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Conceptual and Methodological Approaches to Navigating Immigrant Ecologies

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Advances in Immigrant Family Research

Series Editor

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In recent years, many countries have experienced significant influxes of immigrants from around the globe with Canada and the United States currently having the second and third highest immigrant population growth. Thus, researchers as well as social policymakers and educators have acknowledged the importance that culture and acculturation play in the dynamics of families and individual development. This shift in research agendas has led to an overall reassessment of families. Many areas of family dynamics and child development in the context of immigration still remain fairly uncharted. Currently, no book series has delineated the field of immigration and families with a comprehensive and multi-disciplinary perspective that includes theory, research, and social policy. The Immigrant Children and Families Series taps into various aspects of immigrant families from a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodological approach. The books highlight positive child development, parent-child relationships, and other factors that affect the dynamics of the family. Also, the series aims to explore conceptual frameworks and methodological strategies that have been reconfigured to address the cultural relevance and nuances within immigrant families. This comprehensive series features leading scholars and aims to advance the field on families and immigration for researchers as well as social service providers and social policymakers.

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Contextualizing Immigration Using Bioecological Systems Theory

Hui Chu and Barbara Thelamour

The importance of Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1995) bioecological theory of human development and the impact on how social and behavioral scientists approach the study of human beings and their environments cannot be overstated (Ceci, 2006). To date, there is no unifying theoretical framework that systematically attempts to address the comprehensive nature of immigration. This edited volume has compiled papers based on Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory as the framework for understanding the overlapping and intersecting contexts that influence different populations of immigrants. Together, these authors approached the study of immigration across development using both quantitative and qualitative methodolgies. The mixed-methods nature of this edited volume, combined with the focus on immigrant ecologies, provides a much-needed, comprehensive perspective on a heavily researched topic.

The conceptualization of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development primarily focused on the characteristics and influences of the different contexts (micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystems; Bronfenbrenner, 1977) on the individual. He later expanded on this theory by stressing the role played by the individual, the impact of time, and most important of all, proximal processes (Process-Person-Context-Time [PPCT] model; Bronfenbrenner, 1995). Specifically, because the four elements of this model (process, person, context, time) simultaneously influence human beings' developmental outcomes, their effects are not merely additive (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). He viewed development as a continuous and bidirectional interaction between the individual and the contexts.

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The "Person" part of the PPCT model refers to personal characteristics of the individual (and those with whom he or she typically interacts). These can be "demand" characteristics (e.g., age, physical appearance), "resource" characteristics (e.g., intelligence, skills), and "force" characteristics (e.g., temperament; see Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). These characteristics influence what occurs during the proximal "Process" which refers to the enduring forms of reciprocal interactions by the "Person" and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate external environment.

The systematic contexts that make up the "Context" component of the PPCT model include micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Bronfenbrenner defines the microsystem as the most proximal setting in which a person is situated to be face to face with others while engaging in daily activities. Specifically, it is the complex of relations between the developing person and environment in the immediate settings containing the person. The mesosystem is the relations among two or more microsystems in which the activities and interpersonal relations are occurring across settings instead of one microsystem. The exosystem is an extension of the mesosystem embracing specific social structures, both formal and informal, that do not themselves contain the developing person but impinge upon or encompass the immediate settings in which the person is found. The macrosystem includes the institutional systems of a culture such as economic, social, educational, and political systems including the overarching belief system and ideology (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979).

The impact of time refers to both development over time and the historical time in which these individuals live. Bronfenbrenner refers to this as the chronosystem which takes into account changes that occur over the individual's lifetime caused by events or experiences (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). These experiences can be from the environment and external to the individual (e.g., a sibling's birth) and/or from within the individual (e.g., puberty). They can also be normative, expected changes or transitions (e.g., starting school), or nonnormative, unexpected (e.g., war, coronavirus pandemic). Bronfenbrenner indicates that these experiences "alter the existing relation between person and environment, thus creating a dynamic that may instigate developmental change" (Bronfenbrenner, 1989, p. 201). This is particularly relevant when examining the lives of immigrants because the chronosystem includes the nonnormative external event of moving from one country to another. The immigration experience, including acculturating (i.e., adapting to a new culture) is an active and dynamic process occurring within and outside of the individual. Specifically, it is even more imperative to approach acculturation over time when addressing developmental processes that occur during specific times such as adolescence (Titzmann & Lee, 2018) and when acculturation processes have been found to differ with age (Cheung, Chudek, & Heine, 2011).

Although Bronfenbrenner indicates that the ideal method of study includes a comprehensive examination of all the components of the PPCT model at the same time (Bronfenbrenner, 1999), the theory is complex, with three types of person characteristics, four types of context, and three ways of conceptualizing time, all of which simultaneously engage in subtle interaction in the course of ever-changing

proximal processes. Jaeger (2016) and Tudge and colleagues (Tudge et al., 2016; Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009) agree that there is no need to include all of these factors in the research design, and studies can be effectively designed that use Bronfenbrenner's theory as the foundation for their research. Furthermore, Tudge et al. (2009) argues that it is acceptable to base one's research on an earlier version of the theory or even on a subset of its key concepts. Within developmental psychology, over time, the theory has also been modified to capture the experiences of diverse groups of people. Thus, each chapter in this volume examines specific aspects of this model, and taken together, this book provides a comprehensive look at the immigration process' impact on individuals.

Some ways in which Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory has been adapted and applied includes Garcia Coll and Szalacha's (2004) Integrative Model of Child Development, which emphasizes the influences on the experiences of marginalized children, focusing on their positions as "outsiders" (p. 82). Similarly, the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) (Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997) focuses on how society's racial organization impacts families through systems that privilege one race and disadvantages others. The Ecological Acculturation Framework (EAF; Salo & Birman, 2015) examines specific circumstances and life domains confronted by immigrant groups who are influenced by more than one macrosystem. While any of these modified theories are appropriate, this book includes a series of papers based on Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory as the framework for understanding the overlapping and intersecting contexts that influence different populations of immigrants. Specifically, it addresses the various ways that immigrants can be influenced as they adjust in their new countries and systematically considers the contexts that immigrants navigate.

Context of Immigration

The complex nature of immigration and its impact on migrating individuals and families make it conducive for ecological study. As the Bioecological Systems Theory stipulates, immigrant adults and children undergo many changes in the receiving countries, due to influences from proximal and distal contexts within the new country. Immigration policies, cultural attitudes toward newcomers, and interpersonal relationships are among the factors that contribute to immigrant functioning. The confluence of personal, interpersonal, and contextual influences on immigrant adjustment makes the Bioecological Systems Theory an appropriate theoretical framework for the study of immigrant groups.

The chapters in this book highlight research on immigrants to North America, particularly the United States and Canada. Historically, Canada has had a relatively open immigration policy (Smick, 2006), and recent estimates report that immigrants make up almost 21% of the nation's population (Statistics Canada, 2011). In the United States, 17% of the population is comprised of immigrants (Batalova, Blizzard, & Bolter, 2020). The adjustment of the significant numbers of

immigrants to these countries is a matter of great importance for the nations that receive them.

Immigrants arrive to the receiving countries seeking employment and educational opportunities for themselves and their children (Hagelskamp, Suárez-Orozco, & Hughes, 2010; Yakushko, Backhaus, Watson, Ngaruiya, & Gonzalez, 2008). In the case of refugees, the United States and Canada provide asylum from oppressive conditions (Grambs, 1981). While on the one hand, immigration represents hope and opportunity for migrants, immigrants can also stand to face individual and structural discrimination, anti-immigrant hostility, and, in the case of undocumented immigration, the threat of deportation (Brabeck & Xu, 2010; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008; Stewart, Pitts, & Osborne, 2011). These experiences in the new country add complexity to immigrants' adjustment processes and the attainment of goals.

Immigrants to both the United States and Canada come from a diversity of sending countries. Waves of immigration to these countries saw immigrants first from Western Europe, then Eastern Europe. Subsequent waves included immigrants from Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa (Ewing, 2012). Both nations are typically characterized as "multicultural," or having the stance that newcomers are welcome to integrate aspects of their cultures of origin and the host society's culture (Berry, 2009). However, the path to true multiculturalism has proven difficult. Historically, policies in both countries have favored the entry of racial and ethnic groups that were more likely to assimilate due to racial and cultural characteristics (Brubaker, 2001; Trew, 2013). Wars and relationships with foreign powers also shaped immigration policies (Ewing, 2012; Troper, 1993). At present, the United States, often lauded as a "nation of immigrants" (Deaux, 2006), has instituted zero-tolerance border policies that have forcibly separated children from their parents (American Civil Liberties Union).

Taking into consideration these histories (i.e., chronosystems) and policies (i.e., exosystems), the chapters in this book examine the various contexts that have impact on immigrant settlement and adjustment. Each chapter examines the psychosocial adjustment of different racial, cultural, or ethnic groups. This book includes research on Asian immigrants as one heavily researched population in psychology. Here, careful attention is paid to national and cultural differences within this population. Chapters focus specifically on the unique experiences of Chinese (Yamamoto et al., Chap. 11, this volume), Korean (Chu & Brown, Chap. 8, this volume) and South Asian (Raj et al., Chap. 3, this volume) immigrants. Ethnic differences within the Chinese population are also highlighted (Chuang et al., this volume). In so doing, the general "Asian" category is rendered ineffective for the careful ecological study of these populations.

This edited volume also includes research on populations that have not received significant attention in psychology and human development. For instance, the cultural adjustment of Black immigrants from African (Onwujuba et al., Chap. 10, and Thelamour, Chap. 7, this volume) and Caribbean (Tormala & Thomas, Chap. 6, this volume) nations is studied. The population of Black immigrants to the United States is rapidly increasing (Morgan-Trostle, Zheng, & Lipscombe, 2016), and they

contribute to the ethnic diversity in the nation broadly and the Black population specifically. Thus, theoretically sound research on their experiences is warranted.

Book Overview

Following this introduction, Chuang et al. (Chap. 2) utilize Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory to emphasize the importance of *"Location, Location, Location": Contextualizing Chinese Families in Three Geolocations.* The authors examine the chrono-, macro-, and exosystemic factors that influence Chinese families in Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan. Chuang and colleagues challenge researchers to consider the contexts from which these immigrants come in order to conduct ecologically sound research on Chinese immigrants. The conclusions from this chapter can be expanded to other immigrant ethnic, cultural, and racial groups that are often categorized without deep investigation into the nuances of their histories.

In part one, *Person*, five chapters explore immigrant individual processes (e.g., identity development) in diverse samples of immigrants to the United States and Canada. Raj, Daga, and Raval's chapter (Chap. 3), *Cultural Identity across the Lifespan: Using an Ecological Framework to Contextualize the Experiences of Asian Indian Immigrants and their Children*, examines narratives of cultural identity and experiences among three Asian Indian groups (i.e., immigrant mothers and their ten school-age children, as well as emerging adults) in the United States. All three groups' cultural identities focused on the influence of the microsystem, which included their families, peers, and communities and the macrosystem that included both Indian and American cultural identities and values. However, college-aged students' narratives of their identity also included the chronosystem, specifically, navigating their bicultural identities over time, and also generationally, as they noted success within their families and communities over generations.

In *Identity and Belonging: The Role of the Mesosystem in the Adaptation of Russian-speaking Immigrant Youth in Canada* (Chap. 4), Glozman and Chuang examined youths' reports on factors in the microsystem such as their relationships with their parents and peers, as well as their immediate environments, such as their schools, extracurricular activities, and neighborhoods, that impacted their identities. However, the interactions between the microsystem factors (i.e., mesosystem) played a role in their identity and belonging. Specifically, parents' decisions in their choices of neighborhoods to live in, schools, activities, etc. led to ethnic/cultural enclaves which provided a protective mechanism for their identity and belonging and consequently fostered their relationships with both their parents and peers.

Chan and Kiang (Chap. 5) longitudinally examined romantic relations among Asian American adolescents. In their chapter, *The Ecology of Dating Preferences Among Asian American Adolescents in Emerging Immigrant Communities*, individual-level differences emerged such as the adolescents' personal beliefs and their desire to learn about other cultures and explore different options. Furthermore, the chapter suggests that dating preferences may reflect how Asian American ado-

lescents might be developing their identity. Microsystem factors such as parents' and peers' same race preferences and macrosystem influences such as culture, language, and values emerged as influential in predicting patterns in dating preferences. Four patterns of preference emerged when examining year-to-year variation in ethnic dating preferences.

In Chap. 6, *Social Representations of Blackness in America: Stereotypes About Black Immigrants and Black Americans*, Tormala and Thomas focused on the macrosystemic level of influence by examining stereotypes of Blackness that are known by a sample of Black immigrants, Black Americans, and White Americans. In this study, acculturation was implicit in this study through the learning of widely held stereotypes. Specifically, they studied the content of the stereotypes about Black Americans and Black immigrants, the extent to which they are shared across racial and ethnic groups, and how many stereotypes exist. Their results demonstrated that generalizations about Black Americans were broad and largely negative and were shared across the three participant groups. Black immigrants, on the other hand, had more specific stereotypes and were less negative than those for Black Americans.

Thelamour's chapter, *A Mixed-Methods Examination of African Immigrants' Perceptions of Black American Culture and Acculturation* (Chap. 7), focused on the ways African immigrants define Black American culture, one culture, or macrosystem that has an impact on Black immigrants. Then, the immigrants' acculturation in several life domains were analyzed using the Relative Acculturation Extended Model, both to determine what acculturation strategies were used and also to determine if they differed according to definitions of Black American culture. Qualitative findings revealed that African immigrants had varied and diverse definitions of Black Americans that were generally positive, contrary to general beliefs of the population. Quantitative results showed that these immigrants integrated native and Black American cultures, but showed variation across life domains. In general, their cultural adjustment did not differ according to definitions of the host culture.

In part two, *Home*, the four chapters focus on the home environment, and the way immigration and its related realities influence parenting and the parent-child relationship. Chu and Brown's chapter (8), *Korean American Adolescents and Their Mothers: Intergenerational Differences and Its Consequences,* examined how the difference between the adolescents' and the mothers' acculturation and model minority stereotype (MMS) endorsement was associated with the adolescents' perception of intergenerational cultural conflict and his/her psychological well-being. Results indicated that adolescents whose mothers were less acculturated to the American culture experienced more cultural conflict with their parents and, in turn, felt more psychological distress. Furthermore, the adolescents whose mothers endorsed the MMS to a greater degree experienced more cultural conflict with their parents and, in turn, felt more psychological distress. The study considered the influence of parents in the adolescents' microsystem and by examining conflict and how the mother's own acculturation and MMS endorsement creates the gap between her and her child.

In Chap. 9, *"It Would Be Very Difficult for Me to Explain This to Them": Cultural Translation of Six Immigrant Chinese Parents in a Midwestern US Context*, Wang

and Plano Clark studied the influence of cultural translation on parenting practices in a sample of Chinese immigrant parents. They examined how the interaction of their native cultures and US culture, particularly in the Midwestern United States (where few Chinese live relative to major seaboard enclaves), shaped these parents' approaches to raising their children. The micro- and macrosystemic influences that were highlighted in the findings include parents' interactions with their own peers and neighbors, church involvement, and US cultural values that encourage children's autonomy and less strictness than would be acceptable per Chinese cultural standards.

Onwujuba and Nesteruk (Chapter 10) focused on cultural influences on Nigerian immigrants' parenting practices. In their chapter, *A Tale of Two Cultures: Nigerian Immigrant Parents Navigating a New Cultural Paradigm*, the authors investigated Nigerian parenting traditions and practices as an exosystem to the immigrant parents who currently reside in the United States. The results underscored the ways parents' own acculturation strategies (i.e., the ways that balanced mainstream US and Nigerian cultures) altered the ways they approached parenting: participants indicated that they adapted some US parenting practices while still trying to maintain their heritage traditions. Further, parents were critical of the socializing influences in the United States, particularly those that ran counter to their goals for their children.

Lastly, part three, *School*, focuses on how immigrant parents and children engage with schooling in the United States. Here, relationships between parents and their children and children with peers and teachers are studied. This collection of studies includes research from children's and parents' perspectives. In Chap. 11, *Demand and Direct Involvement: Chinese American and European American Preschoolers' Perceptions of Parental Involvement in Children's Schooling*, Yamamoto, Li, Bao, and Suh study the how a socioeconomically diverse sample of Chinese and European American preschoolers view parental involvement based, presumably, on involvement practices in their home microsystem. Findings revealed that children recognized their parents' roles as promoters of learning who expressed particular behavioral and academic demands at school. Children's narratives also showed their understanding of the parents' reasoning about attending school. Group differences analyses demonstrate that Chinese American children were more likely to verbalize their understandings of their parents' direct involvement practices than their European American counterparts.

Shuey and Leventhal close the book with their research on ethnically diverse immigrant families' (i.e., Latinx and Black Caribbean) perceptions of their neighborhoods as related to child care. Chapter 12, *Neighborhood Experiences of Immigrant Families with Young Children in the United States*, focused on the mesosystem of family, neighborhood, and child care, emphasizing immigrant enclaves in which the majority of immigrant families reside. Most of the immigrant mothers of color used child care, often relying on social networks and resources. These networks were also protective when mothers perceived a lack of safety in their neighborhoods. Those who did not live in ethnic enclaves wished for more same-ethnic neighbors to be support systems in the face of discrimination and isolation.

In many ways, this volume of studies reflects trends in the existing literature, wherein individual adjustment processes and home and school environments have gained increasing attention. However, placing these issues within the Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory provides readers with a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities of immigrants, families, and their communities.

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Chapter 2
"Location, Location, Location": Contextualizing Chinese Families in Four Geolocations

Susan S. Chuang, Ching-Yu Huang, Xuan Li, April Chiung-Tao Shen, Meihua Zhu, Agnes Ng, and Joyce Yen Feng

Chinese families in the twenty-first century have gained significant prominence among scholars who have acknowledged the importance of ethnic minority families (Chuang & Zhu, 2018; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013). As of 2017, Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau are home to 1.39 billion (National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China, 2018), 23.58 million (Ministry of Interior of Taiwan, 2017), 7.41 million (Census and Statistics Department, Government of Hong Kong SAR, 2018), and 0.66 million people (Statistics and Census Service, Macau SAR, 2018), respectively. Besides residents of major Chinese societies and new international immigrants, Chinese diaspora is widely spread around the globe. Unfortunately, much of the knowledge on Chinese families, and more broadly, Asian families, has been primarily based on a Westernized perspective on European American families (Arnett, 2008; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010).

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Moreover, especially with the increasing immigration of Asian families in various countries such as Canada and the United States, there has been a greater research attention on Chinese immigrant families (see Chuang, Glozman, Green, & Rasmi, 2018; Chuang & Zhu, 2018; Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song, 2013). However, researchers have tended to homogenize ethnic groups by ethnicity, disregarding geo-location (e.g., Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan) and the societies' unique social and political histories (Chan, Bowes, & Wyver, 2009; Chen, 2014; Fung, Gerstein, Chan, & Hurley, 2013). To address these concerns, the goal of the chapter is to apply Bronfenbrenner's (1977) theoretical framework on human development to examine the sociocultural contexts (chrono-, macro-, and exo-levels) that may influence families at the micro-level (family unit). Specifically, it will explicitly focus on similarities and differences among Chinese families in four contexts, Canada, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, and discuss how historical roots and intracultural variations may have influenced family dynamics and relationships. More often than not, many researchers do not place great emphasis on the contextual factors that may influence families (e.g., historical and social contexts), but rather treat "culture" as a peripheral variable (Chuang, 2009; Chuang et al., 2018a). Moreover, there is a tendency to compare ethnic groups with families of European background which then overlooks the variation and nuances of Chinese families in varying geolocations (see Luo et al., 2013).

However, a critical aspect of a life course perspective is the explicit consideration of the chronosystem. Thus, we begin the discussion on some detailed overview of the history and modern states of the Chinese people to contextualize contemporary families. We then discuss the immigration policies in Canada. Next, we report on the few studies that have conducted intra-cultural comparisons on Chinese parenting, offering some preliminary findings of our current study. Lastly, we offer some suggestions for future research.

The Fluidity Among the Chronosystem, Exosystems, and Macrosystems: History and Modern States

Bronfenbrenner (1977) impressively conceptualized a broad theoretical framework on human development. The model encompassed all the complexities and variations of individuals, including their physical, psychological, and social environments, and how the various elements interconnect and influence the developing person over time (i.e., developmental time of the person as well as the time period of the experiences). The fundamental feature of this model is the direct and indirect effects of relationships in various contexts on the developing person. First, we briefly discuss the model, followed by a discussion on the complexities of time, as "current" exosystems and macrosystems pass with time, becoming a part of the chronosystem. Next we examine the various exosystems, with particular focus on political wars that have occurred in Hong Kong and Taiwan, which have impacted the sociocultural contexts of these respective Chinese societies.

Brief Overview of the Bioecological Model

The model includes five levels or systems. The first structure is the microsystem which includes a pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relationships that the developing person experiences in a face-to-face (direct) setting. These experiences are in the person's immediate environment, such as the family; and their direct relationships enhance the person's development across the lifespan (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1995).

The next level is the mesosystem, defined as the relationship between two or more microsystems (e.g., child-mother, child-peer). The exosystem extends the mesosystems by encompassing other specific formal or informal structures that do not include the developing person. These structures such as neighborhoods and government indirectly impact the developing person's immediate setting. These systems occur through space and time (chronosystem).

Encompassing the micro-, meso-, and exosystems is the macrosystem, which does not refer to specific contexts, but rather to overarching institutional patterns of culture or subculture. The make-up of any culture can include the economic, social, educational, legal, and political systems. It is the culture that embraces the information and ideologies, which implicitly and explicitly transmit the meaning and motivation to specific agencies, social networks, roles, activities, and their interrelations. Thus, cultural values, beliefs, norms, and customs become "blueprints" for how societies function (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Within the macrosystem are the exosystems, which encompass specific formal or informal structures that do not include the developing person. These structures include the government (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979), and of particular interest are the political wars that Hong Kong and Taiwan have endured over the many centuries. Over time, these political wars have become a part of the Chinese societies' history, influencing the institutional patterns of culture or subcultures.

The Chinese, one of the oldest and largest ethnic groups in the world, established the first unified empire in 221 BC, and settled in today's East Asia for the following centuries, albeit with frequent changes of reigning dynasties and borders. Until 1912, when the last imperial rule was overturned, China ran a pre-industrial feudal economic system following the Confucian philosophy, where the majority of the population was engaged in agricultural production under the governing literati class (Jacka, Kipnis, & Sargeson, 2013).

The rise of Europe after the Industrial Revolution dramatically changed the course of Chinese history. Unable to defend itself from the British who invaded to open the Chinese market, the Qing Empire ceded Hong Kong following two Opium Wars (1839–1842; 1856–1860). Soon after, the Qing Empire lost again during the First Sino-Japan War (1895), thus ceding the province of Taiwan to Japan. Chinese nationalists governed the country (i.e., Republic of China, ROC) throughout the 1920–1930s after the downfall of the Qing Empire, while underground communist movements increased. Despite brief collaborations to resist the Japanese invasion (1938–1945), the nationalists and the communists fought against each other until

1949, when the nationalists retreated to Taiwan and the Chinese Communist proclaimed government in Mainland China (The People's Republic of China, PRC) (Jacka et al., 2013).

The complicated modern history of China has witnessed the division of the Chinese nation into several populations: Mainland China under the Communist government (PRC), Taiwan under the Nationalist government (ROC), and Hong Kong under the British rule until it was "returned" in 1997 and has since become a Special Administrative Region of the PRC,. Mainland China. Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China are typically considered autonomous political entities, each with its own government and socioeconomic system. In addition, Macau, which was a Portuguese settlement colony for over four centuries (1557–1999), was turned over to Mainland China in 1999 with similar status as Hong Kong (Jacka et al., 2013).

Thus, these major political wars within Chinese societies have segmented China into three societies, specifically, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Due to these contrasting political-cultural contexts, Ho (1986) stressed that there were significant variations in socialization among Chinese people from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and overseas such as differences of ideological objectives and socialization goals that impact family functioning (e.g., governmental policies on family planning). However, few researchers have explicitly taken the national government (i.e., its policies and actions) into consideration and its impact on families and how families may differ by geolocation (see Luo et al., 2013). It is imperative to begin a critical reflection on some of the historical information about the governmental transformations of Hong Kong and Taiwan and the wars that shaped their respective cultures.

From 1841 to 1997, Hong Kong was under the British governance. During this time, thousands of Chinese migrants fled China's communism to Hong Kong. Many Christian missionaries created schools and churches in Hong Kong, changing its cultural landscape. Nearing the end of the 99-year lease, before the British returned Hong Kong to China, a "one country, two systems" agreement was promised to the citizens of Hong Kong. This new regime allowed Hong Kong to continue to engage in capitalism and political freedoms that were forbidden on the Mainland for 50 years (Anonymous, 1997).

Similar to Hong Kong, Taiwan has been influenced by other "outside cultures," although the history is more complicated. Historically, inhabitants lived in Taiwan for over 5000 years, and thus identified themselves as Taiwanese, not Chinese. In 1624, the Dutch invaded Taiwan but then were expelled by the Zheng Dynasty in 1662, and then the Qing Dynasty took over Taiwan in 1683. During this time (1662–1895), increased numbers of Fujianese and Cantonese migrated to Taiwan. From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was a part of Japan and thus engaged in the Japanese culture and celebrated Japanese history. The Japanese contributed to Taiwan's economic development in significant ways, primarily through the electrification of the island, development of massive infrastructure of roads, and the improvement of agricultural development. In 1945, Japan was defeated and Taiwan was "returned" to China, under Chiang Kai-Shek's command (Kuomintang regime) (Winckler, Lewis, Ginsberg, & Kang, 2016). After this shift in political leadership, and with the

support and assistance of other countries, especially the United States, Taiwan slowly emerged as a democratic society by 1995 (Gregor, 1995).

The political wars and invasions in Hong Kong and Taiwan have impacted their culture and ways of life. Over the history of these Chinese societies, they have experienced many governments with laws and policies transforming these Chinese societies' cultural values, beliefs, norms, and customs. Even though Hong Kong and Taiwan are a part of China, they have autonomous governments, creating differing cultural experiences for their respective families. Thus, it is important for researchers to explore the cultural differences and nuances among these families in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China rather than clustering them as "one group."

The Macrosystem: Traditional Values, Family, and Gender Roles

The macrosystem (cultural context) for Chinese societies has rooted in Confucianism for over 2000 years, which has guided family roles and functioning. With the goal of attaining social order, Confucius focused on interdependence, social harmony, and sacrificing one's needs for the sake of the group (Ho, 1989). An individual was viewed within a relationship, holding specific family and societal roles with a clear understanding of his or her "proper place" and was required to uphold his or her roles and responsibilities to maintain social order and harmony.

The most basic and important of all the relationships was the family unit. Confucius conceptualized a template for how each family member should interact with each other, and how family values should be upheld. This template included specific rules on family hierarchy, intergenerational conduct, lines of authority, and respect for the status of others that needed to be adhered to and followed throughout one's life (Tang, 1992). Confucius also had preferred relationships for father and son, believing that the father-son relationship was the most primary and structurally important relationship in the family system, the prototype of all relationships (Kim & Park, 2006).

A central aspect of family relationships was filial piety. Filial piety referred to the respect and care that children have for their parents, and they are to bring honor and not disgrace to the family name (i.e., reputation). Children display filial piety by being obedient and devoted to their parents (Miller, Wiley, Fung, & Liang, 1997). When children reach adulthood, they are expected to financially support their parents (Ho, 1996) while parents are expected to provide their children with love, wisdom, and benevolence (Kim & Park, 2006).

Confucius further defined the roles for mothers and fathers. First, Confucius viewed fathers as the primary breadwinners, and responsible for issues that were outside of the household whereas mothers were responsible for the household and raising of children. These gendered parenting roles has been coined, "strict father, warm mother" (Wilson, 1974). Thus, mothers' daily responsibilities were to nurture, supervise, and sanction their children whereas fathers were feared and were distant figures who taught, directed, and disciplined the children. However, fathers

were to display affection toward young children, especially daughters until puberty (Wolf, 1972).

Contemporary research on Chinese families and the influence of Confucian teachings on family dynamics and relationships has focused primarily on parental control and authority. As Chuang et al. (2018) stressed, this approach leads to conclusions that overemphasize intergroup and underemphasize intragroup differences. To better understand how Chinese families have changed and transformed over the years, the significant social and political transformations that have directly and indirectly influenced Chinese families, and societies at large, need further attention.

Influences of Social Change on Contemporary Families

Over the last several decades, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan have experienced significant changes such as political laws and social policies that have consequently affected the dynamics and relationships in families. Although there were many factors, we specifically focus on the legalization of equality in families, equal access to education, and the fertility patterns and family planning policies within these three geolocations. We discuss the implementation of these factors to stress the importance that these Chinese societies are not monolithic. It is important to note that most of the knowledge about these changes and their effects on families are based on Mainland China, as research on Hong Kong and Taiwan has received significantly less attention. Thus, we first discuss how Hong Kong and Taiwan have developed over time as these countries have their own unique historical and political experiences, and implemented their respective governments.

Post-war Taiwan and Hong Kong quickly restored their economies under the capitalist system and steadily rose to leading powers of global trade and finance. Taiwan experienced miraculous economic growth during 1950–1980s due to its electronic industry, and Hong Kong, after several major shifts, has been functioning as the finance hub of Asia-Pacific. Meanwhile, Mainland China underwent radical socialist movements such as the Land Reform (1950–1953), the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962), and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). During this period, the land was redistributed and the economy was nationalized and re-organized into collective agricultural production units in the rural area and state organizations in the cities (Jacka et al., 2013).

