenner's model, culture is posited at the center of an individual and within every interaction and subsystem.

In line with this theory, we define culture as a system and process of meaning composed of norms, beliefs, and values that are demonstrated every day through practices, traditions, and customs. Further, these cultural practices regulate interpersonal and intrapersonal psychological well-being and adjustment (Rogoff, 2003; Vélez-Agosto et al., 2017; Wang, 2018). As such, a shift from viewing culture as solely categorical variables existing at the macrolevel to viewing culture at a microlevel, within everyday practices, is warranted. Under this view, parenting practices must be seen as a product of one's micro-culture and therefore adjustment outcomes must also be interpreted with a cultural lens.

Parent-EA Child Relationships

Most parents continue to play crucial roles in their emerging adult children's lives (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2016). While most EAs across cultures tend to seek greater autonomy and individuation from parents, this is often coupled with a need for financial and emotional support, as well as advice from parents. Such support from parents often facilitates decision-making and results in greater success into adult roles (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2016). Further, recentering is a central task to be completed during EA (Tanner, 2006). Recentering involves shifting agency, power, dependency, and responsibility within the parent-child relationship. This leads to a shift from parental regulation to self-regulation.

Despite the overall importance of parents in the lives of EAs, the cultural context of this relationship must also be taken into account. The sociocultural context influences expectations parents have for their EA children and influences parents and children's access to resources. In turn, the sociocultural context affects behaviors and expectations individuals have for the family (e.g., filial responsibility; Fingerman & Yahirun, 2016). Specifically, within the United States, emerging adults' relationships with their parents vary based on nativity status, race, socioeconomic status (SES), and ethnicity (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2016). For example, there are

variations in the amount of support and assistance EAs within the United States feel they should provide to their parents during this time. EAs from lower SES backgrounds provide greater assistance to their families and feel more constrained within their individual lives (Fuligni & Pederson, 2002). For EAs, we also see differences in the rates of co-residence with parents across different ethnic-racial groups in the United States, with Asians, Blacks, and Latinx individuals more likely to live with their parents than White individuals. Variations within parent-child relationships are even greater across different countries due to differing cultural attitudes and expectations, as well as economic supports (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2016). For example, EAs from Hong Kong reported greater practical support from their parents than did emerging adults from Germany and the United States (Fingerman et al., 2016).

Applying the Microcultural Approach

Integrating the cultural conceptualization of EA with Vélez-Agosto and colleagues' (2017) reconceptualization of culture, we argue that the parent-child relationship must be understood as imbuing microcultural practices. In this vein, we must go beyond such macrolevel markers such as nationality (e.g., American or Indian) to truly understand a unique population of EAs. By using a microcultural approach, we can better understand the relation between parents, their EA children, and EA adjustment and well-being outcomes.

In the next part of our chapter, we will present two attempts at applying a microcultural approach to understanding the parent-EA child relationship. The first study looks at the relation between filial responsibility and well-being outcomes in different ethnic-racial EA groups within the United States. The second research study seeks to examine influences on decision-making during EA among middle SES individuals in urban India. While each application takes a different approach, they are both not without a few limitations that are inherent when trying to understand culture in this manner.

Ethnic-Racial Differences, Filial Responsibility, and Well-being in the United States One application of viewing culture at the microlevel and as existing within individuals' daily practices is evident in a recent study on the enduring effects of filial responsibility on well-being in EA college students (Faherty, Marcelo, & Yates, In prep). While there is a growing field of literature investigating *filial responsibility* (FR) – the child's provision of instrumental and emotional caregiving and support to the family – and its effects on well-being in childhood and adolescence (Jurkovic et al., 2004), there is much less research that examines the enduring effects of FR experienced in childhood and adolescence on well-being in EA. Even less research explores mechanisms that can explain the link between FR and well-being (Jankowski, Hooper, Sandage, & Hannah, 2013).

Because past research has shown that FR is related to both positive and negative outcomes (Kuperminc, Jurkovic, & Casey, 2009; Ponizovsky-Bergelson, Kurman, &

Roer-Strier, 2015), the importance of identifying mechanisms to explain this relation is paramount. While few studies have tested mediators of this relation (see Jankowski et al. 2013 for exception), the current study hypothesized self-esteem as a mediator in the relation between FR and well-being (e.g., life satisfaction, depressive symptoms, substance use). We hypothesized self-esteem as a mediator due to its importance, as EA is often marked by a time of self-focus (Arnett, 2011), although this self-focus can look different across micro-cultures. Further, self-esteem tends to fluctuate during EA and past research has found links between FR and self-esteem and self-efficacy (Kuperminc et al., 2009; Ponizovsky-Bergelson et al., 2015) and self-esteem and well-being (McCormick, Turner, & Foster, 2015). FR has the potential to increase an EA's self-esteem by providing them with a clear role and identity; however, FR could also decrease self-esteem by reducing an EA's autonomy.

The literature on FR has other limitations, including failing to take a multidimensional approach to independently examine instrumental FR (e.g., cooking and cleaning) and emotional FR (e.g., mediating conflict, serving as a confidant; Jurkovic et al., 2004). Most importantly in the context of this chapter, the literature on FR has not yet reached a consensus about whether there are FR differences and what they look like across different ethnic-racial groups in the United States (Hooper, Tomek, Bond, & Reif, 2014; Kuperminc et al., 2013; Jurkovic et al., 2004). Drawing from Vélez-Agosto and colleagues' model (2017), culture is embedded within the norms of filial responsibility. As such, it is likely that the relation between both types of FR (instrumental and emotional) through self-esteem to well-being depends upon the cultural norms an individual has regarding their responsibility to their family during EA. The following study took a microcultural, multidimensional, process-oriented, socio-contextual approach to examine the enduring effects of filial responsibility experienced in childhood and adolescence on current well-being in EA.

Participants in Faherty et al.'s study consisted of 2694 college students with 64% of them identifying as female. They were recruited from a large, public university on the West Coast of the United States. Participants, on average, were 19.11 years of age (*SD* = 1.46), and 55% of them identified as first-year students. In terms of ethnic-racial group, 44% of the sample identified as Asian, 27% as Latinx, 14% as White, 6% as Black, 6% as other, 2% South Asian/Indian, and 1% as American Indian. Using parental education as an indicator of SES, 37% had mothers and 32% had fathers with a high school degree or less, and 37% had mothers and 41% had fathers with at least a college degree. Therefore, we can assume the sample was mainly of lower to middle class.

Results from structural equation modeling, without taking into account ethnic-racial group, indicated that there were no direct effects between instrumental FR experienced in adolescence and childhood and all measures of college-going emerging adults' well-being (i.e., life satisfaction, substance use, and depressive symptoms). However, past emotional FR was negatively related to current satisfaction with life and positively related to college-going EA depressive symptoms, but there were no relationships with substance use. Similarly, for self-esteem, past instrumental FR was not related to current EA self-esteem; however, past emotional FR was negatively associated with current EA self-esteem. Self-esteem was also positively

associated with life satisfaction and negatively associated with substance use and depressive symptoms. Self-esteem did significantly account for the observed relations between past emotional FR and life satisfaction and depressive symptoms, respectively.

The second step of the analyses took into account ethnic-racial group membership by performing a multiple-group analysis. Results from the multiple-group analysis yielded differences in FR-well-being relations depending on ethnic-racial group membership. Specifically, among Asian emerging adult college students, past instrumental FR related to greater EA life satisfaction. Further, only among Black EA college students, past instrumental FR was associated with more EA depressive symptoms, and past emotional FR was also related to higher rates of EA substance use. The mediational relations found between past emotional FR and life satisfaction and depressive symptoms held and were not different across ethnic-racial groups.

Consequently, the results of the multiple groups analysis highlight the importance of viewing the relation between FR and well-being as a function of ethnic-racial group and at the microcultural level. The results indicate how ethnic-racial group membership modifies the impact of different types of FR on well-being among college-going EAs. If we had stopped at the mediational model and just aggregated across different EAs, we would have stayed at the macro-cultural view by assuming the values of FR and such enduring relations to well-being in EA would be the same across individuals. The use of the multiple-group analyses, however, allowed us to take a microcultural approach to understanding ethnic-racial differences in FR and its relation to well-being within college students in the United States. By taking into account ethnic-racial group identification (and diving into the microcultural context of EA college students in the United States), different types of FR can be seen as both a protective factor (e.g., instrumental FR for Asian EAs on life satisfaction) and risk factor (e.g., emotional FR for Black EAs on substance use). These microcultural nuances are most likely the result of differing ethnic-racial familial norms and values; however, future research should examine this question directly.

These more nuanced microcultural analyses and results help inform interventions that can be more mindful of differing cultural familial values and their relation to well-being in college-going EAs. This is in direct opposition to a macro-cultural "one-size-fits-all approach." Despite the contributions of understanding FR in relation to culturally appropriate outcomes, this study did not have an explanatory mechanism to explain the different ethnic-racial group differences. While this study demonstrates the value of viewing familial practices as cultural in nature, the next step for research would be to go further and investigate even more micro-level cultural differences and explanatory mechanisms to explain these findings.

Emerging Adults' Relationships with Parents in India Emerging adulthoods are becoming more prevalent in developing countries, yet research on EAs in developing countries remain underrepresented in the academic literature. For example, there have been exponential economic and social changes in India leading to a change in the way EAs prioritize and choose tasks (Bhatia, 2018; Mitra & Arnett, 2019). Furthermore, there has been a sizeable increase in the number of EAs in India in recent years (Rajaram, 2013). With increased opportunities to pursue

advanced degrees and better-paying jobs, today, some individuals in India experience more autonomy in decisions during this time of life. However, this autonomy is situated within a framework of expectations set within the hierarchical family system that exists in India (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). That is, in a family-centered culture such as India, EAs do not simply make independent decisions, as these involve a great degree of negotiation with their parents and their expectations (Bansal, 2013). The extent of this engagement of the parent in their EA child's life varies depending on one's life domain. For example, while Indian parents are more involved with their EA children's decisions around marriage, their influence is less prominent on decisions around independent living situations (Mitra & Arnett, 2019) or religious worship (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994).

Recently, with an increasing shift towards a knowledge economy and away from traditional career options (Thomas, 2014), it is more common for Indian parents to allow their EA children to explore different career avenues. Further, as nuclear families are becoming more prevalent in India and shift away from the traditional joint family system (Niranjan, Nair, & Roy, 2005), the normative parent-child relationship is changing. Research has indicated the rising trend in India of individuals exercising more autonomy in choosing a spouse, even in arranged marriages (Allendorf & Pandian, 2016). Nevertheless, parents still expect to have influence in their EA child's life during the time parents are providing the EA child emotional and financial support (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2016).

In line with the previous discussion of micro-culture, the study described below is an example of focusing on middle- and upper-class EAs across urban India. India is diverse in various aspects, including geographies, language, religion, ethnicities, and socioeconomic status. These greatly influence the everyday lives and development of individuals (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). In this mixed-method project (Mitra & Arnett, 2019) using concept mapping (Trochim, 1989), two studies were conducted to understand the range of important life choices EAs in India make. Study one drew on the urban middle class in India, where 40 participants ($M_{age} = 23$, $SD = 3.4$; female = 57%) from across three cities in India (south, Bengaluru; east, Kolkata; and northeast, Siliguri) participated in focus group discussions. Fifty-seven percent of participants had completed a postgraduate degree, while 40% were currently pursuing or had completed their undergraduate degree. Most of the participants belonged to low (43%) or high (38%) socioeconomic status, as measured by mother's education level. Participants were required to report their mother's level of education across three subgroups – low for high school or less, middle for bachelor's degree, and high for postgraduate or more. Study two comprised rating and sorting of the 40-statement life choices measure (Mitra & Arnett, 2019) among a different set of 60 participants ($M_{age} = 23$, $SD = 3.2$; female = 54%) across five cities (New Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Kolkata, and Siliguri). Fifty-eight percent of individuals were currently pursuing or had completed an undergraduate degree, while 40% had a postgraduate degree. The majority (41%) of the participants belonged to middle SES, while 33% belonged to low and 26% belonged to high SES.

The goal of sample selection in both studies was to collect a geographically and culturally diverse group in urban cities. Each of the cities have a growing EA popu-

lation. Many EAs from suburban and rural areas have migrated here for better education and career opportunities (Chhapia, 2014). These demographic shifts have also influenced the nature of their relationship with parents as they depart from their family of origin to move to live independently.

The results of the study indicated that EAs in India reported responsibility towards their family as the most important choice during this time of their life. They deemed this to be more noteworthy than their independence/autonomy, financial security, career, their romantic relationships, and community and faith – in order of importance. Emerging adults also value meeting their parent's expectation towards their career, capturing the duty that individuals in India feel to meet their parents' expectations for their career path. Parental and filial roles form a core part of emerging adults' identity – these findings are suggestive of the active influence parents have in determining their EA child's career path. Similarly, it is also indicative of the rather large commitment EAs feel towards their parents even amidst their personal life choices – such as being independent of parents.

Results are in line with previous research (e.g., Allendorf & Pandian, 2016; Bansal, 2013) of the importance, among Indian youth, of establishing continuity of family values and traditions while seeking and exploring identities to enhance their sense of self. These findings are also indicative of the reorganization of cultural norms in India that have influenced the nature of parent-EA child relationships. An explanation for this shift could be middle-class EAs increasingly prioritizing and migrating to big cities in pursuit of advanced degrees and well-paying jobs. However, the results do not apply across all populations in India. The experience of their rural counterparts will be quite different as they have grown up in a different socioeconomic context and have not been as exposed to the hybridization of Western and Indian practices. For example, while there is a shift away from arranged marriages in India and individuals practice more autonomy in choosing partners, this holds true only in certain middle-class urban and suburban populations (Allendorf & Pandian, 2016).

Previous research has highlighted the importance of moving away from a dichotomous approach of categorizing culture into individualism and collectivism. Research has indicated the coexistence of both collectivist and individualist attributes within the Indian population (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). In the recent past, there has been a growing trend in India towards nuclearization of families among the middle class leading to new negotiations between parents' relationships with their EA child in the context of autonomy and family obligations. Bansal (2013, p. 11) notes,

> There is a weakening and sometimes a breakdown of traditional institutions like family and kinship units thus making them progressively less capable of determining individuals' orientations and behaviours by their history and tradition.

It is pertinent, hence, to use a microlevel lens in research and analysis – as in this case, the role of parent-child relations in urban India. These relations are likely quite varied across other social classes and regions in India where the freedom to exercise autonomy is limited by context. Researchers must steer away from the pressure to

claim broad generalizations as such results are often misleading and implications are not applicable across the entire population at a macrolevel – e.g., across all socioeconomic contexts.

Conclusion

All in all, we suggest that it is crucial to interpret the parent-child relationship within a microcultural lens in order to understand risk and protective adjustment and well-being factors in emerging adulthood. Both studies, albeit taking different approaches, attempted to acknowledge that many emerging adulthoods exist based on microcultural variations. In the United States, it seems that the relationships among EAs and parents, as well as well-being outcomes, vary based on ethnic-racial group membership and the differing filial values emerging adults' cultures expect them to have and show in behaviors. While some relationships evidenced no differences among ethnic-racial groups, others showed differential relationships based on ethnic-racial groups. By adding ethnic-racial group as a moderator in the analyses, a more nuanced microcultural understanding of the relation between filial responsibility and well-being outcomes arose.

In the second application study, the researchers found evidence for the existence of EA within a subpopulation in India, namely, the urban middle class. Additionally, findings suggested a complex balance of acknowledgment of the family in relation to making life choices and the expectations their parents have for their lives. These choices involved more self-focused pursuits of EA, such as exploration of career and education options. This study adds more weight to the importance of viewing the parent-EA child relationship as resulting from microcultural influences. While both studies were good steps in the pursuit of delineating the microcultural natures of the many emerging adulthoods, they were not without some limitations and avenues for future research to improve upon (see the original articles for more detailed information).

Suggestions for Implementation

We have some final suggestions for incorporating a microcultural lens to viewing the parent-EA child relationship and resulting relations with well-being and adjustment. First, we suggest grounding your study within microcultural participant information. Along with this, we suggest moving beyond large, macrolevel analyses to a more nuanced view of culture that acknowledges the overlap of many different cultural pieces, including SES, racial-ethnic group, country, area circumstances, urban versus rural, gender, and many others. Along these lines, we encourage researchers to move away from a comparative approach when studying these nuances.

Second, we suggest tailoring research questions to investigate microcultural mechanisms that can explain relationships between family-level factors and EA well-being outcomes. For instance, in the first study, we would suggest the researchers now examine a cultural mechanism that can account for the differing relations between filial responsibility and well-being outcomes. As mentioned earlier, researchers in the social sciences should be discouraged from striving for results that claim broad generalizations.

Next, unless the research questions demand so, scholars should avoid relying solely on quantitative measures to study these nuances. Often, measures that are applicable in one culture cease to be of relevance in another culture, even though it may achieve the oft-prized goal of standardization. Ultimately, we urge researchers to adopt a microcultural lens for viewing the many emerging adulthoods and resulting relations with parents and well-being outcomes during this time. Generalizations to the whole population truly fail to capture the many nuances of micro-culture present in emerging adulthoods and other developmental time periods. As such, we must as a field move to a microcultural approach of human development and emerging adulthoods in order to expand our understandings of our increasingly global and diverse world.

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Parents and Emerging Adults in India

Achu Johnson Alexander and Vandana Chauhan

Parenting practices are cultural practices, wherein, through the adoption and execution of particular parenting styles, the parent attempts to impart cultural values to the child which will allow for successful personal and interpersonal outcomes within their particular cultural context (Ainsworth, 1979; Erikson, 1959). Parenting practices differ cross-culturally (Miller, Akiyama, & Kapadia, 2017). Therefore, it is important to understand the cultural contexts within which parenting occurs. This chapter focuses on the unique Indian cultural landscape and addresses the importance of the family setting during emerging adulthood and the influence of gender and communication within the family setting. The specific focus is on the role of parents in career decisions of college seniors.

Theoretical Overview

Theorists on parenting introduced frameworks emphasizing the bond between the primary caregiver and the child. Freud spoke about attachment as a bond created when the parent fulfills a child's physical and physiological needs – e.g., providing shelter, clothing, and food (Bretherton, 1992). Harlow's studies (Harlow, Dodsworth, & Harlow, 1965) observing baby monkeys' reaction to a "cloth" mother versus their real mother during times of stress suggested that attachment to a parental figure is not merely based on the fulfillment of physical needs, but rather has an important

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emotional component in terms of whom the child sees as providing security and comfort (Ainsworth, 1979). Bowlby (1977) and Ainsworth (1979) built upon this framework by describing the secure, anxious-avoidant, anxious-resistant, and disorganized attachment styles that a child can develop as a result of how emotionally responsive their primary caregivers are to their emotional needs. According to Bowlby and Ainsworth, these styles impact the confidence with which a child interacts with their environment and new situations.

Erikson (1959) emphasized the impact of culture, context, and society on developmental stages throughout the lifespan. His eight stages of psychosocial development elaborated on the confidence (or lack of it) that individuals develop as a result of whether their parents equip children to deal with challenges pertinent to each developmental stage, so the children can move on to the next stage. Baumrind's (1971) influential parenting framework goes beyond identifying specific developmental stages by identifying coherent patterns of child-rearing behaviors associated with positive outcomes. Baumrind's three styles of parenting (authoritative, permissive, and authoritarian) are each distinct approaches to disciplinary practice based on degree of parental warmth/responsiveness, as well as degree of clear guidelines/rules for behavior. An authoritative parenting style involves a balance of clear rules/discipline with emotional warmth. A permissive style of parenting is characterized by laxity and involves little punishment or enforcement of rules. Authoritarian parenting is characterized by high demands placed on children combined with a lack of responsiveness and is seen as having the harshest discipline tactics of the three parenting styles without the emphasis on explanation of the punishment seen in authoritative parenting. A fourth "disorganized" style was added later for inconsistent behaviors not captured by the other three styles (Baumrind, 1991).

Authoritative parenting has been lauded as the optimal parenting style among many North American researchers (e.g., Maccoby & Martin, 1983) with positive relationships to self-esteem (Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, & Keehn, 2007), secure attachment (Karavasilis, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2003), and academic achievement (Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). However, research conducted outside of Western contexts suggests that authoritative parenting practices may potentially interfere with highly valued, culturally relevant socialization goals, such as filial piety, which may not be prioritized among Americans, but are in the Indian and Chinese contexts (Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Miller, 2017). This has been observed in interviews with Chinese and Indian mothers (of 4- and 5-year-olds) regarding their parenting practices and socialization goals (Rao, McHale, & Pearson, 2003). These mothers saw authoritative parenting as inhibiting the adoption of filial piety behavior. In their cultures, respect to authority figures, such as mothers, is an important socialization goal to teach. As a result, these mothers preferred authoritarian parenting as more conducive to transmitting cultural beliefs to their children.

Parenting in India

Regarded as a relatively collectivistic society, the Indian culture emphasizes consideration for relationships, especially those involving family, and maintaining harmony within those relationships, rather than individual uniqueness or distinction from relationships (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 2001). Roland (1988) proposed the concept of familial self for Indians, which captures the deeply group-oriented nature and special leanings toward families. Similarly, Mascolo, Mishra, and Rapisardi (2004) described the Indian self as encompassing both personal desires and those of family members such that they come together in a hybrid, as opposed to being distinct as in more individualized societies. Indian spirituality can help explain the importance placed on familiar relationships. Hinduism is the predominant religion in India and its principles have been influential in Indian cultural and historical contexts. The notion of *dharma* – fulfilling one's obligations, especially role-related ones – is reflected in daily life (Saraswathi, 1999).

Closely related to role obligations is the awareness of one's caste or class, and the need to carry out the duties related to one's social status in life. Even though the legal implications of caste/class have diminished through the decades, its social impact still features strongly in the Indian social context (Kapadia, 2008; Saraswathi, 1999). Marriages, for example, are still preferred between individuals of the same caste (Kapadia, 2008; Saraswathi, 1999). Educational opportunities historically denied to lower castes have been made available to lower castes through the passage of policies similar to affirmative action. However, these opportunities have still met with resistance from higher castes (Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). Violence among groups of different castes is occasionally reported (Saraswathi, 1999). The social realities of caste, therefore, provide an additional context of the factors affecting parenting in India.

In India, family is a key social institution that exerts a definitive influence on the lives of all its members (Tuli, 2012). There is evidence that sensitivity to family's needs in India is seen in moral terms of obligation to family and appears early in development. Research conducted with Indian children and adolescents on responsiveness to helping in different situations reflects the ways in which Indian cultural values influence development and parenting (Goyal, Wice, Aladro, Kallberg-Schroff & Miller, 2017; Kapadia, 2008; Miller & Bersoff, 1992; Miller et al., 2017). In responding to hypothetical situations to help friends, family, or strangers, Indians were more likely to view helping family in terms of obligation than were Americans (Miller & Bersoff, 1990; Miller et al., 2017). In a study by Goyal et al. (2017), American and Indian second and fifth graders read a story depicting a situation in which a child helps a younger sibling by giving him/her a teddy bear for comfort either spontaneously or after being asked by a parent. Results revealed that both Indian age groups attributed great desire to help the protagonist regardless of whether it was expected or not. In contrast, the American fifth graders viewed the protagonist as having a desire to help when he/she acted spontaneously only. Kapadia's research (2008) studying parent-adolescent conflict in Indian adolescents

also revealed that Indians living in India attributed more legitimacy to parental point of view than Indian adolescents born to immigrants in the United States.

In summary, the values imparted to the developing child to achieve successful outcomes in an Indian cultural context emphasize sensitivity to familial relationships. Research suggests that Indian children and adolescents are raised keeping in mind their eventual adult roles based on gender (Saraswathi, 1999). Where conflicts between parents and adolescents/emerging adults might exist, research suggests that communication between both parties is emphasized as a conflict resolution strategy (Kapadia, 2008). Gendered socialization and emphasis on communication during conflict resolution are two areas where these uniquely Indian patterns are visible during adolescence and emerging adulthood. These are elaborated on in the next sections.

Gender In the Indian culture, gender tends to influence parents' expectations for their sons or daughters as also reflected in parenting styles. Girls tend to be socialized for their eventual roles as mothers and wives, while boys tend to be socialized for their roles as caretakers of their parents and providers to their families (Saraswathi, 1999). Women tend to be seen as holders of morality, wherein expectations are placed on them to adhere to moral norms which are then expected to be passed on to their own children in their roles as mothers (Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). Women are also expected to leave their own families and move into/care for their husbands' parents (Saraswathi, 1999; Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). As such, the need for a woman to be virtuous becomes important, especially to be seen as a suitable partner in marriage. With the same gendered focus applied to boys, they are socialized to be providers and protectors of families; thus, their educational and career objectives tend to be emphasized more than for girls (Saraswathi, 1999). These gender differences have implications for the degree of freedom in choices experienced by boys versus girls. For example, families are more likely to spend more on education for sons and more likely to emphasize qualities expressing suitability for wives and mothers in daughters (Saraswathi, 1999). Dating is also discouraged with more restriction on girls than boys (Kapadia, 2008; Saraswathi, 1999).

While these cultural expectations based on gender and tradition are prominent, globalization (exposure to and interaction with Westernized economies as well as Westernized psychological values of independence) has created challenges where traditional values have met modern values (Arnett, 2007), especially for the urban population in India. Increasingly, Indian women and men have delayed age of first marriage, spend more time preparing for careers, and challenge the notion of mother/wife and father/husband roles as the only sources of identity (Kapadia, 2008; Saraswathi, 1999).

The intermixing of modern norms with traditional ones creates a need to figure out how to navigate decision-making in key areas of life (e.g., career and love) given the expectations to be sensitive to familial influence. An example of this is illustrated in Kapadia's (2008) interviews on parental regulation of activities with Indian adolescents living in India and those living in the United States. The Indian-American adolescents were more likely to associate dissatisfaction with parental regulation,

while the adolescents in India were more likely to associate legitimacy with parental regulation.

Communication Empirical research based on the Indian culture indicates that even though the emphasis on familial needs is prominent, individuals navigate their personal desires by negotiating and engaging in discussion with parents. For example, Raval (2009) found that daughters-in-law living in India and immigrant daughters-in-law living in Canada actively negotiated their role and communicated about their personal needs with their family members. In assessing adolescent conflict with their families, Kapadia (2008) found that Indian teenagers preferred to communicate their desires instead of passively submitting to their parents' wishes. Similarly, Chauhan, Miller, and Kapadia (in preparation) found that Indian emerging adults, as compared to American emerging adults, were more likely to endorse communication in situations where there was a conflict between personal choice and parental expectations.

As indicated in the parental involvement literature on emerging adults (e.g., Lowe & Dotterer, 2017), it is possible that parents socialize their children in context-specific ways. Specific to the Indian context, literature suggests that parenting styles emphasized gendered values and communication during conflict resolution (Kapadia, 2008; Raval, 2009; Saraswathi, 1999; Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). This chapter presents a study exploring how parents are involved in the career choices of college seniors living in India. Choosing a long-term, stable career is an important developmental task of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2015). Given the evidence that Indian parenting styles reflect important Indian values (e.g., gender roles, communication, respect of elders), it is of value to study how parental involvement features in the decision-making related to career for college seniors.

Emerging Adults in India

The experience of emerging adulthood is heavily influenced by the role of parents in a particular context. The traditional Indian culture is largely represented by intergenerational family structures, which encourage interdependence of family members and respect for elders (Rastogi, 2007). In recent times, the effects of globalization have influenced these intergenerational family structures such that the adoption of egalitarian beliefs have redefined family relationships. Moving out of parental homes and establishing nuclear family structures have become common (Rastogi, 2007). Increasingly, parents have adopted a progressive attitude by encouraging the wishes and desires of their children through provision of freedom and opportunities to explore numerous career possibilities (Bansal, 2013). Despite the effects of globalization on parents and children, central Indian values continue to represent a strong family orientation – family respect and pressure, expectations for high achievement, and success (Methikalam, Wang, Slaney, & Yeung, 2015). By implication, in the career domain, obtaining a job that enhances family status and

supports aging parents is likely to be highly valued. Therefore, parents of emerging adults are likely to continue socializing their children to fulfill the family dream of a career that was previously unattainable or unsuccessfully pursued in previous generations.

Parents view higher education as necessary for both sons and daughters to improve their prospects of finding well-qualified and educated spouses, gaining economic independence from and financially supporting their family of origin (Almeida, 1996; Bansal, 2013; Inman, Ladany, Constantine, & Morano, 2001). Moreover, these educational perspectives of parents are likely to include a gendered component. Parents stress cultural norms and gendered values while raising their children, especially for sons to pursue a career that will help financially provide for elderly parents and family in the future and for daughters to learn household and other domestic responsibilities which will be their roles to fulfill when they are older (Saraswathi, 1999). These traditional gendered values that demarcate the roles of sons and daughters are likely to create conflict with the individual's career aspirations and interests (Bansal, 2013).

As they navigate their career and relationship decisions, Indian emerging adults have to balance and maintain the extent of influence of their familial and friendship-based identities with their own personal views and desires. The "coexistence of contradictions" (Bansal, 2013) – defined as the simultaneous possibility of independent decision-making in an interdependent family context – defines the twenty-first-century Indian emerging adult. In the career domain, Bansal (2013) suggests that young Indians are likely to incorporate their family aspirations into their individual biographies to create a family-approved yet individualized career pathway. Achieving the balance between the aspirations of self and significant others in career-making may be potentially conflictual or cordial depending on the type of career pursued, family values and background, and social class.

The Macro-context in Career

India is experiencing a "youth bulge," with two-thirds of the population under the age of 35 years and almost half under 25 years (The New York Times, NYT, 2014). Among the working age group of 15–64 years, it is predicted that 64% in this group (M_{age} = 29 years) will be contributing to 34% of India's economic growth by 2020 (Bansal, 2013; Dhar, 2012). Utilizing this demographic advantage is important for accelerating India's economic growth, as well as potentially creating the world's largest and youngest labor and consumer market (NYT, 2014).

From a psychological perspective, emerging adults can optimally engage in extended career exploration and decision-making of meaningful career choices within a supportive macro-social and political environment (e.g., Dietrich & Kracke, 2009). In recognition of its unique economic position and the necessity to support the career

prospects of its emerging adults, India has initiated several career-based activities and programs for skilling and re-skilling young people. Recent government initiatives have focused particularly on the 28% of India's population between the ages of 15 and 29 years who represent the future workforce (International Labor Organization, ILO, 2016; NYP, 2014). To meet the changing needs of the current economy, the National Youth Policy (2014) highlights the necessity for an expanded, versatile, and quality tertiary education to equip and train young people for improving labor productivity and boosting economic progress. Proposals to develop human capital through development of advanced tertiary institutions have also been outlined in the National Policy on Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (NPSDE, 2015). Such concerted and timely efforts to develop the future workforce – mostly emerging adults – are expected to catapult India's position in the world market alongside other developed nations in the next 10–15 years (EY & FICCI, 2013).

While the above efforts are much needed initiatives, the results thus far have highlighted some challenges. An encouraging number of emerging adults are pursuing a college education, yet they face hardships in securing meaningful work after graduation. Educated youth unemployment in urban areas has significantly contributed to discontentment and frustration among the young. In 2011–2012, the youth unemployment rate among 15- to 29-year-old urban women was 13% (5% among rural women) and 10% among urban men (6.8% among rural men, ILO, 2016). Some reasons for this type of unemployment include low employment opportunities and poor educational training at the bachelor's and master's college degree level (Labour Bureau, 2016; MoSDE, 2015).

For instance, around 400,000 engineering students graduate every year in India, of which only 20% are adequately skilled to be employed (EY & FICCI, 2013). This report goes on to predict that the Indian workforce will face a shortage of 13 million adequately skilled workers by 2020. In the midst of this skill development challenge, college-going emerging adults in India face a daunting task of aligning their aspirations and interests toward developing a career path that would optimize their potential, maximize the fulfillment of their needs, and provide on-the-job skilling and re-skilling. Treading such an unpredictable path of career exploration and engagement can be overwhelming for graduating college students. During such tumultuous times, Indian emerging adults are likely to look to their parents for security and stability.

Present Study

By emerging adulthood, young people are increasingly establishing their independence and acquiring self-responsibility as they create their unique pathways in love, work, and worldviews (Arnett, 2000, 2015). Increasing independence and responsibility would accordingly result in an increasing sense of independence –

financial or emotional – from parents (Arnett, 2015). These Eurocentric ideas of independence and autonomy were found to be partially present in a sample of Indian college seniors in the present study.

The present research was based on college seniors of middle-class background in India. For the purpose of constructing a culturally situated, career-related parental involvement scale, the first author conducted a pilot qualitative study to understand the Indian experience of college seniors (n = 10) on their career planning and decision-making (i.e., career engagement), and the extent/type of career-based parental involvement. Thematic analysis was applied to interview transcripts for establishing the central themes in career-based parental involvement (Braun & Clarke, 2006). From the perspective of college seniors, two central parenting practices were observed in their children's career aspects:

1. *Bidirectional respect and understanding.* Parent-emerging adult communication was characterized by college seniors in terms of both parties expressing to and considering the career wishes of the other. Parents indicated their career aspirations for their children. Similarly, college seniors sought and valued the career advice rendered by their parents. The mutual understanding between parents and emerging adult children was intended to maximize the college senior's potential to achieve career success, thereby enhancing the financial capability to support his/her family of origin (parents and siblings). Such a mutuality in parent-child communication about the college senior's career decision-making and planning aligned with previous study findings based on Indian women (Raval, 2009), teenagers (Kapadia, 2008), and emerging adults (Chauhan et al., in preparation).
2. *Gendering in parental support.* College seniors described their parents as providers of emotional and financial support who simultaneously socialized specific gender-based cultural norms in their sons and daughters. Female participants described how their parents encouraged daughters to pursue higher education for a career that gave freedom to support their husband and his family, care for their children, and run the household smoothly. These participants attributed their parents' behavior largely to social pressure – neighborhood, extended family – that prescribed protection of the female and her body in preparation for marriage. Similar to what has been established in previous literature (Bansal, 2013; Saraswathi, 1999), the consequences of parents' gendering practices were different for sons and daughters in the career domain. In our study, the male child was socialized to pursue careers that promoted their ability to financially support their family of origin and procreation, while the female child was socialized to take up careers that allowed her to perform her domestic responsibilities such as caring for in-laws, husband, and child(ren).

In the following subsections, the aforementioned parental behaviors are described in further detail with illustrative quotes.

Bidirectional Respect and Understanding

Participants indicated that they valued their parents' wishes and opinions. In turn, parents were largely described as approving of their child's career aspirations. A mutual understanding of career aspirations and opinions characterized parenting practices in the career domain for college seniors. For instance, a 20-year-old male characterized his relationship with parents as based on respect. He mentioned that he agreed with his parents every time his opinion on family matters were sought. His parents were, in turn, always encouraging of his career wishes. The participant provided an example to illustrate how his parents have supported his educational and career decisions,

> [Dad] wanted me to be a physician. I said, "I want to do psychology." "Ok, you'll do psychology." If I take some position, I will go to him, and he will take, uh, he will do the next step. He won't ask how dare I and he won't give suggestions. Like, he won't ask first, he'll say, "Let's take the next step…

He further described how his father has been supportive of the participant's current internship search after finishing undergraduate studies,

> My dad took me to the interview. He was waiting there the whole time. Then he asked me what happened. I told him that this, uh, he didn't, they didn't, uh, I didn't, he told me "Ok well, we'll find some other place. Come with me. We'll go see some… guy." Then, uh, my dad took me to see some… uh paramedic, some guy. Then, uh, my dad asked him whether he knew any other guys [who can help me out]. Then this guy said, uh, "I'll look, and let you know." Then my dad is like, "Don't worry." So, they were supporting those things.

Further, a 20-year-old female participant described herself as being at a career "crossroad" where she was exploring multiple future possibilities, including short-term employment and completing applications for higher education. She stated that her perceived career indecisiveness was responsible for causing her parents to be more involved than necessary. But she said she has communicated her frustrations about her parents' behavior and they have responded by becoming less demanding. She says,

> My mom wants me to get a job, and then my dad wants me to go for an MA in economics. So, it's kind of contradictory. So, the thing is, right now I'm not telling them that I'm applying to jobs, because I don't want to like get their hopes up or anything. So now, according to them, the only option is a Master's [degree].. My dad just keeps asking me to check up with different universities, apply to different universities, get familiar with different courses and things, so that's how they generally help out.

Both male and female participants indicated that their parents provided unequivocal support for their career aspirations. Some participants who were not clear about their next career steps were incessantly advised by their parents on how they should plan for their future; some others who had clarity on their career plans were given full support by parents. A 21-year-old male participant mentioned how his parents provided their support,

> About my studies and what I am going to do, I tell them everything [that] I want to do for them and what they want to do for me but not personal things, like what I talk to my

friend…. They said I can join any engineering college I want but I should do mechanical engineering only. But after I finished my degree now, Marketing was my idea. Now they say," okay, this is your life. If this is what you want, do it." They know I am good with people and so they say go and study this. They also said they will take a loan to send me foreign to do [a] Master's [degree]. I want their advice because they are very experienced. My father is an HR manager and so he knows how the mind of a student works and the working experience. I take their advice and also share my opinion. They will do whatever I want and I can come back home anytime. I [want to] earn money for my parents.