International contacts and mobility had been severed and education and research were halted at the heat of "class-struggles" and masses of urban youth were sent to rural areas to foster socialist transformation (Zhou & Hou, 1999) until Mainland China eventually "reformed and opened" in 1979 to join the global capitalist market under a socialist government. The economy – both rural and urban – was privatized, foreign investments introduced, and education and research resumed. After nearly four decades, China has become one of the world's largest economies, with the GDP per capita ranked 107th in 2016 (United Nations, 2016), with the economic advancement bringing increased international exchanges of goods and cultural artifacts as well as mobility within and beyond the border. For example, according to

the Ministry of Education of People's Republic of China (2016), a total of 4.04 million Chinese students have travelled overseas to pursue education during 1978–2015, over 45% of which have remained abroad. These economic growth included women into the field, thus, transforming the gendered parenting roles in the family.

Gender Equality in Families

Mainland China experienced a communist revolution and a government that was actively engaged in modernizing its society. Specifically, the government created policies that acknowledged the equality between the genders such as the Marriage Law of 1950 that provided legal rights for women and children. Laws banned coerced or arranged marriages, along with polygamy and child marriages. Marriages were now viewed as a personal choice, and divorce was legalized (Engle, 1984). In 2003, the government simplified the marriage and divorce procedures, resulting in a significant increase of divorces. The divorce rate has steadily increased, with the crude divorce rate rising from 1.8% in 2002 to 3.2% in 2017 (Ministry of Civil Affairs of People's Republic of China, 2003, 2018).

In Taiwan, women used to have very limited rights, such as having no input on where they would live, no custody rights over their children, and a lack of self-protection. It was not until 1998 when new regulations were implemented that provided women with more rights, including divorce, some rights to child custody, and holding prior property if it was registered before 1985 (Yam Women Web, 1998). Several legislative changes since 1991 have advanced women's rights in Taiwan, and the government established the Gender Equality Committee in the Executive Yuan in 2011 to serve as a democracy platform. For example, various mainstreaming actions by the United States have been integrated in the government system such as the inclusion of women's rights to political participation (Executive Yuan, 2011).

Hong Kong's history of gender equality differed significantly from Mainland China and Taiwan. With the British colony influence in the mid-1880s, the English law was established in Hong Kong. The Sino-British Joint Declaration (i.e., the international treaty signed between Britain and China) in 1984 granted Hong Kong a high degree of autonomy and the laws previously experienced with the English law were maintained. Thus, Hong Kong women were safeguarded with various rights, including the right to life, freedom of religion, economic and cultural rights, rights to education, and a protection to all individuals (see Kapai, 2012).

Equal Access to Education

In 1907, the Qing government created the first public schools for girls and Western Christian missionaries influenced Mainland Chinese societies by creating formal schools for women in 1940s (Lu & Zheng, 1995; for overview, see Lui & Carpenter, 2005). During the socialist era in the late 1940s, Chairman Mao Zedong and the

Chinese Communist Party implemented a gender equality policy for girls to have the right to be educated. In 2004, junior and senior middle school students made up of almost equal number of boys and girls, with more girls than boys in secondary vocational schools. Undergraduate and graduate students also had high numbers of female students (Lui & Carpenter, 2005).

Formal education in Taiwan began with the Japanese colonial period and was later expanded by the Nationalist government. During the Japanese rule, girls were given access to elementary education which increased from 1% in 1908 to 61% by 1943, compared to boys' enrolment of 8–81%, respectively (Yu, 1988). The Taiwanese people needed to participate in the building of its economy to help Japan defend itself from the West. After WWII, Taiwan's educational system significantly expanded, along with its economic growth. But it was not until the early 1980s did girls attain parity in educational attainment (Tsai, Gates, & Chiu, 1994).

For Hong Kong people, the British missionaries created schools when they arrived in 1843, with the dual mission of evangelizing and civilizing the native girls in the Victorian era (Chiu, 2008). In the 1970s, Hong Kong businesses were increasing and transforming from low-skilled industries to electronics, banking, international trade and, thus, Hong Kong needed some basic literacy. Thus, Hong Kong authorities instituted compulsory education in 1971 for children from age 6 to 11. By 1980, all children were guaranteed free education up to grade nine, resulting in 44% of the children completing their senior secondary education by 1991 (Stateuniversity.com, n.d.).

Fertility Patterns and Family Planning Policies

In the late 1970s, Mainland China's government instituted the "one-child policy" (officially the "family planning policy") due to overpopulation. China occupies only about 7% of the world's livable lands and, yet, home to almost 25% of the world's population. Thus, the country would not be able to economically sustain continued population growth (Zhu, 2003). This policy restricted married urban couples to having only one child. Unfortunately, the one child policy intensified many parents' desires to have a son who would carry the family name, creating a sex ratio unbalance. In 1979, there were 107 boys born to every 100 girls, and the ratio increased to 121 in 2005. This translated into an estimated access of 1.1 million men, leading to 32 million more males than females who were under the age of 20 (Zhu, Lu, & Hesketh, 2009).

Currently, the common family composition in urban families is a four-two-one structure (four grandparents, two parents, one child). In urban areas, 95% of the children are only children (Chen & He, 2004). In 2013, the one-child policy has been altered to allow for two children as the population of senior citizens have become an increasing burden for adult children (see Zeng & Hesketh, 2018).

This drastic change in family structure transformed the role of the child in the household, and parent-child (as well as grandparent-child) relationships, as the

child held a powerful position. There were two parents and four grandparents to one child that challenged the Confucian teachings of hierarchy and parental power toward a more "child-centered" framework. Family resources were now concentrated on one child rather than on many children. For example, Chen and Chen (2010) examined two cohorts of Chinese parents of school-aged children (1998 and 2002) and found that over a 4-year period, Chinese parents used less power assertion (i.e., expectation that children will comply without resistance), and increased their displays of parental warmth.

Taiwan also faced population challenges after the Second World War. The rise in birth rates increased from about 38% in 1947 to 50% in 1951. There was governmental propaganda that promoted family planning programs, and changed their family slogans from "the more children you have the happier you are" to "two children are just right." Fertility control was stressed by intensive family planning education as well as inexpensive contraceptives to eligible couples (Sun, 2001). Similar to Taiwan, Hong Kong was not subjected to the one-child policy but families were encouraged to have two children to control its population growth.

In sum, these unique political, economic, and sociocultural histories have changed and transformed the ways of life for Mainland Chinese, Hong Kong, and Taiwanese families. Unfortunately, there is a greater tendency of researchers to implicitly assume that Asian/Chinese culture is homogeneous, regardless of geography (Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan), and utilized traditional Chinese culture such as Confucianism to guide their work (e.g., Chan, Bowes, & Wyver, 2009; Chen, 2014; Newland, Coyl, & Chen, 2013). This assumption is evident when their samples of Chinese families included families from various geolocations which, unfortunately, continues to perpetuate the over-generalized and superficial stereotype of that geolocation (and its unique history) that is not meaningful (for further analyses, see Chuang, Glozman, Green, & Rasmi, 2018a). Moreover other researchers provided either minimal context or only empirical findings on "Chinese families" (Kan & Tsai, 2005; Lee, Zhou, Eisenberg, & Wang, 2013; Liu & Guo, 2010). These challenges are more complex when Chinese families immigrate to other countries.

The Challenges of Assessing Exo- and Macro-Level Factors

As Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1995; see also Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) emphasized in his model of human development, the macrosystem, the cultural context, was a key feature that was relevant and meaningful when studying family dynamics and relationships. However, how researchers sufficiently, effectively, and meaningfully operationalized the construct of "culture" has proven to be a daunting task. Even in our attempts in this chapter to provide greater sociohistorical contexts for Chinese families, greater exploration is needed to fully capture how culture has affected the microlevels of relationships such as fathers' level of engagement with their children. Nonetheless, we discuss the findings of these Chinese fathers in Canada, Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan and highlight some results that

may lead to future consideration and research. Before this discussion, however, we further discuss the issues of culture and a call to action for researchers to better explore the families' cultural contexts in a more critical way.

While Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model remains relevant and meaningful for all researchers to consider when exploring families, many researchers, including ourselves, have failed to heed his warning in 1995. As Bronfenbrenner asserted:

> …the ultimate paradox is that the more "scientific" the study, the less we are likely to discover which human beings are subject to its results. The reason for this paradox is that psychological science took physics as its model, and physics seeks to discover universal principles: those that apply to all physical phenomena across time and space. But human beings…are widely variable in their biopsychological characteristics and, as a result, are differentially susceptible to the external conditions and forces to which they are exposed during their lifetime…what it does mean is that the research model we use must take such variation into account, and not simply in the form of random error (pp. 632–633).

There were two warnings: (1) a micro-level warning that each person has his/her own unique personal characteristics, and (2) a macro-level warning that individuals are susceptible to their social environment that is ever-changing over time. With the first warning, to date, researchers have not meaningfully assessed the influences of Chinese parents' biopsychological characteristics (e.g., personality, temperament) in relation to parenting or relationships with their children.

For the second warning, few researchers have explored the significant social and cultural transformations in Chinese countries over the last half century (Chang, Chen, & Ji, 2011; Chuang, 2013; Luo et al., 2013). Due to exo-level changes (e.g., governmental policies on family planning, access to education), operationalizing measures to capture the sociocultural changes that further influence the essence of culture will always be a struggle for researchers, both conceptually and pragmatically (e.g., devising measures to capture the multi-dimensionality and multi-faceted nature of culture). For example, Kroeber and Klukhohn (1952) compiled a list of definitions of culture and found 160 definitions, and then added their own. Although there are many definitions, they all share some common features that focus on the group's origins, activities and behaviors, heritage or traditions, group rules and norms, and how the group defines itself and their uniqueness to others (see Chuang, Green, & Moreno, 2018). A difficult challenge, however, is that researchers need to continually improve relevant measures, devise more innovative methods to capture "culture" of that particular ethnic group of interest, and be critically reflective of how sociocultural changes (e.g., governmental policies) may indirectly affect fathering and father involvement (see also Chuang, 2009).

When researchers do not critically assess or acknowledge the exo- and macro-systems, there may be a tendency to overgeneralize and oversimplify the complexities and variability of Chinese parenting. Specifically, some researchers use descriptive ethnic labels such as "Hong Kong" versus "Chinese" to then imply that these groups are distinct, while others blur the lines of distinction by interchanging the ethnic labels (see also Chan et al., 2009; Chen, 2014; Fung et al., 2013; Kwok, Ling, Leung, & Li, 2013).

Micro-Level Findings: Chinese Families of Today

There are few studies that have compared Chinese families by geolocation. However, the limited findings suggest that each geolocation's social and historical contexts have impacted parenting. For example, Li and Rao's (2000) study on the functions of literacy education for their children stated that Beijing parents placed greater emphasis on the learning of moral rules, whereas Hong Kong parents focused more on the entertainment function. It was believed that perhaps Confucian influence may be stronger for Beijing parents while Hong Kong parents have greater exposure to Western cultures. Intra-cultural differences between these two groups were also found on levels of restrictive parenting styles. Specifically, Lai, Zhang, and Wang (2000) reported that Hong Kong mothers were more likely to endorse more authoritarian practices and less inclined to show affection to their children than did Beijing mothers. These differences may reflect the one-child policy in Mainland China where parents have become more child-centered.

In our recent study on fathers with young children from Hong Kong, Mainland China, Taiwan, and Chinese-Canadian fathers (from Mainland China), findings revealed similarities across locations as well as differences among them. Regardless of geolocation, Chinese fathers were no longer "aloof, distant" but rather highly engaged with their children, countering Confucian teachings on the roles of fathers (Chuang, 2013; Chuang & Su, 2009; Freeman, Newland, & Coyl, 2008). These findings are similar to past father involvement studies, especially in fathers' levels of play (Paquette & Bigras, 2010; Lamb, Chuang, & Hwang, 2004; Tamis-LeMonda, 2004; Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2013). Thus, there may appear to be a "global shift" to Chinese fathering, becoming more involved in their parenting responsibilities. This shift may be associated with maternal employment where both parents need to share responsibilities.

However, there were some differences among Chinese fathers as well. For example, Chinese-Canadian and Mainland Chinese fathers reported spending more time playing with than caring for their children, whereas Taiwanese fathers' involvement in childcare activities was higher than levels of play with their children. In contrast, there was no difference in levels of care or play with Hong Kong fathers. Comparing fathers by geolocation, Chinese-Canadian fathers spent more time playing with their children than Taiwanese fathers, and Mainland Chinese fathers' play time was significantly more than Hong Kong fathers. Perhaps these differences may reflect the greater focus on the child in Mainland China due to the one-child policy. For childcare activities, Taiwanese fathers spent more time caring for their children than did Chinese Canadian and Mainland Chinese fathers. Thus, Taiwanese fathers' higher levels of childcare may reflect their democratic culture where household activities are less gendered (Chuang et al., 2019).

Conclusions

It is important for researchers to examine specific ethnic groups on their own terms rather than limiting their focus on cross-cultural comparisons (Chuang, 2006; Phinney & Landin, 1998). An ethnic-specificity approach allows researchers to investigate the impact of cultural factors on particular issues and to examine whether current conceptualizations of family dynamics and functioning, which are based on a Westernized framework, are culturally relevant to minority groups (Chuang, 2009). Using Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (1995) to explore Chinese families, and families more broadly, will allow researchers to gain a more in-depth understanding of the complexities of the families and how culture influences family dynamics and functioning.

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Part I
Person

Chapter 3
Using an Ecological Framework to Contextualize the Bicultural Experiences and Identity of Asian Indian Immigrant Mothers and Their Children

Stacey P. Raj, Suchi S. Daga, and Vaishali V. Raval

Research examining the experiences of immigrant families has great importance in our globalizing world. In the United States alone, over 40 million (13.3%) of the population is foreign born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Immigrants born in India form the second largest Asian immigrant population in the United States (after China), and represent an estimated 2.2 million (5.5%) of the foreign-born population (Zong & Batalova, 2016). In psychological research, however, immigrants from India and Asian Indian Americans have received limited attention. As per a recent review, only 15% of articles focusing on Asian American samples published in the year 2015 specifically discussed Asian Indian Americans (Kiang, Cheah, Huynh, Wang, & Yoshikawa, 2016). Immigrants from India share broader cultural worldviews with their counterparts from East Asia, though the diversity of religions, languages, regional identities, and lifestyles make Indians a distinct group with their unique set of experiences. In this chapter, we first provide an overview of immigration patterns of Asian Indians in the United States and their demographics and then describe their acculturation experiences and cultural identity in the context of Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1994) ecological systems model.

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Patterns of Immigration and Demographics of Asian Indians in the United States

Immigrants from India arrived in the United States in several large waves, the largest of which took place between 1995 and 2015 (Chakravorty, Kapur, & Singh, 2016). Immigrants forming this wave were primarily professionals with specialized skills in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) as well as information technology fields. As a group, these individuals were distinct from the general Indian population in several important regards, including family background, education, and religion.

These recent immigrants (as well as most Indians who migrated to the United States post-1965) came from families in India with higher social standing and income, which facilitated access to higher education and experiences that qualified them for admission to the United States as highly skilled migrants (Chakravorty et al., 2016). Approximately, 70% of Asian Indian immigrants and their families in the United States have college degrees, which is more than double the national average in India and the United States (UNESCO, undated; Pew Research Center, 2013).

India is a diverse country with significant variation in culture, religion, and language across the nation (Chhokar, 2008). There are 22 official native languages in India, and the most widely spoken languages include Hindi, Bengali, and Marathi (Census India, 2011). Almost all Asian Indian immigrants living in the United States speak an Indian language in the home (e.g., 25% speak Hindi, 13% speak Telugu, and 12% speak Gujarati), and about 1 in 10 speak English exclusively (Zong & Batalova, 2017). With regard to religion, close to 80% of Indians in India identify as Hindu, which is higher than the rate of 51% among Asian Indian immigrants in the United States (Census India, 2011; Pew Research Center, 2012). Many more Asian Indian immigrants identify as Christian (18% vs. 2% in India) and the rate of Indians identifying as Muslim is similar (13% in India vs. 10% in the United States) (Census India, 2011; Pew Research Center, 2012). Differences aside, religion and spirituality remain important in the lives of Indians living abroad (Baptiste, 2005; Fishman, Raval, Daga, & Raj, 2014).

Acculturation and Identity Development in the Context of Ecological Systems Framework

Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1994) ecological systems model is useful in understanding and conceptualizing the experiences of immigrants, and their families as factors salient to their experiences are reflected in the various systems. In this model, culture lies at the foundation, and is part of an all-encompassing system that influences (and is influenced by) the individual (and family; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Additionally, children of immigrants "deal on a daily basis with contrasting and often conflicting attitudes, values, and expectations derived from dual frames of reference, their home or ethnic culture, and the larger society as embodied in the school and among their peers" (Phinney, 2010, p. 34). Thus, their experiences within and between different levels of systems may be incongruous.

Within this broader ecological systems framework, acculturation theories can be used for conceptualizing and classifying the process in which immigrants associate with their new society and changes they may experience in their cultural identity. Berry's (1993) four acculturation style typologies are commonly cited in studies examining immigrant acculturation and cultural identity. Each style represents different degrees in which immigrants maintain or reject their natal culture, and/or accept or reject aspects of the new society they live in. Immigrants may assimilate (i.e., assume the cultural identity of the host society and lose aspects of the natal culture), marginalize (i.e., not identify with either the natal or host society), separate (i.e., reject the new culture and solely identify with the natal culture), or integrate (i.e., maintain aspects of the natal culture while also identifying with aspects of the new culture; Berry, 1993). While these styles are widely used in describing immigrant acculturation, there have been criticisms of the psychometric background of these typologies, and qualitative approaches have been recommended to explore acculturation experiences and perspectives (Rudmin, 2003).

Models of acculturation generally relate to immigrants who arrive in a new society with a developed natal cultural identity. Children of minority immigrants experience a different process of cultural identity development, as their cultural experiences are shaped in the context of being a minority within a majority population. The construct of biculturalism, or bicultural identity, is based on research on the integrated acculturation style and refers to the ability to have a strong identification with two cultures. A related construct, bicultural competence is the ability to switch between different cultural models depending on the social milieu. Biculturalism and bicultural competence is particularly salient to Asian Indian immigrants living in Western societies such as the United States and Canada, as on average, Asian Indian immigrants and their children adopt a bicultural style of acculturation more often than other styles (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002a; Krishnan & Berry, 1992). According to Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002), bicultural individuals can perceive their dual cultural identities as being compatible with each other, or as contradictory. Both biculturalism and bicultural competence are advantageous to children of immigrants and there is evidence that these qualities promote psychological health and well-being (Farver et al., 2002a; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). For example, adolescent children of Asian Indian immigrants in the United States with a bicultural identity had higher academic achievement and greater self-perceptions of worth, academic ability, and social competence, than those with other acculturation styles/cultural identities (Farver et al., 2002b).

Parents and Children's Cultural Identity in Asian Indian Immigrant Families

Immigrants may face numerous challenges as they settle in a new country, particularly when there are large sociocultural differences between their natal and new society. Cultural discrepancies can be accentuated when immigrants start families,

as parents are faced with the challenge of raising children in an unfamiliar sociocultural context (Jambunathan, Burts, & Pierce, 2000). This may be particularly salient for Asian Indian immigrants, given the contrasting cultural norms and expectations of Indian and American society, as well as differing value systems (Varghese & Jenkins, 2009). For example, among middle-class families, Indian mothers in India are more likely to emphasize relational socialization goals (e.g., encouraging children to be respectful and adaptable; Raval, Raval, & Deo, 2014), while Caucasian American parents emphasize autonomous socialization goals (e.g., encouraging their children to be independent and unique; Chao, 2000).

Among children of immigrants, parents and extended family members provide primary socialization of cultural practices of the natal culture, while the school and peers are often a major source of socialization to the host (American) culture (Padilla, 2006). According to Hughes et al. (2006), minority and immigrant parents engage in a number of strategies to socialize their children to their ethnic-racial identity. Early practices with young children include *cultural socialization*, which refer to parenting behaviors that "teach children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history; that promote cultural customs and traditions; and that promote children's cultural, racial, and ethnic pride, either deliberately or implicitly" (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 749). As children grow older, parents may begin to engage in other more complex socialization practices such as preparation for bias or discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006).

Studies with Asian Indian immigrant families living in Western societies (i.e., Canada, the United States, and Western Europe) have shown that for the most part, Asian Indian parents systematically retain aspects of Indian parenting norms and attitudes, while also adapting aspects of more general Western parenting (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007; Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002; Raghavan, Harkness, & Super, 2010). In addition, Asian Indian immigrant parents adapt their parenting to help their children function effectively at home and within the broader Western cultural context. For example, in a qualitative study with Asian Indian immigrant parents in the United States, fathers shared that parenting based solely on Asian Indian values and customs would not be helpful to their children and thus incorporated aspects of mainstream American parenting (Inman et al., 2007). Mothers reported speaking to their children in English outside the home and emphasizing a combination of American and Indian characteristics (e.g., being open minded yet also respectful of elders). In essence, Asian Indian immigrant parents were cognizant of differing expectations within their child's ecological system and made thoughtful choices in their parenting to help their child function adaptively in these different systems (Inman et al., 2007).

At the family level, research with diverse samples of Asian immigrant families has found that varying patterns of acculturation or cultural identity between parent and child influence child/adolescent outcomes. For example, among Asian Indian immigrant families in the United States, parent-child dyads who shared similar acculturation patterns or cultural identity reported fewer and less intense conflicts compared to non-matched dyads (Farver et al., 2002a). Similar findings have been reported among other Asian immigrant populations. For example, greater discrep-

ancies in Asian values were associated with increased conflict among Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrants and their children in the United States (Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008), as well as Chinese and Korean American college students and their parents (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008).

Present Study

An important developmental task for children of immigrants is to function competently in different cultural systems (Mistry & Wu, 2010). A body of literature has demonstrated that having a bicultural identity or bicultural competence is related to psychological health and well-being of immigrant children (Farver et al., 2002a; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). However, few studies examine the experience of cultural identity and how living at the intersection of two cultures impacts identity development among Asian Indian immigrant parents and their children. This study examined cultural identity among Asian Indian immigrant mothers living in Midwestern United States and their school-age children, focusing on the proximal systems in which Asian Indian immigrants and their children function. We used qualitative methods to explicitly identify salient aspects of immigrant child development, as well as provide context to development (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 10 Asian Indian immigrant mothers (aged 37–48 years; $M = 41.4$ years, $SD = 4.7$) and their second-generation children (aged 9–15 years; $M = 11.4$ years, $SD = 2.3$; 5 males). Nine of the children were born in the United States, and one child moved to the United States at the age of 1 year. Six children had either one older or one younger sibling, and four children had no siblings. Four children attended schools with a predominantly Caucasian student body and were one of handful of students of Indian descent, while four others attended schools with a more diverse student body including a number of other Asian Indian children (school composition of two participants was not known). Eight children reported visiting India every 1–3 years, and two did not visit India as frequently.

All mothers migrated to the United States as adults and had completed at least an undergraduate college degree. Mothers migrated to the United States between 1993 and 2004, had lived in the United States between 10 and 24 years ($M = 16.1$ years, $SD = 4.7$), and all expected to remain in the United States indefinitely. All were married to Asian Indian immigrant men who had also moved to the United States as adults. Most mothers reported moving due to their husbands' employment ($n = 7$),

and some moved for post-graduate studies and subsequently remained in the United States (n = 3). All families lived in nuclear homes (i.e., parents and children only), though about half of the mothers reported that their parents (i.e., the children's grandparents) would regularly visit from India and stay a few months during each visit. Annual family income for each family was over $55,000 (median household income in the United States is $55,516; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). All participants identified as Hindu.

Procedure

Mothers and their school-age children were recruited through flyers and sign-up sheets distributed at Asian Indian social gatherings (e.g., picnic, cultural performances, etc.) and through "word of mouth" referrals from other participants. Mothers who were interested in participating contacted the researcher and were provided further details about the study. In-home interviews were then scheduled. During these home visits, the researcher first described the study to both mothers and their school-age child, and then obtained written informed consent from mothers and verbal assent from children. Mothers and children were interviewed separately. The researcher who conducted all interviews was of Asian Indian descent. All interviews were conducted in English, and were digitally audio recorded and later transcribed verbatim.

Measures

Semi-structured interview protocols were developed for mothers and their children. Each protocol was developed by the researchers based on an iterative literature review of research with Asian Indian families, and in consultation with a research team that has substantial experience with both qualitative research methods and research with Asian Indian families.

The protocol for mothers included questions regarding mothers' own cultural identity and their perceptions of their child's cultural identity (e.g., Tell me about your cultural identity [if additional probes were needed – do you feel you are more Indian, more American, or a little bit of both]; In what aspects of your life are you more Indian [or American]? Tell me about your child's cultural identity? In what aspects of their life are they more Indian [or American]?).

The protocol for school-age children included open-ended prompts for children to describe their cultural identity using their own words (e.g., Tell me about who you are? Do you feel you are more Indian, more American, or a bit of both? In what aspects of your life are you more Indian [or American]?).

Data Analysis

Qualitative content analysis was used in this study as it enables a deep and rich understanding of phenomena being explored (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). Moreover, consistent with the aims of this study, the qualitative content analysis approach is suited to studies that seek to describe phenomena (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and it is widely used in social science research (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Analyses began with the researchers gaining a sense of the big picture of the data through listening and reading interview transcripts multiple times. Once the researchers were immersed in the data, emerging codes were extracted. These codes were then labelled using participants' own words, where possible (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). As more codes were identified, they were grouped into meaningful clusters (Patton, 2002), which were presented to a larger team with substantial research experience with both Asian Indian immigrants and qualitative research methods. Feedback from the research team was incorporated to refine codes and clusters.

Efforts were made to enhance trustworthiness of findings, including regular "on the spot" member checks (i.e., clarifying what participants said) during interviews. In addition, data analysis was conducted under scrutiny and advisement of a larger team of researchers which helped enhance objectivity and minimize researcher bias. The larger team also served an auditing function and provided a fresh perspective on the data and themes that emerged. Finally, efforts were made to recruit Asian Indian immigrant families who were representative of most other Indian families in the area.

Results

The results section begins with a description of the microsystem as described by mothers and their children. Next, themes that emerged regarding cultural identity are presented as well as illustrative narratives (please note that all names are pseudonyms).

Descriptions of the Microsystem

All mothers described raising their children in an Indian home that was distinctly separate from other systems outside the home. Within the home, most families spoke an Indian language (e.g., Hindi and Tamil), all ate Indian food, and most practiced Hindu prayers and traditions. These themes are illustrated in the excerpts below:

> In our family we have a rule that when you are inside the house, we eat Indian food, we talk in our language; there are 7 or 8 hours in school you can speak the language [English], but we always try to have the culture of back in India here in our house so that they [children] don't miss anything (Mrs. Soman).

Similarly, Mrs. Indra said, "How we raise children that focus on studies and how we keep home, how we cook, and how we want to keep our houses. In all that we are very Indian." Mrs. Eshwan said that, "School is different and home is different," and Mrs. Nanda described that, "The environment inside the house is Indian", and went on to acknowledge that her child's experiences and expectations outside the home were different.

Mothers spoke about maintaining traditions in the home so that their children maintained a connection with India. For example:

> Even though I am not very ritualistic or religious, I try to keep the traditional aspects of it alive for him. It probably happens in every culture. What my grandma did, my mom probably did a little percentage of that; and if I was in India, I would follow a larger percentage. Being here it is even less than that, it is diluted. And I know for him growing up here it will go down even less. Who knows as an adult with a family of his own what he will do, but at least I give him certain important things he can carry on with his life (Mrs. Menon).

In addition to maintaining an Indian home, most mothers encouraged their children to participate in Indian cultural activities such as Indian language classes, as well as dance and music classes.

All mothers reported that they placed high value on their child's academic achievement, and many felt that this was a quality that differentiated their child's experiences in the home from systems outside the home (e.g., school, the child's non-Indian peers' homes, etc.). When mothers were asked why they emphasized academic achievement, some mothers talked about academic attainment being a means to a "good life", that academic achievement was tied to family pride and a yardstick of success, and that it was a way for children to follow their parent's own success. For example, "It's just because that's how I think…we started to move up financially from what we were before and, that's the only way [education] that our lifestyles has changed so, that's the only successes that we see" (Mrs. Indra). Mrs. Nanda explained:

> Because India is very competitive, like when we grew up there were not so many jobs, so we always had this in mind. We were always told, "If you're not good in studies then you will not get a good job, you will not have a good life."

Similarly, Mrs. Menon said:

> As South Asian Indian parents, we tend to put so much more emphasis on education and we want our kids to follow our footsteps. Like both my husband and myself are PhDs and we are like, "You [son] should be well educated and you should focus on this"… I think it is to be well placed in life so you have a good career, you can earn well and provide for your family. But, it is also a measure of your own self-worth and what you can achieve in life. I am not saying that career is the only way to achieve it but even for people who don't have a traditional career they would still emphasize education. I think it's just part of our culture to do that.

Mrs. Indra described education as something to fall back in hard times:

> Should something bad happen, you know happen to your husband or you have family around you, I think they're able to support themselves and sustain themselves. And I think that is why it's so important once you have that [education], whether you chose it, she [daughter] could be a homemaker when she grows up, it doesn't matter, but if she has it [education], there's always that to fall back on.