Indian parents of college seniors were viewed as agents of support, encouragement, and autonomy in career decisions. The majority of parents were not limiting their children to pursue their career aspirations and inclinations. Rather, parents remained engaged to the extent that should the child face obstacles or other unplanned circumstances in their career making, parents would provide the necessary (in many cases, continued) help – emotional and/or financial. In predominantly collectivistic cultures such as India, parents desire that their children attain a successful career so that the young can care for their aging parents. Thus, parents are likely to encourage their emerging adult children to decide a career path that would enhance their financial and emotional capacities for family care.

Gendering in Parental Support

Participants acknowledged numerous instances of parents' strong support for their child's career plans. However, some participants also experienced gender-based differences in their parents' provision of support. Few female participants described that they received parental support only in instances where they pursued a career interest that did not obstruct the fulfillment of domestic responsibilities after marriage. Parents were particular that their daughters did not consider career pathways that encouraged children to stay away from family or taint their character. A 19-year-old female participant described her experience as follows:

I'm from a very orthodox family who thinks that girls can go to work but in a very constrained environment which will be very safe for women. I got selected at a national government institution [for Media studies] but still they didn't think it would [be] good for me. They thought that having a girl working in the media industry will find it very difficult to get married to a guy from a good family or people can talk four or five wrong stuff about the girl that she's in the media. Such things get into my parents' mind. When I told them that I got selected into such [a] college for doing Literature, they gave me an option - you can do whatever you want. When I thought about it, I thought that my career [is] important for me. So when I told my parents I'm very sure that I want Literature, [they said] they would let me go and do jobs. I wanted to work. Even after I get married, I want to work. [So] I took literature.

Another 19-year-old female participant subtlety explained the social reasons for parents' restricting behavior in the types of careers pursued by daughters. She mentioned how her parents treated her differently from her brother. For example, her brother was allowed to spend time with friends with less questions asked, while the

participant was allowed to go out with selected friends for a limited number of hours. She further described the social pressure faced by parents to protect and teach their daughters to be dutiful to their family and vigilant about their bodies. She illustrated this by expressing her uneasiness and disagreement in the way the members of her neighborhood viewed her:

> I really hate them, idiotic people, In my neighborhood, there is a gunda (fat) aunty named [NAME]. Her work is at morning at 7 o'clock, she will round up in our colony, visit every home, talk to them, and return to her home at 12. She will return and visit every house and then have tea break at 5 o'clock. When I am returning at 5, I saw her. She looked me top to bottom, she scanned me like anything. I don't know the reason why she is scanning me. When I reached home, I told 'Mom, she is doing overly. She is looking at me like anything. I hate it' She says 'Yeah [NAME]. As you are getting older, she is checking you, whether someone is dropping you or someone is walking with you, she checks you.' How idiotic, how can she do that? My right-side neighbor is an old man, 50–60 years. His only work is come and stand on the road, from morning to evening. Watch the people and neighbors passing by. He will watch me for 4–5 minutes when I enter my home and yesterday I questioned him, 'What is the problem with you, Uncle? Why are you always looking at me?' He said, 'No kanna (darling) I was just looking at you.' 'What is the reason to look at me'? I asked, 'Does your wife know this?' He said, 'No, no.' Then I said, 'Go inside', and I just scolded him and he went inside.

In summary, parents were described as providing unwavering career support to their sons and daughters, but also emphasizing particular careers depending on the gender of the child. A product of the social and cultural milieu, this gendering is reflected in the socialization of males and females in their career planning and decision-making. As a result, males are expected to take up careers that promote their ability to financially provide for their family and females are expected to pursue careers that will not sabotage their prospects of finding a groom or affect carrrying out their household responsibilities.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the Indian cultural milieu and its influence on parenting and its outcomes, especially for college-going emerging adults. Traditional Indian attitudes have intermingled with the realities of living in a globalized world, and this has resulted in parents adjusting their parenting styles to allow for more freedom in their emerging adult children's career decision-making. In the present study, the majority of participants (college seniors) described their parents as communicative and supportive of their emerging adult children's career wishes. It is likely that parents desire their children to develop the capabilities associated with providing emotional and financial assistance to their family of origin and procreation. At the same time, distinctive Indian patterns were observed. For example, female participants reported their parents and the larger society as placing restrictions on daughters to pursue certain types of career that ensure the safety of the female child. Researchers interested in parenting as it relates to Indian emerging adults might study the

mechanisms (besides communication) that help in conflict resolution in career decision-making, or how emerging adults strive to lessen differences in gendered expectations.

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Parenting Practices in Saudi Arabia: Gender-Role Modeling

Sarah Almalki

The aim of this chapter is to address the parenting practices of gender-role modeling in the context of Saudi Arabia. Specifically, the chapter addresses two of the main desirable child and adult outcomes: *Al-Birr,* which means full conduct and respect for one's parents, and the protector, or *Al-Wali,* which refers to a male who will offer protection and has legal responsibilities toward females in the household. Although *Al-Birr* is an outcome for males and females alike, *Al-Wali* is a male-specific outcome; parents who just have daughters will not focus on *Al-Wali* as a desirable outcome. The chapter starts by addressing the socioeconomic and cultural context of Saudi Arabia and the role of Islamic traditions and Arabic cultural values in shaping parenting practices. While few studies address parenting practices and child outcomes in Saudi Arabia, available research suggests that authoritarian parenting is common. Additionally, the sociocultural context and current family policy may have a role in encouraging the continuous parenting practice of gender-role modeling. This chapter contributes to the body of research on cross-cultural parenting and adding a new perspective to cultural similarities and differences in order to open our eyes to be cautious about drawing conclusions in regard to parenting and culture.

Saudi Arabia Historical and Social Context

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a Muslim-majority country located in the Middle East and bordered on the south by Yemen, with the Red Sea to the west and the Arabian Gulf to the east. Saudi Arabia is one of the largest countries in Western Asia and has a land area of approximately 830,000 square miles (CIA Handbook, 2017).

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Saudi Arabia is governed by an absolute monarch and has been ruled by the house of Saud since 1932 (Huyette, 1985).

Before the discovery of oil in the 1930s, the country's economic foundation was based on agriculture, sea trade, fishing, and pearl diving (Shaw & Long, 1982). Now, oil revenues account for about 90% of the export earnings and 80% of government revenues (Saudi Arabian Monetary Authority, 2015). Historically, the discovery of oil has fostered rapid changes in the country's economics, and foreign companies have started to invest in the oil industry. Families were affected by these economic changes, and many moved to big cities (Abou-Korin & Al-Shihri, 2015).

The Saudi population is estimated to be approximately 31 million; about 60% are Saudi citizens, and the rest are legal immigrants, immigrants without documents, or expatriate foreign workers (The General Authority for Statistics, 2016). About 80% of the population lives in big cities, such as the capital, Riyadh (The General Authority for Statistics, 2016). The Saudi population has a median age of 27 years, about 90% of Saudis can read and write, and approximately 60% of college graduates are females. Arabic is the official language and the most commonly spoken language (The General Authority for Statistics, 2016). Most Saudi family households consist of married couples with children (The General Authority for Statistics, 2016), and about 28% of these households are headed by females. The current average Saudi family size is about 2.4 (The General Authority for Statistics, 2016). Overall, family household size is getting smaller than it was 30 years ago.

Islam is the main religion in Saudi Arabia. The country is the home of Mecca and Madinah, the holiest Islamic cities, and the birthplace of the Prophet Mohamad. Sunni Islam is the main religion, followed by 80–90% of Saudis; the rest follow either Shia sects, other Islamic sects, or other religions (International Religious Freedom Report, 2004). The diversity of Islamic practices is due to the diverse ethnic groups in Saudi Arabia. For example, aside from Arab ethnic groups, which are the most prominent, there are Afro-Asian, Indian, Pakistani, Filipino, Bangladeshi, and others (CIA Handbook, 2017; General Authority for Statistics, 2016).

Core Cultural Values

The combination of both Islamic values and Arabic traditions shapes Saudi parents' parenting. The emphasis on certain child behaviors is based on the collectivist nature of the Saudi society, and any promotion of parenting message should be defined by the cultural beliefs. Before discussing the parenting practice of gender-role modeling, it is important to understand the cultural values that shaped this parenting practice. In the following section I discuss the core cultural values of religion, family and marriage, loyalty and group bonding, privacy, and gender roles and the way in which they shape the parenting practice of gender-role molding.

Religion Islam has a dominant role in the formation of the laws, policies, cultural beliefs, and traditions of the kingdom (Nevo, 1998). Worship practices and religious

symbols (e.g., dress code) are regulated by law. Family laws are also regulated by Islamic principles. For instance, civil marriage is illegal; marriage can only be legalized by certified religious leaders (Ministry of Justice, 2019). Islam holds an important position in individuals' daily lives and influences their beliefs and behaviors in various aspects, such as work, family, relationships, and socialization (Alfalih, 2016). In Saudi Arabia, public debates (e.g., about women driving) or the kingdom's future strategic plan (e.g., Saudi Vision 2030, 2016) must be justified and discussed according to the Islamic framework, since Islam is the vehicle that justifies why certain actions are taken.

Family and Marriage The role of the family is powerful for Saudi individuals. In both Islamic traditions and the Arabic culture, family is perceived as the core social unit for human development and where members are expected to support and protect each other (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016). Family laws and policies regarding marriage, divorce, child custody, child-rearing, and gender roles are based on the Islamic foundation of the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* as the constricts of Islam. Accordingly, family is not just the main social unit in which child development takes place but is also religiously valued. According to *Sunnah* teachings, the Prophet Mohamad said: "No house has been built in Islam more beloved in the sight of Allah than through marriage."

Types of marriage in Saudi Arabia are different from those in the West; cousin marriage is the most common type of marriage in Saudi Arabia and it is arranged through family agreement, although recent generations have had more of a say about their future partners (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016; Moaddel, 2006). Although there are a growing number of nuclear families, an extended family structure is still preferred and is common because of the benefits it provides, especially connectedness and social support (Al-Hakami & McLaughlin, 2016). With the growing urbanization in Saudi Arabia expected to reach 90% by 2050 (Abou-Korin & Al-Shihri, 2015), many Saudi families live in smaller housing units, fitting the nuclear family structure; however, urbanization does not decrease the role of extended family. Polygamy, where men can have up to four wives at the same time, is legal in Saudi Arabia, and about 1% of the total families in Saudi are polygamous ("Over half million," 2016).

Parents and extended family members are heavily involved in the marriage process, from arranging the marriage to providing couples' accommodations, taking care of the wedding expenses, and, later, usually helping with child-rearing (Dhami & Sheikh, 2000). This involvement is culturally believed to strengthen the unity of the family and provide grounding for the next generations to follow (Almalki & Ganong, 2018). Elders are greatly respected, and in-laws contribute to the child-rearing process (Dhami & Sheikh, 2000). Islam emphasizes that family must be established on a solid ground of piety, empathy, and equal fair treatment of children regardless of their gender (Dhami & Sheikh, 2000). In this context, fathers and mothers play the main role of providing a healthy environment for children. A mother's role is significant in the early years, during which she provides the basic

needs. Fathers usually become more involved as the child reaches age three or four, where involvements include playing and doing outside activities (Ahmed, 2013).

Loyalty and Group Bonding From an Islamic perspective, the concept of loyalty is about maintaining trust, strong bonding, and being supportive of all members in the community, even disconnected ones (Nevo, 1998). In this context, family members are the main source for seeking support and unity and should maintain ties via regular visits and phone calls. Additionally, the social structure of Saudi Arabia is mainly tribal (Nevo, 1998), with more than 69 different tribes populating the country. Tribalism is mainly used to define the patterns of social organization in the Saudi society. Saudi tribes are usually made of different households; each household includes groups of families. Together, this group creates their extended families, which call themselves a specific name, for example, my last name, "Almalki", is the tribe name, then every individual with the same last name is part of the "Almalki" tribe. Each tribe has its characteristics, for example, the geographical location, the way they speak, their ethnic food, and traditions. Loyalty to the group is a predominant component of the collective cultural identity for Saudis and one of the fundamental ways of forming communities and building trust (Maisel, 2014). Loyalty to the family is an obligation and is deeply rooted in Arabic cultures. Individual social reputation is linked to how loyal and committed people are to their community and extended family. Moving outside the group or seeking freedom outside the community is stigmatized and might result in isolation of individuals and families (Maisel, 2014).

Privacy The stigma of family failure prevents many Saudis from turning to therapists or psychiatrists for assistance in problem solving; many Saudis do not want to be perceived as having a failed familial support structure (Algahtani, Buraik, & Ad-Dab'bagh, 2017). The foundation of the privacy concept consists of maintaining a good reputation about one's behavior, the body, and the home, as well as upholding the honor and good status of one's extended family and the tribal name (Nevo, 1998). Privacy includes the requirement of modesty and self-representation in public including clothes, verbal and nonverbal communication, body language, and behaviors. The concept of privacy extends to *shame*, referring to the fear of judgment from society when someone does not follow the cultural norms (Algahtani et al., 2017). Among family members, the Islamic teachings emphasize that one has to ask for permission before entering his or her parents' bedroom (Rassool, 2014).

The notion of privacy is related to the role of the family. For example, when family problems or conflicts arise, parents try to keep the matter within the family circle. Research shows limited professional help-seeking behaviors among Arab individuals and their families (Al-Krenawi, Graham, Dean, & Eltaiba, 2004). Seeking professional help can be stigmatized and can affect the family's reputation in the community.

Gender Roles Gender is key to understanding the social structure of Saudi Arabia and serves as an important lens to address the cultural practices of parenting. The Saudi family is patrilineal in structure. Married couples are expected to live near the

husband's family, and children take their father's family name and Islamic sect. Married women do not adopt their husband's family name. In this context, passing on of the family heritage and wealth is through the sons and mostly involves patrilineal custody over children (Ministry of Justice, 2019).

The sociocultural and Islamic traditions and values also have strong influences on shaping the gender dynamics in Saudi families. It is culturally and religiously believed that men are the financial providers. Women, culturally, are expected to contribute to child-rearing and the house, but they can work outside the house. Historically, women were discouraged from seeking divorce because it was stigmatized; often, women were blamed for their marriage's failure; however, new generations may not follow this traditional view (Saleh & Luppicini, 2017).

Statistics show that about 60% of Saudi college graduates are women, yet they make up only 13% of workforce participants (Al-Asfour, Tlaiss, Khan, & Rajasekar, 2017). Al-Asfour et al. (2017) identify barriers such as limited employment opportunities and negative perceptions of women's professional capability and commitment as some of the reasons for this (Al-Asfour et al., 2017). Gender stereotypes about Saudi women being incapable of handling tasks professionally negatively impact women's chances of becoming actively involved with decision-making (Hodges, 2017). Nowadays, governmental and nongovernmental institutions in Saudi Arabia are pushing back against the gender stereotypes, especially since the development of the *Saudi Vision 2030* in 2016 (SaudiVision_2030, 2016). On September 26, 2017, the ban on women drivers was abandoned; thus, women's mobility and appearance in the public sphere are increasing. Women are holding high positions and becoming actively involved with decision-making (e.g., the appointment of the first woman as the deputy minister of labor and social development occurred in 2018; "First Saudi Women Appointed," 2018).

Gender separation is still a marked feature of the culture and in some situations regulated by law. For example, education is sex-segregated at all levels (Geel, 2016). Saudi children are exposed to the notion of gender from an early age. I argue that this domestic and the public contexts shape children's experiences because boys play and socialize with other males mostly in public, while girls do much of their activities with other females in private (Baki, 2004).

Research findings in the West clearly indicate the link between early socialization and gender roles on child outcomes and the children perceptions of doing gender (e.g., Witt, 1997). These findings are supported in a cross-cultural context (e.g., Bornstein, 2012). The Arabic cultures, like other Western and non-Western cultures, still value gender-specific outcomes in children. For example, expression of emotions for females includes emotions of weakness, fear, and seeking protection, while males are usually encouraged to express emotions such as anger, as well as taking actions and seeking revenge (Abu Baker, 2003). Although empirical evidence is lacking in the Saudi context, it is an observed phenomenon that parenting practices are influenced by this gender context.

Specific Parenting Practices in Saudi Arabia

Parenting practices exist in all cultural contexts and take many different forms. Many societies regard gender-specific child outcomes as "natural" (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000). This chapter argues that societies have encouraged certain child outcomes through the construction of culturally preferred gender roles and norms. The following sections provide examples on how some of these gendered child outcomes are associated with males (e.g., *Al-Wali*), while others are associated with both genders (*Al-Birr*).

Overview of Parenting Practices in the Saudi Context The existing research examining parenting practices and child outcomes in the context of Saudi Arabia remains limited. Moreover, the previous studies have failed to examine the cultural-parenting nexus of gendered children outcomes. The majority of the available research has typically focused on parenting style and physical punishment (i.e., Achoui, 2003; Dwairy et al., 2006; Hatab & Makki, 1978). For example, research findings show that Saudi parents mainly use an authoritarian parenting style (e.g., Dwairy et al., 2006). Baumrind (1966, 1991) argued that the authoritarian parenting style emphasizes parents' control of their children and the children's obedience. In this case, parents might be more assertive, expect children to follow their orders, and have authority over children. They might use physical punishment to encourage or discourage specific child outcomes. The outcomes of this parenting style are varied across cultures; however, among a sample of Arab children and youth, findings show that the majority of the sample were satisfied with their parent's authoritarian parenting style (Hatab & Makki, 1978).

Achoui (2003) studied Saudi female college students who reported physical punishment by parents at different stages of their lives, and around 61% of the students justified their parents' physical punishment. Studies also show that authoritarian parenting is common in Saudi Arabia and is used more with male children than female children (Al-Khawaja, 1999). Factors such as education and social class have mixed effects on authoritarian parenting. For example, educated Saudi mothers are less likely to use an authoritarian or controlling parenting style (Blissett & Haycraft, 2008); however, other studies have indicated that economic level and education have minor effects on the Saudi parents' parenting style (Dwairy et al., 2006). Such findings may suggest that the sociocultural context has an influence on parenting practices regardless of the social class and education of the family. For instance, family policies might be a factor of the preference for authoritarian parenting. For example, in Saudi Arabia, the mistreatment or rejection of one's parents is considered a crime. This might be a factor to consider when looking at the Saudi context of parenting and child outcomes; such offspring might feel that they are obligated to be considerate of their parents' needs.

The current chapter seeks to address some of the limitations in the literature by discussing the cultural-parenting nexus specifically the gender-role modeling as one of the notable parenting practices in Saudi Arabia. I use social learning theory and

gender schema theory to provide a theoretical foundation for the gender-role parenting practices; furthermore, I explain the parental activities and behaviors that might promote desirable child outcomes among Saudi families.

Gender-Role Modeling

Parenting in Saudi Arabia happens in a heterosexual context according to Sharia law (Yip, 2009). Heterosexuality refers to attraction to the opposite sex to form romantic relationships (Ward & Schneider, 2009). Any forms of relationship outside of the heterosexual marriage context are not allowed (Yip, 2009). Although this chapter may seem to be addressing parenting practices from the traditional gender framework, which might be one of the chapter's limitations, this framework best fits the Saudi Arabian context. Parenting in the Saudi context is imbedded within religious conservative traditions and sociocultural context (Dwairy et al., 2006). Parents reinforce gender-specific child outcomes based on the roles they play in society. As discussed earlier, gender roles and cultural expectations about men and women shape parenting practices in Saudi Arabia. Women are expected to be responsible for housework, although contemporary Saudi women may choose to fulfil roles other than being caregivers (Aldosari, 2017), yet men are the main financial providers for the household, regardless of the women's work status. Men's roles also include protection and decision-making (Saleh & Luppicini, 2017). Saudi parents may easily reinforce gender roles through their parenting style, including purchasing gendered toys (Mansoor, 2018).

Another factor that influences the practice of gender-role modeling in Saudi Arabia is gender separation. Children learn this mostly through observation. Sons observe other adult males' behaviors and play specific roles, which may involve expression of masculinity such as fighting, playing soccer, and using loud voices. Daughters learn from observing their mothers and other females. House chores, caregiving, and domestic activities are seen as main female responsibilities, and mothers are culturally expected to train their daughters to help them with these activities.

The Theoretical Perspective

The aim of this section is to provide a theoretical foundation of gender-role modeling as one of the parenting practices in Saudi Arabia. This parenting style aims to raise children with culturally valued gender attributes. Several theories have been proposed to explain gender development. In this chapter, Bandura's (1971) social learning theory and Bem's (1981) gender schema theory are the main focus because they both have cross-cultural applications in research (Starr & Zurbriggen, 2017). Both social learning theory and gender schema theory provide important explanations

of the role of parenting practices in the development of gender in children. I address each theory's assumptions regarding the cultural-social structure construction of gender-specific attributes and behaviors and how parenting practices can be key to this development.

Social Learning Theory According to Bandura's (1971) social learning theory, social relations and activities account for the behavioral development of gender appropriate and inappropriate behaviors in children. In this context, through direct experience and/or observation of the behaviors of others, children imitate and learn certain behaviors that are then reinforced by the rewarding and punishing consequences (Bandura, 1971). Through the concept of reward and punishment, children imitate and model the behaviors that speak to their sex identity. Social learning theory explains the key role of observation by which children learn which behaviors get positive responses and which behaviors have negative consequences and should be avoided. For example, if a boy plays with a doll, parents may direct him to pick a truck to play with instead of a "feminine" toy. Through this reinforcement process, children learn what is and is not seen as socially and culturally appropriate.

Despite the importance of social learning theory in explaining gender development in children, most of the research has been done in Western societies such as the United States (Ross-Gordon, 1999), and this is a limitation as the reinforcement of certain behaviors varies across cultures. Culture and environment play a key role in children's learning process. Children in some cultures are encouraged to model certain behaviors that are culturally desirable, while in other cultures, the same behaviors are not perceived as desirable. For example, not only do parents in Saudi Arabia reinforce gender-specific behaviors in children to match cultural expectations, I argue that the sociocultural context of the country might be one factor that contributes to the reinforcement of gendered personality traits, skills, activities, and behaviors. For instance, children learn from an early age that it is okay to interact and play with the opposite sex until a certain age (e.g., 13 years), and by the time children reach school age, which is 7 years, they go to a gender-specific school, have same-sex teachers and peers, and do school activities and curricula that match their gender roles according to the cultural norms. One study suggests that Saudi mothers might not have an active role in teaching their sons social skills in public due to the masculine sociocultural context of the country (Al-Qarni, 2011). From a social learning theory standpoint, through socializing, reinforcement, and modeling, boys and girls come to prefer certain sex-appropriate behaviors and avoid sex-inappropriate behaviors defined by the culture.

Gender Schema Theory The gender schema theory is a social-cognitive theory and a combination of both social learning theory and cognitive development theory (Bem, 1981). The basic assumption of the gender schema theory is that, from an early age, individuals have gendered concepts of their cognitive process and specific categorical ideas about what it means to be masculine or feminine. The gender schema theory proposes that children organize and encode gender-type behaviors

based on the cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity (Bem, 1983). Gender schema theory implies that children's cognitive processes are organized by these sex-type behaviors. These behaviors are acquired through socialization processes and cultural norms. Once the schema is developed, children are expected to behave according to their gender roles in their culture.

Similar to social learning theory, gender schema theory emphasizes the role of the sociocultural context in learning gender-appropriate behaviors, and these behaviors are inevitable and can be modified (Bem, 1983). Instead of looking at how gender roles operate, gender schema theory focuses on how culture constructs gender schemas (Starr & Zubriggen, 2017). The gender schema process includes continuous constructing and categorizing of information into masculine, feminine, and neutral/androgynous; in this process, children use their preexisting gender schema to determine which behaviors are perceived as appropriate (Bem, 1981). Gender schema theory proposes that children learn to link these attributes to themselves; the gender schema becomes the standard or guide and regulates the children's behavior, so it conforms with the cultural definitions of masculine and feminine (Bem, 1983). Gender schema theory has been extended to cross-cultural contexts, such as international non-English contexts, to explore various areas (e.g., stereotypes, marginalized populations; Starr & Zubriggen, 2017).

From both theoretical perspectives, parents play an active role in setting up the gender-specific desirable outcomes of their children. Through structuring, modeling, reinforcing, and instructing their children, parents set up the conception of gender. Gender roles are deeply ingrained culturally in Saudi society, and parents play an important role through their treatment of boys and girls. In the following section, I discuss some of the desirable child outcomes of gender-role modeling.

Culturally Valued Child Outcomes

Gender-role modeling is one of the many traditional parenting practices in Saudi society, as Saudi children are provided with different models for gender development. In this context, boys are expected to grow up assertive and not emotional (masculine outcomes), while girls are raised to grow up as caring (feminine outcomes). However, both genders grow up to be dutiful, kind, and respectful toward their parents. The current chapter addresses *Al-Birr,* an outcome that is expected from both genders and the specific roles that are expected to be fulfilled by males and females. The other parenting outcome is the protector or *Al-Wali*, a culturally valued masculine child outcome for males. Implications for practice are provided. The chapter concludes with several recommendations for future directions.

Al-Birr *Al-Birr* is an Arabic word that means devotion and dutifulness and having full conduct and respect for one's parents (Bukhari & Khan, 1997). *Al-Birr* includes obeying parents' orders, unless those orders conflict with Islamic teachings (e.g.,

drinking alcohol). *Al-Birr* indicates the obligation for children to fulfill their parents' needs and requirements. *Uquq* is the opposite of *Al-Birr* and means mistreatment and neglecting to fulfil parents' needs. From an Islamic perspective, *Al-Birr* is the parents' reward for their investment of time and effort in raising and supporting their children (Bukhari & Khan, 1997).

Al-Birr is a desirable child outcome for both genders, yet the role of sons in *Al-Birr* is slightly different from that of daughters. Signs of *Al-Birr* include but are not limited to taking good care of parents, listening to parents, respecting parents' opinions, visiting parents regularly, and helping them financially if needed (Bukhari & Khan, 1997). Although both males and females are expected to express *Al-Birr* to their parents, females are usually expected to provide the physical and emotional care for parents, especially when parents get older. Males, on the other hand, are expected to provide financial assistance for parents if needed and accommodations or a place to live, as well as showing kindness and respect. Parents are important in society, and children must be obedient and respectful to them. For both genders, this quality is highly valued religiously and culturally. Saudi children are responsible for treating their parents with respect and gratitude, especially when parents get old ("Ugug: One of the Mine crimes," 2018).

Al-Birr takes place between family generations. The parental role of transmitting their beliefs about *Al-Birr* to their children occurs both theologically and through actual involvement with teaching kids through everyday practice. For example, parents usually show their children early on how they themselves practice *Al-Birr* with their own parents (i.e., the children's grandparents) so that children can follow the model provided. It is believed that devotion to parents must be strengthened through deliberate parenting actions and strategies. For example, it is common that Saudi fathers intentionally provide financial support to the grandparents, and mothers take care of their in-laws' house or provide emotional support.

***Al-Wali* (The Protector)** One of the culturally valued outcomes of parenting practices in Saudi Arabia is raising a strong male who can protect the family. *Al-Wali* is an Arabic word describing the role of the protector. *Al-Wali,* or protector, must be a male who is in charge of his relatives. In Saudi Arabia, the practice of *Al-Wali* is institutionalized and legally a male becomes a *Wali* when he reaches the age of 18. I address *Al-Wali* from both perspectives, as a child outcome and as a family law. *Al-Wali* is a male-specific outcome; families who just have daughters may not choose to reinforce this child outcome. Men under this condition are obligated to provide the family with protection, personally and financially (Alharbi, 2015).

Children, in general, pick up a strong message about who they are and how society wants them to be from their parents' behaviors. In this context, parents—especially fathers—provide the model for their sons of being the protector. In the Saudi context, the same-gender parent and child interactions, especially for sons, may more easily establish the role model of the protector. The sociocultural context of

the country encourages fathers to spend more time with their sons in public. Even males who grow up in households with absent fathers learn from other alternative models in society through extended family members who are usually involved with the child-rearing ("Strengths of the Saudi Arabian Family," 2019). Parents may also encourage the outcome of the protector *Wali* through sibling interactions. In this context, males, regardless of their birth order, can have higher values (Joseph, 1994). Additionally, male siblings are encouraged to take care of fulfilling their sisters' needs by providing financial assistance and transportation (Joseph, 1994). Cultural and religious values are used as the basis of shaping the parental practice of raising a male guardian. According to the Qur'an, "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means" (Al-Nisa, 4:34).

The existence of the protector or *Al-Wali* is also one of the Islamic family laws in relation to the consent of male authority for women's marriage (Alharbi, 2015). However, contemporary Muslim scholars have argued that *Al-Wali* rules have shifted from the original positive meaning and in some cases can negatively affect women's accessibility to health care, travel, and education (Wadud, 2006). For example, in some classical Islamic schools, the practice of the *Wali* has extended to mean that Allah has granted women to be guarded by their *Wali*; ideally the father or brothers, in this case a man is the guardian for all practical purpose. Accordingly, women's choices for seeking employment opportunities or those who wish to travel abroad can be restricted by the *Wali*. Women under this institutionalized guardianship system, which called *Welayah,* need written permission from the *Wali* to travel abroad or marry.

The practice of *Welayah* in the Saudi context has been criticized as it can put the mother under her minor son guardianship (Al-Fassi, 2016; Fatany, 2013). Some records (e.g., the National Family Safety Program) show that this practice increases the number of women suffering from domestic violence and the perpetrators are predominantly the *Wali* (Fatany, 2013). Despite this extreme practice of the *Wali* role, Saudi women have made significant gains where they increase their economic participations and their visibility in the media and in nontraditional roles such as the appointment of 11 women as air traffic controllers (SACA, 2019). The outcome of *Wali* is very important in formulating the parenting practice in the Saudi context. It is an Islamic family law which was mentioned in hadith in the context of marriage; according to the Prophet Mohamad, "There is no marriage contract without a *Wali.*" What contemporary Saudi and Muslim scholars (i.e., Al-Fassi, 2016; Wadud, 2006) have argued is that this classical patriarchal interpretation of *Al-Wali* role in the family has been constructed on the basis of gender dualism which has high gender imbalances. The purpose of this chapter was to highlight some of the culturally "positive" parenting practices and child outcomes; however, it is my contention that these culturally valued gendered outcomes cannot be meaningfully addressed without questioning their hierarchical and differentiated nature and their impact on women and family.

Implications for Practices

Family scholars and practitioners can benefit from the current theoretical narrative of this chapter and are encouraged to conduct cross-cultural comparisons on actual parenting practices of gender-role modeling across contexts and generations. Specifically, the theoretical argument of the current chapter highlights the importance of gender-specific child outcomes (*Al-Birr* and *Al-Wali*), yet we know little about how these outcomes may differ among younger Saudi generations or Arab and Muslim families. The information of this chapter can be used as strength-based perspective to develop culturally specific parenting interventions that help to strengthen the contemporary Saudi family, particularly, programs targeted toward the younger Saudi generation who might have a more modern view toward gender. The information presented in this chapter might help practitioners who work with Saudi family and Arab families and individuals living outside their predominate cultures, such as Arab-American families.

Saudi children may be continuing to be socialized into specific gender practices, which might not be favored by Western readers/scholars. However, it is important for scholars and practitioners across fields of study to acknowledge these cross-cultural differences in parenting practices and educate themselves about each context's similarities and differences to enrich our understanding of the deep-rooted cultural practices of parenting. Different from Western cultures, which may value child outcomes that embrace individual autonomy, in the Saudi context gender-specific child outcomes such as *Al-Birr* and *Al-Wali* are emphasized through parenting practices and favored by the society and believed to have great benefits for individuals and family.

Conclusion and Future Directions

It is important to continue examining parenting practices in Saudi Arabia and see how any future changes in family policies can influence these practices. For example, right now, a Saudi woman needs the *Wali's* permission to get a passport and travel abroad, which might arguably be a strong factor on why *Al-Wali* is seen as a favorable child/adult outcome. We can question how the advancement of this family policy would change the parenting emphasis on the role of protector (*Al-Wali*) as a positive child outcome. Policy makers in Saudi Arabia should explore ways to develop more contemporary family policies that reflect the diversity of gender dynamics in the Saudi family, especially for the younger generations who may not follow this traditional gender framework. It is hoped that this chapter provides insight for academics, researchers, practitioners, educators, and policy makers to strengthen their research base and their family policy framework to reflect the contemporary Saudi family.

At a practical level, more research is needed to understand other parenting practices and child/youth outcomes in the Saudi context. Both qualitative and quantitative studies are needed to enhance our understanding of the issue. Future research should look at the parenting outcomes of single-parent households because statistics show an increase in female-headed households (GAS, 2016). An examination of mothers' parenting practices would enable viewing these differences and is worth the investigation.

Glossary

Al-Birr "The Birr toward parents entails obeying their orders, expect when that orders is in disobedience of Allah" ("Meaning of Birr toward parents," 2012). This includes taking care of them and fulfilling their needs and interests, and they must be accompanied by the offspring, even if they are not affiliated with Islam ("Meaning of Birr toward parents," 2012).

Uquq "*Uquq* entails neglecting parents and withholding one's kindness from them" ("Immense hurting of one's parents *Uquq,*" 2018). "*Uquq* against parents pertains to unfulfilling their needs and requirements that are within their rights, while Birr pertains to fulfilling these needs and requirements. Therefore, if the parents or one of them order their offspring to do something, it is necessary to obey their order as long as what they order does not contain disobedience (of Allah)" ("Immense hurting of one's parents *Uquq,*" 2018).

Al-Wali *Wali* is an Arabic word that means the "custodian" in English. It refers to a near male relative whom it is unlawful to marry because of the close blood relationship, which includes but is not limited to fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, grandsons, brothers, and stepbrothers. The *Al-Wali* should provide protection to his family ("Al-Wali," 2018).

Welayah A word that means giving the authority to a male over female relatives. It is also another word for guardianship. It is the system in which the *Wali* practices the *Welayah* ("Al-Wali," 2018).

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Egyptian Rearing Practices: *Takafol* and Observance of Family Rituals

Hani M. Henry and Mai Elwy

Egyptian Rearing Practices

In this chapter, we discuss two Egyptian rearing practices that aim to produce culturally valued behaviors and attitudes among children. Specifically, we examine the rearing practice of *Takafol* (translated as mutual care), which is the expectation that parents and children will continue to care for each other throughout life. We also discuss the rearing practice of observing family rituals, which are religious and cultural practices that aim to increase bonding and connectedness among family members. We explain why these rearing practices are culturally valued in Egypt. We also argue that they can be beneficial or can create personal distress to both parents and children depending on the outcome they produce, even if this outcome is culturally valued. We do not claim that these practices are exclusive to the Egyptian society, but we will discuss how they manifest in the Egyptian cultural context. Further, we provide various examples to highlight these rearing practices and the way they influence family members. However, we must acknowledge that the Egyptian society is undergoing drastic changes because of globalization and the rapid rise of a crude form of capitalism in Egypt (Chekir & Diwan, 2014). We also acknowledge that some of these rearing practices are diminishing and being rapidly replaced by new practices that are in stark contrast with these practices.

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Takafol or Mutual Benefit

The first rearing practice that we discuss is *takafol*. According to this practice, parents take full responsibility of their children's needs throughout their children's whole lives regardless of age, and children should take full responsibility of their aging or sick parents. This sense of interconnectedness, described by many psychological studies, suggests that members of the Egyptian society are more likely to adopt a collectivistic, rather than an individualistic, approach toward life (e.g., Abudabbeh, 1996; Buda & Elsayed-Elkhouly, 1998; Oyserman, 1993; Rugh, 1984). Contrary to the individualistic, Western European self, which values independence, autonomy, self-reliance, self-discovery, self-sufficiency, and individuality, the collectivistic self gives more priority to interdependence, family, collectivism, communalism, mutual give-and-take, and growth through joining with others (Sue & Sue, 2003). This self may have open and porous boundaries with less psychological space around others (Roland, 1988). This collectivistic self may also be more open to affective exchange with others and may be more sensitive to the expectations and needs of others (Triandis, 1989). The cultural practice of *takafol* may have resulted from this collectivistic, interdependent, and communal sense of self that characterizes many members of the Egyptian society. Triandis (2001) argued that child-rearing practices of collectivistic families stress conformity, obedience, security, and reliability. We argue that the practice of *takafol* may serve as a cultural manifestation of these values. However, and as mentioned earlier, we acknowledge that a growing segment of the Egyptian society is abandoning these values; hence, our chapter is not meant to assume generalizations about Egyptian practices.

Benefits of *Takafol* The concept of *takaf*ol is the notion of family solidarity (White & Rogers, 1997), which refers to familial social relationships that are marked by normative obligations and affective closeness. These normative obligations manifest in Egyptian families by the heavy involvement of parents in their children's lives. For example, Egyptian parents are often involved in their children's educational plan and ensure that they complete their everyday homework or assignments. As the Egyptian educational system is far from optimal due to crowded classrooms, poor quality of teachers, and lack of accountability (Egyptian Streets, 2013), many Egyptian parents pay additional funds for their children to receive private tutoring in hopes to enhance their educational experiences and improve their grades. This heavy parental involvement in education is similar to that reported in studies conducted on Arab parents. For example, Freund, Schaedel, Azaiza, Boehm, and Lazarowitz (2018) noted that Arab parents living in Israel often invest time and efforts in their children's education. Cohen (2006) also concluded that Arab parents in Israel believe that their children's success in school could lead to upward social mobility and higher status. Overall, research has shown that parents' involvement in their children's educational plan is associated with fewer behavioral problems and improved social functioning (El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2010).