School-age children reported that their experiences in the home were different from that of their peers in several regards. These included celebrating Indian and Hindu traditions, as well as their parents being more "protective" and having greater restrictions on their activities relative to their non-Indian peers. In describing their home, a few children specifically talked about being more American than their parents, and having to occasionally teach or explain "American things" to their parents. Chandra (male, 14 years) said that his parents were, "not used to some American people" (and customs) and wished his parents were "a little more familiar" with American customs. Nidhi (female, 9 years) said that her parents, "really don't know much about America. They know a lot, but not like my friends would know, because they are exactly American. So I can just ask them [friends] questions about America." Eshwar (male, 15 years) shared:

> I guess I would hope that they [parents] had a better understanding of American culture. That's just something that comes with being a second-generation kid. That's the big one, understanding of the culture here and understanding what goes on here. Because they didn't grow up here, so it's hard for me to tell them like, "Oh, I'm going to this," when they just didn't have those things so it's hard to explain it to them… The uncomfortable comes when it's something that they don't know about. Like to give you an example, the dances they have here like Prom, Homecoming, and Winter Formal. It's not uncomfortable, but I just have to explain everything to them and they don't understand sometimes because they didn't have them there [in India].

Consistent with their mothers' descriptions, many children described their parents as being more focused on education than their non-Indian peers' parents. The following excerpts describe children's perceptions of their parent's emphasis on education. Deva (male, 14 years) said, "Well the differences are, some of my white friends, their parents really don't care what their grades are as long as they're passing. My parents are more like, 'That needs to be an A' and stuff. They are more focused on that," and Jeyamani (female, 11 years) shared, "They are probably different like education wise, like your average Indian parent focuses a lot on studies."

When asked why their parents focused on education, children said it was because their parents wanted them to "grow up so you can have a good job and live a good life" (Jeyamani; female, 11 years). Nidhi (female, 9 years) said, "They say study hard or you won't get a good job, and you won't be a doctor, because doctors make lots of money… and you can live a good life..." Deva (male, 14 years) said, "It's how they were brought up, I suppose. Like they were brought up that this grade is not acceptable and stuff." Similarly Nidhi (female, 9 years) said it was because her parents grew up in India and the "competition is crazy" in India and one needed an education to move forward.

In addition to maintaining an Indian home and emphasizing academic achievement, most mothers commented on engaging in "flexible parenting" within the home to help their child "fit it." For example, a couple mothers spoke about giving their children the choice of eating beef outside the home, even though they themselves did not eat beef. Other mothers mentioned "not wanting to deprive" their children of what their peers were doing. For example, "I would encourage her Indian culture, but at the same time, I'll make sure that she enjoys the same level of freedom or whatever decision-making her other friends would have, so she doesn't differentiate herself from others" (Mrs. Jeya). Mrs. Jeya also talked about giving her child "more freedom in discussion, and probably, freedom not just in terms of speaking, but if she wants to pick up like a different line [job]." She also said, "In India, parents are more focused on education so they would force their children to do engineering or medicine. I am not saying that is wrong, but here if she wants to take arts or something, I will let her do it."

While most mothers did not report restricting their child's activities outside the home, two mothers of young girls reported restrictions on their daughters' social activities, such as not being allowed to have sleepovers or play at friends' houses. When asked why they had these restrictions, one mother spoke about wanting her child to "be in our culture" and another said, "I don't know, for safety maybe."

Some children described their parents as more protective and "strict" than their non-Indian friends parents ($n = 4$), though a couple children felt their parents were less strict than their friends parents. With regard to being more strict and protective, Kanmani (female, age 11 years) described this saying:

> I would say that my parents are a bit more protective than my friends' parents. My parents won't let me have sleep-overs, they make me stay at home. I think it's because they want to make sure that they know what is better for me instead of exposing me to the bad things from the outside world.

Cultural Identity Narratives

Asian Indian Immigrant Mothers Interviews with mothers resulted in three themes for personal cultural identity and two themes for mothers' reports of their children's cultural identity.

Theme One: Remaining Indian while Becoming a Little American Most mothers ($n = 6$) reported retaining an Indian identity, while also taking on some qualities they associated with an American cultural identity. These American qualities were predominantly described in how mothers thought about themselves and others, and how they raised their children. For example, Mrs. Anandan said, "You can never take the Indian out of me but with all my progressive thought, I would say I am more American than Indian… I am more open-minded so in that way I think I am more American." Mrs. Indra said, "I'm a little bit of both because at this point I don't think I'm completely Indian. My outlook and my perceptions have changed."

Other mothers talked about becoming more American over time and exposure to American society. For example, Mrs. Menon shared:

> Definitely now a little bit of both. It's been 24 years… even though I keep saying I want to go back [to India], my sister keeps warning me that I won't fit there because like I said, I am definitely more American than I was even 10 years ago. But I still retain my Indian-ness.

Mrs. Jeya expressed a similar experience saying, "I would say bit of both Indian and American. I have changed – not changed, but I have picked up things which I like here, but at the same time retained some of my cultural values."

Theme Two: Remaining a "Full Indian" Other mothers ($n = 4$) reported retaining an almost exclusively Indian identity in all realms of their lives. For example, Mrs. Eshwan said:

> I never think of myself as an American. But when political issues arose… at that time I felt like I needed to change my citizenship because it is the time to speak up. So I became a citizen. But I feel if you call me as an Indian-American citizen, I don't feel like an American citizen.

Similarly, Mrs. Nanda said, "I feel like I'm more Indian… I socialize more with Indian people, our food habit is more Indian … Culturally, we hardly watch American sports or television, other than the news."

Mothers' Descriptions of the School-Aged Child's Identity

Theme one: Primarily American with "Indian roots" When considering their child's identity, three mothers expressed their belief that they were raising American children, or, at the very least, children whose identities were predominantly "Western" or "American" with some Indian qualities. For example, Mrs. Anandan said:

> He is fully American. He definitely tells out loud what he feels. When I was young I didn't have the capability to talk about what I thought. He does that; he defies authority. He respects us, but he's not afraid of authority.

Among these mothers, two had the belief that their child may embrace a more Indian identity as they grow up, as these mothers had observed in older Asian Indian American children in their social circle. For example, Mrs. Nanda said:

> It's from my experiences what I have seen here is that when the kids go to college, they try to avoid Indian ties for a couple of years. But they come back. I've seen them at Indian parties. So it's kind of a struggle, growing up they try to identify themselves more as American than Indian.

In another example, Mrs. Chandran said:

> He is more Westernized now, but in the future hopefully he will understand. I know my older daughter now is showing a lot of the [Indian] culture she learned a lot from the other [college] friends. Probably my son will be like that too.

Theme Two: "Bit of Both" The remaining mothers felt that their child's identity was a blend of both Indian and American values and culture. For example:

> I would say Indian-American. Indian because the culture in his family, the way we are bringing him up is Indian, talking everyday with his family, the food, even the way he sees his parents at home is Indian… He has a very large number of friends, who are a majority are 99% American. So he is mingling with them like who they are. But I don't think it is kind of difficult for him to mix with them, even keeping his own identity (Mrs. Soman).
>
> Bit of both. She's Indian in the sense she knows what is expected out of her, her studies…So that's the way she's Indian… and I believe that we inculcate strong family values in her, those are the ways that she's Indian. I think the way she likes to dress is very American and her outlook on things [is more American] (Mrs. Indra).

School-Age children Interviews with school-age children resulted in just one theme for cultural identity.

Theme: "Both Indian and American" All children described themselves as having a bicultural identity. Most children ($n = 8$) described themselves as being equally Indian and American, and two children described themselves as mainly American with some Indian qualities. In talking about their identity, most children reported feeling more or less Indian or American depending on the situation or setting. For example, Eshwar (male, 15 years) said:

> Definitely depends. Some days I feel American, some days I feel Indian. The weekend of our religious festival, I'm with my Indian friends and family comes in, that's when I feel 100% Indian. In school, talking about the NFL and things like that, I feel American. So definitely a mix of both. But when it comes to spirituality and religion and everything, I definitely feel Indian.

Similarly, Nidhi (female, 9 years) said, "When I am with my Indian friends I feel Indian, and when I am with my American friends I feel American. It's really cool to be both Indian and American, two different cultures." Ananda (male, 9 years) described himself as mainly American, saying:

> I feel mostly American, like 80% and like 20% Indian. I'm American because I have pretty much all the characteristics of an American… they all like football and I like football a lot too. [Interviewer: What about 20% Indian?] Well, I am associated with Diwali and I really like Diwali because it really looks nice in the night and we celebrate the birthday of gods and I am really curious about that usually.

Discussion

The overarching aim of this study was to examine narratives of cultural identity and experiences among Asian Indian immigrant mothers and their young children in the United States, and contextualize these narratives within Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). We begin this section by discussing the microsystem of the home, followed by cul-

tural identity narratives of mothers and their children, as well as unique findings that emerged. Limitations and avenues for future research are then presented.

Mothers in this study described a number of ways in which they engaged in *cultural socialization* (i.e., socializing their children to the cultural practices and norms of their Indian heritage; Hughes et al., 2006). This was apparent in their descriptions of the microsystem where mothers described speaking an Indian language, celebrating Indian cultural holidays, eating Indian food, as well as emphasizing other qualities they attributed to an Indian identity such as emphasis on education. Other facets of ethnic-racial socialization identified in the literature such as *preparation for bias* (i.e., preparing children for discrimination) or *promotion of mistrust* were not described by these mothers, though have been reported in studies with older adolescent and young adult children of Asian Indian immigrants (see Daga & Raval, 2018).

Emphasis on education and academic achievement was mentioned by all mothers and children in this study. Many children described their parents as being more focused on education relative to their non-Indian friends' parents, and believed this was because their parents wanted them to be successful and "have a good life." In India, education is seen as a "gateway" to improving one's station in life and also a source of pride to family. Education in the context of Indian parenting is a mix of individualism and collectivism, in that Indian families maintain collectivist values, yet when it comes to education, competition is encouraged and families value status that comes with having a child who excels academically (Kumar & Maehr, 2007). In the present sample, mothers described their focus on education as being motivated by their own successes and wanting the same for their child, as well as viewing education as a means for their child to have a happy and financially secure future.

With regard to identity, all mothers reported retaining a strong Indian cultural identity, and more than half described the experience of retaining this identity while simultaneously developing characteristics they labelled as more "American." In reflecting on their child's identity, most mothers considered their children an equal blend of Indian and American qualities, though a few mothers described their children as having a predominantly American identity. Some mothers spoke about expecting their child to take on more Indian qualities as they get older, based on experiences of their older children or their friends' children. This notion is consistent with Phinney's (1990, 1993) model of ethnic identity development, which posited that ethnic identity development takes place over developmental stages, with exploration beginning in adolescence and young adulthood that develops into a mature understanding and identification with aspects of the individual's ethnic identity.

With regard to parenting, most mothers talked about being flexible in their parenting and taking on aspects of American parenting. However, two mothers of girls reported restrictions on their daughters' social activities. Though a small sample, it is noteworthy that both of these mothers of girls in the present study reported self-identified as "full-Indian." The two mothers of boys who also reported a primarily Indian identity did not talk about being restrictive with their sons. Varghese and Jenkins (2009) reported that Indian immigrant parents may engage in more protective behaviors to limit their children's exposure to Western norms, and that this may

be more prevalent in the parenting of girls. This sex-specific parenting may reflect traditional gender roles in Indian society, where greater emphasis is placed on chastity and purity among females, and women are viewed as the agents through which Indian culture is passed on to the next generation (Dasgupta, 1998). It is important to note that children in this study were all under the age of 16 years, and studies with older adolescent samples have demonstrated that discrepant cultural values between parent and child can lead to conflict (Farver et al., 2002a). Children in this sample were not yet at the stage where negotiations for things like a driving license, picking a college, or dating were taking place (Phinney, 2010). Thus, it may be easier for these mothers of younger children to be more flexible in their parenting, as they and their children are not yet facing issues that other Asian Indian families have reported to be difficult to navigate, such as dating (Dasgupta, 1998). Relatedly, although all mothers in this study described cultural socialization with their sons and daughters, the literature suggests that the mother-daughter relationship may be a more central mode of cultural transmission in Asian Indian immigrant families (Kallivayalil, 2004).

Most children perceived themselves to have both Indian and American identities, and two children (one boy and one girl) described themselves as being primarily American, with some Indian qualities. Young children tend to think of cultural identity in more tangible or concrete terms (Phinney, 2010), and this was reflected in this study. For example, children focused on more tangible aspects of identity such as food, clothing, and activity preference, and not personal qualities that their mothers identified, such as challenging authority or speaking up. In addition, children talked about feeling more or less Indian depending on their social context and who they were with. The older boys in this sample identified more abstract aspects of their identity, such as differences in faith/religion and political views. For most of the sample, however (children under 12 years), these abstract concepts were not yet developmentally salient. These findings underscore the influence of cognitive maturation and socialization on how children make sense of their world and the systems within which they function.

A few children described being "more American" than their parents and needing to explain "American things," such as dances and sports, to them. Further research is recommended to examine whether children's perceptions of their parents' lack of understanding of American culture may be a precursor to parent-adolescent conflict seen in families where parents and children report differing levels of acculturation and identification with the host culture.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current findings need to be considered in light of some limitations. First, the small sample size is adequate for exploratory qualitative studies such as this, though larger samples are needed to increase generalizability and robustness of results. Second, the current sample was recruited from Midwestern United States, and future studies may examine the impact of community context by incorporating

Asian Indian samples from across United States including regions that are particularly densely populated with Asian Indian immigrants such as the West coast (Zong & Batalova, 2017). Third, the parent sample was limited to mothers, and although mothers are the primary caregivers in many Asian Indian families (Jambunathan et al., 2000), the lack of father perspectives is a limitation. Finally, while the sample was representative of the general Asian Indian immigrant population with regard to family income and caregiver education, the sample is not representative of other Asian Indian immigrant families who fall outside of this demographic, including the 7% who live in poverty (Zong & Batalova, 2017).

Despite limitations, this study adds to the literature by providing parent and child descriptions of the proximal systems in which Asian Indian immigrant families operate. The child narratives are particularly important as "the understandings that children have of their environment" is as critical (if not more so) than objective descriptions of the setting itself (Phinney, 2010; p. 35) and Asian Indian children's perspectives have been largely absent from the literature.

Findings from this study suggest a number of areas warranting further research attention, and the influence of parent acculturation on child experiences and functioning needs to be further explicated. Longitudinal studies examining Asian Indian children's developmental trajectories are also recommended to examine how experiences at the different levels of Bronfenbrenner's systems influence identity development and psychological functioning. Longitudinal studies are also recommended to examine how socialization behaviors of Asian Indian immigrant mothers evolve over time and the impact this has on child functioning. These studies would help determine the best junctures and avenues to support optimal functioning of Asian Indian immigrant parents and children in the United States.

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Chapter 4
Identity and Belonging: The Role of the Mesosystem in the Adaptation of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Youth in Canada

Jenny Glozman and Susan S. Chuang

International migration is a growing phenomenon worldwide, with an estimated number of 214 million individuals who are living outside of their birth countries (United Nations, 2011). This includes an increase of 58 million since 1990. Between 2000 and 2010, Canada was the fourth largest recipient of immigrants worldwide despite Canada's population making up only 0.5% of the global population (United Nations, 2011). Consequently, Canada is composed of individuals from over 200 different ethnic origins (Statistics Canada, 2010). Immigrants (first- and second -generation) make up 39% of the overall Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2013a) and 34% of youth under 25 (Galameau, Morissette, & Usalcas, 2013). This proportion is expected to rise over the next 20 years (Statistics Canada, 2017). This suggests that these immigrant individuals account for a significant portion of the Canadian population, and research about their experiences and adjustment is imperative to ensure successful adaptation for both individuals and society.

Russian-Speaking Immigrants

The term Russian-speaking is used to capture any immigrant born in one of the Former Soviet Union (FSU) countries or their descendants. During Tsarist and then Soviet times, the Russian culture and language dominated the region and there was a push toward assimilation to the Russian culture (Anderson & Silver, 1983). This

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usually resulted in ethnic re-identification, with individuals replacing their ethnic label (e.g., Ukrainian, Moldovan) with that of Russian. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, there has been a rise in local nationalism within the states that once constituted the FSU. In some cases, the old ethnic identifications were restored, while in other cases identities became much more complicated and hierarchical (Kolossov, 1999). Thus, the term Russian-speaking is used instead of Russian to capture this population.

The focus of this study is on Russian-speaking immigrants based on several reasons. First, they are the largest group of white immigrants that does not speak either of Canada's two official languages: English and French (CIC, 2013). Second, Russian-speaking immigrants from the FSU were raised in a culture that is rooted in a communist ideology, which emphasized the good of the collective over the good of the individual (Mirsky, 2001). Third, a significant portion of Russian-speaking immigrants are Jewish (Anisef, Baichman-Anisef, & Siemiatycki, 2002), which is a minority religion in Canada accounting for only one percent of the population (Statistics Canada, 2013b). Those who are not Jewish commonly identify themselves as Christian Orthodox, another minority group in Canada accounting for less than two percent of the Canadian population. Finally, it is estimated that between 50 to 70% of all immigrants from the FSU since 1990 took an indirect path through Israel (Anisef et al., 2002; Remennick, 2006). This migration pattern requires acculturation and adjustment to multiple cultures over time, which we term as multi-country acculturation. Overall, these differences in language, socio-cultural background, religion, and migration experiences result in unique challenges for Russian-speaking immigrants who are caught between white mainstream Canadians and their visible minority immigrant peers, without fully fitting in with either group.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is defined as one's understanding and interpretation of their group membership, as well as the attitudes and feelings associated with it (Keefe, 1992; Phinney, 1996). Ethnic identity is a part of social identity, and it is seen as a multi-dimensional and dynamic construct composed of cognitive, affective, and behavioral factors (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Sinclair & Milner, 2005). Ethnic identity is believed to play an important role in self-concept and affects how individuals go through life, interact with, and view one another (Phinney, 1996).

Research on ethnic identity is particularly relevant for immigrant youth. For example, Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder (2001) explored the effects of a secure and strong ethnic identity and suggested that it contributed to positive psychological well-being, regardless of gender. Past research also suggests that a strongly held ethnic identity is associated with higher school achievement and psychological adjustment in Chinese immigrant adolescents (Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, & Chance, 2010). Moreover, a meta-analysis examining the connection between

ethnic identity and personal well-being in racialized groups found a modest positive relationship between the two constructs (Smith & Silva, 2011). However, it is unclear what role ethnic identity may play in the adjustment of white immigrant adolescents.

Eastern European immigrants (both non-Jewish and Jewish) identified maintaining a strong ethnic identity as an important task for both themselves and their children (Robila, 2010). For example, past research on the ethnic identity of Russian Jews specifically found that their Jewish identity was central and that it may facilitate the transition between the American and Russian identities following immigration (Rosner, Gardner, & Hong 2011). In a study examining identity and acculturation among adolescent immigrants from the FSU, the researchers found that American identification was higher and Russian identification was lower among Jewish adolescents in comparison to their non-Jewish counterparts (Birman, Persky, & Chan, 2010). Moreover, the Jewish identity was a significant predictor of school adjustment and, along with the Russian identity, was an important predictor of family adjustment. Thus, the ethnic identity of this population is complex and should be examined multidimensionally.

Sense of Belonging

Sense of belonging is an interpersonal process that is defined as feeling yourself as integral to a system or environment (Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema, & Collier, 1992). This can apply to relationships with families, peers, and community members, as well as environments such as schools, neighborhoods, countries, and cultures. Belonging is especially important to consider in immigrant research because immigrant youth navigate multiple cultures to which they can belong (Tartakovsky, 2009). Moreover, some studies suggest that belonging is of particular interest for immigrant youth as they may feel caught between the cultural world within their families and outside their families and may therefore struggle with their sense of belonging in one or both of these spheres (Giguère, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010).

In a recent study with 41 countries, Chiu, Pong, Mori, and Chow (2012) explored immigrant and native-born high school students' sense of belonging. The findings revealed differences based on immigrant status in youth's scores on sense of belonging; native youth had the highest scores, then second-generation, then first-generation immigrants who scored the lowest. Some research has also explored the connection between family and belonging among immigrant youth. With Canadian-born Chinese youth, Kobayashi and Preston (2014) found that families provided the youth with a sense of belonging to their culture and community. Moreover, the engagement in cultural practices and activities with their parents provided youth with a sense of belonging to their particular family. These same youth often struggled with their sense of belonging in other contexts and settings. Family also provided the primary ties and attachment to the country of origin, and the sense of belonging to it was anchored to the family living there (Ho, 2009).

Unfortunately, there has been limited attention to the sense of belonging of Russian-speaking immigrants in Canada. Anisef et al. (2002) found that youth who came indirectly through Israel had an attachment to Israeli culture, whereas those who came directly from the FSU had an attachment to Russian culture. This suggests that the sense of belonging of indirect migrants may be particularly complex. However, both groups felt alienated from their Canadian peers. Overall, Eastern European youth reported challenges in adaptation as a result of a perceived lack of awareness of their cultural background (Robila, 2008) and sense of belonging (Anisef et al., 2002).

The Role of Context

Adolescent development does not take place in isolation, but within a broader context. Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory of development (1977, 1979, 1986) provides a guide for understanding the impact of context on development over time. In this framework, the environment is considered to be a nested, hierarchical structure composed of five levels: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. In this chapter, we will focus on the mesosystem, which is comprised of the inter-relations between the immediate settings the youth is a part of, including family, peers, school, and neighborhoods. These microsystems were chosen because these are the most immediate and salient for youth during this developmental period. Specifically, the family is a vital source of identity and belonging in adolescence, despite the increasing importance of peers during this time (Chubb & Fertman, 1992; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). However, the influence of peers increases as the influence of parents decreases, and peers have been found to replace parents as primary social agents in adolescence (Forthun, Montgomery, & Bell, 2006; Tarrant, MacKenzie, & Hewitt, 2006). Finally, the school and neighborhood are the immediate settings within which youth live their daily lives and where they most often interact with their peers.

Research considering the role of context is particularly relevant to identity and belonging because researchers suggest that these are shaped by and, in turn, shape the systems around the individual (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Hagerty et al., 1992; Kroger, 2007). The process of development in these areas relies on both social influences and self-constructions. Specifically, Adams and Marshall (1996) stress the importance of understanding the context within which an individual is embedded in order to understand their identity and belonging. This includes the individual's interactions with their immediate social context and the way that various components of this social context interact with one another. Thus, the current exploratory study examined the role of these mesosystems in the identity and belonging of Russian-speaking youth by considering the following questions: (a) what roles do parents, community, peers, and the interactions between these play in the identity and belonging of the youth? and (b) how do the youth themselves influence this process?

Methods

Participants

The 24 participants in this study were recruited through social service and settlement agencies in the Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area. Moreover, a nonprobability, snowball sampling strategy was employed due to the inherent difficulty of recruiting this immigrant population and to capture the experiences of youth who may not use community services and programs. The participants were recruited based on the following criteria: (a) first- or second-generation immigrant, (b) self-categorized as Russian-speaking, (c) at the time of the study they were attending high school in Grades 10 to 12, and (d) lived with their families full time.

The study included 24 youth, 17 females and 7 males, ranging in age from 15 to 19 years ($M = 16.38$ years, $SD = 0.97$) (see Table 4.1 for detailed demographics). As seen in Table 4.2, youth's birth places included five countries, and seven for their parents. For the first-generation youth, the length of residency in Canada ranged from 1 to 15 years ($M = 8.86$ years, $SD = 5.47$). Eleven youth lived in the FSU and their length of residency there ranged from 5 months to 17 years ($M = 9.30$ years, $SD = 6.93$). Ten youth lived in Israel and their length of residency there ranged from 6 months to 12 years ($M = 3.85$ years, $SD = 3.46$). Three youth experienced indirect migration via Israel, Ukraine, and the United States. For parents, 30 experienced indirect migration, 28 through Israel (58%) and two through the United States (4%).

Table 4.1 Demographic characteristics of the participants

Characteristic	Frequency
Immigrants generation	
First	20
Second	4
Religious background	
Atheist	1
Christian/Orthodox	8
Jewish	13
Jewish/Christian	2
Parental Marital Status	
Married	16
Separated or divorced	6
Widowed and remarried	2
Educational context	
Jewish private school	2
Other private school	1
Semi-private school	1
Catholic public school	3
Other public school	17

Table 4.2 Birth country of participants and their parents

Country	Participants	Mothers	Fathers
Belarus		3	
Canada	4		
Israel	9		
Moldova	1	3	1
Russia	3	4	6
Siberia			1
Ukraine	7	13	14
Uzbekistan		1	2

One set of parents moved back to Ukraine from Israel before continuing to Canada. Three youth (13%) had fathers living outside of Canada.

Youth completed questions about their families' household socioeconomic status. There was no information on five fathers (21%) who did not live with them. Overall, according to the youth, the parents were highly educated, with the majority of the mothers ($n = 23$; 96%) and fathers ($n = 16$; 89%) holding a bachelor's degree or higher (one youth did not know her father's educational background). Most of the mothers ($n = 18$; 75%) and fathers ($n = 17$; 89%) worked full-time. Nineteen youth (79%) stated that their parents owned their homes.

Procedures

Semi-structured Interviews Youth participated in semi-structured interviews, the majority of which were conducted in the participant's home, although some ($n = 7$, 29%) were conducted in a private room at the recruitment agency, a coffee shop, the library, or a park. Prior to the interview, participants and their parent signed a consent form (in either Russian or English) and completed a background questionnaire. The interviews were conducted in English. When translations of certain words or questions were required during the interview, they were done by the interviewer. Some youth included Russian words and/or sentences in their responses. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and reviewed for accuracy by a trained research assistant who was fluent in both Russian and English. Any discrepancies were discussed and then agreed upon. In the interviews, youth were asked to reflect on their immigration experiences as well as their context, and the effects of these different experiences on their identity and sense of belonging. The semi-structured interviews lasted between 63 and 187 minutes ($M = 110.71$ minutes, $SD = 35.76$). Participants received $30CDN in cash for their participation.

Data Analysis Constructivist grounded theory methodology (GTM; Charmaz, 2014) was selected for this study in order to develop a substantive theory of the role of context in identity formation and sense of belonging of Russian-speaking

immigrant youth in Canada. GTM is recommended for use in under-researched areas that could benefit from theory generation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Therefore, GTM is a good fit for the current study as there has been limited research on the experiences of white immigrant youth with multiple identities. Moreover, GTM allows researchers to move beyond simply describing data and toward explaining it (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), as was the goal in the present study.

The analysis using constructivist GTM (Charmaz, 2014) followed three main phases: (a) initial coding using open, segment by segment coding to generate labels and concepts; (b) focused coding to identify the most meaningful and/or frequent initial codes in order to analyze and categorize larger segments of data more comprehensively; and (c) theoretical coding to form a theoretical story of the data and use the categories and subcategories. Overall, the process of analysis was not linear, but somewhat cyclical in nature. Theoretical sampling was used in this study, and, therefore, interview questions were adapted and included in subsequent interviews in order to flesh out emergent categories (Charmaz, 2014). Whenever possible, participants were contacted over the phone to participate in follow-up interviews in which they were asked the added questions. Interviews were conducted until saturation of the categories and their properties, so that the analysis of additional interviews would not produce additional concepts. Pseudonyms are used in the reporting of the results.

Results

In their interviews, the youth discussed various microsystems which impacted their sense of identity and belonging in Canada. These included their relationships with their parents and peers, as well as their immediate environments or community, such as their schools, extracurricular activities, and neighborhoods. In this section, we will focus on the ways in which these various systems interact with one another and with the youth themselves to form their mesosystems.

The Role of Parents

Overall, youth believed that their parents were central in the identity formation and sense of belonging of youth. Parents had a direct effect on the youth by providing them with the knowledge of and connection to their cultures in five areas: (a) they provided identity labels and information about the meaning and history of the identities, (b) they engaged in daily living practices such as meals and media consumption, (c) they took their children on homeland visits or refrained from these, (d) they shared their religion in the form of either faith or cultural practices, and (e) they

chose which language(s) to teach to their children and how (for a detailed analysis of the direct role of parents please read Glozman & Chuang, 2018).

Moreover, youth believed that their parents were also instrumental in the formation of the mesosystem that impacted youth identity and belonging. Specifically, parents made choices around where to live, what school their children attended, the camps and/or extracurricular activities their children would engage in, and the social networks who would be interacting with their children (e.g., their friends' children). Thus, parents were active in creating a cultural and learning environment for their youth to be socialized in. The role of parents will be integrated throughout the following sections, as we detail the specific ways in which parents interacted with other facets of the youths' environment.

Ethnic/Cultural Enclaves

The most fundamental role that parents indirectly played in their youths' development was in choosing where the family would live. Most youth reported living in ethnic/cultural enclaves where the majority of the people they regularly interacted with came from similar backgrounds. Consequently, the youth's schools were in their own neighborhoods and, thus, had the same ethnic population. Some youth who did not live in ethnic/cultural enclaves attended ethnic and/or religious schools, agencies, and activities with populations similar to themselves and, thus, maintained a strong connection to their heritage culture outside of the home. These community contexts and schools also tended to be predominantly white. Subsequently, the youth spent most of their time interacting with others who were at least in some way similar to themselves. However, the youth who did not live in ethnic/cultural enclaves did tend to have more friends from more diverse cultural backgrounds.