With respect to living arrangements, research has shown that some ethnic groups prefer intergenerational co-residency (Goldsheider & Goldsheider, 1993). For example, many Egyptian parents ensure that their children attend a university in their hometown. Children are expected to continue living at home until their marriage (Boyd, 2000). Overall, we believe that the intimate nature of the parent–child relationship in Egypt allows for intense supervision and involvement and may serve to protect young people against risky behavior, such as substance use or school dropout (Malaquias, Crespo, & Francisco, 2014).

In the case of parents, the practice of *takafol* may benefit them by securing the respect and loyalty of their children, who often accept their parents' decisions and wishes without questioning. This form of child loyalty was described by Yeh and Bedford (2003) as filial piety, which is the honoring of one's parents, caring for them when they get older, and carrying their wishes and dreams after their deaths. For example, many Egyptian parents use the word "*E'zwah*," which is translated as having power or status, to describe the privilege of having children. In a sense, many parents feel empowered when they raise children that respect and honor them. The practice of *takafol* may also give parents the confidence that their children will take good care of them when they age or get sick (Teerawichitchainan, Pothisiri, & Long, 2015). For example, many Egyptian families host one of the grandparents in the case of the death of his or her spouse. The cultural expectation of married children to host their elderly parents is not unique to Egyptians, as it also occurs in East Asia and Vietnam (Mason, 1992). If the children have to leave the country to find better opportunities abroad, they may experience guilt and shame about leaving their parents (Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994). For many Egyptian immigrants, experiencing the death of their parents while they are away from their homeland could create profound feelings of guilt (Mazzucato, Kabki, & Smith, 2006).

The Downside of *Takafol* Although *takafol* secures mutual benefit between children and parents, it may also create many hardships for children. *Takafol* may not allow children to change the life path that was designated by their parents. As Egyptian parents are heavily involved in their children's educational plans, it is not uncommon for parents to reject their children's desire to seek careers or fields of study that do not fit certain gender or cultural expectations (Fouad et al., 2008; Jacobs, 1991). For example, many families of young women discourage them from seeking education in areas that require them to spend many hours outside their homes, such as medicine or engineering (Jacobs, 1991).

Rejection of a daughter's career choice by her parents may be very disruptive if the feedback she receives from her parents is very important to her (Li & Kerpelman, 2007). Daughters are also encouraged to marry at a young age (Callaghan, Gambo, & Fellin, 2015). On the other hand, young men are often discouraged from seeking a liberal arts education. For example, Egyptian parents may frown upon their son's request to major in psychology, philosophy, or art (Jacobs, Chhin, & Bleeker, 2006). Overall, this heavy involvement of Egyptian parents in their children's career

choices is similar to that reported among Asian families. For example, Fouad et al. (2008) noted that Asian parents are greatly involved in their children's career development and choices and concluded that Asian American college students' career choices are more influenced by their parents than are European American college students' career choices. An individual's career choice in such cultural context purely evolves from family needs and expectation and does not become an individual's choice (Tang, 2002).

Further, many parents may reject their children's individual choices if they are incompatible with these parents' expectations (Tang, 2002). For example, they may reject their child's choice of spouse due to economic, social, or religious reasons. This involvement of Egyptian parents in their children's choice of spouse is similar to that reported by Baker (2003) in her research on Arab families. For example, she discussed a case of an Arab woman who independently chose her husband and then perceived her marital problem as a punishment from God because she did not involve her extended family in that decision. Egyptian parents tend to be involved in their child's choice of mate due to a number of reasons. Buunk, Pollet, and Dubbs (2012) argued that a major reason for parents' attempt to control this choice might result from their desire to maintain the homogeneity and cohesion of the in-group. This may also assure the parents that their children and their spouses will care for them when they age.

On the other hand, Egyptian parents often reject their son or daughter if they disclose that they have same-sex attraction (Bird, LaSala, Hidalgo, Kuhns, & Garofalo, 2017). Egyptian gay men may also face huge difficulties, as they are expected to get married and have children who will carry the name of the family (Liu, 2013). It is possible that this parental over-involvement in their children's lives could lead to family conflict (Tsai-chae & Nagata, 2008), and this conflict may then lead to psychological problems (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002).

As shown above, *takafol* may create low tolerance for differences, individuation, or any lifestyle that defy cultural norms or expectations. It also can present strict expectations such as early marriage (Callaghan et al., 2015), the type of career (Jacobs, 1991), and the choice of spouse (Baker, 2003). A child's failure to meet these expectations is often accompanied by feelings of guilt and indebtedness (Ma, Desai, George, Filippo, & Varon, 2014).

In the case of parents, *takafol* may also create many hardships and inconveniences. Many parents may prioritize their children's educational needs over their own personal needs (Leung & Shek, 2011). They may fully dedicate their lives to their children and may ignore any other aspirations. For example, Henry (2015) discussed a case of an Egyptian woman who delved into a deep state of depression because of her two sons' joint decision to emigrate to a very distant country. It seemed that she could not define a new role for herself beyond being a mother and a caregiver. In sum, the practice of *takafol* is a culturally valued rearing practice that can enhance family solidarity, compassion, and bonding (Goldsheider & Goldsheider, 1993). However, it may also create inconveniences, personal distress, and hardships for both children and parents (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Li & Kerpelman, 2007).

Observance of Family Rituals and Rules

We will now discuss another Egyptian rearing practice, which is parental expectation of children to observe certain family rituals and rules. Fiese (2006) defined family rituals as repeated special events that involve numerous family members and symbolic acts that develop throughout the family history. Such rituals may promote family members' sense of belonging, interpersonal communication, and shared memories (Roberts, 1988). Wollin and Bennett (1984) identified two main types of family rituals or rules, which are (a) patterned interactions and (b) family traditions and celebrations, and they made a clear distinction between them. They noted that patterned interactions occur more frequently and are less consciously planned. For example, Egyptian family members are expected to engage in shared activities, such as praying together or attending fixed dinnertime. On the other hand, family traditions and celebrations include holidays and other occasions that occur within a culture, such as religious or cultural holidays (Wollin & Bennet, 1984). For example, Egyptian family members are expected to participate in rituals that have both cultural and religious roots, such as *Eid* (feast) family meals and family celebrations including engagement parties, weddings, and *sobou'* (party marking the seventh day of a child's birth).

Children follow these rituals and prioritize family harmony over individual needs (Dwairy et al., 2006; Smetana & Ahmad, 2018). However, we must note that Egyptian children's obedience of family rules might be influenced by a culturally unique parenting style identified by Dwairy (2006) as a controlling-oriented parenting pattern. This parenting pattern is a mixture of authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles (Dwairy, 2006).

Benefits of Observing Family Rules and Rituals Malaquais et al. (Malaquias et al., 2014) noted that the consistent observance of family rituals and rules could provide children and adolescents with clear structure, was linked to better mental health in adolescence, and served as a protective factor against substance abuse. Adolescents who shared dinner frequently with family showed more commitment to learning, positive values, social skills, and positive identity (Fulkerson et al., 2006). Further, sharing family meals was negatively linked to depression and high-risk behaviors, including substance abuse, antisocial behaviors, violence, academic problems, and eating problems (Malaquias et al., 2014). Crespo, Kielpikowski, Pryor, and Jose (2011), who noted that adolescents who participated in these rituals were less likely to attend mental health services, also discussed the benefits of participating in family rituals. Along the same lines, Fiese et al. (2002) found that family routines and rituals might improve individual health and well-being and increase young adults' competence.

With respect to parents, Yoon, Newkirk, and Perry-Jenkins (2015) noted that fathers' involvement in dinnertime rituals relates to positive outcomes, more adaptive skills, and less behavioral problems among girls. When these rituals are healthy and consistent, they positively affect the developmental outcomes of children as well as the functioning of the whole family (Dickstein, 2002). They also found that

predictable routines are associated with parental competence, child health, parent–child harmony, and academic achievement, as well as marital satisfaction and adolescents' sense of personal identity.

The Downside of Observing Family Rituals and Rules Adherence to family rituals seems to be mostly beneficial, at least in theory, but the way it is applied can be very detrimental. Strom and colleagues (1992) examined the struggle many Egyptian parents face in accommodating to rapid changes in economics, work, and lifelong learning. They also argued that these parents tend to get confused about which child-rearing customs to relinquish and which ones to retain and this intense conflict may eventually lead to considerable anxiety. Some families might show rigidity in expecting their young adult children to observe their cultural rituals or rules in a way that does not allow them to make independent choices or decision (Tang, 2002). Many familial disputes may arise between parents and emerging adults if family expectations or rules are ignored (Tsai-chae & Nagata, 2008).

Most of these rituals have deep religious roots and may create low tolerance for any lifestyle that deviates from religious expectations (Hojat et al., 1999). Research has shown that religious parents put more emphasis on obedience and conformity (Duriez, Soenens, Neyrinck, & Vansteenkiste, 2009). For example, gay men and women will not feel comfortable coming out and may experience internalized homophobia because of family and societal rejections (Jahangir & Abdul-latif, 2016). As the new generation is more exposed to Western influences through social media, movies, and television, adolescents and young adults may rebel against some family traditions, and this may cause intergenerational conflicts (Kwak, 2003). These kinds of conflicts can be destructive when they are frequent and intense, or associated with clashing values (Rasmi & Daly, 2015). For example, Henry (2011) shared some of the frustrations Egyptian women face in dealing with family rules and rituals. A quote by one of the interviewees seemed to capture this frustration:

> My brother for example, it does not matter for people if he stays up late or goes wherever he wants, but for me, if I stayed 10 minutes late from my expected return time, they [family] would question why I was late and what did I do? My brother can go out and has more freedom at any time even if he wants to go out at 3:00 AM. Whatever the man does, he can do anything even if it is wrong. Women are monitored in their life style, their work, way of clothing, reputation, and people can shame women. (Henry, 2011, p. 255).

As shown in the excerpt above, the strict expectations of this woman's family to follow family rules, such as curfew, may result in feelings of resentment, shame, and repression.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we provided an overview of two rearing practices that are culturally valued in the Egyptian cultural context. Specifically, we examined the rearing practice of *takafol*, which is the expectation that parents and children will continue to

care for each other throughout life. We also examined the rearing practice of observing family rituals, which included patterned interactions among family members and the necessity of participating in family celebrations (Wollin & Bennett, 1984). Although these practices are culturally valued in Egypt and may result in many benefits, they may also cause personal distress. Young adult children may benefit from *takafol* because heavy parental involvement in their educational plans may lead to fewer behavioral problems and enhanced social functioning (El Nokali, Bachman, & Votruba-Drzal, 2010). This heavy parental involvement may also act as a buffer against numerous risk factors, such as drug abuse and school dropout (Malaquias et al., 2014). *Takafol* may also benefit parents by securing the respect, piety, and loyalty of their young adult children, which may eventually protect them against the negative consequences of aging (Mason, 1992; Teerawichitchainan et al., 2015). On the other hand, takafol may cause distress to children because it can restrict their individual choices and decisions (Tang, 2002). *Takafol* may also create distress to parents as it may prevent them from attending to their needs and may cause them to offer numerous personal sacrifices in order to maintain family harmony (Henry, 2015; Leung & Shek, 2011). Observance of family rituals such as patterned interactions and family tradition can also be beneficial or distressful.

On the one hand, it may provide young adults with clear structure and may serve as a protective factor against substance abuse (Malaquias et al., 2014). It is also associated with better mental health outcomes (Crespo et al., 2011) as well as parental competence, child health, parent–child harmony, and academic achievement (Fiese et al., 2002). However, parents' strict expectations of their children to follow these family rituals and rules may prevent an individual from making an independent choice (Tang, 2002) and may lead to intergenerational conflict when these rituals are ignored or rejected by younger family members (Kwak, 2003; Tsai-chae & Nagata, 2008).

We end this chapter with a post from the Facebook page "Humans of New York" (2018), a popular page that has 18 million social-media followers. The founder of this page randomly interviewed regular individuals he met in the streets and had gained huge media attention (Bosman, 2013) because of his great ability to show the wonderful and touching side of humanity. In his relatively recent visit to Egypt, he interviewed numerous Egyptian individuals and posted their experiences in his page. The following quote reflects the way an Egyptian young woman dealt with her family's strong reaction to her decision to take off the hijab and reflected the benefits and inconveniences of Egyptian rearing practices discussed in this chapter. It is important to note that Muslim girls/women are not forced to wear the hijab in Egypt and many decide to wear it by choice. However, we chose this case example due to its richness and striking relevance to the concepts we discussed in this chapter:

> I read a lot on the subject. I studied the texts. And I decided it was permissible to take it off—so that's what I did. My mom was terrified of what people would think. She asked me to delete all our mutual friends on Facebook. She said if I didn't wear the hijab, then I couldn't live at home. So I packed four big bags and went to live with a friend. It was the first time I'd ever slept out of my house. Over the next few weeks, I sent my parents messages every single day. I always told them where I was, what I was doing, and who I was with. I wanted to show that I forgave them, and that I was still their girl, and that one day

things would be normal again. They didn't respond for three months. Until one holiday my uncle called and invited me home for dinner. My parents started crying as soon as I walked in the door. They'd prepared a huge meal. They said that they didn't mean it, and that they love me a lot, and that they're proud of me. Things are very good now. We get along even better than when I obeyed. They see I'm doing great things with my freedom. I have a great job and I travel. They're very proud. I've learned to do what you want in life. Because if you do, the world will change to match you. (Humans of New York, 2018).

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Part V
Other Types of Childrearing

Reimagining the Village: Alloparenting and Community Involvement Among the Childfree

Shelly Volsche

It takes a village to raise a child.
~African Proverb

From newspapers to blogs, social media to scholarly literature, concerns abound regarding the global fertility decline. A significantly reduced number of individuals are having children, and those who choose to parent are having fewer than ever before (GBD 2017, 2018). This phenomenon seems to transcend ethnic and racial groups, as well as religious affiliation, encompassing many cultures that historically emphasize the importance of offspring as a duty to family including South Korea (Yang & Rosenblatt, 2008), India (Bhambhani & Inbanathan, 2018), and Israel (Donath, 2011). Though demographic explanations like socioeconomics and urbanization play their role in this trend, a new and often dismissed shift is also occurring – the normalization of parenthood as a choice.

The voluntarily childless (childfree) choice is rapidly emerging as a viable family structure for individuals worldwide (Agrillo & Nelini, 2008). In many cases, in foregoing their own fertility, the childfree choose to invest deeply in extended and fictive kin (here, fictive kin refers to nonbiological members of a chosen or culturally constructed kin group), their communities, and the goals of their romantic partners. Likewise, many individuals choose caregiving careers (mentors/teachers, healthcare, etc.) that allow them to nurture multiple individuals, with a perceived

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expansion of their impact on the future. In short, many childfree people are reimagining what it means to be part of the village.

Who Are the Childfree?

Prior research suggests that choosing to remain childless is not truly a new phenomenon. In her study of atlatls (a stick-and-spear-type hunting tool) in a Paleoindian mortuary at Indian Knoll near Paradise, Kentucky, Doucette (2001) contemplates a site at Annasnappet Pond in which female graves include hunting paraphernalia. Pushing against the assumption that these grave goods were strictly ceremonial, Doucette cites the placement and smaller size of the atlatls to suggest these women possessed the strength and endurance to hunt. Further discussing the implications of women hunters, Doucette boldly states, "… a woman may choose not to have children … (2001, p. 173)," even using the phrase "childless by choice" in her assessment of the graves. Ultimately, she suggests that women hunters may have focused on supporting the group in times of distress rather than investing in offspring of their own.

Examples such as Doucette's Paleoindian women are by no means a norm in the prehistoric or historic records. As such, much of the evidence on childlessness by choice remains speculative until after the industrial revolution. Popenoe (1936) completed one of the first published studies on voluntarily childlessness. Attempting to understand fertility declines in 1920s and 1930s America, Popenoe and his team organized a web of respondents who listed individuals they knew who were childless for any reason. They were asked to either state the reason or further interview the individuals to include the reason in the study. After collecting over 550 stories, the team found that 67% of the individuals reported were voluntarily childless. Reasons included "wife's career," "economic pressure," "health," and "dislike of children." However, Popenoe categorized the number one reason as "self-centered" to include "…for lack of anything better … 'social climbers,' 'wanted to be free to travel,' and the like" (1936, p. 470). As a result, the childfree have been fighting the stigma of selfishness for nearly a century.

Not surprisingly, the choice to remain childfree in the United States shares history with women's liberation movements. A close look at total fertility rates (TFR, the average number of births per woman) in the United States suggests that major drops occur during crucial moments in women's rights history. For example, women's rights activist Margaret Sanger fought for reproductive rights in the early twentieth century, seeking to provide sexual education and contraception in the shadow of the Comstock Act's legal control of women's reproduction. The timing of her work aligns closely with those early declines in fertility that prompted Popenoe's study (May, 2010). Relatedly, the women's liberation of the 1960s and 1970s was largely possible with the introduction of the birth control pill, giving women full control over their reproductive efforts for the first time in US history (May, 2010).

As a result, the post-World War baby boom was met with a mid-century decline as women's autonomy and choice increased.

Since the 1960s, the demographics of the childfree population have expanded beyond the perceived white, middle-class, educated female. As the United States began to embrace a wider range of sexual, gender, and social identities, so too did the choice to remain childfree shift from lifestyle of choice to emergent identity (Volsche, 2019). Today, being childfree intersects with a range of gender, ethnic, religious, sexuality, and class identities. Interestingly, according to various interviews, online participant observations, and content analyses of childfree literature and research, the reasons to remain childfree found by Popenoe (1936) have not much changed.

In order to track fertility trends, organizations use the total fertility rate (TFR) , which estimates the average number of children born to each woman in the society in question. Data from the Center for Disease Control (CDC) report that the United States reached an all-time low of 1.82 TFR in 2016, while provisional data suggest this trending decrease continues, possibly dipping as far as 1.73 in 2018 (National Vital Statistics System, 2019). Given that some women will choose to have two or more children, a TFR below 2.1 suggests that there are also women foregoing parenthood by either choice or circumstance. With this data in mind, it appears the choice to remain childfree, at least in the United States, is rapidly becoming a new, parallel norm to parenthood. Rather than accepting parenthood as a cultural mandate, many individuals are now assessing their authentic selves (Dickens, 2008) and reflecting on personal preferences when making lifelong decisions. In other instances, they wait to make a choice with their future partners (Blackstone & Stewart, 2016), often resulting in couples who find comfort and stability in their marriage and choose not to disrupt what "works." This does not, however, mean all childfree persons are selfishly spending their time or money on hedonistic pursuits.

Childfree as Alloparents

Alloparenting in humans involves investment in the raising and development of a child by someone other than the biological parents. This concept derives from allomaternal care (other than mother; Hrdy, 2009) and is often found in social primates and other cooperatively breeding species. In short, alloparenting involves nonparents who help raise children.