Living in these ethnic/cultural enclaves had both benefits and drawbacks for the youth. For benefits, these enclaves provided youth with knowledge of and connection to their culture. Thus, youth discussed being able to explore their identities and felt more comfortable with their peers within the communities. In addition, these communities offered culturally appropriate resources in their language(s) and provided the context where youth were able to choose their identities (e.g., Russian, Ukrainian, Jewish, Israeli, or any combination of these) and express these (whether through participation in cultural/religious activities or through their language and attire). In turn, this strengthened their sense of belonging and comfort with themselves and their culture. As Abigail explained:

> I definitely feel more open at the school that I'm at being Jewish and speaking Hebrew and I don't hide that I speak another language. I didn't hide it before either but even my parents would say….I was in Israel not too long ago and I bought myself a ring with Hebrew writings engraved into it, and my dad says to me 'are you sure you're going to wear this?' and I said 'Yeah, why wouldn't I?' He says 'In elementary school you wouldn't wear this to school.' But here I feel so comfortable wearing it, a bunch of my friends even have things that have Hebrew letters on them…it's so casual, it's so normal to be open with your

religion that that's how I feel now also. As opposed to before I was also, I guess, kind of closed up with religion in a way. (female, 15, born in Canada)

Moreover, youth reported that they had very few negative experiences around their ethnic and religious identities, possibly because the ethnic/cultural enclaves and ethnically/religiously based schools and activities served as protective factors. Especially for immigrants, these communities may have buffered some of the negative consequences of migration, to the extent that communities provided a platform to "be a youth" rather than being overshadowed by the challenges and barriers of being an immigrant or a minority. This is because the group(s) youth belonged to tended to hold the majority status in their communities: "I guess I'm in a bubble now, I would call it. Many people are Jewish and that's a bubble" (Maya, female, 16, born in Canada). Thus, these enclaves did not necessitate youth to explain their identity (or at least parts of it), as they mostly shared ethnic commonalities. These experiences of feeling welcomed enhanced youths' identities and sense of belonging.

Despite these benefits of ethnic/cultural enclaves and schools, there were also some challenges. Specifically, youth expressed that they were less familiar with what they considered to be "Canadian" people and customs because they were rarely exposed to these within their communities and had few interactions outside of them: "I'm not into Canadians. Most of my friends are Jewish so I don't really know any 'eh' Canadian people. So, I don't really associate myself with them" (Abigail, female, 15, born in Canada). Similarly, a few youth shared that they wanted greater diversity in their peer groups and a greater understanding of other people outside of their community. Bella explained why she chose not to join a group of teens of the same ethnicity:

I think that I should be friends with all different kinds of people, and not only be friends with people who share my identity. Because I think being friends with people who share different identities provides more connections for me and more opportunities in life. (female, 15, born in Israel)

Another drawback of ethnic/cultural enclaves was that, at times, youth felt less comfortable interacting with people outside of their communities, which can result in a sense of isolation from the rest of the Canadian population. As Anat described:

Since I was always surrounded by it, most of my friends were Russian and Jewish, I wasn't really open to other ethnicities, until I moved to a different school. So, I think that plays a huge role. I wasn't not open, I was just always surrounded by it, so I wasn't used to a different environment. (female, 16, born in Israel)

Finally, the focus on the culture/religion could be overwhelming for youth, and may distance them from the culture/religion as they seek a greater connection to the broader Canadian culture. As Ella explained:

Sometimes it annoys me because it feels like the community is trying to push the religion on to me, or not even the religion, but the culture and everything…There's Jewish network, and Jewish community centre, and there's Jewish camps. There's just so much, and sometimes it feels like you're being forced into it. That's why I like going to such a diverse school. That's why I like to have different groups of friends. That's why I never really remain friends with one type of person, from one type of culture, because I like that

diversity. Sometimes I might feel a little bit almost claustrophobic from all that culture that's trying to push onto me. (female, 16, born in Israel)

Friendships and Peer Groups

As with creating the cultural environment within which children would be raised, parents also had an important role in the youth's friendships, both directly and indirectly. In some cases, parents were the ones youth turned to when they encountered challenges in friendships or when friendships ended. They also provided counsel on how to handle different areas of a friendship. As Jackie explained:

> With my other friend, I used to drop everything and I'd go and my mom's like, "Why? Think about yourself first and then you can…she's still your friend. She's not going to run away and not be your friend anymore. Just think about yourself, what's important for you first before you drop everything and do something for your friend who most likely wouldn't always do the same". (female, 16, born in Canada)

Some youth even met their friends through their parents and family friends. As John explained: "When we used to live in an apartment building in a very Eastern European area… I was mainly friends with our family, other family friends, who are all also Russian, Ukrainian, or just Russian-speaking" (male, 17, born in Ukraine).

In this way, parents created the context from which youth's peer groups and friendships developed by limiting or directing their social networks to a certain ethnic population. Indeed, seventeen youth reported that at least one (and usually both) of their top two peer groups consisted of a majority of individuals who shared the same background as them. Youth discussed the importance and benefits of having a shared culture, religion, language, and/or birthplace and consequently upbringing. These factors were used as an early foundation for friendship: "In my classes if there were Russian-speaking people it's just kind of like an icebreaker, easier to begin our friendship off of" (Stella, female, 16, born in Ukraine).

This attraction toward culturally or religiously similar friends could be either a conscious choice: "One week I was in Canada, so I was not actually so scared. I just really wanted to find someone who speaks my language" (Karina, female, 17, born in Russia), or a subconscious one: "Not all my friends are Russian or Jewish, but most of them are, and that's something that I can perhaps connect with, even subconsciously. I don't choose that on purpose at least" (Stella, female, 16, born in Ukraine).

These fundamental similarities allowed youth to understand each other on a deeper level and reduced the need to explain or excuse certain aspects of their tradition or language. In addition, a shared language allowed youth to express themselves completely. Communicating in English was often more challenging and their closest friends were the ones they felt they could express themselves to. Having friends who spoke their language also provided the youth with some reprieve in a world that is overwhelmingly English-speaking, particularly for recent immigrants. As Boris stated: "I want to hear Ukrainian. I'm fed up with English. English is

everywhere outside, on the street, on the school, on TV. Please I want to hear Ukrainian! My language I want to hear" (male, 17, born in Ukraine).

Finally, youth felt more comfortable bringing peers of the same background to their homes where they would interact with their parents who often had accents. This basic level of understanding resulted in less judgment and confusion in these peer relationships, which in turn strengthened these bonds. Thus, the interaction between the parents and peers itself contributed to a growing sense of identity and belonging for youth. As Stella explained:

> If I have friends who are like all Canadian or something…and I invite them over to my house, I kind of feel slightly like uncomfortable, awkward when they try to speak to my parents who, although…they think that they speak English really well, they still have like some grammar issues or accents, so like an advantage would be or benefit would be, my friends can speak Russian to my parents and I can speak Russian in their households and it's kind of like more comfortable. (female, 16, born in Ukraine)

Simultaneously, some youth believed that their friends were not influential to their identities because they did not talk about them with each other. As Anat explained: "Most of my friends are the same ethnicity as me…no one really talks about it I guess, so I don't think about if it plays an effect or any role" (female, 16, born in Israel). However, they reported how their identity was reinforced by these friendships as it served as an, at times unspoken, reminder of where one came from and where one belonged. In some cases, the cultural connection was maintained through participation in certain activities with one's peer group, such as volunteering for the holidays or performing cultural songs. Some of these interactions also deepened their understanding of their own culture or religion and its complexities by observing how it functioned in other family households. When discussing having friends with a shared background, Jackie stated:

> It could also be good because you learn more about your culture. You know how there's the same Russian family, but some of them are a little bit different than others because there's no one that's the exact same, right? You can learn a different Russian recipe. (female, 16, born in Canada)

This increasing comfort with the cultural and/or religious identity allowed youth to further develop their identities outside their parents' influence. Through these friendships, youth felt that they were finally able to express their identity in other areas of their lives: "I met more Russian-speaking people that taught me that being Russian isn't just something you keep with your family, you can expose it" (Stella, female, 16, born in Ukraine). In fact, sharing their culture with others in public became an important way of being true to themselves, expressing their identity, and experiencing a sense of belonging. .

This search for connection extended beyond friendships and into larger peer groups. Youth joined groups that they felt a connection to, and being part of the groups strengthened and broadened this sense of connection. Youth felt that these connections with peers also provided an overall sense that they were a part of something (in the group, in school, in the ethnic community, and in Canada in general):

> It's kind of a relief to actually have a bunch of people to speak to as opposed to not having that. It made me feel more welcomed to school and more exciting to go to school. Just because I know there'd be people waiting for me there and not just an empty table. (Maggie, female, 16, born in Ukraine)

Moreover, they reported becoming more comfortable not only with their ethnic/ religious identity and culture through group membership but also with themselves as well: "In front of them I'm a lot more comfortable. The things I say, the way I feel around them. I'm more open" (Julia, female, 16, born in Israel).

Challenges to Identity and Belonging

Not all peer group or community experiences around youth's identity and sense of belonging were positive. For example, some youth found themselves occupying an in-between space whereby they were different from their friends from their homeland (or previous country), and also different from their peers in Canada because they were not born in Canada. Andrey explained the former experience: "I kind of changed a little bit, they also changed, and probably we don't have as much in common anymore" (male, 18, born in Ukraine). Liron highlighted the latter: "The social norms and the way people talk here and the things they talk about, the way they act. It's completely different than it was in Israel so it was kind of hard for me to integrate here" (male, 17, born in Israel).

Moreover, despite the gravitation toward friends and peers with similar backgrounds within ethnic/cultural enclaves, youth still experienced some confusion from others about the intricacies and complexities of their identities (e.g., Russian-speaking Ukrainian). Youth expressed becoming tired of having to explain their identities to others. These conversations often occurred due to identity assumptions based on spoken language that resulted in some youth feeling forced to claim identities that were not their own. Maria described such an experience:

> All the time I do presentations in front of a class I always say, 'I know every one of you thinks I am Russian but I'm actually not'… Sometimes people ask me, 'So you're from Russia right?' So, I need to explain to everybody 'I'm not Russian. I speak Russian.' They ask me, 'Why do you speak Russian?' and that's hard for me. Not hard for me, but I'm tired of that because I need to explain to everyone that I'm not Russian. Not in school, but sometimes people outside of school, not my friends, not my group of friends but sometimes at a shop they can ask me, 'Oh, are you Russian?' I just say, 'yeah, yeah.' I'm really tired to explain to everyone why I speak Russian, why maybe I have a Russian accent or where is Moldova and everything like that. (female, 17, born in Moldova)

In a similar manner, some youth felt that certain identities, and consequently belonging in certain groups, were denied to them because of assumptions about their identities. This was because some identities, even among invisible immigrants, were more visible or noticeable than others, based on appearance (physical features), spoken language, or accent. In turn, there was an external perception of youth's identities and where they belonged and these perceptions were not always in line

with their own ideas or desires. For example, Liron stated: "I don't think I look Israeli. Like if someone was to see me on the street they would see me as European. They wouldn't see me as Israeli" (male, 17, born in Israel).

This identity denial also happened when the youth were a minority in some way within the peer group (e.g., being the only Russian-speaking, Israeli-born youth among a group of Canadian Jews). Thus, although some aspects of their identity were common (e.g., all were Jewish), other aspects were looked down upon or rejected: "They were raised here and they found themselves as Canadian Jews. They think of me only as Russian and I told them 'well you know I'm Jewish too.' It's really weird but it's this barrier that's between us" (Anna-Lee, female, 17, born in Israel).

At times, youth were conflicted between two groups they belonged to based on certain parts of their ethnic/religious background, for example, belonging to both a Russian and an Israeli group, or both a Russian and a Ukrainian group. In some cases, negative comments were made by one group about another: "If my friends see me hanging out with them they're like, 'why are they always so loud?' Or 'why are they always fighting?' Because it kind of sounds like they are if you have never really heard Hebrew dialogue" (Stella, female, 16, born in Ukraine). These situations compromised youth's comfort with that part of their own identity, and perhaps their sense of belonging in both groups.

However, the relatively small number of ethnically/religiously based negative experiences with peer groups suggests that once youth found a place and group where they belonged, the issues they experienced became more normative and developmental as opposed to cultural. The issues included disagreements about where to go, and difficulties with alliances within peer groups. Thus, ethnic/cultural/religious peer groups offered a protective space within which youth could be themselves and not experience significant conflict around their identities.

Youth Engagement in Culture

In sum, the various contexts provided important knowledge and strategies that allowed the youth to make decisions about their identities and sense of belonging. This interaction between the youth and their mesosystems was flexible and dynamic and youth had a choice about the extent to which they engaged in this process and what they were willing to do in order to explore and express their identities and experience belonging. Moreover, a bidirectional relationship existed between the processes around identity and belonging. Specifically, if youth felt that they belonged, they were more likely to choose and express certain identities, such as their Jewish or Russian identities. In turn, their choices and expressions of certain identities led to a greater sense of belonging. Thus, once identities were chosen, youth were able to navigate the context around them, assess their level of fit within it, and alter the expression of identity if more or less fit was required or desired. As these youth explained:

> If people around me didn't speak Russian then I would just say 'oh I'm Jewish.' You kind of more adapt to not really what other people think…but you kind of just go with what makes sense wherever you are. It depends, you don't always want to stand out but you don't always want to blend in either, kind of depends on your situation. (Jackie, female, 16, born in Canada)

> I think it depends on who I'm with, because let's say I'm with some of my friends that are Russian, some of my friends that are Jewish, I kind of point it out in that situation. But if… I have friends who are not Russian or Jewish so I do describe myself as a Jewish Russian speaker, so it really depends with who I'm around. (Bella, female, 15, born in Israel)

Overall, it appears that this process of youth navigating their context was fairly automatic and youth engaged in the process with minimal conscious thought. However, when a shift occurred, such as immigration, it caused a disruption in the automatic movement of this process. As these youth explained:

> I didn't fully understand what was going on around me because I was so little and it is such big of a difference…I didn't understand anything, I was so lost, for example, I couldn't tell what time it was looking at the time, looking at the clock I couldn't figure out what time it is, why am I here? Why the heck did my parents bring me? I didn't understand anything at all (Anita, female, 16, born in Ukraine)

> It was the language and the social norms and the way people talk here and the things they talk about, the way they act, it's completely different than it was in Israel so it was kind of hard for me to integrate here. (Liron, male, 17, born in Israel)

Thus, the youth were required to engage in their process of cultural and identity exploration in a more purposeful and intentional manner. As a result, youth became more alert and aware of the context, thought about how it impacted them more, and noticed when something was not working well or changing. Consequently, these youth became more aware of processes around identity and belonging, and how these connected to the context around them as they adjusted to a new country.

Discussion

The present study examined the role of the mesosystem in the identity and sense of belonging of Russian-speaking immigrant youth. More specifically, the study focused on the youth's relationships with their parents and how their parents directly and indirectly impacted the youth's development of friendships and memberships in peer groups through their own engagement in ethnic/cultural communities. The dynamics of how family and peer relationships, within the context of their communities, intertwine in youth's reformation of ethnic identity and sense of belonging further stress the importance of the mesosystems. Consistent with Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979, 1986) focus on the dynamic and reciprocal nature of the relationship between the different microsystems (parents, peers, schools, neighborhoods) this study also expands on Bronfenbrenner's framework by exploring the complexity that is added to these systems and interactions through migration.

In the present study, parents appeared to be the primary driving force in the interactions between the microsystems by virtue of their ability to choose where to live, where to send their youth to school, and which extracurriculars their youth would participate in, among a multitude of other choices. In turn, the youth navigated this context their parents provided for them, forming friendships and choosing activities. Thus, although some of the interactions between the mesosystems were directed by parents and were outside of the youth's control, the youth still made choices within their context that had a reciprocal relationship with their identities and sense of belonging. Specifically, as youth navigated their context, their identities and belonging were altered in various ways, leading them to embrace or feel more connected to some identities over others. Similarly, their developing identities and sense of belonging influenced how they interacted with their context and what/who they gravitated toward within it.

The youth reported both active (direct) and implicit (indirect) roles for their peers (individuals and groups) in their identity and belonging. In some cases, peers exposed the youth to certain cultural elements and deepened their understanding of their identities, providing a greater sense of belonging. In other cases, the mere fact that the identity was shared with others strengthened their connection to this identity as they could safely talk about and embody it on a daily basis, without actively noticing this happening. Thus, the ethnic/cultural enclave in identity and belonging had similar effects on youth, both directly and indirectly.

The choice to live in ethnic/cultural enclaves had an impact not only on the youth themselves but also on their relationships with both parents and peers. For the parent-youth relationship, the youth reported an overall degree of closeness and similarity with their parents that does not fit with past research on acculturation gaps in immigrant families (Glick, 2010). It is possible that the parents' decision to move to an ethnic/cultural enclave could be viewed as a coping strategy to deal with the culture shock they anticipated experiencing upon their arrival to Canada. This is consistent with past research that suggests that the collectivist ideology of FSU migrants may be a challenge in the more individualistic mainstream Canadian culture (Mirsky et al., 2002). Thus, moving to an ethnic/cultural enclave may support the notion that community could serve as a protective factor.

Moreover, the enclave was also an indirect way through which parents ensured that the peers, schools, and communities of their children would, at least to some extent, participate in their enculturation and help maintain a connection to their heritage culture(s). For many youth, the culture within the home was similar to the culture outside the home, and thus this did not result in a significant cultural gap between them. As these youth explained, they felt that the culture of their home in some way permeated throughout the "bubble" that they lived in, potentially resulting in youth feeling quite similar to their parents. Indeed, Zhou (1997) suggests that living in immigrant or co-ethnic communities can create a buffer for the tension between family and individual pressures, as well as "moderate original cultural patterns, to legitimize re-established values and norms, and to enforce consistent standards" (pg. 85).

For their relationships with peers, ethnic/cultural enclaves allowed youth to become friends with individuals who shared their ethnic, cultural, religious, and/or linguistic background. The similarity in upbringing and the reduced barriers to socializing were the key factors in these decisions. This finding is consistent with past research that highlighted the importance of homophily in friendship formation (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Specifically, researchers suggested that individuals who are similar tend to be drawn together more than individuals who are dissimilar. According to McPherson et al. (2001), this applies to a variety of characteristics and factors, but race and ethnicity are the strongest contributors to homophily in social networks, and as a result, social networks and environments tend to be divided along these lines. The principle of homophily applies to immigrant youth as well, who tend to form bonds with other immigrants (Chiu et al., 2012).

In addition to providing opportunities for youth to create and maintain ethnically/culturally similar friends and peer groups, it is also possible that ethnic/cultural enclaves and schools protected youth from experiencing victimization from other youth based on their immigrant identity. Ethnic/cultural enclaves may have also bolstered a sense of pride in their identities, thus buffering some of the negative consequences of the victimization the youth did experience, which has been found in past research (García Coll et al., 1996; Tsai, 2006).

However, that is not to imply that youth only had positive experiences within their families, peer groups, or communities. Youth did report struggles with being treated as insufficiently Jewish, Israeli, Russian, and/or Ukrainian based on various factors such as language, birthplace, heritage, physical appearance, and immigration. These experiences resulted in some sense of being caught between cultures and not quite fitting in within one or more of them. This was particularly acute for youth who did not (yet) feel Canadian if their ethnic identity was in some way denied to them. Since the context produced these feelings within the youth, the feelings could not be buffered by the context itself. Instead, youth actively highlighted certain identities in order to experience a sense of belonging that was more within their control.

The current study extends our current understanding of the experiences of immigrant youth by focusing on invisible immigrants, a population that is often overlooked because of the assumption that they fit in with white Canadians. Examining their experiences directly, as was done in the current study, demonstrates that they do experience some unique challenges. The current study also expands our understanding of the complex direct and indirect interactions between the various microsystems that immigrant youth are a part of and how they navigate these in order to participate in their own development.

There are some limitations to the current study. The primary limitation is the use of single informants, interviewing only the youth about their experiences and perceptions of their environment. Future research should interview parents and peers as well to further understand their own perceptions of their active role in the development of the youth. Moreover, this study was retrospective in nature, asking youth about their memories of changes over time. Future longitudinal research should examine pre- and post-migration experiences as they are happening. Finally, because

of the small sample size and the focus on theoretical saturation over statistical equivalence, the current study did not have equivalent numbers of recent and non-recent immigrants, Jews and Christians, boys and girls, etc. Future research should compare the experiences of youth in these different categories in order to further expand our understanding of immigrant youth's experiences.

Overall, the current study has important implications for future research with invisible immigrant youth, and Russian-speaking youth in particular. This research could also offer some insight into resource development for working with this particular population. These youth expressed that despite various resources that are available to them, they still face some challenges, particularly around identity and belonging. The interaction between parents, peers, and communities may serve as a protective factor for these youth and thus it is important for social service and settlement agencies to provide environments within which youth can strengthen their relationships with their parents, peers, and other community members and explore both their ethnic/religious identity and the Canadian identity.

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Chapter 5
The Ecology of Dating Preferences Among Asian American Adolescents in Emerging Immigrant Communities

Michele Chan and Lisa Kiang

United States' demographics are evolving. About 36% of US adolescents between the ages of 14 and 17 are members of an ethnic minority group (Wang, Kao, & Joyner, 2006). These numbers are only expected to rise, which may subsequently increase interracial dating. Rates of interracial relationships have increased among adults, with Asian Americans encompassing a substantial proportion of interracial marriages (28% in 2013) (Pew Research Center, 2015). However, dating processes in Asian Americans remain understudied, particularly among adolescents (Yoon, Adams, Clawson, Chang, Surya, & Jeremie-Brink, 2017). This literature gap is especially notable given that Asian Americans represent one of the fastest growing immigrant groups in the United States. Outpacing all others, the population of Asian Americans increased 43% from 2000 to 2010 and estimates project even greater growth of 79% through 2050 (Ortman & Guarneri, 2009; Tseng et al., 2016).

Research conducted with populations of Asian descent tends to be approached in several ways—using broad panethnic populations (e.g., East Asian, South Asian), specific populations of Asian descent (e.g., Chinese Americans), and with racialized groupings (e.g., Asian) as provided through the US Census. (Yoshikawa, Mistry, & Wang, 2016). Each of these decisions come with consequences in unveiling findings regarding psychological and cultural processes with such populations. For example, using broad panethnic groupings may prevent understanding of heterogeneity across heritage groups, and hinder the discovery of influential and unique contexts of immigration, sociopolitical needs, and cultural practices (Yoshikawa et al., 2016). Increasingly, researchers are encouraged to utilize groupings that reflect meaningful

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differences in how youth of Asian descent may experience their social worlds, which is in line with Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory in its emphasis on how context shapes development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Mistry et al., 2016). However, despite greater recognition of the importance of disaggregating across broad, panethnic samples, there is also the awareness that panethnic grouping might still be necessary for conceptual and practical reasons (Yoshikawa et al., 2016).

Our work draws from an emerging immigrant population. These populations are noted for settling in more dispersed, rural contexts as opposed to forming communities within urban metropolitan areas (Massey & Capoferro, 2008). Such emerging communities are typically comprised of families from diverse ethnic heritages and countries of origin. However, panethnic sampling is often necessary in these areas with relatively smaller representation among any specific heritage groups. Moreover, youth in these areas are often perceived as "Asian" rather than their specific ethnic heritages by those within their immediate context and thus seek community and solidarity with different ethnic Asian Americans (Kiang & Supple, 2016). In support of a shared contextual experience in such an environment, prior work among emerging immigrant communities has identified that panethnic identities are often salient due to scarce representation in terms of specific countries of origin (Kiang, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2011).

Ultimately, demographic trends, coupled with the developmental importance and need to better understand adolescents' dating processes and preferences particularly in emerging immigrant communities, emphasize the opportunity in using Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory (1977, 1995; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) as a framework for investigating ethnic dating preferences among under-researched Asian American adolescents within emerging immigrant areas. Although our approach is centered on the panethnic Asian American experience, we describe key contextual features within our work, with the effort to highlight the specific ethnic heritages of youth when such information was provided. Also, aligned with the recommendations of Yoshikawa et al. (2016), in documenting prior research in the following sections, when possible, ethnic heritage and national origins of study samples will be noted.

Romantic Relationships and Dating Among Asian American Adolescents

Early romantic relationships are essential to adolescent development as experiences in dating aid in self-identity formation and later relationship decisions (Chen et al., 2009; Mok, 1999; Wang et al., 2006). Developmentally, Asian American adolescents face unique challenges when considering their dating decisions because they must often navigate distinctive cultural expectations. Research focusing on processes of acculturation has suggested that many Chinese, Taiwanese, and Vietnamese Americans identify with both their heritage and mainstream cultures (Lau, Markham, Lin, Flores, & Chacko, 2009; Yu, 2007). Panethnic Asian American adolescents

exhibit varying degrees of acculturation and enculturation, which is the process by which cultural values are adopted or retained (Kim & Abreu, 2001), and such processes could impact interpersonal relationships. For example, Yoon et al. (2017) found that East Asian American adolescents reported differences in ethnic dating preferences due to acculturation and enculturation differences. Furthermore, among Chinese Canadians, acculturation to Canadian culture was associated with more openness and less cultural values conflict regarding interracial relationships (Lou, Lalonde, & Wong, 2015). Such work points to salient cultural and contextual demands that could influence ethnic dating preferences among adolescents of Asian descent.

Acculturation not only impacts adolescents but also parents. When parents and adolescents acculturate at different rates, an acculturation gap could arise (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000), potentially leading to family conflict and implications for adolescents' dating attitudes and behaviors. One type of acculturation gap involves the child being more acculturated than the parent to mainstream culture (Telzer, 2011), and such mismatch in cultural views could be reflected in imposed dating restrictions and attitudes toward dating and sex (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Uskul, Lalonde, & Konanur, 2011; Wang, 2016). In a study exploring Chinese, Taiwanese, Vietnamese, and biracial Asian American adolescents in a suburban community, Lau, Markham, Lin, Flores, and Chacko (2009) found that 70% dated without parental knowledge, which was attributed to parent-child differences in cultural attitudes related to dating and relationships and acculturation. Some of these differences may lie in parents expressing concerns over the loss of ethnic identity, family values, and ethnic language retention along with conflicting views of the appropriate age to begin dating (Inman, Altman, Kaduvettoor-Davidson, Carr, & Walker, 2011; Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012; Tang & Zuo, 2000). Prior work has similarly found intergenerational cultural conflict over interracial relationships, with those of Asian backgrounds, panethnically defined, having the greatest attitudinal discrepancies with their parents compared to other immigrant groups (Shenhav, Campos, & Goldberg, 2017).

Closely related to acculturation, cultural values and minority status are additional complexities with which adolescents must contend. Panethnic Asian American parents often expect their children to be mindful of traditional values such as respect, obedience, chastity, and prioritization of family (Chun, Organista, & Marin, 2003). These cultural values could, in turn, have subsequent implications for dating attitudes and behaviors (Lau et al., 2009). For example, culturally driven values related to education can result in Chinese parents discouraging dating and viewing it as a distraction from academics (Tang & Zuo, 2000; Yoon et al., 2017).

Social context, the racial makeup of the environment, discrimination, and feelings of racial inferiority may also impact adolescents' dating choices (Strully, 2014). Yip, Douglass, and Shelton (2013) found that among a diverse panethnic sample of Asian American adolescents, for those who endorsed a strong Asian identity, being surrounded by Asian peers in school was linked with higher positive regard with being Asian. However, those who endorsed less importance of their Asian identity reported negative links between Asian peers heritage regard.

Additionally, Yoon et al. (2017) found that East Asian American adolescents who reported a sense of racial inferiority dated exclusively White Americans; however, once they began to embrace their ethnic identity after attending a more diverse school, they were more comfortable dating within their ethnicity. Altogether, the unique experiences encountered within the social context (e.g., ethnic diversity and availability of partners, experiences with discrimination, personal identity) may influence adolescents' ethnic dating partner preferences.

Considering the complexity and the multitude of factors that play a role in navigating dating decisions for Asian American adolescents, this chapter seeks to clarify what drives adolescents' preferences for dating within or outside their ethnicities. The choice to focus on preferences rather than actual dating partners allowed us to capture adolescents' decisions even among those who may not be allowed to date (Tang & Zuo, 2000). Furthermore, exploring preferences has minimized the constraints due to the ethnic or racial makeup of surrounding environments and possible limited options regarding actual available dating partners.

Bronfenbrenner's Framework for Understanding the Ecology of Dating Preferences

The factors that influence dating preferences are complex, nuanced, and act on multiple facets of development. With such intricacy, Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory (2006) is an ideal heuristic to organize and clarify the impact of these various features. In brief, Bronfenbrenner was highly influential in delineating multi-faceted influences of the environment (e.g., micro-, meso-, exo-, macro-, chronosystems), and an extension of his model provided a comprehensive description of the interactive processes involving the Person, Process, Context, and Time (PPCT). The first "p" in the model reflects person characteristics (e.g., gender). These person-oriented features influence and interact with the core of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological framework which consists of proximal processes, which represent primary mechanisms in development (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009). Context represents multiple layers of environmental influence and is a particularly central influence given that all interactions (e.g., proximal processes) occur within specific settings (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The time component of the PPCT model can be described in terms of both ontogenetic time (e.g., age, development) and historical time (e.g., chronosystem).

In understanding adolescent dating preferences, the current study focused primarily on influences stemming from the social context and environment. A summary of Bronfenbrenner's original model highlights the chronosystem as capturing socio-historical events that exert influence through cascading impacts on other systems in the model. The macrosystem reflects broad societal values and cultural views. The exosystem follows, which includes wide influences like societal institutions (e.g., government, school systems, media, communities) that then impact how the more proximal microsystems and mesosystems operate. The mesosystem

reflects connections between two or more microsystems, and the microsystem itself consists of the close proximal processes that shape individuals' immediate environments, such as family, friends, and the community (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Explicitly focusing on one specific microsystem influence, previous research has suggested that parental expectations gain importance as an adolescent matures, with the expectation that the adolescent will marry or date within his or her ethnic group (Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012; van Zantvliet, Kalmijn, & Verbakel, 2015; Xie & Goyette, 1997). For example, parental influence was highly predictive of same-ethnic dating decisions among Chinese, Korean, and Japanese American adults (Mok, 1999). Furthermore, Chinese parents often highly discourage dating altogether (Tang & Zuo, 2000), and adolescents might hide their dating relationships if they conflict with parents' traditional values (Lau et al., 2009). Hence, the microsystem of the family is likely to appear among the reasons given by adolescents for motivating their dating preferences for a partner's ethnicity.

When considering other contextual influences, it is important to acknowledge the idea that ecological systems are intertwined. Culture, which is within the macrosystem, may be predictive of adolescents' dating preferences and exert its influence both individually and through its interaction with other systems. Mistry et al. (2016) further complemented Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model by emphasizing that culture is infused through all contexts, such that microsystemic social experiences must be understood through the lens of cultural beliefs. Thus, Indian and more broadly Asian American parents' preferences for their children to date within their ethnic group are often grounded in goals of preserving traditions and values (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007; Lau et al., 2009). Therefore, within the context of this research and as consistent with the PPCT model, family (a microsystem) and culture (a macrosystem) are intricately linked.

Person-Level Variation by Gender and Generational Status

Individual or person-related factors could interact with contextual influences and contribute to dating preferences. For example, the family microsystem might operate differently depending on the child's gender. Nesteruk and Gramescu (2012) found that immigrant parents often gave more dating freedom to sons than to daughters, and among a panethnic sample of Asian American college students, women have reported more conflict with parents regarding dating compared to young men (Chung, 2001). Mok (1999) also found that parental influence was more important to Chinese, Korean, and Japanese American females than to males.

Generational status is reflective of acculturation and could represent the component of time (e.g., chronosystem). For example, later generations have been more likely to be involved in interracial dating (Gurung & Duong, 1999; Wang et al., 2006). Shenhav, Campos, and Goldberg (2017) also found that generational status played a role in parental conflict regarding interracial dating after controlling for

ethnicity among Asian, Latinx, and European adolescents such that first- and second-generation adolescents reported more conflict over interracial dating compared to the third-generation. Such work points to the need to consider person-level and time-related characteristics (e.g., gender, generational status) when examining dating and relationship issues.

Conceptual Summary and Research Aims

Using Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory as a framework, we addressed three questions with regard to Asian American adolescents' dating preferences. First, we explored developmental changes by examining how dating preferences change over time and whether they are reflective of early adult dating decisions. Second, Bronfenbrenner's model was used to categorize the proximal processes that adolescents identify as key influences on their dating preferences. Third, we examined how these identified processes were linked to patterns of change in dating preferences. Targeting these primary questions offered insight into the ecology of adolescents' dating lives and what drives their decisions. The use of longitudinal data allowed us to incorporate ontogenetic time (as explicated by Bronfenbrenner) and gain novel information on how dating preferences might change as a function of other aspects of development. Our mixed-methods approach allowed us to connect quantitative and in-depth qualitative knowledge of adolescents' experiences revealing more comprehensive views on this understudied topic.

As noted prior, a novel feature of our work is that our sample was drawn from suburban and rural areas in the Southeastern United States, which is important as immigration trends point to greater settlement among such emerging immigrant destinations as traditional settlement sites become increasingly saturated (Massey, 2008). The experiences of those in new immigrant communities are distinct from others in urban, more diverse areas. In contrast to those in more traditional settlement areas, Asian immigrants in emerging destinations tend to be more geographically dispersed (Barnes & Bennett, 2002; Danico & Ocampo, 2014). Given that existing research on Asian Americans has been predominately conducted in traditional immigration areas, our approach provides much-needed knowledge on development from within under-researched emerging immigrant communities.

Methods

Participants

Asian American students in grades 9 and 10 were recruited from emerging immigrant communities in the Southeastern United States. (i.e., North Carolina). When first contacted, the average age of cohort one was 14.42 years (*SD* = .64). The

average age for cohort two was 15.56 years (*SD* = .74). Data were collected for four consecutive years, with an additional follow-up about three to four years post–high school. Responses from all waves of data were included in the current analyses. Approximately, 180 participated in the initial wave (60% female; 74% US born). All adolescents who were identified as Asian based on school enrollment forms were invited to participate in the study. Adolescents represented a wide range of self-reported ethnicities. About 8% self-identified pan-ethnically as Asian or Asian American. The largest reported heritage group was comprised of adolescents who identified as Hmong (28%). Multiethnic was also reported (e.g., mostly within Asian groups; 22%), as were South Asian heritages (e.g., Indian, Pakistani; 11%). Approximately 8% identified as Chinese, and the remaining adolescents comprised small groups such as Montagnard, Laotian, Vietnamese, Filipino/a, Japanese, Korean, and Thai, approximately 1–3% within each group totaling the remaining 23% of the sample.

Procedures

A stratified cluster design selected six public high schools in North Carolina that were each characterized as having high Asian growth and a student body that was 4–6% Asian, which were relatively high representations in the areas. The schools differed in size, socioeconomic status, and academic achievement. Two schools were predominately White (~80%) with similar distributions of Asian American, African American, and Latinx students. Another two schools were each approximately 60% White, with larger representations of African American

and Latinx students (~10–20%) than Asian Americans. The final two schools were predominately African American (~60–65%), with larger representations of White and Latinx students (~10–20% each) followed by Asian Americans. Notably, compared to existing research targeting Asian Americans from large, metropolitan areas with a long history of hosting immigrant families, our sample was situated in areas with low ethnic diversity whereby Asian American adolescents' status as a minority might be particularly salient. Immigration trends have shown that, while there was a 49% increase from 2000–2008 in the number of Asian immigrants settling in North Carolina, they comprise only 2% of the population statewide (Reeves & Bennett, 2003).

Participants were recruited as part of a larger project on Asian American adolescents' purpose and meaning in life. They were initially informed about the goals and nature of the study through an in-school meeting. Parental informed consent and adolescent assent forms were distributed. Researchers returned to the school approximately 1 week later and those who returned their forms were then given questionnaire packets that were completed during school time, which took 30–60 minutes to complete. Data for each of the following waves were collected similarly. For the last wave, since adolescents in the original grade 10 cohort were no longer students at the school, questionnaires were mailed to all participants to be

completed and then returned through the mail with prepaid envelopes. Adolescents received $25 for participation in wave one, $15 for waves two and three, and $20 for wave four. Retention was 91% ($n = 163$) of the original sample for wave two, 87% ($n = 156$) for wave three, and 67% ($n = 120$) for wave four.

Approximately 3–4 years after the study's completion, participants were re-contacted via e-mail, telephone, and/or postal mail and invited to participate in a follow-up study. Although they were given the option to complete paper and pencil surveys, all opted to complete the survey online through Qualtrics. A substantial subset was not able to be reached, but nearly all those who were contacted agreed to participate in the follow-up ($n = 77$; retention rate of 42% of the original sample). Participants were mailed a $20 gift card for participating.

Measures

Demographics Demographic information (e.g., gender generational status) was collected from self-reports.

Dating Preferences To assess ethnic dating preferences, participants were asked, "Think about a boy/girl you may be interested in dating. Are you mostly interested in dating someone of your same ethnicity or different? Without using any specific names, please say a little more about your response (e.g., do you feel pressure from your family or from the friends that you do have to date certain people)". Responses were coded into three categories: same, different, or mixed. Mixed constitutes a preference for both same and different ethnicities. In the follow-up, the ethnicity of participants' current dating partner, if applicable, was also assessed.

Coding Narratives A qualitative analysis was conducted on participants' narrative justifications for their ethnic dating partner preferences. Our approach was inspired by grounded theory due to its emphasis on inductive analysis without a priori theory with goals of theory generation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). However, qualitative content analysis was used as the more precise coding strategy, as this method is particularly appropriate with open-ended and shorter responses allowing for inductive analysis whereby themes and categories are drawn from the data (Cho & Lee, 2014; Smith, 2000). All responses for each wave of data were read by the first author, the principal coder, who proceeded to open code for themes that were consistently revealed. Seven reasons for ethnic dating preferences were generated (culture and language, values and understanding, family, personal, environment, peer, exploration). The categories were not evaluated as mutually exclusive, allowing responses to be coded with multiple categories. The principal coder then developed instructions for defining each category.

Three research assistants were trained to differentiate between the categories. During the first phase of training, each coder used the instructions to code one wave

of data, and these codes were compared against the same wave of data coded by the first author. Any categories that lacked clarity and any inconsistencies across coders were discussed. The coding instructions were then modified as needed and consensus was reached by the entire team on the finalized definition of each coding variable. During the second phase of training, the research team coded one wave of data by consensus which insured that all coders could demonstrate mastery of the elements within a response that would fit with each theme.

Upon completing the training, research assistants coded a wave of data separate from the wave they coded during the training sessions. Using the finalized coding instructions, the first author coded responses for all waves of data, which allowed for each wave of data to be coded by a pair of coders (i.e., first author and research assistant). Inter-rater reliability (IRR) was calculated using kappa (Siegel & Castellan, 1988). Because kappa agreement is calculated between pairs of coders, kappa for each pair across each wave of data was calculated, and the mean of those estimates provided an overall index of agreement (Davies & Fleiss, 1982; Hallgren, 2012; Light, 1971). The final coding yielded an overall kappa of .93, which indicates almost perfect agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977). Any discrepancies were resolved by consensus. The categories were then evaluated and classified within Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems framework (e.g., microsystem, macrosystem) by the first author.

Results

Ethnicity Dating Preferences Over Time

To investigate whether preferences in dating partner ethnicity changed over time, we examined the frequencies of such preferences for each wave of data. In light of our two-cohort design and desire to model changes across high school years, we collapsed our data by year in school. As depicted in Fig. 5.1, the highest frequencies for each wave were for preferences for same-ethnic partners (~40%). In addition, in terms of year-to-year patterns, adolescents' preferences appeared relatively stable. However, there could be individual-level variations that are not visible when examining normative group trends or the overall results from year-to-year. Hence, we examined within-person variation by coding participants' preferences across all waves of data into four possible patterns: stable same, stable different, changing once, and changing twice or more. Among these patterns, 36% had preferences that changed twice or more, 26% had preferences for same-ethnicity partners that remained consistent across waves, 24% had preferences that changed once over the course of the high school years, and 14% had preferences for different-ethnicity partners that remained consistent across waves.

These patterns suggest that dating preferences changed over time for about 60% of the sample. A goodness-of-fit chi-square compared the distribution of these
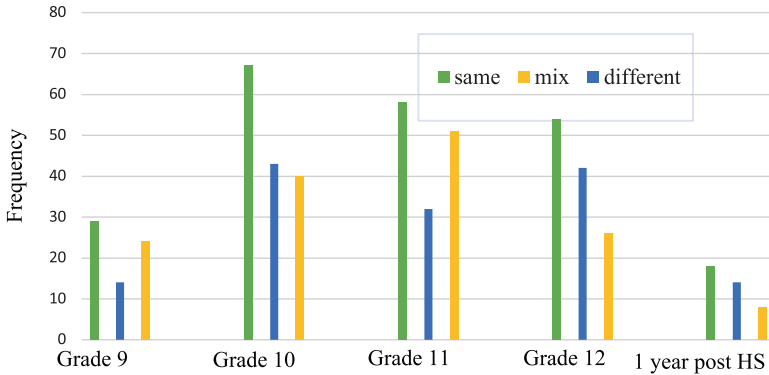
Fig. 5.1 Dating preferences by year in school

patterns to a distribution that might be expected by chance (with the null hypothesis suggesting an even distribution across all four groups). The test was significant suggesting that the distribution of patterns was more different than what would be expected by chance, $\chi^2 (3, N = 175) = 15.82$, $p < .001$; hence, the identified patterns of change appeared meaningful and not random occurrences.

Post–High School Follow-Up In the post–high school follow-up ($N = 74$, three participants with missing data), participants again indicated dating preferences for a partner's ethnicity. A chi-square test examined whether these preferences were associated with the preferences coded during high school data collection (e.g., stable same, stable different, changing once, changing twice or more). There was a significant association, $\chi^2 (6, N = 74) = 2.08$, $p < .001$. Of those who indicated a stable same-ethnicity preference, 77.8% also preferred same-ethnicity partners during the follow-up. Of those preferring stable different-ethnicity preferences, 81.8% still preferred different-ethnicity partners in the follow-up. Those who indicated preferences that changed over the years of high school exhibited equivalent preferences for both same and different-ethnicity partner at the follow-up. Although there was some individual variation, these results suggest that those with stable ethnic dating preferences (preferring to consistently date either a same-ethnicity or a different-ethnicity partner throughout high school) maintained these preferences over time.

In the follow-up, participants were also asked whether they were currently dating someone and, if so, is their partner's ethnicity the same or different from their own. Only a small subset of participants ($n = 40$) were currently in a relationship at the time of data collection. A chi-square test of independence investigated the link between dating preferences indicated in the follow-up and the actual ethnicity of participants' partners, $\chi^2 (2, N = 40) = 18.40$, $p < .001$. There was a significant association such that, of those who preferred partners with the same ethnicity, 88.9% were currently dating partners with the same ethnicity. All those who preferred to date a partner with a different ethnicity were dating partners with a different ethnicity. There was equal occurrence of having either same (50%) and different (50%)

ethnicity partners for those who indicated mixed preferences. Perhaps not surprisingly, these findings suggest that the dating preferences of emerging adults appeared relatively consistent with their actual dating behavior.

Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Theory Explains Ethnic Dating Partner Preferences

Open-ended responses were examined to uncover possible themes that guided dating decisions. As described in Table 5.1, the themes were classified based on Bronfenbrenner's (1995) bioecological theory. A summary of themes follow, along with illustrative excerpts. If available, the age, gender, and ethnicity of all direct quotations are provided.

Person-Level Influences on Ethnic Dating Partner Preferences Two coded themes emerged that appeared to fit best as part of the "person" component of the PPCT model, *personal* and *exploration*.

Table 5.1 Categories of variables: coding of open-ended responses

Category (Bronfenbrenner's system classification)	Description
Culture and language (macrosystem)	Responses that explicitly indicate heritage culture or language as a reason for their preferences.
Values and understanding (macrosystem)	Responses that indicate that dating preferences are influenced by a desire for better understanding between partners. This could capture values that are attributed to culture (e.g., religion).
Family (microsystem)	Responses that indicate any influence of family (parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts and uncles, etc.), whether the family preference is for a same or different ethnicity partner for the participant. This also applies for family marriage ethnicity preferences rather than dating.
Personal (person)	Responses that indicate reasons for choosing a dating partner that is unique to the individual, including physical attraction, personality, as well as preferences to abstain from dating.
Environment (microsystem)	Responses that indicate that environment has an influence on preferences. This can include indicating that the environment limits dating options or provides more choices.
Peer (microsystem)	Responses that indicate that friends or peers influence who the participant chooses to date by actively encouraging/discouraging the participants' choice or providing opinions that guide participants' decisions.
Exploration (person)	Responses that indicate a desire to learn about other cultures or to figure out what one likes by dating different options. Responses encompass an attitude of openness to exploring different possibilities for dating partners.

Personal emerged as a person-level influence due to the unique aspects of this variable that may reflect personal beliefs. The responses that fit within this theme were diverse. For example, a 17-year-old female reported, "It doesn't matter what race I date, as long as they are a nice person, sweet, respectful, and caring. They can be black or white, as long as they like me or who I am, that's all that counts." In contrast, a 15-year-old female described, "I'm focusing in school, what the future holds, not interested in dating. It's a waste of time…and I always have this fear of accidently dating my cousin if I ever date within my race." This theme emerged as one of the top four reasons given for adolescents' preferences. About 10–20% of the participants indicated responses that were classified in this category across all waves of data.

Exploration was characterized by an individual's personal desire to learn about other cultures, which may be guided by the surroundings of the participant in which different cultures are showcased. The following excerpt from a 17-year-old female who self-identified as Laotian provides an illustration: "I feel like dating someone other than my ethnicity would be better because I get to learn their customs and culture. It wouldn't hurt to learn something new by dating someone new." Only 1–5% of the participants gave responses within this coded theme.

Microsystem-Level Influences on Ethnic Dating Partner Preferences Several coded themes can be understood to exert influence at the microsystem—Family, Environment, and Peers**.** Notably, these influences reflect both the "context" component of the PPCT model, as well as the specific "proximal processes" that might transpire within individuals' contexts and in interaction with individuals themselves.

The microsystemic influence of the *Family* theme suggests that family relationships functioned as unique proximal systems with which adolescents interact. For example, emphasizing how both the personal characteristic of being an only daughter interacted with the proximal parent-child relationship to inform her dating choices, a 16-year old female stated, "I do feel pressure because I am the only daughter in my family. My parents would want me and expect me to date a guy of the same ethnicity." In another example, a 17-year old female of Asian Indian descent narrated, "There is pressure from my family to date people from certain ethnic groups." Approximately 38–48% of participants described this theme of family.

Although not as common (1–5% of responses), adolescents also discussed influences that stemmed from other proximal settings such as the school context and the close surrounding neighborhood. These influences were grouped under the broad theme of *Environment*. For example, a 15-year old male of Vietnamese descent conveyed, "I don't know many Vietnamese girls, so I can't be interested in them." Similarly, a 16-year old female of Chinese descent corroborated, "I guess different because I don't know too many Chinese guys."

Another microsystem influence that emerged was *Peers* but as also less frequent (1–6% of responses coded). Examples included, "I choose not to date other ethnic groups b/c for me it feels like I disgrace my family and friends if I do that"

(15-year-old female from Laos), and, "I feel pressure from friends and my date" (15-year-old female of Hmong descent).

Macrosystem-Level Influences on Ethnic Dating Partner Preferences The theme of *Culture and Language* can be considered a macrosystem influence. To illustrate, a 17-year-old male with Laotian ancestry expressed, "For our culture and our traditions…I am more interested in dating someone from the same ethnicity because it is easier for them to come live with me and not learn how to speak my language." This comment demonstrates that the ability to speak one's heritage language is a value that has been internalized as highly important in this individual's dating preferences. A 19-year-old female also from Laos reported, "I feel it's important for me to marry a person of the same nationality, due to culture differences and my parents speak limited English," demonstrating that both culture and language are important in informing her dating preferences. This theme's frequency ranged from 4–20%, with higher percentages at later waves.

The theme of *Values and Understanding* also acted as a macrosystem-level influence given its reflection of the broader roles of shared values and similarities in adolescents' lives. For example, a 17-year-old Asian Indian female reported, "I feel that I often share more overall qualities with Caucasian students at my school rather than those from my own ethnicity/culture," illustrating that shared qualities rather than ethnic specific cultural values are important to her choices in dating preferences. A tenth grade female from Pakistan communicated, "Preferred to date Muslims," emphasizing the role of religious values. Another example of seeking this shared experience was revealed by a 15-year-old female from Southeast Asia: "I stick with my ethnicity when it comes to dating. I will understand them much better. For me, sticking to what I have is good. Easy to get along." This coding category emerged as one of most commonly stated reasons for preferences, with 10–25% of the participants indicating this theme in their responses.

Associations Between Adolescents' Reasons and Patterns of Ethnic Dating Preferences

We explored whether the reasons given for dating preferences were associated with patterns of preferences, which highlights one of the strengths of our mixed-methods approach. Given rates of missing data and the idea that the codable responses provided by adolescents were not consistent across waves, we created new variables that aggregated the relative frequencies of each reason. For each participant, the coded reasons were given a ratio from 0–1, which indicated how important the reason was for that participant. For example, if a participant indicated that family was important for two out of the four waves that the participant provided data for, then the participant was given a score of .50 for this variable. If a participant only provided three waves of data and, among those three waves, the responses were coded

for family twice, then an aggregated score of .66 was given for this category. Using the created variables that represented the aggregated ratio of each of the seven themes (e.g., culture and language, values and understanding, family, personal, environment, peer, exploration), logistic regressions were used to examine associations between the ratios and the identified patterns of dating preferences. Gender and generation were included to control for demographic variation.

As shown in Table 5.2, three reasons emerged as significant predictors of dating preference patterns. Those who indicated culture and language as a strong influence on dating preferences were 14.37 times more likely to have a stable same preference pattern than not. Furthermore, those who indicated values and understanding as a strong influence on dating preferences were 8.17 times more likely to have a stable same preference pattern than not. Finally, those who indicated environment as having a strong influence on dating preferences were 56.83 times more likely to exhibit a stable different preference pattern than not. No other effects were found.

Discussion

As ethnic diversity continues to rise in the United States, understanding how ethnic dating preferences develop in adolescence can provide critical knowledge about the origins of intra- and inter-ethnic dating decisions. We sought to characterize how ethnic dating preferences manifest in adolescence. Given the complexity of such preferences, using Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory (1977, 1995; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) as a guide allowed for a nuanced understanding of how different interactive factors in adolescents' lives impact their dating decisions. We delineated patterns in ethnic dating preferences and classified the reasons that adolescents gave for their preferences. In its entirety, this study offered vital insights into how Asian American adolescents decide whether to date within or outside their ethnicity.

Our first primary goal was to examine developmental changes in adolescents' dating preferences over time. Longitudinal patterns indicated that these preferences appeared quite stable, at least when examined via yearly group trends. The distribution of preferences was roughly equivalent across high school with most adolescents preferring same-ethnic partners. However, once preferences were investigated at an individual level, adolescents did exhibit evidence for change across study waves. More specifically, changing preferences could be found for more than half of the sample. Romantic relationships are certainly salient during adolescence (Chen et al., 2009; Wang et al., 2006), and our results suggest that the adolescent period could represent an intense time of intra- and inter-ethnic exploration in terms of dating compatibility and affiliation. These results also emphasize the need for within-person analyses because such intra-individual change can be masked when looking at the sample as a whole. Furthermore, these preferences were not associated with demographic factors, such as gender or generation. However, it is worth noting that our sample contained predominantly second-generation participants.

Table 5.2 Summary of logistic regression analysis for coded variables predicting patterns of dating preferences

	Stable same			Stable different			Changed once			Changed twice or more		
	B	SE B	e^B	B	SE B	e^B	B	SE B	e^B	B	SE B	e^B
Gender	.74	.44	2.09	.18	.53	1.20	−.04	.42	.96	−.61	.39	.54
Generation status	.38	.51	1.46	−.26	.56	.78	−.10	.43	.91	.06	.40	1.05
Culture and language	2.65**	.93	14.37	−67.75	$1.56e^4$	0	−2.12	1.21	.12	−.20	.89	.82
Values/understanding	2.10**	.79	8.17	−2.74	1.90	.06	.25	.84	1.28	−1.44	.83	.24
Family	.39	.59	1.47	−1.57	.85	.21	.33	.56	1.38	.10	.51	1.10
Personal	−.21	.90	.81	.51	.84	1.66	.67	.71	1.94	−1.03	.72	.36
Environment	.40	1.73	1.49	4.04*	1.98	56.83	−3.81	3.73	.02	−2.74	2.59	.07
Peer	2.86	1.84	17.51	−2.47	4.15	.09	−3.84	3.09	.02	.21	1.63	1.23
Exploration	−3.10	2.87	.05	.33	2.58	1.39	2.70	1.76	14.86	−.51	1.69	.60
Constant	−2.47			−.92			−1.10			−.05		

Note: *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. Gender was coded as 0 = female, 1 = male. Generation was coded as 0 = not born in U.S., 1 = born in US. Coding variables were measured continuously with higher values indicating greater importance in the forming preferences across time

Therefore, future research with more variation is needed to thoroughly understand possible linkages between person-level variables and ethnic dating preferences.

Beyond high school, our results indicated that those with stable preferences throughout adolescence appeared to maintain these preferences in emerging adulthood. Most individuals who reported stable same- or different-ethnic dating preferences in high school were in a relationship with someone who matched those preferences at the follow-up. This is in accordance with prior work suggesting that women who select their first partner from outside their ethnic group were more likely to have a future interracial marriage (King & Bratter, 2007; van Zantvliet et al., 2015). Considering the high prevalence of interracial marriages for Asian Americans (Pew Research Center, 2015), our study provided some rationale for these unions by suggesting that the factors driving these relationships likely began at an early age and that the persistence of ethnic dating preferences throughout adolescence could influence adult choices.

Developmentally, prior research has shown that early romantic relationships are a vital part of adolescent development and help shape self-identity (Wang et al., 2006). For example, with development and maturation, immigrant adolescents likely understand and appreciate their cultural backgrounds more (Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012); hence, changes in dating preferences (e.g., increased interest in same-ethnic partners) may be a marker of adolescents' increased appreciation and understanding of cultural expectations. Prior work has found that ethnic identity and ethnic peer preferences are mutually influential among a diverse group of Asian American adolescents (Kiang, Peterson, & Thompson, 2011), and it is likely that ethnic dating preferences and identity are similarly intricately tied.

For those who report changing preferences toward different-ethnic partners over time, a possible mechanism that drives these changes may be due to the dating experiences that these adolescents gain. Previous research has suggested that Japanese Americans who had already engaged in interracial dating relationships with White Americans were more likely to date White Americans in the future as opposed to Asian Americans (Kikumura & Kitano, 1973). Additionally, for Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Americans, higher levels of acculturation were found to be a significant predictor for choosing to date White Americans (Mok, 1999). Perhaps interracial dating leads to greater assimilation and more identification with the mainstream culture, which may later impact self-identity development and further inform dating preferences.

In terms of better understanding what motivates or drives adolescents' dating preferences, another goal of the current study was to categorize the reasons that adolescents identify as key influences on their preferences, in and of themselves as well as changes over time. The factors identified by adolescents could be meaningfully organized using Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory (1977, 1995; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), which serves to illustrate how person and context components influence the development of dating preferences through a multitude of proximal processes. While not originally expected, person components of the adolescent (i.e., personal and exploration themes) emerged as important contributors to dating preferences. Given other theoretical frameworks, such as social domain

theory which has emphasized that adolescents actively seek agency and apply their social knowledge to inform the decisions they make in the personal domain (Smetana, 2011), it is not surprising that themes reflective of acquired social knowledge as influential on dating preferences was found. However, most of the personal reasons given by adolescents could be understood as interacting with contextual influences, both at the macrosystem (i.e., culture and language, values and understanding) and microsystem levels (i.e., family, environment, peer). Culture and language, values and understanding, and family were the most frequently given reasons for adolescents' preferences.

Family was frequently referenced to explain dating preferences. While the family microsystem is argued to have a direct and ubiquitous influence on current dating preferences (Shenhav et al., 2017), and our data demonstrated that these systems are highly endorsed, family context alone does not ultimately drive changes in or patterns of preferences toward same- or different-ethnic partners. The family microsystem captured diverse proximal interactions among adolescents, and each of these relationships, whether with parents, grandparents, or the extended family, represents very different spheres of influence. In line with the core perspectives of the PPCT model, it is important to note that the unique effect of each system is individualized to each adolescent and thus may not be predictive across participants. For example, family expectations were not universally internalized or accepted by adolescents. While many indicated that there was family pressure to date within one's own ethnicity, some emphasized that they would not adhere to these expectations. Therefore, while the impact of the family is notable, each adolescent's response to the impact appeared highly individualized.

Another microsystem-level influence to emerge as a predictor of preferences and, in particular, stable different-ethnic dating partners was the environment. The specific environment of Asian American adolescents from emerging immigrant communities is likely to consist of mostly majority White members. Yoon et al.'s (2017) research revealed that the demographic make-up of the school was associated with ethnic identity development and dating behaviors for East Asian American adolescents in that more diverse school contexts were helpful for ethnic identity acceptance. In our sample, the lack of diversity in adolescents' microsystems might have resulted in preferences for different-ethnicity partners because they are more readily available. Consistent with core features of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model, the nature of the environment that these adolescents are developing in could be contributing to interracial unions. Previous work has revealed links between school contexts, ethnic peer choices, and ethnic identity among diverse adolescents (Douglass, Mirpuri, & Yip, 2016), and thus future research should investigate if such links also exist for dating choices. Context should clearly be considered in future research. In fact, the overall, nationwide increase in interracial unions could be due to the trend of adolescents developing in racially homogenous areas where same-ethnic peers are not readily available, such as within emerging immigrant communities where immigrant families are increasingly settling (Massey, 2008).

The broader, macrosystem-level influences that were predictive of dating preferences were culture and language along with values and understanding, both of

which predicted stable same-ethnic preferences. The themes of culture and language emerging as a significant predictor for same-ethnic preferences is in line with previous work indicating that dating choices reflect cultural similarities (Lau et al., 2009). Values and understanding, which depicted the desire for shared values beyond ethnic-driven cultural norms, also corresponds with prior work suggesting that adolescents seek relationships that allow for a connection that goes "beyond surface-levels" and shared experiences (Yoon et al., 2017). These results are also consistent with the broader friendship and dating literature pointing to the importance of homophily (e.g., Hamm, 2000).