Investment in children can be separated into two categories. The first, direct care, involves acts that have immediate influence on the health and well-being of the child, including feeding, carrying or co-sleeping, grooming, and playing (Kleiman & Malcolm, 1981). The second, indirect care, involves acts that do not directly affect the health and well-being of the child, but do improve long-term outcomes, for example, acquiring and maintaining resources, providing shelter, or actions that help the mother be more successful (Kleiman & Malcolm, 1981). Direct and indirect care are often discussed in terms of maternal and paternal care, such that moth-

ers, by the necessities of pregnancy and nursing, often engage in more direct care while fathers often engage in more indirect care (Gray & Anderson, 2010; Hrdy, 2009). As such, caregivers beyond the mother are called allomothers (other than mother) and those beyond both biological parents are called alloparents (other than parents). Ultimately, alloparents are the village.

In their study of allomaternal care among the Hadza of Tanzania, Crittenden and Marlowe (2008) found that allomothers regularly include the children's fathers and grandmothers. From an evolutionary perspective, this makes sense. According to Hamilton's Rule (Hamilton, 1964), the more closely related an individual is to another, genetically speaking, the more likely they are willing to invest resources (time, food, energy, etc.). This concept, called inclusive fitness, provides a foundation for maintaining evolutionary relevance while not having offspring of one's own. Despite choosing not to have biological offspring, a person can still achieve reproductive fitness by investing in closely related others. As such, it is not much of a surprise that many childfree individuals are deeply invested as aunts and uncles to extended kin, investing their resources in the genetic kin most closely related to them.

As an example, and to support these invested alloparental caregivers in the cultural west, SavvyAuntie.com is a website for "cool aunts, great aunts, godmothers, and all women who love kids" (SavvyAuntie.com, 2018). Founded and developed by Melanie Notkin, author of *Otherhood* (2014), SavvyAuntie.com targets the audience of women who are childfree by choice or circumstance and choose to invest in their nieces, nephews, and other children of extended and fictive kin. The presence of this and related groups on the web provide evidence to the role childfree aunts (and uncles) are playing in the lives of US children. Encouraging the investment in nieces, nephews, and "godchildren," SavvyAuntie.com includes a range of information from gift giving tips for birthdays and holidays, ideas for child friendly outings during weekend visits, and tips for providing proper nutrition during key developmental stages of life. Essentially, SavvyAuntie.com helps childfree aunts and uncles make proper decisions in providing direct care to their kin.

Interviews with multiple childfree individuals and participation in social media groups for over two years suggest individuals provide both direct and indirect care to their extended kin (Volsche, 2019). Nieces and nephews, younger cousins, and siblings receive gifts, social interaction, and other forms of provisioning from their childfree relatives. Likewise, childfree women and men provide babysitting and other short-term food and lodging for these children and young adults. Though many stated they were uncomfortable caring for infants due to a perceived lack of skill, it was not uncommon for interviewees and online individuals to suggest an interest in providing short-term care to children over five years of age. One participant specifically stated, "I'm so glad my niece is now old enough to have a conversation…I enjoy the talks we have; it's cool to bring her over for a visit now."

The childfree also report the importance of fictive kin, individuals to whom they feel attached and "related" despite the lack of genetic connection. As a result, alloparenting practices among the childfree extend beyond immediate blood relations. There is precedence for this in Crittenden and Marlowe's (2008) study, as well.

During their work with the Hadza, the authors found that unrelated caregivers might invest direct and indirect care efforts provided they could expect reciprocation of their efforts. In the case of the Hadza, reciprocation comes in the form of in-kind reciprocity of childcare or not-in-kind exchange of provisioned foods to the caregiver who was unable to provision for themselves. This leads one to ponder what type of reciprocation a childfree individual expects in exchange for childcare. Since childfree persons are not in need of reciprocated childcare, they likely receive small trinkets, coffee, wine, and other food gifts, though no formal work has been done on this to date.

In many cases, the fictive kin bond in postmodern cultures has become as strong as that with related kin. Volsche (2019) interviewed 30 childfree men and women in the United States, aged 25–40 years. When asked how they defined family and whether they included friends, most of the interviewees reported that family emphasizes treatment of each other, dependability in times of distress, and the importance of shared bonds beyond blood. Ultimately, cultural shifts in the practice and definition of family in many parts of the United States are supplementing the importance of genetic relation in defining kin. This results in investment of "nieces" and "nephews" of biologically unrelated individuals that is quite similar to the investment received by blood relatives.

Reciprocity for childcare may come in the form of gifts of appreciation or future favors owed to the childfree relative. This suggests being an invested alloparent increases bonds with kin in situations where the lack of shared parenting experience may inhibit them. As a social species, exclusion from kin groups and other social groups to whom individuals feel deeply connected can produce anxiety and other psychological discomforts (Buss, 1990). Given that the childfree remain a minority in many cultures, it is possible that the relief of anxiety derived from perceived inclusion and enhanced relations with both extended and fictive kin are sufficiently rewarding to provide a sort of "self-reciprocation" further encouraging alloparenting efforts.

Perhaps fostered by this idea of self-reciprocation, the childfree expand the definition of kin beyond conspecifics (members of one's own species). This has led to the practice of pet parenting, common among childfree individuals. While these individuals acknowledge they are raising nonhuman animals and, as such, provide for their "kids" in species appropriate ways, they also argue that they are parenting nonetheless (Volsche, 2018). For example, many childfree pet parents provision high-quality food, veterinary care, and training outlets for their pets. Likewise, they arrange pet sitting with extended and fictive kin in times when career or travel plans require their absence (Volsche, 2018). Childfree pet parents also report taking time off work to tend to a sick or ailing pet, and many co-sleep with their pets (Smith et al., 2017; Veevers, 1985).

Childfree pet parents also report extremely high levels of attachment to their pets, particularly in the case of dogs who, in turn, display deep attachment toward affiliative humans (see Berns, 2013). This can result in the application of parenting strategies toward companion animals, including training habits that mirror authoritative parenting styles, such as avoiding hitting or yelling, while using verbal

instructions and rewarding good behavior (Volsche & Gray, 2016), levels of investment from romantic partners that mirror those of stepparents (Steiner et al., 2013), and may even influence choices made during dating and courtship (Gray, Volsche, Garcia, & Fisher, 2015). Though companion animals are clearly not human children, it is increasingly apparent that, at minimum, childfree pet parents are deeply investing across species boundaries as alloparents if not truly nonbiological parents.

Alloparenting nonhuman "children" allows for an outlet for the nurturing tendencies of humans when a choice to remain childfree is made. This nurturance may also expand to caretaking of close friends and family who are not children, yet need continued support in the ever frantic, postmodern world. Most notably, childfree individuals report a strong commitment to the support of their romantic partners, frequently breaking traditional gender roles in the effort to encourage development of the authentic self (see Blackstone, 2014). These marriages frequently report egalitarian roles in the care of the home and pets, preferencing which partner has the appropriate time and skill to commit to certain tasks rather than adhering to expected roles based upon masculine and feminine responsibilities. As such, many professional childfree women find themselves supported in the home by a partner who works part-time and focuses on tasks related to the domestic sphere, such as cooking, cleaning, and providing for pets if present. In exchange, childfree men may find themselves with the time to pursue entrepreneurial endeavors or hobbies (Volsche, 2019).

Finally, returning to the concept of alloparenting in the village, many in the childfree community continue to expand the boundaries of the village to which they belong. As such, they may be involved in youth outreach, caretaking careers (e.g., teaching or medicine), local and global welfare initiatives, and the accumulation of knowledge for future generations, seeking to invest in a wider network than strictly kin groups. This broader community investment seeks to forego immediate benefits to potential offspring in the interest of long-term outcomes to a broader number of children.

During interviews with 30 childfree individuals, Volsche (2019) found that a surprising number chose caretaking careers. For example, one respondent worked as a teacher in a school for socially and developmentally challenged children. She stated that her job teaching and leading the drama club was incredibly fulfilling. However, it was also mentally and physically exhausting. As she explained during her interview, "I couldn't do this job if I had children. I need my 'me' time when I get home to replace the energy I spend every day." From this perspective, she is helping many children learn to cope with their challenges rather than selecting a handful of closely related individuals who may not "really need" her help.

In addition to caretaking careers, members of the childfree community spend time volunteering in youth outreach or local welfare initiatives. These include supporting minority groups such as LGBTQ+ youth and members of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, as well as homeless teens and those from lower socioeconomic groups who need successful and caring role models. Additionally, again, species boundaries are crossed as the childfree may also invest in local animal rescue and welfare organizations, viewing this work as serving a "voiceless

community" of beings in need. Though not directly providing for human children, this broader community investment demonstrates, by example, the value American culture places on companion animals, increasing the odds of empathy in future generations (see Rotherberger & Mican, 2014, for a discussion on the connection between childhood animal connections and adult empathy). As one online respondent in Volsche's (2019) research posted, "I may not want kids, but that doesn't mean I don't want to model service and concern for my community. Maybe younger people will see what I'm doing in the community and find value in helping. I want to help the rest of humanity."

These examples of broader community investment are indicative of childfree people's investment toward the indirect care of current and future generations of offspring. Their focus on providing service to the community in hopes of creating a more secure future is the postmodern era equivalent of constructing and maintaining society's "shelter" in a time of uncertainty. Likewise, in a culture in which parenting duties such as delivering knowledge, cultivating social skills, and caring for ill and injured children are shared with the education and healthcare systems, childfree teachers and medical professionals are, in many ways, dedicating their lives to the investment of direct care of children in an ever-expanding village.

Children Benefit from Childfree Alloparents

Availability of resources to feed, clothe, shelter, and provide for the health and welfare of children is a starting point for successful child-rearing in the United States. It is estimated that the average, middle-income married couple will spend approximately $233,000 for food, shelter, and other necessities to raise a single child to the age of 17 (United States Department of Agriculture, 2017). This does not include the cost of college nor the fulfillment of the consumer desires of children. As alloparents who provide gifts, financial support, and occasionally short-term shelter and food, childfree relatives are invaluable resources to parents of children in this culture.

In addition to financial investment, childfree aunts, uncles, siblings, and friends provide valuable stress and anxiety relief to parents. This can be especially beneficial to children from lower socioeconomic groups in which corporal punishment is more common (Straus & Stewart, 1999). For example, childfree alloparents provide assistance in obtaining gifts for birthdays and holidays, as well as having the time to plan parties and other events while the parent attends to work or household duties. Likewise, childfree alloparents may offer to invest in overnight and weekend visits with the child to allow a stressed mother the opportunity to recoup energy expended while caring for her children on a regular basis. By supporting and improving the welfare of the mother, childfree alloparents also improve the outcomes for their nieces, nephews, and other young kin.

Gabb, Klett-Davies, Fink, and Thomae (2013) found that overall perceptions of marriage quality and intimacy diminish after children are brought into the marriage.

The potential marital disharmony may result in emotional and behavioral problems in the children (Jenkins & Smith, 1991). The benefits of childfree relatives (as extended or fictive kin) to children in this situation are twofold. First, overnight and weekend visits to childfree relatives provide the married couple with a break from the duties of parenting. This allows married couples to potentially vacation or otherwise find ways to rekindle the intimate side of their partnership. As a preventive effort, couples may even enlist childfree kin to babysit on a regular basis, allowing for regular maintenance of the love bond. If disharmony is inevitable and reconciliation no longer likely, childfree relatives represent a safe and often trusted place for children to express their grief and stress as well as a place for children to escape the unpleasant environment of home.

The positive outcomes for children extend beyond support of parents. As noted above, childfree individuals often engage in caretaking careers such as teaching and medical professions. They are also actively involved in their communities, providing support to youth outreach groups and local organizations. These roles model culturally appropriate behavior and mentor juveniles, teens, and young adults. As such, a trusted teacher or doctor can bridge the gap between child and parent during difficult life history milestones like first sexual activity, identity development (especially where challenges like "coming out" or conflict are concerned), and conflict resolution over difficult life choices such as whether to attend college. Regardless of relatedness, childfree individuals in caretaking careers often find themselves filling the role of a nonjudgmental adult when older children and teens most need it (Volsche, 2019).

Those individuals who choose to teach may serve an important role during the intellectual and social development of children as an attachment bond during the school day (Verschueren & Koomen, 2012). For example, Rey, Smith, Yoon, Somers, and Barnett (2007) found that positive teacher-student relationships improved classroom compliance, interest in school, and other measures for grade school student success. As such, teacher stress in the classroom is an area of concern and research, much like that of maternal stress in the home. Jennings and Greenberg (2009) found that a teacher's social and emotional competences, as well as their individual well-being, were key factors in maintaining a positive and supportive learning environment for students. It would be inappropriate to suggest that parental status, as a sole factor, is a sufficient means of measuring teacher stress. However, as reflexivity is often encouraged for education professionals (see Warin, Maddock, Pell, & Hargreaves, 2006, for an example), having the time and space to reflect and recoup one's emotional and social energy may be easier when there are no children in the home (Volsche, 2019).

Finally, by seeking alternative paths to self-fulfillment, individuals who remain childfree by choice or circumstance demonstrate a certain level of self-acceptance, something children in the ever-competitive US culture need. Living by example, these individuals depict a life of authenticity to self, willingness to be of service to others, and aspiring to leave a legacy beyond the genetic. This is not to say parents cannot or do not also model these things, but in a culture where it can sometimes be

difficult to "have it all," the childfree remind children that what one does have or not is a choice, one that is theirs to make (Volsche, 2019).

Conclusion

Childfree alloparents provide many benefits, both obvious and obscure, to children in the United States. In some cases, these benefits include direct care such as overnight or weekend care, gifts and other provisioning, and social interactions such as play and emotional support. In other cases, indirect care results from resource sharing with parents and improvement of access to shelter and security. This forms the foundation for the importance of childfree kin in American families and social groups.

Childfree alloparents also expand their kin groups to include fictive human kin and kin of other species. This results in a broadened moral sphere, embracing the species-specific needs of their "kids" and including the welfare of non-blood relatives. Through this expanded definition of kin, the childfree redefine the village in which they live to include their professional worlds, their communities, and, in some cases, future and global social groups.

Much like Doucette's (2001) Paleoindian hunters, childfree alloparents repeatedly demonstrate that choosing to be childfree does not make one "self-centered" as suggested by Popenoe's (1936) early work. Rather, whether for financial, time, or personal reasons, these individuals have decided to invest in those around them rather than devote resources to their own offspring. In so doing, childfree alloparents fill a much-needed social role for the cooperative breeding human species, the role of caregiver, aunt, uncle, sibling, cousin, and friend. Childfree alloparents fulfill the role of the village.

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Grandparenting Across Cultures

Harry W. Gardiner

An increasingly important, but underreported, topic in contemporary cross-cultural psychology concerns the roles and influences of grandparents in the development of individuals of all ages (even adulthood). Approximately three-quarters of adults will eventually become grandparents, ranging widely in the age at which they first take on the role. Some become grandparents as early as their mid-thirties, while others are over sixty when they become a grandparent for the first time. A majority of this population will be grandparents for about a third of their lives (Smith, 2005). With the trend toward increased life expectancy across Western societies, grandparents in those cultures are likely to experience even more time in the life stage of grandparenting. Evidence suggests that the effect grandparenting has across a variety of cultures is important and diverse (Gardiner, 2018; Hagestad, 2000; Smith & Drew, 2004a; 2004b). The grandparent role provides children with opportunities to establish relationships with, and be influenced by, a mature adult, separate and distinct from a parent or primary caregiver.

In their study of the relationship between grandparenting styles and grandchildren's emotions and behaviors, Li, Cui, Kok, Deatrick, and Liu (2019) found that the effects of well-recognized parenting styles on children were different when implemented by grandparents. Of particular interest were the effects of grandparenting style on children's emotional and behavioral problems in China. When grandparents practiced styles of care and overprotection, higher levels of children's internalizing, externalizing, and total problems ensued than when parents practiced the same styles (Li et al., 2019). This suggests that a positive parenting style may not yield the same effects when practiced by a grandparent. However, studies conducted in other countries found that grandparenting positively correlated with enhanced adolescent well-being (Attar-Schwartz, Tan, Buchanan, Flouri, & Griggs, 2009). More research is needed for sound comparisons across cultures.

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A 2019 AARP survey highlighted the many positive ways grandparents impact their grandchildren through financial contributions, wisdom and guidance, and caregiving duties (Newswire, 2019). Clearly, the role and impact of a grandparent can vary greatly between families and among cultures. Some studies indicate that the quality of the grandparent-grandchild relationship is most strongly correlated with the bond between the grandparent and parent (Li et al., 2019; Merrill & Fivush, 2016). This supports the notion that a family system can be quite complex, with different family members carrying out various roles, where one relationship influences and, at the same time, is influenced by other relationships. Such roles and relationships are likely to vary across families, cultures, and time periods.

Articles focusing on grandparents first appeared within Western societies during the 1930s and 1940s, frequently portraying grandparents in negative terms (e.g., stereotypes of old, feeble, hard of hearing, and forgetful individuals). Moore and Rosenthal (2017, p. 4) provide this succinct (and amusing) description by one child:

> A grandmother is a lady with no children of her own. A grandfather is a man grandmother. He goes for walks with the boys and they talk about fishing and tractors and like that. Grandmothers don't have to do anything except be there. They're old so they shouldn't play too hard or run. Usually, grandmothers are fat, but not too fat to tie your shoes. They wear glasses and funny underwear. They can take their teeth and gums off.

Fortunately, a more balanced view began to emerge during the next two decades (Merrill & Fivush, 2016; Newswire, 2019), depicting grandparents as having a positive effect on children's cognitive and affective development, serving as a major support system at the time of family breakdown and divorce, and occasionally raising grandchildren on their own (i.e., skipped generation families). Grandparents can serve as storytellers, imparting intergenerational narratives to support the development of identity among the younger generation (Merrill & Fivush, 2016). Research suggests that such narratives provide a means for achieving individual well-being through psychosocial development of individuals (Merrill & Fivush, 2016). For example, an adolescent in Japan, who takes care of a disabled grandmother, was quoted saying, "I give her a massage every afternoon after school. I like to do it because she tells me stories about living in Nagano in the old days, and she really listens to me and helps me with my problems" (White, 1993, p. 68).

Late psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is based on understanding a child's development within the context of the systems and relationships that form the child's environment. To learn more about the ecological perspective and specific predictors of grandparent-grandchild relationships, see Hakoyama and Malone Beach (2013), who include such factors as frequency of contact, as well as physical, social, and intergenerational activities.

As with much cross-cultural research, the majority of grandparent research has been conducted in Western societies, particularly the United States (Kornhaber, 1996; Smith & Drew, 2004a; Smith & Drew, 2004b). However, additional studies from industrialized Europe, nonindustrialized Africa, and other cultures have

become increasingly available for contrast and comparison (Sangree, 1992; Smith, 1991; Di Gessa, 2016). Although the base of research is still growing, there are unique aspects that make the study of grandparenting different from the study of parenting. Emotions are generally less intense between grandparents and grandchildren than between parents and children. However, there are more varieties of grandparents than parents, and due to the complexity of relationships, the study of grandparenting involves examining three generations rather than two (Gardiner, 2018).