Drawing on Bronfenbrenner's PPCT perspectives, Mistry et al. (2016) have argued that culture is not a static entity that simply dictates behavior but is represented in the integration of person and culture through individuals' ideologies and belief systems. For example, the actualization of cultural values at the macrosystem occurs within the more proximal activities and interactions at the microsystem. Previous work indicated that the family is the primary social context where cultural socialization and values are taught to future generations (Tran & Lee, 2010; Yoon et al., 2017). If family, a microsystem variable, is required for the transmission of cultural norms and values, then the impact of the macrosystem (e.g., culture) must be carried out through microsystem interactions to be influential. We found this within our data as well, whereby participants often discussed cultural values as intertwined with family duties and expectations at the level of the microsystem. Such findings are consistent with each of the individual and interactive components of Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model.

Limitations and Future Directions

There were notable limitations within our study that should be discussed. Because of the nature of our coding strategy, the personal category may have been too broad, capturing multiple personal differences simultaneously. Further differentiating between types of personal reasons, such as physical attraction, personality, and the choice to abstain from dating, may provide more detailed and insightful results. Previous work suggests that dating choices do reflect individual-level variables like personality fit (Yoon et al., 2017), and, by grouping personality under the broad category of personal, we were unable to understand how other individual-level variables can impact ethnic dating decisions. Relatedly, in its broadness, this category does not clearly capture the complexity in how social knowledge and agency interactively inform the choices related to the personal domain, which Smetana (2011) has argued applies to adolescent friendship choices, and thus presumably affects dating choices as well.

Our relatively small sample and use of a panethnic recruitment strategy were also limitations. Researchers of Asian American children and families have been recently pushed to intentionally consider the approach of using panethnic groupings or opt for design and analysis strategies that are more specific to ethnicity and other individual characteristics, with the idea that there could be theoretical and practical

reasons to use one method versus another (Yoshikawa et al., 2016). Although the current study's uniqueness of conducting research within an understudied emerging immigrant community necessitated the use of a panethnic sample, it would be important for future work to replicate and extend our findings with a larger, more diverse group and within specific ethnic groups. Similarly, participants were asked if they are interested in dating someone of the same or different ethnicity, and this interpretation was highly subjective. Whether youth considered partners from other sub-ethnic heritage groups as intra- or inter-ethnic was not clear. Previous work suggests that, if an Asian American does not marry within his or her ethnic group, then the next likely choice would be a White American rather than a member of another Asian ethnic group (Lee & Yamanaka, 1990; Mok, 1999). Yet, future research should clarify how individuals differentiate Asian ethnicities and how broad the conceptualization of "same-ethnic" is. The small sample size is most notable in our follow-up, especially in light of the few individuals who were currently in dating relationships. Even though it appeared that stable ethnic dating preferences reflected adult dating decisions, definitive conclusions based on our data were limited.

Previous research has established that family influences on adolescents from Asian American and other immigrant backgrounds typically indicate preferences for adolescents to date within their ethnicity (Lau et al., 2009; Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012; Tang & Zuo, 2000; Yoon et al., 2017). However, in our study, family was not as predictive of stable same-ethnic dating preferences as we might have expected. Upon further inspection, we realized that not all adolescents who coded for this variable agreed or indicated that they would adhere or follow family expectations. We suspect that other variables such as family closeness might serve as moderators of the influence of the family on dating. Future work investigating what factors contribute to adolescents' adherence to family expectations might provide more knowledge.

Conclusion

Our study extended prior knowledge by demonstrating that ethnic dating preferences for Asian American adolescents develop over time and may be reflective of adult dating decisions. Such developmental variation demonstrated the need to investigate within-person changes in dating preferences and the internal and external factors that account for these changes. Using Bronfenbrenner's bioecological framework (1977, 1995; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), we shed new light on how person, process, context, and time represent factors that exert an interactive influence on adolescents' dating lives. Contextual influences in the macrosystem, such as culture and language and shared values, were predictive of stable same-ethnic dating preferences. More proximal features of the environment also played a substantial role, particularly in terms of stable different-ethnic preferences. Consistent with the PPCT model, our work emphasized how the broad components of adolescents' lives exert influence by interacting within proximal microsystems, where key contextual and cultural processes abound.

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Chapter 6
Social Representations of Blackness in America: Stereotypes About Black Immigrants and Black Americans

Teceta Thomas Tormala and Reycine Mc Kenzie

Within the framework of bioecological systems, Bronfenbrenner (1977) describes macrosystems as societal "blueprints" that structure how individuals, groups, and systems are organized. They are "informal and implicit—carried, often unwittingly, in the minds of the society's members as ideology made manifest through custom and practice in everyday life" (pp. 515). An important manifestation of a macrosystem is the stereotypes and social representations held about social groups within a society, which are carried "in the head" of individuals and shared as culturally known collective representations. In the American context, Blackness is a highly stigmatized attribute (Johnson, 2016; Onwuachi-Willig, 2017; Paul-Emile, 2018). Negative stereotypes about Black children (Goff, Jackson, Leone, & Lewis, 2014; Todd, Thiem, & Neel, 2016) and adults (Harris-Perry, 2011; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Rosenthal & Lobel, 2016) are widely known and impact interpersonal treatment and outcomes (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Tan, Dalisay, Zhang, Han, & Merchant, 2010).

Black immigrants in the United States enter a society in which their racial status places them at risk for being negatively stereotyped. However, it remains unclear whether their ethnicity and immigrant status may afford a different or additional pattern of stereotypes. This study examines whether the stereotypes about Black immigrants hold the same consensus and negative valence as the common stereo-

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types and perceptions about Black Americans.[1] The perceptions, stereotypes, social representations, and expectations that members of host societies have for immigrant groups matter for their acculturation process and their ability to integrate socially and economically into society (Awokoya, 2012: Joseph, Watson, Wang, Case, & Hunter, 2013; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Waldinger, 2003). Developing a more nuanced understanding of the social representations held separately about Black immigrants and about Black Americans will shed light on the degree to which this dimension of the macrosystem within the United States—cultural stereotypes—is equivalent for the two groups. We will measure the consensus about and breadth of the traits that make up the stereotypes held about Black Americans and Black immigrants in the United States. These processes will be examined within and between Black immigrant, Black American, and White American participants.

The Racialized Experience of Black Immigrants in the United States

The Black immigrant population, comprised primarily of immigrants from Caribbean and African countries (Anderson & Lopez, 2018), is increasing in the United States today. Since the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965 which abolished the quota system that had severely limited immigration based on country of origin, immigration of Blacks has steadily risen. Black immigrants account for approximately 9% of Black individuals in the United States, and make up nearly 10% of the total foreign-born US population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).

The majority of Black immigrants emigrate from predominantly Black countries (as of 2016, Jamaica, Haiti, and Nigeria are the most common birthplaces for foreign-born Blacks in the United States; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The individual countries of origin are diverse, with distinct histories and differing factors that are the impetus for immigration. Caribbean immigrants are concentrated in the Northeast and Florida (Kent, 2007), while African immigrants are more distributed throughout the United States (Waters, Kasinitz, & Asad, 2014). African immigration is outpacing immigration from the Caribbean (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016), and a substantial portion of African immigrants are refugees. For example, in fiscal year 2016, there were 354 refugees from Caribbean countries and 31,648 from African countries (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2016).

Black immigrants are not a monolithic group; they encompass an enormous linguistic and cultural diversity. Between and within countries in Africa and the Caribbean, there are distinctions in ethnicity, practices, language and dialect, faith traditions, and the impact of colonization. As a single example, the country of Nigeria has tremendous religious, linguistic, and ethnic diversity; there are esti-

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[1] In this chapter, Black American will be used rather than African American, to allow for a separation of race and nationality. Using this term, for instance, allows for a clear differentiation to be made between first- and second-generation immigrants from African countries and African Americans, groups who are culturally distinct.

mated to be between 250 and 400 distinct ethnic groups in Nigeria, with different outcomes such as wealth and employment associated with different groups (Reed & Mberu, 2015). In Caribbean and African nations, there is social stratification based on ethnicity, religion, and social class that is as rigid as the racialized system in the United States (Waters, 1999a).

In the majority of predominantly Black nations, though, there exist certain comparable cross-cultural patterns of social stratification and political and economic power concentrated among Black individuals that are distinct from the cultural and sociohistorical dimensions of Black Americans (Tormala & Deaux, 2006). Once emigrated to the American context, there are shared cultural experiences among the diverse peoples of the Caribbean and Africa. Despite the tremendous diversity among the Black immigrant population, Black immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean immigrants share the experience of being Black in a racialized American context, in which their race relegates them to a subordinated position (Fries-Britt, George Mwangi, & Peralta, 2014; Greer 2013; Tormala & Deaux, 2006). Blacks in America face a myriad of negative stereotypes and social representations, including perceptions of laziness and incompetence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986), criminality (Eberhardt, Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006; Goff et al., 2014), and low socioeconomic status (Devine, 1989). Black individuals also face interpersonal experiences of racial prejudice based on perceptions of their inferiority (Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

For many Black immigrants, the stigmatized racial identity ascribed from the negative representations prevalent at the macrosystemic level is the novel and jarring personal experience (Awokoya, 2012; Fisher & Model, 2012; Joseph et al., 2013). Specifically, Black immigrants are often unprepared for the ramifications of race-based prejudice and discrimination (Vickerman, 2016; Waters, 1999a), yet racism features prominently in their experiences (Lee & Rice, 2007). Length of residency in the United States exacerbates the perception and impact of racism. For example, length of stay in the United States predicted racism-related stress among Caribbean immigrants (Case & Hunter, 2014), and second-generation Black immigrants perceived higher levels of racial discrimination than first-generation Black immigrants (Hall & Carter, 2006).

Socioeconomic Outcomes and Theories of Black Immigrant Advantage

Within this racialized macrosystem, first-generation Black immigrants managed to gain a socioeconomic toehold in the decades after 1965. This was often due to the benefits of ethnic niches in particular occupations (e.g., nursing and domestic work for West Indian women) which channeled co-ethnics into the occupation, securing incomes for families and providing a stable economic base for second-generation children to achieve educational mobility (Vickerman, 1999). Compared to Black Americans over the last 50 years, Black immigrants had slightly better socioeconomic outcomes in educational attainment (Massey, Mooney, & Torres, 2007;

Zong & Batalova, 2017), income (Anderson, 2015), occupational distribution, labor force participation, and employment (Zong & Batalova, 2016; Zong & Batalova, 2017).

There have been several theoretical explanations for the higher relative socioeconomic achievement of foreign-born Blacks. Scholars have highlighted the selectivity effects of immigration, arguing that individuals who migrate have distinct, mobility-enhancing characteristics from people who choose not to migrate (Model, 2008; see Hamilton, 2014 for an extension of this argument to intranational movers). Another perspective emphasizes the influence of having been raised in predominantly Black societies, with Blacks occupying positions of power and serving as role models on work-relevant characteristics and aspirations (Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999a).

Other researchers have posited that the discrepancy in employment and labor force participation between Black Americans and Black immigrants is White favoritism: preference by White employers for Black immigrant employees over Black American ones. For example, in a study with White employers in a New York City company, Waters (1999b) found that the employers held negative perceptions of the Black American work ethic and productivity while simultaneously holding positive stereotypes about West Indians' achievement and motivation. These employers were thus more likely to hire West Indian workers than Black Americans (Waters, 1999b).

Deaux et al. (2007) extended Waters's (1999b) research beyond the work context, to examine the perception of a general bias by Whites in favor of West Indian Blacks over Black Americans. They found that West Indians are regarded more favorably by Whites than were Black Americans. In addition, Black immigrants were motivated to highlight their immigrant identity and ethnic distinctiveness from Black Americans towards non-Blacks (Hunter & Joseph, 2010; Vickerman, 2007; Waters, 1994, 1999a). This signifies a recognition of a bias in the social representations of the groups, favoring Black immigrants over their American counterparts.

The Present Research

This study explores the degree to which the social representations in the macrosystem-level American context towards Black Americans and Black immigrants differ, by measuring overall positive and negative stereotypes held about the two target groups by three participant groups: (a) Black immigrants, (b) Black Americans, and (c) White Americans.

This research will examine whether stereotypical representations about Black Americans and Black immigrants—conceptualized as stereotype consensus and breadth—are consistent across different ethnoracial groups in the United States (i.e., Black immigrants, Black Americans, and White Americans). Previous research documenting stereotypes about Blacks in America have generally focused on other ethnoracial groups' perceptions of Blacks as a unified racial group (e.g., McClain et al., 2006; Tan et al., 2010). In contrast, the present research aims to examine how White Americans, Black Americans, and Black immigrants differ in their stereotype assessments about Black Americans and Black immigrants. Differences in the traits

and characteristics generated by the three participant groups about Black Americans and Black immigrants would serve as a proxy for the degree of overlap in the content of the macro-level social representations of the two target groups.

Method

Participants and Design

Seventy-five students[2] at two Northern California universities (one public, one private) participated in the study: 21 participants were native-born Black Americans, 21 were Black immigrants (10 first-generation (from countries like Guyana, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Jamaica), 11 second-generation), and 32 were native-born White Americans. Black immigrants were defined as non-Hispanic Blacks who were themselves or had at least one parent who was born in a foreign country. Participants completed the survey which was part of a larger study that was unrelated to stereotypes. Some participants were recruited by a Black experimenter to complete the survey, and others completed the survey as part of a mass questionnaire testing session. Those who completed the survey as part of the mass testing session received course credit for their participation; the remainder of the participants completed the survey for no remuneration.

Procedure

Using methodology adapted from Lepore and Brown (1997), participants were asked to complete a questionnaire measuring their knowledge of societal stereotypes about certain target groups. A stereotype was defined for them as, "the beliefs about the personal attributes of a group." The participants were told not to list their personal views of the groups, but rather to list both positive and negative stereotypes that most people would associate with "Blacks in the United States" and "Black immigrants to the United States (e.g., from Caribbean or African countries)." Participants listed positive and negative stereotypes in separate columns.

Analytic Approach

The independent variables were participant group (Black immigrant, Black American, White American) and target group (Black American, Black immigrant), and the dependent variable was a within-subjects measure of the stereotype traits

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[2] Beyond ethnic background and generation status, other demographic data of the participants were not captured.

generated by participants. The stereotype traits are reported broadly by valence (positive traits, negative traits) and in more detailed analyses as specific stereotype traits. Two stereotype dimensions were examined: consensus and breadth.

Using a thematic content analysis approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006), a coding scheme was developed in which synonyms (e.g., smart, intelligent) and words that could be categorized under a common theme (e.g., good dancers, good singers, musical) were grouped together into single stereotypes (in this case, intelligent and good dancers/musical, respectively). Two raters worked independently to tally and categorize the traits generated by participants for each target group. Initial inter-rater agreement was 87%, and discrepancies were resolved through discussion.

Stereotype consensus This dimension assessed the shared aspects of the stereotypes, by measuring the most common stereotype traits generated about the Black American and Black immigrant target groups. Within each participant group, the percentage of participants reporting each trait about the two target groups was identified, and the three positive and three negative stereotypes occurring with the most frequency were analyzed (cf, Haslam et al., 1998, for analyses of stereotype content using a subset of words generated by the greatest percentage of participants). This measures the shared social representations held at the macrosystemic level about Black immigrants vis-à-vis Black Americans, and the degree of overlap of those representations across different racial/ethnic groups.

Stereotype breadth This dimension measured the tally of individual positive and negative stereotype traits generated about Black Americans and Black immigrants by the three participant groups. This captured the relative narrowness versus breadth of the free-standing traits about the two target groups, to examine any participant difference in the sheer number of stereotypes generated about Black immigrants as compared to Black Americans.

Results

Descriptive Analyses

For the Black immigrant target group, undereducated/unintelligent was the negative trait identified by all participant groups, and motivated/hardworking and educated/intelligent were the positive traits with shared consensus. For the Black American target group, criminal, lazy, undereducated/unintelligent, and tough/aggressive

Table 6.1 Percentages of three most frequently occurring stereotypes from participant groups about target groups

	Black immigrant participants ($n = 21$)	Black American participants ($n = 21$)	White participants ($n = 32$)
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Positive stereotypes about Black immigrants			
Motivated/hardworking	62 (13)	57 (12)	19 (6)
Educated/intelligent	24 (5)	19 (4)	13 (4)
Kind	24 (5)		16 (5)
Attractive	29 (6)		
Cultural/traditional		24 (5)	
Negative stereotypes about black immigrants			
Uneducated/unintelligent	14 (3)	24 (5)	9 (3)
Prejudiced	14 (3)	29 (6)	
Tough/aggressive	14 (3)	24 (5)	
Criminal	14 (3)	19 (4)	
Lazy	10 (2)		22 (7)
Poor		24 (5)	6 (2)
Inferior	19 (4)		
Sexually aggressive	14 (3)		
Burden to society			9 (3)
Dysfunctional family			9 (3)
Positive stereotypes about Black Americans			
Athletic	67 (14)	62 (13)	59 (19)
Rhythmic/musical	33 (7)	38 (8)	31 (10)
Family/culture oriented		43 (9)	16 (5)
Motivated/hardworking			31 (10)
Creative/artistic	24 (5)		
Negative stereotypes about Black Americans			
Criminal	43 (9)	48 (10)	50 (16)
Lazy	43 (9)	67 (14)	41 (13)
Uneducated/intelligent	38 (8)	62 (13)	50 (16)
Tough/aggressive	38 (8)	48 (10)	44 (14)
Poor	29 (6)		41 (13)

were the negative traits identified by all participant groups, and athletic and rhythmic/musical were the positive traits with shared consensus. See Table 6.1 for the full set of the three most frequently occurring positive and negative traits generated by the three groups.

Stereotype Consensus

Stereotype consensus measured the percentage of each participant group who generated the most common stereotype traits. We examined only those traits that were generated by all three participant groups—noted in the previous paragraph—as these reflected shared social representations.

Stereotype consensus was examined in two ways. The first analytic strategy used a series of chi-square tests of independence to examine participant group differences in the percentages generated about each shared stereotype. Participant group differences were found for the motivated/hardworking stereotype about Black immigrants (χ^2 (2, $N = 74$) = 12.50, $p = 0.002$); a significantly lower percentage of White American participants (19%) generated that stereotype as compared with Black immigrant participants (62%) and Black American participants (57%; ps < 0.05). No other participant group differences were found.

The second analytic strategy used a series of McNemar tests to compare the percentage of each shared stereotype generated by the sample to every other. This allowed the comparison of each pair of stereotype traits within the Black immigrant target group, within the Black American target group, and between the Black immigrant and Black American target groups.

Stereotypes within the Black immigrant target group The positive shared stereotypes generated about Black immigrants were motivated/hardworking and educated/intelligent, and the negative shared stereotype was undereducated/unintelligent. The specific positive stereotype of motivated/hardworking was generated by a significantly higher percentage of participants (42%) than the positive stereotype of educated/intelligent (18%) and the negative stereotype of undereducated/unintelligent (15%; ps < 0.01). Educated/intelligent and undereducated/unintelligent were not significantly different from each other.

Stereotypes within the Black American target group The positive shared stereotypes generated about Black Americans were athletic and rhythmic/musical, and the negative shared stereotypes were criminal, lazy, undereducated/unintelligent, and tough/aggressive. A greater percentage of participants generated athletic to describe Black Americans (62%) than the percentage of participants who generated tough/aggressive (43%) and rhythmic/musical (34%; ps < 0.05). All other pairs were not significantly different from each other.

Stereotypes between the Black immigrant and Black American target groups Though both educated/intelligent and undereducated/unintelligent were among the three most frequently occurring stereotypes generated about Black immigrant targets, both traits were generated with less frequency than all of the shared positive and negative traits about Black American targets ($ps \leq 0.05$).

Stereotype Breadth

Stereotype breadth measured the total number of traits generated by participants. For these analyses, we examined all positive and negative traits generated by participants,[3] not solely the most commonly occurring traits.

To explore differences in the number of traits generated about the target groups, and to examine differences in the number of positive traits and negative traits generated, Fisher exact tests of independence were conducted. More stereotypes were generated about Black Americans than about Black immigrants ($M = 5.71$, $SD = 2.57$; $M = 2.74$, $SD = 2.53$, $p = 0.04$. When examined separately by valence, participants generated significantly more negative stereotypes and more positive stereotypes about Black Americans than about Black immigrants ($ps < 0.05$).

A closer examination of the pattern of results highlights differences in the non-zero generation of stereotype traits across the two target groups. While 1.4% of participants generated no positive stereotypes about Black Americans, 32.4% of participants generated no positive stereotypes about Black immigrants; this difference was statistically significant ($p = 0.00$). Similarly, 2.7% of participants generated no negative stereotypes about Black Americans, as compared with 43.2% of participants generating no negative stereotypes about Black immigrants ($p = 0.00$). One explanation for the greater number of stereotypes generated about Black Americans versus Black immigrants is this difference in the percentage of participants who did not generate any positive or negative stereotypes about Black immigrants. By comparing the mean tallies for all participants who generated at least one stereotype trait, it is possible to remove the influence of the non-responders and measure whether there remains a difference between the target groups. When the mean tallies of stereotypes about Black Americans and Black immigrants were compared for only participants who generated one or more stereotypes, the differences were marginal, but did not reach statistical significance. This indicates that the difference in mean tallies of positive and negative stereotypes about Black

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[3] *Negative stereotypes*: Criminal activity, dirty/smelly, inferior, lazy, poor, sexually aggressive, violent/dangerous, undereducated/unintelligent, bad attitude, untrustworthy, dysfunctional family/community, burden to society, loud, naïve, prejudiced, uncivilized, accents/hard to understand, promiscuous/disease-carrying, sellouts, smoke marijuana. *Positive stereotypes*: Athletic, good dancers/musical, kind, educated/intelligent, hardworking, good-looking, self-assured, sociable, spiritual/religious, creative/artistic, strong culture/pride, family-oriented, strong, laidback, motivated/determined, cheerful/happy, exotic.

Table 6.2 Number of traits generated about Black American and Black immigrant targets, by participant group

	Number of traits generated about Black immigrants		Number of traits generated about Black Americans	
	Range	Frequency	Range	Frequency
Black immigrant participants				
	0	1	0	0
	1–2	9	1–2	3
	3–4	4	3–4	5
	5–6	4	5–6	4
	7–8	3	7–8	5
	9–10	0	9–10	2
	11–12	0	11–12	2
	13–14	0	13–14	0
Black American participants				
	0	2	0	0
	1–2	6	1–2	0
	3–4	7	3–4	4
	5–6	4	5–6	9
	7–8	1	7–8	5
	9–10	0	9–10	1
	11–12	0	11–12	1
	13–14	1	13–14	1
White participants				
	0	12	0	0
	1–2	11	1–2	3
	3–4	5	3–4	10
	5–6	2	5–6	13
	7–8	2	7–8	2
	9–10	0	9–10	4
	11–12	0	11–12	0
	13–14	0	13–14	0

Americans and Black immigrants is driven by the difference in the proportion of participants who generate no stereotypes about Black immigrants as compared with those who generate no stereotypes about Black Americans.

An even more fine-grained consideration finds that this difference is driven by participant group; a significantly greater percentage of White American participants did not generate any stereotypes about Black immigrants (37.5%) than Black American participants (9.5%) and Black immigrant participants (4.8%; $p = 0.01$). In contrast, all participants generated at least one stereotype about Black Americans. Table 6.2 displays the frequencies of stereotype traits generated about Black American and Black immigrant targets.

Discussion

The primary goal of this research was to uncover the social representations held at the macrosystem level about Black immigrants and about Black Americans, to describe the content, consensus, and breadth of the traits generated about the two target groups. This was undertaken to understand more fully the ways that the race and ethnicity of the participants moderated those elements. The findings allow the opportunity to begin to map out the structure of the stereotypes about Black Americans and Black immigrants, along two different dimensions. One dimension is the structure of the stereotype within each target group—the content of the traits generated, their relative breadth or narrowness, and the degree to which these traits are shared across participant groups. The other dimension is comparative—the extent to which the elements of those structures are shared between the target groups themselves.

The Structure of the Stereotypes About Black Americans

The content of the traits that are shared across all three participant groups inform us about the representation of Black Americans in the United States held at the macrosystem level today, which is likely to be commonly held by many Americans. The attributes of athletic, rhythmic/musical, criminal, lazy, tough/aggressive, and under-educated/unintelligent were those that were generated by all three participant groups to describe the social representation of Black Americans.

An assessment of all of the high-frequency traits within each participant group allows for a comprehensive evaluation of the extent to which the most commonly-occurring traits are negatively versus positively valenced. Though athletic was the stereotype shared by the greatest percentage of participants—nearly two-third—it is clear that the constellation of shared traits that make up the Black American social representation is predominantly negative. The prevailing representation of this group is as an athletic, musical set of individuals beset by aggression, lack of motivation, low academic achievement, and criminality. The breadth and high agreement for the positive and negative traits within the Black American stereotype across the participant groups reinforce this representation as a highly well-defined, largely negative stereotype that is shared and bounded by common traits.

The Structure of the Stereotypes About Black Immigrants

Black immigrants—a group which shares a racial identity with Black Americans—are not represented in a comparable way. The representation of Black immigrants is more narrow; participants generated significantly fewer traits about Black immi-

grants than about Black Americans. The traits that are shared across all three partici-pant groups are motivated/hardworking, educated/intelligent, and undereducated/unintelligent. The negative trait of undereducated/unintelligent is characterized about both the Black American and Black immigrant stereotypes; notably, though, it is generated by 50% of all participants as a description of Black Americans, and only 15% of all participants as a description of Black immigrants.

The inclusion of both educated/intelligent and uneducated/unintelligent as traits within the Black immigrant stereotype may reflect the lack of a well-defined set of traits that constitute that group's social representation. It may be that a distinct set of participants generated educated/intelligent than generated uneducated/unintelli-gent. The designation of educated/intelligent or uneducated/unintelligent to Black immigrants may be due to a subset of participants with specific exemplars on which they based their categorizations. There may have been "leaking" from the Black American stereotype to the Black immigrant one.

Once more, an examination of the high-frequency traits generated in the Black immigrant social representation is useful. Motivated/hardworking is the only trait generated with a sizable percentage of the sample, and this is driven by high consen-sus in the Black American and Black immigrant participant groups. Highly-shared representations of Black immigrants are virtually non-existent, and particularly so among White American participants, over one-third of whom generated no stereo-types about Black immigrants. As a group, White American participants indicated that they do not have access to a broad set of social representations about Black immigrants. This participant group difference is likely due to difference in exposure to the two groups; there are about 9 times as many Black Americans as Black immi-grants in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Both in absolute numbers and in media representation, shared cultural knowledge of Black Americans is much more prevalent than that of Black immigrants.

Subtyping of Black immigrants Subtyping involves re-categorization of mem-bers of a superordinate social group who are represented by an overarching stereo-type—a "fencing off" of members with atypical characteristics, who are seen as unrepresentative of the superordinate group—and reaffirms the broad stereotype (Maurer, Park, & Rothbart, 1995; Richards & Hewwstone, 2001). For the Black immigrant to be considered a subtype of the Black racial group, there would need to be sufficient evidence indicating that Black immigrants are perceived as discon-firming the overarching stereotype of Blackness (Hinzman & Madddox, 2017; Richards & Hewwstone, 2001). Previous research has demonstrated that the stereo-type of Blackness is largely negative (Jackson & Cothran, 2003; McClain et al,. 2006) and is commonly associated with stereotypic traits, such as criminality (Hall, Phillips, & Townsend, 2015), laziness (McClain et al., 2006), and unintelligence (Tan et al., 2010).

The present study found that the Black American stereotypes largely align with these characteristics, with common traits shared by participant groups including criminal, lazy, and undereducated/unintelligent. On the contrary, hardworking, edu-cated/intelligent, and undereducated/unintelligent were the common stereotypes

shared about Black immigrants, and only one of these stereotypes—undereducated/unintelligent—is typically ascribed to Black Americans. Black immigrants thus appear to be perceived as atypical from the broad Black social representation, as a specific subtype of Black with distinct characteristics.

Understanding Blackness as a Macrosystemic Force

The macrosystem represents the cultural and social meaning of identity groups, which shape media about cultural groups, influence policies and practices that impact group outcomes, and affect intergroup interactions. It is essential to understand macrosystem-level social representations of Black individuals in the United States to understand the individual experiences of members of the group and to provide context for understanding divergent experiences within the group. Individuals who are categorized as Black activate stereotypes about Black Americans (Devine, 1989), which this study reflected as a group who is athletically and musically gifted, lazy, uneducated, and engaged in aggressive, criminal behavior. When Black immigrants are perceived through the lens of race, they should activate the same stereotypes and subsequent biased treatment as those experienced by Black Americans. When Black immigrant identity is highlighted, that differentiation prompts a different set of social representations than those about Black Americans—much more narrow, less negative, and less consensually held. It would hold that the perception about and experiences of Black immigrants might then be distinct from those of Black Americans (e.g., Tormala & Thomas, 2019).

The Meaning of Blackness

The measurement of the structure of the stereotype about Black immigrants allows us to compare the ways in which they are perceived as similar to Black Americans versus as a distinct group shaped by the intersection of race and immigration status. Though stereotypes have an individual element, they also have a social component: they are at once located "in the head," serving to guide the interpretation of ethnic groups, and in so doing, shape behavior in interactions, and "in the social fabric," serving as collective knowledge about diverse social groups (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Stangor & Schaller, 1996).

What are the implications for Black immigrants of virtual invisibility to White Americans? The mere knowledge of the representations of a group (independent from endorsement of the stereotype) is sufficient to produce particular forms of interpersonal treatment and facilitate differences in outcomes (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007; McConnell & Leibold, 2001). Therefore, the lack of shared knowledge about Black immigrants may serve to buffer that group from some of the negative outcomes associated with Black Americans, to the extent that their ethnic distinction is

made salient in a given situation. Stated differently, one might expect the differentiating treatment of Black immigrants to be present only when their identity as an immigrant versus an American Black is made known. In these situations, the stereotype of Black immigrants as a hardworking group is likely to lead to more positive expectations and outcomes in academic settings and a greater propensity for hiring and promotion in job situations than for Black Americans. Research has shown support for these outcomes, in settings simulating a job interview (Tormala & Thomas, 2019) and college admissions (McCleary-Gaddy & Miller, 2018), and with evidence from actual work environments (Waters, 1999b) showing that White employers and evaluators exhibit a preference for Black immigrants over Black Americans.

The difference in the set of features generated about the groups reinforces the fact that racial designation is not enough to capture the nuances of the experience of two distinct Black groups. The degree to which race is socially constructed (Omi & Winant, 1994) has been clear to social scientists for decades. For example, the meaning of "Black American" has been shaped by the historical, social, political, and economic forces operating over centuries in the United States. The meaning of Blackness, though, is not uniform across different groups of Blacks. For Black immigrants—whose tenure in the United States has been relatively brief and generally successful—the representation has not been as firmly tethered to decreased opportunity and resources, and, therefore, to negative outcomes, as it has for Black Americans throughout the course of America's history.

Perceptions of outgroups—especially immigrants (Hirschman, 2014) and refugees (Nagel, 2016)—tend to become increasingly negative as populations grow (Outten, Schmitt, Miller, & Garcia, 2011). These trends indicate that the rate of growth of some black ethnic groups (e.g., refugees from Democratic Republic of Congo) over others (e.g., voluntary immigrants from Jamaica) can have divergent outcomes in terms of overall stereotype, attitudes, and prejudice toward Blacks. Thus, our study should be replicated to further explore intragroup differences in perceptions about Blacks, particularly among voluntary- and refugee-immigrant Blacks, as the population of various black ethnic groups increase. Researchers should also track the degree to which the stereotypes about Black immigrants and Black Americans diverge or converge in the coming years, and the influence of national and ethnic identity versus racial identity in distinguishing social groups (see Alex-Assensoh, 2009; Joseph et al., 2013; Perez & Hirschman, 2009).

It is possible that the prompt requiring participants to generate stereotypes about "Blacks in the United States" in this study may have triggered more negative than positive associations, and more stereotypic traits reflective of a low status Black subgroup. Hall et al. (2015) found that traits associated with "Blacks" were more negative than those identified with "African Americans"; the African-American stereotype was found to be associated with higher warmth, higher competence, and higher socioeconomic status than the Black stereotype, and more negative emotion (anger) was directed toward Blacks than African-Americans. It is important to consider the ways in which the prompts given to participants in this study may have influenced the valence of traits conjured for the target groups. Further research comparing the Black, African American, and Black immigrant stereotypes should be

undertaken to determine trends in stereotype content, stereotype consensus, and stereotype breadth. In addition, the increase in refugee populations among African immigrants may be shifting the social representations held about Black immigrants; future work should measure stereotypes held about Caribbean immigrants and African immigrants.

The study of immigrant communities of color offers a unique opportunity to measure the intersection of race and ethnicity in determining psychological processes and socioeconomic outcomes (Deaux, 2000; Deaux et al., 2006) and generates many questions for future examination. What are the mechanisms of the differing social representations for immigrant versus American Blacks? How will social representations of Black immigrants shift as their numbers continue to climb? How do important moderators—region of the United States, region of origin, refugee versus voluntary immigrant status—impact the perception and treatment of Black immigrants? How will the growth of a more Americanized second-generation of Black immigrants—a group influenced by the values, ideologies, representations, and practices of their parents' homelands while simultaneously reared in the midst of the American ethos—complicate the study of race, ethnicity, and immigration status? These questions, and many others, are the starting point of an unpacking of the meaning and consequences of race and ethnic identity among Blacks in the United States today.

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Chapter 7
A Mixed-Methods Examination of Acculturation and African Immigrants' Perceptions of Black American Culture

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A major psychological task for newcomers to a new country is cultural engagement and adaptation. In the new country, immigrants encounter and adjust to culturally appropriate rules, roles, and norms (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). For some immigrants, there is continuity between the receiving culture and the cultures they bring with them; for others, there exists dissonance. The influence of the overarching culture on individuals' more immediate environments is represented in Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). As a superordinate context, culture has a significant bearing on the lives of immigrants. Accordingly, the goal of this chapter is to focus on the macrosystem (i.e., culture) to consider how African immigrants, an understudied population, perceive and adapt to culture in the United States.

In the United States, African immigrants are both racially Black and foreign-born and are positioned to adjust to mainstream (European) American and Black American cultures (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). Race complicates cultural adaptation for the group. While adjustment to mainstream European American culture may be expected given that the United States is the site of immigration, African immigrants might be pushed to acculturate to Black American culture because of perceived racial similarities between the groups. This latter adaptation may also be challenging to African immigrants whose cultures and histories are distinct from Black Americans'. Those distinct backgrounds coupled with recent encounters with Black Americans might shape how African immigrants perceive or define Black American culture, which can further influence their acculturation. This chapter utilizes a mixed-methods analysis to first examine how African immigrants define Black American culture. Second, this chapter uses the Relative Acculturation

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Extended Model (RAEM) (Navas et al., 2005) to understand the perceived and preferred acculturation strategies for Black American culture.

Theoretical Framework

Bioecological Systems Model This study is informed by the Bioecological Systems Model which emphasizes the contextualization of developmental and psychological processes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Human functioning is shaped by the environments in which individuals are embedded. These environments, or contexts, have been described as surrounding the individual (Cole, 1996). The proximal contexts directly influence the individual (e.g., microsystems and mesosystems), while the more distal environments (e.g., exosystems and macrosystems) impact the individual through more proximal contexts. At the broadest level, the macrosystem focuses on cultures and subcultures and includes the ideologies, knowledge, customs, and possibilities for one's future (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). These cultural facets influence and are impacted by the other systems that are more proximal to the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Thus, culture operates to restrict or enhance functioning at the more subordinate levels.

Bronfenbrenner's inclusion of culture as a separate system underscores its importance for individual thinking and behavior. A major goal for the individuals within a given culture is the mastery of culturally specific information and behaviors through relationships and structures (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Further, the macrosystem provides the individuals with new ways of thinking that can shape their own trajectories (Verkuyten, 2014). Cultural adherence, then, has significant impact on individuals, and because ecological influences are bidirectional, can also mean that the macrosystems are preserved.

Although the internalization of culture can be beneficial for immigrants (e.g., Downie et al., 2007), various factors, including societal attitudes toward newcomers (e.g., Salas, Ayón, & Gurrola, 2013), experiences with discrimination (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009), and cultural discontinuity (Obiakor & Afoláyan, 1997), can preclude immigrants from fully immersing themselves in the destination culture(s). They may instead choose to preserve their own cultural mores in the new location or balance multiple cultures, not fully relinquishing their native cultures. Different acculturation theories have explicitly explored the differed strategies immigrants use to navigate the macrosystem's influence on their daily lives (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010; Ward & Kus, 2012). Of particular interest here is the Relative Acculturation Extended Model.

Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) Acculturation at the individual level refers to the psychological changes an individual undergoes when managing multiple cultures (Berry, 2005). Literature on immigrants has focused on acculturation as a bidimensional process in which immigrants negotiate their native culture and the destination or receiving culture. Accutluration strategies indicate

whether an immigrant has chosen to maintain both cultures (i.e., integration), reject or be rejected by both (i.e., marginalization), fully immerse into the receiving culture (i.e., assimilation), or remain firmly connected to the native culture, while rejecting the receiving culture (i.e., separation) (Berry, 2001). Each strategy can have implications for the individual's social, psychological, and health outcomes. For instance, researchers have reported that the integration acculturation strategy is an asset for immigrant adjustment, including psychosocial adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) and academic outcomes for youth (Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002). However, others have reported that a separation acculturation strategy might be preferred (e.g., Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003), particularly by immigrant groups who have experienced discrimination or who have been mistreated by the dominant society.

Unfortunately, most of the immigrant acculturation research in the United States has focused on cultural adjustment to the mainstream, European American microsystem. However, within pluralistic societies, acculturation to subcultures is also possible (Ward, 2008), a phenomenon that has not received significant empirical attention. This process of acculturation may be more complex for African immigrants who develop acculturation strategies for their adjustment to Black American culture, a subculture within the United States. In ecological terms, the norms and rules set by the majority and minority macrosystems might not be complementary or easily aligned. Consequently, immigrants may need to adopt different acculturation strategies for each culture in their attempts to adjust to multiple cultural contexts.

In addition to the emphasis on adjustment to the Black American subculture, it is important to also consider the different areas of life that could be impacted by cultural change. By acknowledging that acculturation strategies are not universally applied to all life domains, the RAEM allows for a nuanced study of immigrant acculturation. Theoretically, the domains that are more salient for the immigrant (e.g., family practices) will reflect native cultural practices (i.e., a separation strategy), whereas the domains that are less intimately tied to the individual (e.g., spending habits) may show more variation. Thus, the RAEM accounts for acculturation strategies on two dimensions or "planes": real and ideal (Luque, Fernández, & Tejada, 2006). Specifically, the model focuses on how individuals perceive their actual engagement with the culture under question (i.e., real plane) as well as their desires for their preferred engagement with the culture in the given domains (i.e., ideal plane). For immigrants, studying both the current and the possible acculturation strategies can illuminate areas where there may be a disparity which can promote further inquiry as to the reasons for the difference.

Luque and colleagues' (Luque et al., 2006) study of African immigrants to Spain considered how behavioral indicators reflected their acculturation strategies for various domains. For instance, half of the African immigrants who preferred an integration strategy in the "family and friends" domain chose to use Spanish and their native languages equally in their interactions. Generally, they also found that African immigrants tended to show an integration strategy for Spanish mainstream culture (Luque et al., 2006). In another study, assimilation was the perceived accul-

turation strategy (Navas, Rojas, García, & Pumares, 2007). In both studies, variability across domains were found: Immigrants were more adjusted to Spanish culture for some domains than others.

These studies expand the literature by explicitly emphasizing the ways acculturation is multi-faceted. However, the research using the RAEM has not taken into account the factors that influence acculturation's direction and magnitude. The acculturation research has pinpointed time since immigration, social class (Berry & Hou, 2016), and cultural competence (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) as relevant factors. This chapter expands on the existing literature by focusing on the immigrants' perceptions of culture as related to acculturation. It is imperative to further explore how individuals conceptualize and define their subculture as these views are an indicator that might reflect an acculturation strategy. Perhaps how African immigrants view Black American culture might be related to the strategies they embody for the different life domains.

African Immigrants in the United States

To better understand African immigrants acculturation, it is important to provide a brief historical context. The Immigration Act of 1964, also known as the Hart-Cellar Act, resulted in the racial and ethnic diversification of migrants to the United States. The repeal of quotas on national origin allowed for the increase of African immigrants to be allowed entry into the United States (Diamond, 1998). Recent estimates show that immigrants from African countries make up over 35% of the Black immigrant population (Morgan-Trostle, Zheng, & Lipscombe, 2016) and are a rapidly growing segment of all immigrants. The expanding numbers of this population of immigrants has also increased the ethnic and cultural diversity within the Black racial group, a topic that has not received sufficient research (especially in the psychological sciences) or mainstream attention.

The United States has had a complicated history of racial categorization in ways that can often oversimply the various subethnicities of ethnic groups (Bashi & McDaniel, 1997). Black immigrants from the African continent are no exception. With the highest sending countries to the United States being Nigeria, Ghana, and Ethiopia (Morgan-Trostle et al., 2016), these immigrants typically come from countries that are more racially homogeneous than the United States, where national and ethnic groupings are more central to one's identity than race (Clark, 2008). Thus, their lived experiences are significantly different from Black Americans, most of whom are the descendants of enslaved people and who have been profoundly impacted by the ramifications of race and racism in the United States. Consequently, some African immigrants have been known to self-identify as "not Black," distinguishing themselves from Black Americans and, subsequently, conflating race with culture and ethnicity. One reason for that distancing is because they are rejecting the racial category for its lack of fit with their pre-migration experiences (Habecker, 2012).

Many Black Americans perceive that African immigrants are making a distinction between themselves and Black Americans, relegating the latter group to a second-class position (Jackson, 2010). Recent qualitative findings have shown that some Black Americans believe many African immigrants have internalized anti-Black racism targeted toward American Blacks (Thelamour, 2017). In many cases, African immigrants are presented as a model minority, often juxtaposed with Black Americans for their academic achievement (Rong & Brown, 2001) and apparent upward mobility (Waters, Kasinitz, & Asad, 2014).

Due to racial categorization in the United States, African immigrants, as racially Black, tend to have negative racialized experiences (i.e., race-based discrimination) similar to Black Americans. African immigrants have experienced discrimination in schools (Traore, 2004) and have been targets of residential discrimination (Shandy & Fennelly, 2006). These forms of discrimination have been found to take a toll on the mental health and well-being of African immigrants (Sellers, Ward, & Pate, 2006).

Aside from experiences with racism and discrimination, African immigrants' exposure to Black American culture due to the mechanisms of globalization may influence their interpretations and operationalizations of the macrosystem. For instance, televised media (e.g., film) and social media (e.g., Facebook and Twitter) have facilitated cultural exchange. Portrayals of Black Americans include historical narratives of overcoming insurmountable odds (e.g., DuVernay, 2014) and contemporary movements against institutional violence (e.g., Black Lives Matter). Additionally, hip-hop has become a global phenomenon and has influenced music on the African continent (Charry, 2012). In contrast, film, music, and news can also include negative portrayals of Black Americans as violent, lazy, and or irresponsible (Entman, 1994; Ward, 2004). Subsequently, immigrants learn about and engage with Black American people and facets of their culture long before arriving to the United States through a process described as remote acculturation (see Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015).

Although much of the literature suggests that African immigrants use a separation acculturation strategy for Black American culture, the RAEM theorizes that it may matter the domains under consideration. This chapter expands the research by examining seven domains to which African immigrants can adjust. Additionally, previous research posits that perhaps African immigrants are more likely to adapt to the peripheral (i.e., distal) domains and maintain their native culture with regard to the core (i.e., proximal) domains (Navas et al., 2005). On the other hand, because Black Americans are part of the African diaspora, their cultural practices might not be too distinct (Clark, 2008). Consequently, it is possible that African immigrants might integrate both cultures in many domains. In this study, the simultaneous study of the ways African immigrants understand Black American culture and their own perceptions of their acculturation provides a deeper understanding of the adaptation processes of this population of immigrants.

Current Study

This study uses qualitative and quantitative methods to better understand the Black American subculture as one receiving group for African immigrants. Specifically, this study examines how African immigrants' perceptions of the Black American macrosystem influence their adjustment to the culture and retention of the native culture in seven life domains. There are three research questions, including (a) how do African immigrants define Black American culture to gain information on their perceptions of the macrosystem of the receiving country, (b) based on RAEM, how do they perceive their own acculturation strategies toward seven life domains as well as what their ideal acculturation strategies would be, and (c) are there group differences on their overall acculturation strategies and core domains based on their views on Black American culture?

Method

Participants

Participants included 122 first- and second-generation African immigrants to the United States. The sample was fairly balanced on generational status: 47% of the participants migrated to the United States themselves ($n = 58$) and the remaining 53% were born in the United States to immigrant parents ($n = 64$). Of the first-generation immigrants, 51 indicated their nations of origin (Table 7.1). The participants reflected national trends: there were more participants from Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Ghana than the other countries.

There were 50 male participants (41%) and 72 female participants (59%). Participants ages were measured by range: 56 participants were between the ages of 18 and 25 (46%), 52 participants were between 26 and 35 years old (43%), and 13 were from 36 to 45 years old (11%).

Table 7.1 First-generation participants' countries of origin ($n = 51$)

Nation	Number	Nation	Number
Nigeria	7	Gambia	2
Ghana	6	Sierra Leone	2
Ethiopia	6	Sudan	1
Kenya	5	Zimbabwe	1
D.R.C.	4	South Africa	1
Cameroon	3	Liberia	1
Gabon	2	Cote d'Ivoire	1
Tanzania	2	Namibia	1
Algeria	2	Egypt	1
Uganda	2	Cape Verde	1

Procedure and Instruments

This study was a part of a larger project investigating the perspectives of African immigrants' and Black Americans' perspectives on African immigrants' acculturation (Thelamour, 2017). Participants were recruited through online methods and were asked to complete a survey on how Black Americans view African immigrant adjustment to Black life in a variety of domains. This study also used snowball recruitment, and participants were encouraged to share the survey within others in their networks. Participants could also complete the study via Amazon Mechanical Turk, where they could earn US $0.25 to complete the survey. All participants were asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire, including their gender, age bracket, educational level, and place of birth. For the purposes of this chapter, only the African immigrant data was used.

Participants were first prompted to "define Black American culture." The participants' acculturation strategies were then captured using an adapted version of an RAEM instrument used to examine the extent to which African immigrants adopt Black American culture and maintain a cultural connection to their native culture(s) (Luque et al., 2006). This instrument was developed to examine acculturation in seven life domains: social relationships and friendships, ways of thinking (values), family, political and government system, race relations, education, and spending/consumer habits. For the purposes of this study, "race relations" refers to the discrimination (both personal and structural) as perpetuated by the dominant racial group and faced by Blacks and other ethnic minorities.

Using this survey, African immigrants' perceptions of their actual acculturation strategies (i.e., integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization) toward Black American and their native cultures were captured (i.e., the real plane). To this end, two questions were asked: "to what extent do you think African immigrants maintain your native culture(s)" and "to what extent do you think African immigrants become part of Black American culture" in each of the seven domains, totaling 14 questions in the real plane. Then, participants' preferences for their acculturation (i.e., the ideal plane) were also captured using two questions for each domain. First, they were to indicate the extent to which they would like to maintain their cultures and how much they wanted to be a part of Black American culture for each domain, totaling 14 questions in the ideal plane. Scores for each question were on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (a lot). The scores for the two questions for each domain were combined to create an index of acculturation.

Analysis

Qualitative Analysis Participants' written definitions of Black American culture were analyzed using thematic analysis, a form of qualitative analysis where patterns within the data are recognized and analyzed (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Using the six

stages (Braun & Clarke, 2006), the author read the statements multiple times and took notes on initial observations. Second, a few broad, data-driven codes were produced that could have captured the essence of the data. Afterwards, themes across the codes were gleaned, and the statements were organized into those themes. Finally, the themes were reviewed, defined, and named in order to describe the participants' definitions of Black American culture. Because this data was coded by the author, trustworthiness (i.e., validity) of the data was established by multiple coding rounds as well as in-depth, rich descriptions of the themes and how the data fits those themes (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). These rich descriptions also include presenting the potentially contradictory or diverse perspectives within themes (Creswell, 2009).

Quantitative Analysis In this study, a convergent mixed-methods design was used (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018), where I collected both qualitative and quantitative data simultaneously and combined them to capture a fuller picture of the data. In this case, the themes gleaned from qualitative analysis were used to group participants to determine if acculturation perceptions and preferences varied by group. The quantitative data for this sample were analyzed according to Luque and colleagues' methods (2006). Means for the native culture and Black American culture scores were calculated for each domain and were categorized using Berry's acculturation strategies (2001). For any given domain, scores that were higher than 3 on for both cultures showed an integration strategy. Scores that were higher than 3 for Black American culture but lower than 3 for native African culture(s) indicated an assimilation perception or preference. Mean scores that were higher than 3 for the native African culture(s) and lower than 3 for Black American culture indicated a separation strategy. Last, mean scores that were lower than 3 for both cultures demonstrated a marginalized strategy.

Results

Definitions of Black American Culture

Of the 122 participants, 114 (93.4%) provided a definition of Black American culture. Six of those statements were uncodable (e.g., irrelevant or undecipherable wording). Thus, 108 statements were analyzed.

The thematic analysis of the definition of Black American culture yielded three overarching themes: (1) connections to the African continent, (2) focus on Black culture in the American context, and (3) links to Black American culture as a legacy of slavery.

Connection to Africa This first theme included statements where participants described Black American culture as a derivative of African culture(s) (*n* = 21). These definitions emphasized the ways Black Americans' African roots had shaped

Black culture in the United States. Most of the definitions described Black American culture as a "mixture" of both African and American contexts. Responses included "A blend of White American culture with some mannerisms reminiscent of West Africa" and "A mix of African and Anglo culture." The "synthesis of African and American culture" is evident in in the multiple facets of culture including language, food, and "dance to resistance to literature to art." Some also combined African and the American cultures as a flexible hybrid of both: "Its evolving nature also makes it (culture) less rigid unlike many other cultures including the African culture from which it derives its source." According to these statements, the mixture of African and American has created a unique culture in the United States.

More broadly, participants also described the African practices, values, and traditions that are evident in Black American culture. For example, one participant wrote, "I define Black American culture as the traditions, beliefs, and practices adopted and perpetuated by members of the African diaspora and those who identify as being Black" (female, second generation). Some of those practices included "the music, food, language, dance, art and experiences of African descendants and other Americans who identify as Black." The "way of life" of Black Americans reflects the "rich" African histories, according to these participants. While the definitions overall were somewhat neutral in tone, one comment showed some possessiveness of African culture when they defined Black American culture as "my people, my food, and my traditions." Another definition described Black American culture as a "watered down expression of African heritage infused with morals and ideologies foreign to Black people thus causing confusion and misdirection." Here, the aspects of Black American culture that reflects the United States is perceived to have had a negative impact on American Blacks.

Last, the participants who described Black culture as an extension of African culture emphasized the African diaspora as a group within the United States. The focus in this subtheme is on the groups of people who originated from the African continent themselves. For example, one definition stated,

> I define Black American culture as a group of people from varying backgrounds (African, Caribbean, etc.) that have migrated to the United States. The culture draws traditions and influences from the African diaspora that are apparent in the Black American culture that influence us today (female, second generation).

The migration of the African diaspora is critical to the development of Black American culture: Another participant wrote, "I feel like Black American culture is the synthesis of all of these identities (African American, Caribbean, Black South-American, and recently immigrated Africans/people of African descent) along with their dissonances" (female, first generation). For one participant, the diaspora in America is equated with loss, when Black American culture was defined as "kings and queens who lost their crowns," alluding to African royalty of antiquity.

Black in America The second and largest theme found in these definitions focused on the reality of Black American culture as something that is fundamentally situated in the American context ($n = 64$). Within this theme, participants' written statements

reflected an understanding of Black Americans as diverse and the culture as multi-faceted. Several participants noted that the Black American label can encompass a variety of people, that the label is "as wide and diverse as the rest of the country." The culture can be inclusive of "black people in America whether it be black immigrants or descendants of slaves" and despite its association with Black Americans who have been in the country for generations, "other groups of black people have influenced Black American culture as they've immigrated." The migration of peoples appeared in the previous theme, however, here, the emphasis is less on the role of African culture specifically, but on how the blending of these cultures across the diaspora have contributed to the range of experiences within Black American culture.

Several participants noted that Black American culture is different from other Black cultures. For instance, one participant wrote, "this term does not extend beyond the U.S., as Blacks in Canada and South America have had different experiences, and their culture likely reflects those" (female, second generation). It was defined as "unique" and "distinct." Here, two comments were somewhat negative in nature. For example, one participant wrote that Black Americans were "a group of very sensitive people who hate whites and Africans." Another described the culture as one "without reference." This last statement was interpreted as not having any connection to Black Americans' African pasts.

While for some participants, Black American culture is one that is grounded in Blackness, for a small few, Black American culture is an entity that is simply American, or at least Western. For these participants, Black Americans are those "who have adapted to the western way of life" or that "there is no Black or white American culture, I consider it all as American culture." As an American entity, according to one respondent, Black Americans are "trying to fit in" but are "making horrible decisions." Taken together, these statements reflect the African participants' perceptions of Black American culture focuses on the diversity within the group, and as such, cannot be defined in one way.

Within this theme, the participants also described Black American culture in terms of its dimensions, the more visible aspects of the culture. One dominant definition focused on Black American culture as being evidence of Black Americans' resilience. According to one statement, it is "a culture that is built on prevailing and being resilient." Another participant wrote that the culture is one of "pride, struggle, cultivation, and survival." Black culture, as described by one person, is comprised of individuals who "refuse to do anything but thrive." "Proud" and "strong" were terms that were invoked several times to describe the culture—that Black people are dignified in having lived through so much adversity was seen in multiple descriptions.

The participants also reported specific dimensions of Black American culture, including the food (i.e., "soul food") and the language (e.g., "methods of communication, expression" and "AAVE" [African American Vernacular English]). Black musical styles were also noted aspects of the culture: "hip hop and jazz" and "blues" that were contributions to American society. Style was also a marker of Black American culture, including "ever so changing style of dress and haircults/hair-

styles," "fashion," and "clothing style." "Coolness" was a defining aspect of these aesthetic markers. Strong family ties were also a marker of the culture. Several definitions highlighted the responsibilities Black Americans have to help each other. For instance, a statement noted that "one aspect is looking out for the generation behind you. Someone helped you en route to where you are and you should return the favor and help someone else" (male, second generation). "Closeness within families" and the fact that "African Americans value relationships with other[s] above all else" were also characteristics. This value was indicative of a cultural emphasis on "remain[ing] true to your roots and keeping traditions alive and well."

In this subtheme, there were also several comments that illustrated participants' negative views on Black Americans and their culture. There were more here than any other theme, where Black American culture "includes all the negative things like gun violence and drug abuse which unfortunately I see celebrated a lot" (female, first generation). The "total chaos" of the culture, as described by one person, where the values were "crime, basketball, and music." Stereotypes affiliated with the culture were also invoked here: "culture that have children young. Loves fried chicken, greens, and sweet tea" (male, second generation). A lack of education ("most need to just go back to school and do something with their lives") and values ("they strike me as disrespectful to authority and even to each other") were also negative markers of the culture. While these definitions were in the minority, they suggested that not everyone holds Black American culture in high esteem.

Legacy of Slavery The final theme found in the data focused on slavery as central to definitions of Black American culture. In these statements ($n = 23$), the institution of slavery in the United States played a specific role in shaping Black American life and traditions in this country. Many participants attributed the creation and development of culture to enslaved Black people in the United States: For example, the culture is described as "a diverse, resourceful, and creative culture created by the descendants of enslaved Africans in the United States" (female, second generation). Another similar definition stated "An ever evolving culture that originally stems from descendants of enslaved Africans in the Americas, incorporating different aspects of their experiences over time" (female, second generation). This subtheme included statements that focused on the substance of the culture that slaves created: "The culture and music and art that came from…Black people that have their roots in Africans brought from the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade" (female, second generation) and "Blending traditions brought by enslaved Africans and the imposed constraints of slavery that produced unique food, music, dance and fashion" (female, first generation). In these definitions, enslaved Africans were responsible for the tenets of Black American culture that are prevalent to this day: "Behavior and ways of thinking" that have been passed down to "slaves' descendants."

Descriptions within this theme also included African immigrants' perceptions of Black American culture as an evolution from and resistance to Whiteness. One participant wrote that Black American culture is "a wide, variable set of cultural norms i.e. music, food, vernacular, art, etc. constructed by slaves and the descendants of slaves in dialogue with and opposition to the culture of white slavemasters and

modern white Americans" (female, second generation). The culture was "shaped by slavery and the harsh realities of being in a hostile country," and the culture has survived because the struggle has endured: "It has evolved over the years and has been defined by the struggle of Black Americans as a marginalized population" (female, second generation).

That Black American culture developed as a reaction to whites' prejudices against Black Americans was emphasized in two definitions. In the first, Black American culture is perceived in a way that is "largely negative and almost minstrel-like with a focus on excelling in music and sports, but at the same time rife with broken families a lack of responsibility and a propensity toward violence," which the writer promptly rejects ("however untrue it may be") (female, first generation). Another statement describes the culture as African, but that has been "derooted, modified, or distorted from its sources through 400 years of slavery so that the 'Black American' has to see things through the eyes of his 'master' since the latter has acquired reflexes of subordination" (male, first generation). Whites' perspectives on Black Americans means, for this participant, that Black Americans will have to continuously react to outsiders' views, in spite of themselves.

In the final subtheme, several participants equated Black American culture with the people who make up the culture. For them, the culture cannot be separated from these descendants of slaves. Statements within this subtheme include "direct descendants of the Africans that were brought to the US as slaves" and the "the people who are descendants of the slaves who were brought here from Africa." Those people are seen as diverse, as one participant wrote: "varied and diverse range of cultures produced by multigenerational black Americans descended from enslaved Africans" (male, second generation). Slaves in these definitions were the harbingers of the culture, as seen in these statements: "culture that was started when slaves were brought to the Americas" and "the culture of people whose ancestors have been in America since they were unjustly brought to the Americas."

Acculturation to Black American Culture (RAEM)

First, the means for acculturation of Black American culture ($M = 3.85$, $SD = .62$) and their native cultures ($M = 3.31$, $SD = .62$) were calculated. Two one-sample t-tests showed that both means were greater than a mean value of 3 ($t_{119} = 14.94$, $p < .001$ and $t_{120} = 5.464$, $p < .001$, respectively). Based on these findings, the sample of African immigrants perceived themselves as integrating both Black American and their native African cultures (Luque et al., 2006).