The content throughout this chapter will help the reader to describe, explain, and understand both similarities and differences in grandparenting issues and behavior within, between, and across cultures, with an emphasis on ecological factors. As Shwalb and Hossain (2017, p. 4) point out, readers should be aware of the distinctions between "grandparents" (the people), "grandparenting" (their behavior), and "grandparenthood" (conceptions of grandparents and their behavior). Each of these terms is used throughout this chapter.

Types of Families

There are many different types of family structures throughout the world. The nuclear family, consisting of two parents and one or more children, was once the standard and most common type. Single parent families headed by a mother or father and extended families, which include additional relatives such as aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, and others, are becoming more common (Newswire, 2019). Families in which grandparents or step-grandparents are the primary caregivers comprise another type (also known as skipped generation families). Each of these, and other family structures, provides a variety of ecological or environmental conditions that affect children and grandchildren in a myriad of ways. The roles, relationships, and issues will be formed by these differing conditions.

Grandparenting is operationally defined as the participation of a grandparent in the upbringing of a child (Henderson & Stevenson, 2003). In many Asian societies, grandparenting is a core component of child-rearing practices (Li et al., 2019). Grandparenting is becoming more prevalent in the Western societies (Di Gessa, Glaser, & Tinker, 2016) for reasons such as single parent families, abandonment, parents' lack of capability and time, or divorce. In contemporary China, multigenerational co-residence remains common, and approximately 58% of grandparents are closely involved in raising their grandchildren (Ko & Hank, 2014). Because it is not possible in this limited space to discuss all of these factors across many cultures, I have decided to provide examples of selective cultures where the research is more robust: Japan, China, and the United States.

Japan

Japan is a country continuing to experience modernization and the changing role of contemporary grandparenting. A grandmother in this ancient Asian country was once traditionally honored and respected, often wearing "the color red as a badge of her status" (Kornhaber, 1996, p. 22). Prior to the Second World War, the majority of Japanese resided in extended families consisting of three or more generations in a hierarchical system of respect and strict parental authority (Kornhaber, 1996). Due to family restructuring after the war, such as the removal of patriarchal family rule and the granting of equal status to women, grandparents' roles changed. As Inatani, Maehara, and Tasuda (2005) indicate, various aspects of grandparenting became associated with age and frequency of contact with grandchildren. For example, Strom et al. (1995), in a three-generation study, discovered that Japanese grandparents felt that their influence and family status were declining. Conversely, results from the study's questionnaire, which involved 239 grandparents, 266 parents, and 274 school-age grandchildren and focused on the needs and strengths of Japanese grandparents, revealed greater involvement, satisfaction, and success in teaching than that of parents. The authors reported the most significant factors affecting results appeared to be generation, grandchild's gender and age, number of generations living together, and frequency of grandchild care by grandparents. Thoughtful proposals were made for the development of programs to assist grandparents in adapting to their changing roles (Strom et al., 1995).

In an illustration of grandparenting in Japan, Nakazawa, Hyun, Ko, and Shwalb (2018, p. 1898) provide the following case story:

> Ichiro Yamato is 70 years old and his wife Hanako is 68 … Their son lives …30 minutes away …with his wife (a stay at home mother) … and … school-age child. Their daughter … lives nearby with her husband and two pre-school children. Since she works full-time, Ichiro and Hanako have taken care of their two grandchildren when needed, (e.g., they escort them to a day nursery and provide some meals)…. When each grandchild was born …they presented traditional Japanese dolls to their families as a symbol of wishes for a good life … [they attend their grandchildren's piano recitals and baseball matches] …For now, they take the greatest delight when they have weekend dinners with their grandchildren.

Although the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren in Japan appears generally positive, studies have not yielded a significant relationship between grandparenting and children's personality in Japan. Perhaps this will change as the prevalence of grandparenting becomes more common in the country. Historically, roughly 30% of Japanese families have asked grandparents to help them to care for children when necessary, but not every day (Nakazawa et al., 2018). This is in contrast to historical China, where grandparents' participation in child-rearing is more prevalent.

China

According to the Shanghai Municipal Population and Family Planning Commission (2010), 90% of the city's young children are being looked after by at least one grandparent, and half of these grandparents provide exclusive care – a number that is increasing. In other Chinese cities, the numbers are lower but still high: 70% of children in Beijing are cared for by a grandparent, and 50% in Guangzhou (Yang, 2013).

In a study similar to the one mentioned above concerning Japanese grandparents, Falbo (1991) looked at 1500 Chinese schoolchildren six to 10 years of age to determine the effect of quality contact on their behavior. Her findings revealed that "contact with educated grandparents was correlated with positive academic achievement. Contact with better educated grandfathers was correlated with … a more desirable personality as judged by both mothers and teachers" (p. 372). She concludes that Chinese grandparents have a positive influence on their grandchildren. Jiang, Chan, Lu, and Fung (2015) discuss something similar, describing the factors influencing grandparenting behaviors, their outcomes, and gender and culture differences, particularly in Chinese culture. For example, gender differences are related to women living longer than men, men having higher status than women, better financial status, and greater social exposure. On the other hand, grandmothers provide greater care and emotional support. As a result, they report greater contact with their grandchildren.

Other researchers (Stevenson, Chen, & Lee, 1991) have suggested that the role played by grandparents in families depends in large part on the gender of their own child and the grandchildren. As an example, the authors indicate that "their son's children are considered to be their 'true' grandchildren, whereas their daughter's children are considered the children of their son-in-law and are called 'outside' grandchildren, with whom it is permissible to establish a more playful relationship than 'true' grandchildren" (p. 23).

The United States

In the United States, approximately three-quarters of adults will one day be grandparents. Women typically achieve this around the age of fifty-five, with men becoming grandfathers about 2 years older. These individuals will be grandparents for about one-third (or twenty-five) years of their life. This means that grandparenthood becomes an important part of the life cycle for both grandparents and those on whom they have an effect and impact (Newswire, 2019).

As family structure changes and life expectancy increases, we can expect that the role grandparents will play and how they will interact within families will also change significantly. As an example, there are increasing numbers of four-generation families, with some grandparents becoming great-grandparents. In one study, a

group of elderly great-grandparents indicated that they viewed their new role as significant and emotionally fulfilling. This, in turn, gave them a sense of renewal – both personal and familial – as well as a sign of longevity (Cee, 2016). However, with increasingly higher rates of divorce and remarriage (producing more blended families), the critical issue of visitation rights for grandparents and great-grandparents is becoming a concern for many (Adcox, 2019).

One aspect of grandparenting in the United States, significantly different from that of many other countries, is a result of greater ethnic diversity. In fact, according to Henderson and Stevenson (2009), 5% of White children, 17% of African-American children, and 6.5% of Hispanic-American children live with at least one grandparent. The reasons for this level of grandparent involvement vary greatly, from preventing physical, psychological, or sexual abuse or neglect of grandchildren to reducing grandchildren's contact with drug-abusing parents, buffering the effects of divorce, preventing placement in foster homes, and shaping and developing personal identity. The benefits of becoming engaged in their grandchildren's lives include preserving family history and values; maintaining contact through visits, telephone calls, family dinners, and recreational activities; and resolving conflicts between parents and their children. Parents and their children reap the benefits of childcare, household work assistance, improved school behavior and social skills, as well as love and affection (Cee, 2016). The presence of active grandparents provides grandchildren with positive role models for old age. This is illustrated by a young girl who described her grandmother in this way: "She is a dynamo. A speedball. When my mom was in the hospital, she came over and cleaned the house and did the cooking. I helped her; we did it together. We dance, and I get tired before she does. She even chops wood. I hope I am like that. She says I am" (Kornhaber, 1996, p. 113).

For more about grandparenting in the United States, see *The Grandparent Solution: How Parents Build a Family Team for Practical, Emotional, and Financial Success* by Kornhaber (2004), which provides solutions for overcoming common barriers to creating a family team. The book stresses the importance of personal attitudes and values for drawing lines between love, intrusiveness, and meeting challenges of the future. Additionally, refer to Shwalb and Hossain's (2017) long overdue global view of the changing roles of parenthood, with thought-provoking research, real-life case histories, cultural influences, and applied implications for grandparenthood across and within societies.

New Directions for the Future

Previous research suggests that grandparents have significant influence on their grandchildren, including emotional and behavioral development (Li et al., 2019). A limited number of studies have been conducted to explore grandparent-grandchild relationships and grandparenting styles' effect on grandchildren. We are in the

beginning stages of data collection and attempting to understand grandparents' roles in family life. As family structures and environmental factors shift, grandparenting is emerging as a more common practice in child-rearing. It is important to understand the link between grandparenting and childhood emotional and behavioral development, as problems in these areas are major early indicators of adolescent delinquency, later adult violence, and mood and anxiety disorders (Roza et al. 2003; Tremblay et al. 2004).

Much research has been done on the effects of parenting, especially in Western societies. As care-giving responsibilities are imposed upon grandparents, there may be both positive and negative effects. For example, grandparents could be ill-equipped to address children's issues such as tantrums or delinquency (Li et al., 2019). There is an opportunity to more closely examine the impact of grandparenting on child development. While scholars have provided some perspective, we have by no means covered all bases. For example, we need more information on characteristics of grandparents and grandchildren; frequency and nature of contacts; styles of grandparenting and step-grandparenting; intergenerational transference of behaviors, values, and attitudes; long-distance grandparenting through the use of technology (e.g., Skype, FaceTime); and learning second or third languages, among other variables.

Factors influencing stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination against the elderly (ageism) are not well-known. However, the grandparent-parent relationship is likely to influence the grandchild's perception of their own grandparent as well as of the broader aging population. Additional factors that affect these views include gender (girls have slightly more positive views than boys), age (ageism was lowest in 10- to 12-year-olds, reminiscent of other forms of stereotypes and cognitive developmental theories), grandparents' health, and, most importantly, quality of contact with grandparents (very good and good contacts correlated with more favorable feelings toward the elderly, especially in children with frequent contacts; Flamion, Missotten, Marquet, & Adam, 2019).

A relatively short chapter such as this can only scratch the surface and does not provide detailed evidence on scores of cultures, issues, and findings. The goal is to stimulate interest and motivation among readers and researchers to help expand knowledge of the topic. A potentially exciting aspect of this growing field of research is the positive impact on the preservation of culture and history. Some sociologists have recognized a pattern of first-generation immigrants clinging to customs from their land of origin, while members of the second generation dismiss such customs, instead striving to fit in with the culture of their adopted country (Danico & Ng, 2004). How might the third generation respond? It appears that the third generation may be more interested than the second in retaining cultural values (Danico & Ng, 2004; AARP, 2019). What does this mean for grandparents? There may be an eager generation, hungry for quality contact and intergenerational narrative storytelling. This is an encouraging notion for grandparents, with a ripe opportunity to preserve their culture, language, and traditions, establish a quality grandparent-grandchild bond, and promote happiness among the grandparent population.

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Australian Intergenerational Families Valuing the Great Outdoors: A Tapestry of Children's Cultural Learning Through Specific Parenting Practices

Hilary Monk

Introduction

> Bringing up children has been regarded as one of the most important tasks that adults perform (Abela & Walker, 2014, p. 8).

The ways in which families live their lives and raise their children are heavily influenced by social, cultural, and economic factors (Brooks, 2013; Hoffnung, Hoffnung, Seifert, Buirton Smith, & Hine, 2010). Beliefs about how to be a good parent are gleaned through family, cultural, and social groups including parental work contexts. Such values guide everyday child-rearing behaviors, for example, the age at which children are expected to sleep alone, feed themselves, and become independent, how and when children should be disciplined, and what extracurricular activities they should be involved in outside school hours (Brooks, 2013).

Global influences are felt across cultural and national borders. Technology is opening up new ways of communicating between family members, as well as storing and disseminating information. In some societies, values and belief systems are being adapted as family commitments and connectedness are being challenged (Abela & Walker, 2014; Berns, 2013; Lawrence, Brooker, & Dodds, 2017). The central theme of this book is the quest to gain a greater understanding of how parenting practices in specific cultural contexts lead to culturally valued child outcomes. The question that guides this chapter is: How are family values, knowledge, and practices – related to outdoor activities – shared within and between generations as part of everyday parenting and child-rearing in three Australian families of European heritage?

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Australian Families and the Great Outdoors

Australia is a nation of rich climatic, geographical, cultural, and family diversity. Australia's six states and two territories span three time zones. The estimated resident population of Australia on March 31, 2018, was 24,899,100 people. This is an increase of 380,700 people since March 31, 2017, and 125,100 people since December 31, 2017 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, [ABS], 2018a). In 2016–2017, net overseas migration reflected an annual gain of 262,500 persons, which was 27.3% (56,300 people) more than in 2015–2016 (ABS, 2018b). English is the national language, but because of the diverse population, over 300 languages are spoken at home, with one in five Australians (21%) speaking a language besides English at home (ABS, 2017). The indigenous populations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people speak more than 100 languages (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2018).

Australia is a vast island continent. A large proportion of the population (approximately 67%) live in major cities mostly located on or near the coast, with the remainder of the population residing in other urban or regional areas (approximately 23%), and 10% in rural Australia (ABS, 2018c). Those living in regional (semirural) areas tend to cluster around large regional towns, leaving considerable areas of the continent sparsely populated because of the harsh climatic conditions and few services (Camberis & McMahon, 2017).

The climate and geographic location have influenced many Australians, young and old, to appreciate and value outdoor life. For example, families gather together outdoors for barbeques, camping trips, bike riding, hiking, water sports, skiing, football, hockey, or general recreation suited to the season (Veal, Darcy, & Lynch, 2013). It is common for the population in some areas to triple at various times of the year as families descend on beach areas for annual summer holidays or flock to the mountains in winter for snow-based activities. Leisure activities associated with the beach are among the most popular outdoor activities in Australia (Veal et al., 2013). It is within this context of mobile populations, outdoor pursuits, and geographic and climatic extremes that this study is situated.

Family Parenting Practices: A Sample of Australian Studies

Parents' perceptions of parenting have been a growing interest among researchers. The Australian Institute of Family Studies participated in the international Parenting-21 (the title refers to this century) project which involved researchers from Australia, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and the United States (Kolar & Soriano, 2000). In their report, Kolar and Soriano focused on two themes: first, parental beliefs and child-rearing practices and, second, the influence of cultural background on those beliefs and practices. The Anglo Australian, Aboriginal,

Torres Strait Island, and Vietnamese participants in Kolar and Soriano's study demonstrated a strong commitment to their child-rearing responsibilities and clearly expressed both short- and long-term goals for their children.

The findings highlighted a need for cultural understanding, particularly related to different cultural approaches to child-rearing, for example, how parenting is learned, who is responsible for parenting, and the wider societal support offered in relation to parenting. Of importance was ensuring that different child-rearing practices, such as the role of the extended family, were not equated to or understood as being in deficit to one another. For some parents, social change had encroached on their strongly held cultural values and beliefs about raising children, for example, in the area of discipline and behavior management. Some parents spoke about the strict discipline, including physical punishment, that they experienced as children and were perplexed that such child-rearing behavior was no longer lawful. For these families, such changes caused stress and anxiety related to their understanding of parental authority. Overall, the report was, and still is, an important document for policy planners and service providers because it offers a broad description of contemporary Australian parenting across Anglo, Torres Strait Islander, and Vietnamese communities (Kolar & Soriano, 2000).

Another research project based on the Australian context is the Australian generations oral history project (see Holmes & Thomson, 2017). This project took place between 2011 and 2014 and involved 300 interviews with Australians born between 1920 and 1989. These historical interviews are rich evidence of how family relationships and the socialization of children within family groups mediate their identities. They also provide examples of how places and objects provide points of anchor for individuals and families in a rapidly changing world. Reiger (2016) remarked that participants in the project "placed themselves in familial networks and particular locations" (p. 58). She explained that families are a collection of memories as well as actual people. The participants in the study grounded themselves in time, space, and place as well as in things that carried emotional meaning such as artefacts, meal preparation, and family rituals. Participants spoke about the influence and encouragement they received from their grandparents, aunts, and uncles. They described how they observed, learned, and modeled family relationships and work ethics in the home and on the farm. Involvement in local community and church events provided opportunities to interact with a wide range of people of different ages and diverse backgrounds. Legacies and skills of resourcefulness, such as cooking, rearing animals, and growing crops, were important ways of sharing family knowledge from one generation to the next.

Intergenerational Family Research

Although the term "intergenerational" has been used in the literature referring to families, there appears to be little consensus as to the exact meaning of the term. For example, it has been used to describe the "active sharing of traditions, behaviours,

beliefs and connections that contribute to both familial and individual identities across multiple generations" (Dingus, 2008, p. 605), as well as cross-generational interactions among old and young (Newman, 2003). However, the majority of intergenerational studies span two generations, with data being generated from both generations simultaneously (e.g., Cordero-Coma & Esping-Anderson, 2018; Liu, Xu, Luo, & Li, 2018), or from one generation speaking about themselves and either their parents or their children (e.g., Deindl & Tieben, 2017; Yang, Font, Ketchum, & Kim, 2018). There appears to be a dearth of three generational studies, possibly because of the difficulties associated with gathering family members spanning three generations into the same location.

A common thread among studies of intergenerational families is the concept of intergenerational transmission. Over two decades ago, Bertaux and Thompson (1993, p. 1) argued that:

> The family remains the main channel for the transmission of language, names, land and housing, local social standing, and religion; and beyond that also of social values and aspirations, fears, world views, domestic skills, taken-for-granted ways of behaving, attitudes to the body, models of parenting and marriage.

This argument is still evident today, particularly within studies with a sociological framing (Cordero-Coma & Esping-Anderson, 2018; Liu et al., 2018). However, some authors (e.g., Yi, Chang, & Chang, 2004) suggest that although value transmission is highly accepted, serious critique is needed. This chapter attempts to address some of this critique with participants spanning three generations.

Intergenerational Family Research Framed in Cultural-Historical Theory

Framed within a cultural-historical theoretical approach, the study discussed in this chapter addresses issues of intergenerational value transfer, change, and development as an interrelated, dynamic, and dialectical phenomenon (Monk, 2014). The dimensions of time (past, present, and future) and the multidirectional relations across generations are considered in process, not as isolated fully formed entities. Therefore, the everyday lives of families are explored from personal perspectives (those of the individual child, parent, and grandparent), a family or institutional perspective, and a societal perspective.

A central aspect of cultural-historical theory is studying development in motion over time (Vygotsky, 1987, 1997, 1998). "What must be of interest to us is not the finished result, not the sum or product of development, but the very *process of genesis or establishment … caught in living aspect"* (emphasis added; Vygotsky, 1997, p. 71). For Vygotsky (1997), "the past and present were inseparably merged … the present stands in the light of history" (p. 41). Using cultural-historical theory opens up the opportunity to study transitions, processes, motion, and history dialectically (see Ridgway, 2014) through capturing present and past moments of parenting practices in time, as family members discuss objects, events, and places of meaning.

The Study

Data discussed in this chapter are drawn from a larger study that investigated how family values, knowledge, and practice traditions relate, transition, and transform within and between generations during child-rearing (Monk, 2010). Of interest was how family members across the generations participated in the shaping of their own and their family values and meaning through their everyday experiences. Three Australian intergenerational families of European heritage took part in the study for a period of over 9 months (see Table 1). All names are pseudonyms; the family members chose the names for the children and the researcher named the families. The grandparents resided in separate houses from the parents and children, although at times the grandparents stayed for short periods with the children and parents and the children and parents visited the grandparents on day trips and also for short holidays. All family members were in reasonable travel distance from one another, no further than a three-hour commute.

Participant families were recruited through a local full-day childcare center and a local community sessional crèche. University ethical procedures for recruitment and informed consent were followed.

Iterative Data Generation

Data generation followed an iterative process of intergenerational family dialogues (for further details see Monk, 2014). Each family dialogue built on the previous one. The family dialogues involved grandparents, parents, and children and were framed in such a way as to provide opportunity for all family members to take part. Before the first dialogue, family members were asked to select one or two artefacts or treasures to bring along to discuss. At the end of the meeting, I provided the family with a digital camera to take photographs of their child-rearing practices. Families were asked to photograph anything they thought was meaningful for their family or for one of the family members. The request was open-ended and I explained that any member of the family could take as many photographs as they chose at any time, at home or in the wider community. On a prearranged date, the camera was left at the

Table 1 Participant families

	Gum Tree Family	Peninsula Family	Bayside Family
Children	Mary (3 years)	Hope and Beverly (4 years and 5 months) 18-month-old sibling	Charlie (5 years and 10 months)
Parent(s)	Father and mother	Father and mother	Mother
Grandparent	Maternal grandmother	Paternal grandmother	Maternal grandfather

childcare center for me to collect. I then made prints of all the photographs before the next family dialogue meeting, where the prints were laid out on the table and family members chose different ones to discuss.

After the second family dialogue meeting with each family, I provided the family with a digital video camera. I requested that they choose a small number of the activities captured in the photographs and take short 5–10 minute videos of these family practices. Again, the families returned the camera to the childcare center where I collected it before uploading the video footage to a laptop computer to take to the next family dialogue meeting. The third time I met with each family, we viewed and discussed the videos. All family dialogue meetings were audio recorded and fully transcribed by the researcher.

Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred in two phases. First, during the family dialogues, the participants and the researcher had the opportunity to work together as co-researchers. Children, parents, and grandparents assisted in sorting, analyzing, and categorizing the photographs as well as viewing and interpreting the video footage they had generated. These activities occurred with minimal involvement from me, as, once the process of sorting began, the family members interacted with one another, discussing, analyzing, and categorizing the visual data. This allowed for the images to be understood from different viewpoints across the generations.

Second, and drawing from the work of Hedegaard (2008), I continued the data analysis process first at a *common-sense level*, second at the *situated practice level,* and third at the *thematic level*. The common-sense interpretation is where the researcher is "commenting on his/her understandings of the interactions in the activity setting" (p. 58), for example, the home or the beach. The situated practice interpretation "transcends the single activity setting and links together observations taken across several activity settings within the same project" (p. 58), for example, the home and the beach. The thematic interpretation is "directly connected to the aim of the research … using theoretical concepts to find patterns in the situated complexity of the institutional practice … in order to formulate new conceptual relations within a problem area" (p. 61). These tools were adapted for use with the intergenerational dialogue data in an attempt to capture the complexity, dynamics, and dialectical relations embedded in the data.

Parenting Practices: Valuing the Great Outdoors

One theme that arose from the data analysis was that of specific parenting practices that each of the three families engaged in to ensure that the children valued and participated in the great outdoors. These child-rearing practices were embedded in the everyday lives of the families and included seasonal activities, such as visiting

the beach or the pier in the summer to engage in a range of water-based activities, and holiday activities, such as visiting and holidaying in rural environments. Each family had special localities that created a sense of belonging for the family over generations. These localities were visited again and again. Historical knowledge, understanding, and skills were shared across the generations with grandparents, parents, and children linking past experiences to present experiences.

The Gum Tree Family particularly valued the bush and rural areas where the grandparents resided, and the parents had lived as children and young people. At the time of the study, three-year-old Mary and her parents lived in an urban area, while her grandparents lived in a historical homestead in a rural area. Familiarity with the bush and the ability to survive with minimal equipment were valued by this family and shared with Mary.

For the Peninsula Family, the seaside and the beach were important locations that provided opportunities for the family to share their love of outdoor living. Although the family had lived in a number of different locations, they always chose to reside close to the sea, and during the summer the family would often take their evening meal to the local beach and spend time walking along the sea shore or swimming.

The local pier and surrounding coastline provided a sense of belonging for the Bayside Family. This family had resided in the Benston (pseudonym) area for three generations and the pier was a local landmark. Activities such as swimming and fishing off or near the pier with family or friends were common experiences and were introduced to Charlie at a young age with the hope that he would appreciate the pier as much as his grandfather and mother did.

The parenting practices of each of these families are explained in more depth in the following sections.

The Bush

The Gum Tree Family had extensive environmental knowledge of the bush and the farmland that they shared with their daughter Mary. For many generations, the Gum Tree Family had lived, worked, and enjoyed leisure activities in rural environments, which they valued and appreciated.

Mother: They are just things that I um … we value and we want Mary to value that … we really want Mary to learn about how to light a fire and learn about the different types of wood and what they are for and … to learn about the ways of cooking and not just turning on power.

Father: Mary's granddad can tell you … ah … you go out in the bush with Mary's granddad and he can tell you every native name of the tree … you know the ones that are 50 letter long … yeah … he is good at it.

Mary's dad had a strong desire for Mary to appreciate the bush and learn to live rough. Knowledge about living in the bush and using the available natural resources was important to the Gum Tree Family. Particular local knowledge had been passed from grandfather to father and now Mary was being introduced to this knowledge, especially when her family traveled to visit her grandparents in a rural area.

Father: I go to the bush a lot … when I can I go away … camping, fishing … yeah, go and get lost (chuckle), yeah, yeah, boy things.
Researcher: So, would you take the girls (wife and daughter) with you?
Father: Yeah, yeah, if they want to come, they'll come … yeah, we are just starting now … getting Mary out and about a bit now, she will come out in the campervan. So, if Mary was not along we would both (mother and father) just take the swags (a local term for sleeping rolls) and roll out the swags … none of these land cruisers … we live pretty rough. Yeah, it's good, living like champions with nothing … yeah so it is good.
Researcher: How do you feel about Mary getting involved in that sort of thing?
Father: Yeah, for sure, I want to get her into it, that is what I want for her … I don't want her to be a little puppy doll that … a little princess doll that won't go to the toilet because … there isn't a toilet … she's got to learn to wee in the grass.

Life in the outdoors was considered the good life for Mary's family. Although they lived in an urban area, the family made regular visits to Mary's grandparents, where she participated in farm and bush activities situated to her young age, such as feeding the animals, helping in the garden, and cleaning the sheds. Her parents had aspirations that Mary would learn to love the bush and join them on camping trips, living rough, sleeping in a swag, and eating bush tucker (foods native to Australia and used by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people). When Mary visited her grandparents, she participated in the farm activities and had her own set of farm clothes such as gumboots and coats that allowed her to move around the farm in all weathers. She was familiar with the dogs and assisted her parents and grandparents to feed the animals and collect and stack the firewood that was used in the house. During holidays visiting uncles and aunts, Mary was introduced to different farm animals and farming practices, building on her knowledge and skills when interacting with animals and the land. At home in the urban area, Mary assisted her father to clean out the fishpond and work in the garden. Outdoor work and leisure activities were a valued part of Mary's everyday life, and she undertook these activities alongside her parents and grandparents. She observed what was happening and assisted by completing tasks suited to her age level, such as giving the dogs their food, feeding the chickens, and collecting their eggs.

The Seaside

Proximity to a local beach was essential for the Peninsula Family. As a child, the grandmother had lived across the road from the local beach where she spent most days during the summer swimming and exploring:

Grandmother: We went to the beach a lot as kids and I loved it … I love [emphasis added] going to the beach … yeah, really free, it's free, there's a lot of um… little discoveries to make … and …

Researcher: And did you live in this area?

Grandmother: No, no we didn't live in Benston but I did live at West Shore (pseudonym) … which is right on the beach. I actually lived opposite the beach … so we used to spend all our summer … just going swimming in the water at the beach.

Appreciation of this natural resource was shared with her son (Hope and Beverley's father) as a child, and this same appreciation was being shared with 4-year-old twins Hope and Beverley. However, they resided a short distance from the beach, so it was not quite as freely available to the twins:

Father: I want to talk about this photo, it is a photo of mum (grandmother) and all the kids on the beach … everyone is having a good time … um … just enjoying the day … it was beautiful that day

Beverley: Mum, we had ice cream

Hope: Yeah

Father: Oh, we just decided to get out as a family … and you know, have some fun so we went down to the park and then after the park we went down to the beach … we go there fairly regularly, we would go there … that's down in Benston beach down there and the park is down there. … and there is a restaurant if you need some food.

Visits to the beach were not isolated one-off activities for the Peninsula Family. The beach acted as a mediator of complex dialectical relations and transitions of family values and memory making that crossed generations. The beach was a context for social interactions, as well as enjoyment of natural resources and water-related activities.

For the Peninsula Family, returning to a specific beach was not important, as there was something deeper than a specific location that drew them back to the beach. The experience of being free in the outdoors – enjoying the water, the sand, and the sun and spending time together as a family – these were the important things this family wanted their children to experience and enjoy. Any beach afforded a setting for this to occur. The family would frequently pack a picnic lunch or dinner to take to the beach. They would arrange for friends and other families to meet them at the beach to share meals, play games on the sand, make sandcastles, and explore the tidal pools.

The Pier

For the Bayside Family, the local Benston pier and the nearby beach area were imbued with childhood memories over three generations. There was a sense of ownership and identity linked to this local landmark. For the Bayside Family, nothing could be better than spending time at the pier or nearby beach. This was the good life for this family.

Mother: … and he (Charlie) does swimming lessons, which is important … I think because we live so close to the beach, we go to the beach a lot.
Grandfather: We're lucky in Benston … I've lived in Benston all me life. I was born in Benston … we are lucky with the beach … I feel sorry … for the kids in the country.
Mother: Yeah
Grandfather: They have got *no idea* [participant's emphasis] what it would be like to live in Benston in the summer … it's what I like, to live there with all the kids.
Mother: Yeah, and the same … the very same spot that … when you were little you used to go snorkeling and … at the bottom of Bluff Hill … you used to catch a lot of fish there didn't you?
Grandfather: We went spearfishing there … and fish off the pier with a fishing rod.

As a young boy, the grandfather of the Bayside Family, along with his friends, considered that the pier belonged to him – that he had particular custodial rights as a local boy that visitors did not have. He imagined his grandson, Charlie, would have a similar experience as he grew up, and when this study was in progress, Charlie was already very familiar with the pier and loved to fish there with his father or grandfather.

Grandfather: We used to jump off the end of the pier … we all knew how to swim … we would splash the people that were on the pier … we were the Benston boys, we used to think the pier was our pier not your pier … I want Charlie to experience this too.
Mother: Charlie already loves to go down to the pier and the beach … he goes with his father and grandfather, and I take him down there as well.

Frequent visits to the pier and local beach area were part of Charlie's life. His grandfather recounted stories of his experiences as a boy living close to the sea and taking ownership of the pier. Charlie was learning to swim so that he would be safe and confident in the water. The pier and local beach were places where he spent time with his dad during custodial visits, and he knew the area well as his mother often took him to play and board ride in the shallow water near the pier. This was a place to explore the rock pools and enjoy an ice cream sitting on the sand, as well as learn

to control a boogie board. The pier was a place to meet other local families and spend hours fishing with a rod. Friendships were formed and new skills were learned. Charlie had his own fishing gear and was learning to care for it. The pier and the surrounding beach were a place to relax, explore, and spend time alone and with others.

The Interlacing of Intergenerational Parenting Practices

The parenting practices in participant families were not isolated events; rather, they were woven into the very fabric of everyday life in and across generations. Parenting is multifaceted, complex, dynamic, and dialectical, and it cannot be limited to or simply explained by a straightforward transmission or maturational view (Berns, 2013). Top-down continuity from grandparents to parents to children is only one trajectory when considering parenting practices and child-rearing. In this study, each generation influenced the others, for example, when parents and grandparents adjusted their activities to involve the children as participants in the events. Thus, Mary's family considered expecting a young child to sleep rough in a swag was not appropriate, so they changed to sleeping in a caravan until Mary was older. Children's ideas, capabilities, desires, and values brought new perspectives to their parents and grandparents, which over time led to transformation and change in parenting practices. In addition, societal expectations changed such as a new rule that prohibited jumping and diving off the pier. This brought change to Charlie's grandfather's expectations of the good life for Benston boys, so other activities linked to the pier were prioritized, such as fishing. Although there was change and transformation in the parenting practices, the strongly held values of the families prevailed.

Rogoff et al. (1993) argued that children's development "is a creative process of participation in communication and shared endeavours that both derives from and revises community traditions and practices" (p. 3). Over time, children's participation in the everyday activities, as well as the parenting practices of their family, changes as the children become increasingly involved in and contribute to these activities. Adults and children pay attention to particular aspects of the social interaction and ignore others that they perceive as less valuable. These decisions are guided by the values and practices of the different communities in which they live (Mejia-Arauz, Correa-Chavez, Ohrt, & Aceves-Azuara, 2015). Children position themselves as learners wanting to participate in and help with routine tasks as they interact with more experienced peers and adults, such as Charlie's fishing endeavors and Mary helping to feed the animals and collect the eggs. The types of participation were not necessarily formally stated, but they were shared and understood by family members; for example, on days that Mary was visiting her grandparents, the eggs would not be collected until she arrived, as that was her special job. In these instances, the parenting practices involved not only the desires and agendas of the

parents and grandparents but also the contributions of the children that influenced the parenting practices they experienced (Berns, 2013; Brooks, 2013).

The interlacing of these intergenerational parenting practices can be conceptualized as the weaving of a tapestry. The threads in this tapestry are (1) family members spanning three generations; (2) their shared values, meaning, and experiences; (3) contexts, practices, and artefacts; and (4) time (past, present, and future) and times (spanning three generations including societal change) (see Fig. 1).

The parenting practices in participant families were complex. The parents and grandparents brought their personal histories, temperaments, stresses, and supports, as well as the expectations of the society in which they lived, to their roles as parents and grandparents. These families had an organized set of ideas and practices that were shared across and between the generations. They were taken for granted, perceived as natural and right for the family. They were not random acts but came together, creating a niche for their children, a set of choices and unwritten rules about how to bring up the next generation.

The parents chose particular activities for their children to participate in. For the families in my study, shared experiences in the outdoors provided opportunities for parents and grandparents to share strongly held values about what constitutes a good life. For Mary's family, it was learning to live rough and survive in the bush; for Charlie's family, it was gaining a sense of ownership of the pier; and for Hope and Beverley's family, it was spending leisure time at the beach. Each location created a web of connection and a sense of identity for these families (Reiger, 2016). In addition, embedded in each location were particular activities and associated artefacts. Specific items of clothing suitable for swimming, fishing, and camping were required. These items were chosen to support the children's participation, such as suitably

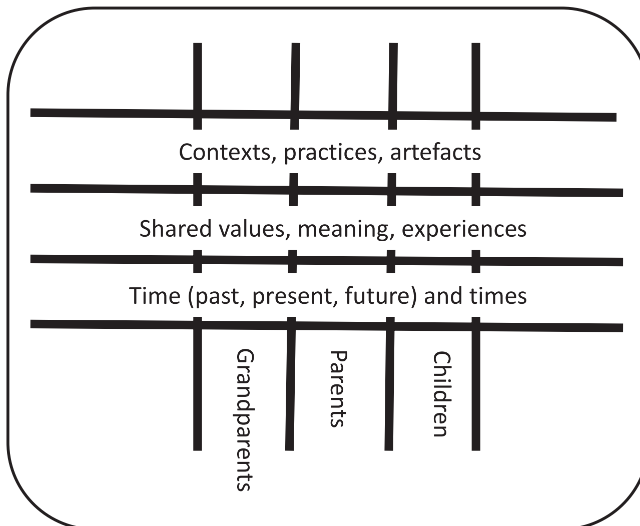

Fig. 1 Tapestry of intergenerational family parenting practices

sized fishing gear for Charlie and more comfortable camping equipment for Mary until she was older and able to sleep rough. In some cases, these child-friendly items were handed down from previous generations, with resourceful grandparents ensuring that the children were able to participate fully in the family endeavors.

During the family dialogues, the ways in which the families described and discussed their parenting practices crossed time (past memories, present experiences, and future hopes) and times (changes in society over the years). For example, when Charlie's grandfather was a young boy, there were less people vying for use of the pier, so the Benston boys were able to own it. Charlie is likely to have a different experience as Benston is now a bustling city with a large population and the Benston pier and beach are favorite places for both locals and visitors. Although Charlie's grandfather's aspiration is that Charlie will experience the pier as he did, Charlie's actual experience might be quite different, as diving and jumping off the pier are now prohibited. Yet, for Charlie's family, the pier is still an important location for fishing, and the nearby beach is used for swimming and board riding. For Hope and Beverly's family, specific location was not important; rather the beach, any beach, could afford the opportunities they desired for the twins. Although the beach frequented by their grandmother as a child was now near a busy port and not easily accessible, this did not matter as the family now frequented Benston beach. Therefore, some features of the family practice might have changed, but the main aspects of the parenting practice (shared experiences, values, and meaning) remained.

Conclusion

The tapestry of intergenerational parenting practices conceptualized through this study exemplifies the complexity and dialectic nature of child-rearing in families. Successful parenting is excessively difficult to determine, with the research literature often concentrating on at-risk families and their parenting practices (Harkness et al., 2012), or American, white middle-class families (Brooks, 2013).

Parenting has been termed by Brooks (2013) as the most exciting and challenging activity of adulthood, leading to a sense of shared meaning for the whole family. However, that sense of meaning involves choices, the sharing of memories of the past, and dreams for the future, as well as the enactment of those memories and dreams in everyday family life. For the families in my study, the great outdoors held memories and aspirations that parents and grandparents wanted for the next generation. Lancy (2017) challenged us to consider the contemporary ideas of what is normal in terms of parenting practices. His hope is to redefine normal to "demonstrate how extraordinary our contemporary expectations for parents and their children are" (p. 114). Parenting practices driven by the increasing authority of experts can lead to a sense of failed parenthood; however, the families in this study focused on their understanding of what constituted a good life for themselves and their children. They connected people, places, and things across generations, leading to a strong sense of family identity, meaning, and value as they shared outdoor experiences with one another.

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