Next, the means and standard deviations for each domain in the real plane are displayed in Table 7.2. Using a score of 3 as the mean, the findings revealed that the African immigrants perceived that their integration strategies were in the domains of social relationships and government affairs, and education. The data revealed an *assimilation* strategy for principles and values and are *separated* in the family dynamic and race relation domains. In the real plane, all of the domains in both

Table 7.2 Perception of acculturation strategies by domain: real plane

| Real plane	Domain	n	Mean	SD
Adopts Black American culture	Social relationships and friendships	122	3.82	1.05
	Principles and values	122	3.92	0.98
	Family dynamic	120	2.75	1.26
	Spending habits	122	2.97	1.19
	Political/government engagement	122	3.02	1.26
	Race relations involvement	122	2.68	1.33
	Education	122	3.99	1.08
Maintains native culture	Social relationships and friendships	122	3.84	1.15
	Principles and values	121	2.97	1.15
	Family dynamic	122	3.06	1.17
	Spending habits	122	2.93	1.13
	Political/government engagement	122	4.01	1.14
	Race relations involvement	122	4.13	1.13
	Education	122	4.33	0.92

cultures significantly differed from the mean of three ($ps < .05$) except spending ($p = .76$) and political engagement ($p = .83$), both in the native country. Thus, for those domains, there was not a clear acculturation strategy.

The means and standard deviations for each domain in the ideal plane are shown in Table 7.3. In this plane, the participants were less clear about the strategies they would like to adopt for the native African and Black American cultures. Using 3 as the mean reference value, these findings indicate that the participants would like to integrate both native and receiving cultures in all domains ($ps < .001$) except spending habits, values, and family dynamic (ps ranging from .47 to .76). For these domains, while the means showed a strong affinity for their heritage cultures, they were not as strongly positioned for Black American culture. Figure 7.1 shows the comparisons of the domains in the real and ideal planes.

Last, participants were then grouped according to their definitions of Black American culture (i.e., Black American culture as a derivative of African culture(s), as developing from the institution of slavery, or as a uniquely American phenomenon) to determine if there existed any group differences in the perception of acculturation (real plane). One-way ANOVAs demonstrated that the participants did not differ in perceptions of acculturation to Black American culture, ($F (2, 103) = 2.83$, $p = .06$) or native cultures ($F (2, 103) = .40$, $p = .67$). One-way ANOVAs were also conducted to determine if participants' acculturation strategies in the core domains varied by their definitions of Black American culture (Table 7.4). Results show that there were no differences in acculturation for any of the core domains except for family dynamic in the Black American culture ($F (2, 103) = 4.70$, $p < .05$). Here, those who identified Black American culture with slavery adjusted to Black American culture more strongly than those who identified the culture with either African or American contexts.

Table 7.3 Preferences for acculturation strategies by domain: ideal plane

Ideal plane	Domain	n	Mean	SD
Would like the adoption of Black American culture	Social relationships and friendships	122	3.84	1.15
	Principles and values	122	2.97	1.16
	Family dynamic	121	3.06	1.17
	Spending habits	122	2.93	1.13
	Political/government engagement	122	4.01	1.14
	Race relations involvement	121	4.13	1.13
	Education	122	4.33	0.92
Would like the maintenance of native culture	Social relationships and friendships	122	4.22	0.88
	Principles and values	121	3.93	0.87
	Family dynamic	122	3.80	1.00
	Spending habits	122	3.52	1.03
	Political/government engagement	122	3.97	1.08
	Race relations involvement	122	3.48	1.27
	Education	121	4.31	0.97
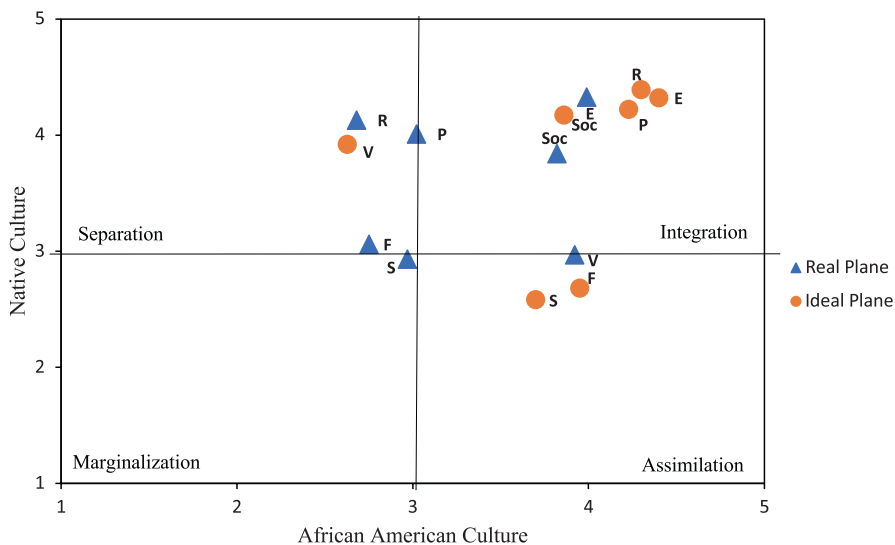
Fig. 7.1 Acculturation perceptions (real plane) and preferences (ideal plane). Soc = social relationships and friendships; V = values, principles, and ways of thinking; F = family dynamic; S = spending habits; P = political and government engagement; R = race relations; E = educational advancement concern

Table 7.4 Core value means by definition grouping

Domain	Definition	Black American culture M (SD)	Heritage culture M (SD)
Relationships and friends	Africa	3.95 (.87)	3.57 (1.12)
	America	3.73 (1.13)	3.97 (1.05)
	Slavery	3.96 (1.07)	3.78 (.95)
Principles and values	Africa	3.48 (.93)	3.67 (.85)
	America	3.29 (1.18)	4.00 (.94)
	Slavery	3.48 (1.16)	4.22 (1.09)
Family dynamic	Africa	3.86 (1.20)	2.71 (1.06)
	America	4.13 (.95)	2.83 (1.33)
	Slavery	4.70 (.64)	2.43 (1.24)

Discussion

The ethnic diversification of the Black racial group as the result of immigration is an area of research that has been understudied in psychology and human development. This study contributes to the existing research on Black intraracial dynamics in the United States by focusing on the ways African immigrants perceive and engage with Black American culture. This aim was achieved by using Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model and the Relative Acculturation Extended Model as frameworks. In so doing, this chapter expands the field's knowledge on Black immigrants' adjustment to one subculture within the United States.

In this study, three overarching themes were found in the data, wherein Black American culture was defined according to its relation to its African roots, as a distinctly American group, and as the legacy of enslaved Africans in America. Participants' descriptions of the culture highlighted their understanding of how it has been shaped by historical circumstance and time, and these descriptions also show the resilience, pride, and creativity of Black American people. Additionally, this sample of African immigrants frequently made connections between Black Americans and Africans, highlighting the diaspora. These responses foreshadowed that similarities between the Black American and their native African macrosystems might facilitate the negotiation of both. This is in line with research on biculturalism where perceived cultural compatibility facilitates acculturation (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002).

By examining the ways African immigrants define Black American culture, insight into the perceived similarities and differences with their native cultures can be gleaned. Similar research in this vein has considered how Black immigrant youth define "acting Black" as a category of race-acting (e.g., Thelamour & Johnson, 2017). While definitions of "acting Black" might capture aspects of Black American culture, it is typically understood in terms of stereotypical behaviors and thinking that presumes an alignment with the culture (Cousins, 2008). In this study, asking about Black American culture broadly allowed for definitions of the culture that go beyond stereotypical norms for behavior and include histories, values, and goals for

the future. This emphasis on the macrosystem from the perspective of first- and second-generation immigrant adults sheds light on the myriad ways these newcomers perceive of this particular culture as shaping their experiences in the United States.

Within these definitions, despite research and conventional understanding, there were few statements that reflected negative characterizations of Black American people and culture. These comments were most present in the "Black in America" theme, which is consistent with the descriptions of Black American culture that are least similar to its African cultural heritage. That these descriptions were in the minority suggests that immigrants from African countries might not perceive Black Americans in low regard as has been found and discussed in previous research (see Shaw-Taylor, 2007). However, the presence of these definitions in the data, though few, indicates a socialization of Black American culture that reinforces damaging views of Black Americans. These perspectives might consequently manifest in the social distancing (Jackson, 2010) that has been known to characterize the intraracial relationships between African immigrants and Black Americans.

Because Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) theorizes that macrosystemic factors can have great influence at the individual level, this study examined whether participants' acculturation strategies would differ according to their understanding of Black American culture. Generally, participants showed an integration acculturation strategy that reflects the overall positive valence shown in their definitions. In previous literature, an integration strategy has been shown to be beneficial for multiple outcomes (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Ward & Kennedy, 1994), which was supported by the present fundings and reflects an intraracial understanding. These results reinforce that for this sample, the Black American macrosystem (in addition to the mainstream European American macrosystem) has shaped adjustment processes, a finding that is consistent with research using Caribbean samples (Ferguson et al., 2012). Further, there are implications for how future research on this topic is shaped: Assuming engagement with and not distancing from Black American culture might inform how research on the intraracial relationship between Black groups in the United States is approached.

Contrary to expectation, there were no definition-based differences in overall acculturation in two of the three core life domains (i.e., relationships and values). One explanation for this finding might be that participants were generally respectful, and in some cases admiring, of Black American culture, those definitions might not have been differentiated enough to promote variance in Black immigrants' acculturation strategies. Relatedly, despite conceptualizing Black American culture in these ways, the participants might not have internalized them enough for them to shape their acculturation behaviors in these domains differently.

The lack of definition-based differences in acculturation for two-thirds of the core domains under investigation is in partial alignment with RAEM theory that those domains would be harder to change, regardless of views on the receiving culture (Navas et al., 2005). Surprisingly, however, the participants showed integration and assimilation strategies for relationships and values, respectively, where previous research often shows separation strategies for these domains. These findings suggest that Black American culture is weighed heavily in adjustment within these

areas of life, which might be the case because African immigrants might be settling in locations where they regularly interact with Black immigrants (Morgan-Trostle et al., 2016). Those interactions might go further in shaping acculturation strategies than the notions Africans might have about the culture.

Nonetheless, there was a difference in the family domain: Those who perceived Black American culture as being one legacy of enslaved Africans in the United States were more likely to acculturate to Black American culture. The definitions themselves can shed light on reasons why: These participants described the culture as both resilient and a blend of old and new contexts. That Black American families have been known to reflect African family structures (e.g., Sudarkasa, 1998) might promote adjustment. The familiarity and strength of the Black American family might help those who define the culture in terms of its relationship with slavery to adapt. Thus, more research is needed on how perceptions of culture influences adjustment to individuals' cultural contexts.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study contributes to the literature on African immigrants within the Black American cultural context, and there are notable limitations to the study that should be addressed. First, the sample was diverse in that it included immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa and the Maghreb. It also included first- and second-generation immigrants from the African continent. However, this study did not consider potential regional or generational differences in the participants' understanding of Black American culture or how they might differ in their acculturation in the life domains. Previous research considered how African immigrants from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa were perceived as acculturating to Spanish culture by native Spaniards, finding some differences (Navas et al., 2007). Future mixed-methods study on this topic in the US context and on this population should consider how these outcomes might vary as a function of place of origin and generation.

While the qualitative examination of the definitions of Black American culture held by the African immigrant participants is a contribution to the literature, the definitions were analyzed without further contextualizing information. Specifically, this study did not capture the antecedents of these conceptualizations of Black American culture. Further research on this topic can examine the experiences, relationships, and messages that shape how African immigrants perceive this destination culture. In bioecological terms, the proximal micro- and mesosystems that influence these individual conceptualizations (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) merit future investigation. Further, future work can also take a developmental approach to determine how these definitions might have changed with time and exposure to Black Americans. In so doing, a more complete understanding of African immigrants' views of, and, subsequently, engagement with Black American culture can be gained.

Another direction for future research focuses on the bidirectional relationships among the contexts in which individuals are embedded. Research using the

bioecological theory posits that insomuch as proximal and distal contexts influence the individual directly and indirectly, individuals and groups can shape their environments (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). African immigrants' acculturation strategies in relation to Black American culture and people can spur the receiving group's engagement with African cultures as well. For example, Black Americans' contemporary fashion trends (Lubitz, 2017) might be evidence of African culture's increasing influence on Black American culture. Given theory and research that posits that (sub)cultures change in response to immigration (Berry, 2001; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997), the influence of the immigrant group on this particular culture is a topic that merits further empirical investigation.

Conclusion

By taking a bioecological approach to acculturation, this study contributes to the psychological literature by considering an under-researched population in psychology: African immigrants. The ways the members of different African cultures adopt to Black America can have implications for how race and culture are understood in the US context. Further, the field's understanding of the intraracial dynamics can only be expanded by considering the influences on whether and the extent to which Black immigrants adopt to Black American culture. In this political context, where Black Lives Matter is a rallying call for Blacks in the United States, research that emphasizes connection and a shared racial fate (Hunter, Case, Joseph, Mekawi, & Bokhari, 2016) can go far in improving dialogue and the perceptions of the relationships between Black immigrants and Black Americans.

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Part II
Home

Chapter 8
Korean American Youth and Their Mothers: Intergenerational Differences and Consequences

Hui Chu and Christia Spears Brown

As of 2018, 18 million US children under age 18 lived with at least one immigrant parent. They accounted for 26 percent of the 69.5 million children under age 18 in the United States, up from 13 percent in 1990 and 19 percent in 2000 (MPI, 2020). Most of these children and/ or their parents are from Asia or Latin America. Asian Americans have been the fastest growing segment of the US population, surpassing Hispanics in the total number of immigrants in 2014 (Pew Research Center, 2015) with much diversity within the Asian group. Specifically, 20 million Asian Americans trace their roots to more than 20 countries in East and Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent, each with unique histories, cultures, languages, and other characteristics (Pew Research Center, 2019). Unfortunately, Korean Americans have been relatively understudied yet rapidly increasing Asian immigrant population. In 2017, approximately one million Korean immigrants (MPI, 2019), one-fifth of the Asian American population resided in the United States, representing 2.4% of the 44.5 million immigrants in the country (US Census Bureau, 2000).

Research on the experiences of Asian American youth has often neglected the diversity of Asian American populations in the United States. For example, although there has been an increase in research with Asian Americans in the literature, there has been a decrease in research of specific Asian American ethnic groups over the past decade (Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001). This contributes to a "homogenized" view of Asian Americans, despite the fact that there are over 40 ethnic subgroups of Asian ancestry who reside in the United States (Uba, 1994; Zhou & Xiong, 2005). The tendency among researchers to view this group as

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homogeneous may perpetuate the stereotype that Asian Americans are all alike (Alvarez, 2002; Liu, Iwamoto, & Chae, 2010). Researching Asian Americans as a homogenous group is problematic because some researchers have asserted that the difference within the many different Asian subgroups may be as great as the differences between Asians and other ethnic minority groups (Alvarez, 2002; Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, & Wong 2002).

Most of the research on Korean Americans clusters them with other Asian American subgroups into one macro-level sample (Kim et al., 2001) with researchers primarily focusing on Chinese American and Japanese American populations. This is a problem when Korean Americans are culturally and ethnically the most separated from the rest of the society (Pew Research Center, 2015). Due to their unique cultural heritage, Koreans differ from other Asian immigrants in terms of normative behaviors and social roles (Robinson, Bender, & Whyte, 2004), business and other economic practices (US Census Bureau, 2006), family structure, and a cultural history of oppression by other nationalities (Sohng & Song, 2004). Additionally, Korean immigrant adults, even after years of settlement, remain largely monolingual, predominantly attend Korean ethnic churches or temples, socialize primarily with co-ethnics, and demonstrate high ethnic solidarity and pride (Min, 2006). Contrary to the expectation, this separation strategy has helped Korean immigrants adjust because their strong ethnic enclaves have facilitated economic success and provided significant social support (Min, 2006). However, such a strategy is also blamed for psychological distress and social alienation from others, and even from their own children, who are predominantly English speaking and more Americanized.

From 1981 to 1990, Korea was one of the top five countries from which immigrants arrived (Min, 2011), indicating a relatively new adaptation to the United States, unassisted by earlier generations. Furthermore, the culture of Korean immigrant families and that of the United States do not share much in the way of history, social culture, language, economic structure, and religion; nor do they share an ethical-moral system (Moon, 2008). For example, the Korean culture is strongly based on Confucianism, which emphasizes filial piety, family ties, and the patriarchal family order (Min, 1998) and is one of the most collectivist societies (Hofstede, 1991). These unique cultural experiences could account for Korean immigrants' adjustment problems when acculturating to a new, more individualistic, Western culture (Shim & Schwartz, 2008). This chapter will address the links and outcomes associated with intergenerational differences in acculturation and intergenerational cultural conflict for Korean American adolescents and their immigrant mothers. However, it is important to first discuss Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems model (1977, 1979) to contextualize these relationships and processes.

Bioecological Framework and Acculturation

Using Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems model (1977, 1979) and the later expanded person-process-context-time (PPCT) model (1995), the current study placed the adolescent at the "center" of the system or as the identified "Person" in

the PPCT and examined the microsystem and macrosystem. For immigrants, the macrosystem of the host culture is not the only culture that is relevant when adapting, the macrosystem also includes their native culture when examining the acculturation process. In addition, the overarching host or native macrosystem affects the microsystems (Birman & Simon, 2014), with some contexts being oriented towards the host culture (i.e., school) and others to the native culture (i.e., home).

Briefly, the most direct contextual system is the microsystem and the immediate experiences in this system for the adolescents include the interpersonal relationship to the family (i.e., the current study's examination of intergenerational cultural conflict). The next level is the mesosystem, defined as the interrelations of microsystems that directly affects the individual. Then the exosystem extends the mesosystem by encompassing other social structures, both informal and formal, that indirectly affect the individual by affecting the meso- and microsystems. The macrosystem is the culture, the implicit and explicit carrier of information and ideology (i.e., social and cultural values), providing meaning to the micro-, meso-, and exo-systems which are the concrete manifestations of the macrosystem. All of these systems are occurring "within" a chronosystem, the life events and transitions including the socio-historical context (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Focusing on the ecosystems of Korean American families, acculturation is an important process to consider in understanding this ethnic group. Acculturation is a multidimensional process that involves changes in many aspects of immigrants' lives, including language (e.g., competence and use), cultural identity (e.g., ethnic pride, attitudes, and values), and behavior (e.g., food and music preferences, ethnic social relations; Choi, Tan, Yasui, & Pekelnicky, 2014; Yoon, Langrehr, & Ong, 2011). The challenge of retaining one's native or heritage cultural norms and values while integrating those of the mainstream culture could be particularly challenging if the native culture (e.g., collectivist) differs from the mainstream culture (e.g., individualistic). This has significant implications for individual adjustment and development, and can be particularly salient in adolescence when moral, identity, and value development is occurring (Steinberg, 2017; Titzmann, Jugert, & Silbereisen, 2020) and is informed by one's culture (Rogoff, 2003).

Bronfenbrenner stresses the importance of the "Person," in this case the adolescent, in the center of the systems. The acculturation process has developmental significance for adolescents, as the process of integrating and/or rejecting cultural norms, values, and beliefs is dynamic and continuous experience during this time (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Additionally, during adolescence, the changes in cognitive, social, and psychological domains affect the development of one's cultural orientation (Titzmann & Lee, 2018). Furthermore, because adolescence is marked by increased agency and negotiations of parent-adolescent autonomy (Cumsille, Darling, Flaherty, & Martínez, 2009; Fuligni, 1998; Smetana, Crean, & Campione-Barr, 2005), the current study examined the microsystem involving the adolescents' relationship to their mothers (i.e., intergenerational cultural conflict).

The macrosystem reflects broad, societal values and cultural views, but for immigrants, the cultural context includes both the host culture and the native culture.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1995), the most distal and overarching system impacts all the systems and in the context of acculturation, both host and native cultures need to be considered. Thus, the microsystemic experiences within the individual's immediate environment (e.g., family) must be examined through the lens of both cultural influences. Thus, the current study explored the difference in culture specific values, beliefs (i.e., model minority stereotype), behaviors, identifications, and culture-specific conflict.

Acculturation Gap and Intergenerational Cultural Conflict

Acculturation gap (e.g., Birman, 2006a, b) is used to refer to the acculturation discrepancy between immigrant parents and their children. Research has shown that youth acculturate at a faster rate than their immigrant parents, such that they are more oriented to the ways of the new society while their parents retain the ways of the native homeland. This rapid acculturation by children is based on their acquisition of English as a primary language, adoption of Western values and lifestyles, and socialization into mainstream society. Immigrant parents, on the other hand, are more likely to retain their native language, cultural values, and traditional lifestyles despite the demands and pressures to integrate into mainstream society (Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008; Lau et al., 2005).

Since parents and children acculturate at different rates, they increasingly live in different cultural worlds. Immigrant parents often understand little of their children's lives outside the home. For immigrant children and adolescents, it can be difficult to live with the expectations and demands of one culture in the home and another at school (Buki, Ma, & Strom, 2003; Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002; Ho & Birman, 2010). These acculturation differences between parents and their children, especially as those children become adolescents, are often associated with conflict (Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000; Hwang, 2006). Many adolescents oppose the traditional values and lifestyles of their immigrant parents and seek to assume more Western or mainstream values and lifestyles, whereas their parents expect their adolescents to maintain the traditional values and lifestyles of their native culture (Birman, 2006a, b; Uba, 1994). Some manifestations of these conflicts are verbal arguments between parents and their children regarding friendships, dating, marriage, career choices, and gender role expectations (Mahalingam & Haritatos, 2006).

Other studies with East Asian populations have found similar findings. For example, Chao (1994) and Gorman (1998) found that conflict resulted when immigrant Chinese children thought their parents were too traditional and their parents strongly emphasized conformity with parental expectations. Qin, Way, and Mukherjee (2008) reported that Asian adolescents tended to blame their parents' traditional Asian cultural beliefs for bringing about family conflicts and feeling alienated from their parents. Unfortunately, there is little research on Korean immigrant families, but one study has shown that a wider acculturation gap between

Korean adolescents and their mothers was associated with more communication problems with their fathers (Kim & Park, 2011). This may be due to Korean parents having a stronger Korean cultural orientation by being culturally separated from others and actively investing in ethnic socialization of their children and largely maintaining traditional parenting values (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Park, 2013; Min 2010). The failure within families to resolve these acculturation differences, particularly cultural value differences, results in greater misunderstandings, miscommunications, and eventual conflicts among family members.

It is important to consider the role of parents' acculturation in their children's adjustment, as children and adolescents are embedded within an important proximal developmental context – the family (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Within this developmental context, parents represent a strong socializing agent for their children and adolescents (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The current study examined the acculturation process for both adolescents and mothers because of the importance of both individual-level experiences of the adolescent, and family-level experiences in the context of the parent-adolescent dyad (Bamaca-Colbert, Henry, Perez-Brena, Gayles, & Martinez, 2019). The current study focuses on investigating Korean American mother-adolescent dyads and their acculturation gap-distress relationship and differences in their endorsement of the model minority stereotype. It was hypothesized that both would be associated with adolescents' psychological distress and these relationships would be mediated by adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational cultural conflict.

Psychological Distress and Intergenerational Cultural Conflict

Previous research has documented Asian American students' poor psychological and social adjustment (e.g., Chun & Sue, 1998; Lorenzo, Frost, & Reinherz, 2000; Way & Chen, 2000). Specifically, Asian American students have often been found to report the lowest self-esteem (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003) and the highest depressive symptom scores compared with their non-Asian peers (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Centers for Disease Control, 1995, 1997). Asian international students in particular suffered from academic performance anxiety and depression, and these were manifested in psychosomatic complaints, such as sleep disturbances, eating problems, fatigue, stomachache, and headache (Lin & Yi, 1997). A study of Korean immigrants suggests that acculturative stress and general life stress could account for lower levels of happiness and higher levels of negative affect (Shin, Han, & Kim, 2007).

A few studies have linked psychological distress (i.e., lower self-esteem and greater depression) with intergenerational cultural conflict associated with the acculturation gap (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Juang, Syed, & Takagi, 2007; Liu, Benner, Lau, & Kim, 2009). For example, among Asian American adolescents, general intergenerational cultural conflict increases the likelihood of depression

symptoms and other forms of psychological distress (Kim & Cain, 2008; Weaver & Kim, 2008). More specifically, depression and anxiety symptoms among Asian American adolescents have been associated with intergenerational conflict concerning cultural values and expectations, academic expectations, expressions of love (i.e., parents not showing physical and verbal affection), the importance of saving face (i.e., bringing shame to the family), the child's expression of opinion (i.e., perceived as talking back), and respect for elders (i.e., showing respect regardless of whether they deserve it; Bahrassa, Syed, Su & Lee, 2011; Kim & Cain, 2008).

The psychological distress among Korean immigrant youth may be due, in part, to conflict resulting from the acculturation gap. Within the microsystem, because immigrant families are living in two cultures, incongruent cultural values and conflicts between parents and their children may increase over time and may place families at risk for poorer mental health (Hwang, 2006). Many children and adolescents who begin to assert their autonomy and independence also experience more family conflict and less cohesion with their parents, often with direct negative effects on their psychological well-being (Arnett & Dost-Gözkan, 2015; Ohannessian, 2012; Sher-Censor, Parke, & Coltrane, 2011). Specifically, in Korean American families, if the parents grew up in Korea and highly value parental authority yet their children grow up in the United States and highly value individual autonomy, there may be substantial intergenerational conflict (Kim, 2008). It is likely that these different socialization contexts create cultural gaps and conflict between parents and their children, which in turn are related to adolescents' mental health.

The macrosystem factor of the native culture also needs to be taken into consideration. For example, a study in Korea found that disturbed family dynamics and problematic parent-child relationships were associated with suicide attempts among Korean adolescents (Kim & Kim, 2008). Specific to the macrosystemic factor of culture, studies of Korean American families indicated that they tend to have high levels of parental involvement with children (Kim, 2002), which may account for the significant amount of intergenerational conflict (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008). Thus, the current study will examine whether intergenerational cultural conflict is a mediator between acculturation differences and psychological distress. Specifically, this study explored whether acculturation differences were associated with more intergenerational cultural conflict, and its relation to depression and anxiety symptoms among Korean American adolescents.

Asian American Model Minority Stereotype and Intergenerational Cultural Conflict

Another area in which parents and adolescents may differ culturally is in their endorsement of the *model minority stereotype* (MMS). The MMS is a stereotype in the American macrosystem that portrays Asians as hardworking, intelligent, behaving well, and successful (Hartlep, 2013; Lee, 2009), likely due to some evidence

confirming this stereotype. For example, a meta-analysis (Tran & Birman, 2010) with publications from 1990 to 2008 found that generally Asian Americans (aggregated) outperformed ($n = 21$) or performed no different from Whites ($n = 17$), particularly with respect to overall GPA, math scores, and math grades. These results may be in part due to the homogenized and aggregated data, in addition to the pressure from parents who believe Confucian cultural tradition that education is the main avenue for social mobility. However, many published papers have debunked the image of Asian Americans as model minorities by considering the academic performance of specific Asian American ethnic groups (see Suzuki, 2002).

Despite the prevalent image of high-achieving Asian Americans, research suggests that Asian American adolescents often do not fulfill the MMS. According to the New York City Board of Education (2000), in the class of 2000, 67.4% of Asian American high school students graduated, 11.1% dropped out, and 21.5% had to repeat a school year. In addition, not only did the dropout rate for Asian American students increase from 8% to 11% from 1997 to 2000 academic school years (New York City Board of Education, 2000), the number of Asian American youths arrested for major felonies in New York City increased 38% between 1993 and 1996 (Coalition for Asian American Children and Families, 1999). Furthermore, Choi and Lahey (2006) found that, contrary to the MMS, Asian American adolescents reported as many delinquent behaviors as White youth. Moreover, Asian American youth reported slightly higher numbers of aggressive offenses than White adolescents, and female Asian American adolescents reported greater numbers of nonaggressive offenses than White female adolescents.

The term "model minority" was coined during the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s; however, its psychological effects on Asian American youth remain unclear (Wu, 2002; Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010). Internalizing the MMS may be associated with psychological distress for Asian American adolescents because of the unrealistic expectations and pressure to succeed (Lee, 2009; Wong & Halgin, 2006). However, empirical support for this association is mixed, as previous research indicates both positive (Kiang, Witkow, & Thompson, 2016; Thompson & Kiang, 2010; Yoo, Miller, & Yip, 2015) and negative (Atkin, Yoo, Jager, & Yeh, 2018; Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011; Yoo et al., 2010, 2015) relationships between the MMS and psychological distress. Korean American youth, in particular, reflect this mixed pattern of both positive and negative outcomes (J.-S. Lee & Koeske, 2010; Yeh, 2003). By examining this relationship by including the factors in the microsystem context such as mother's internalization of the MMS and intergenerational cultural conflict, the current study may be able to add to the literature regarding the mixed findings.

Asian American parents may apply pressure for success and have high demands for achievement for their children. Previous research has noted that there is a great deal of educational emphasis in the Asian and Asian American culture (Kibria, 2002; Kim & Wong, 2002; Li, 2012). Asian American parents, compared to other groups, including European Americans, have higher parental expectations for educational attainment, higher standards for the school grades they consider acceptable, and higher expectations for the amount of effort or work they believe their children

should exhibit (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Cheah, Leung, & Zhou, 2013). A qualitative study by Lee et al. (2009) suggested that Asian parents' stringent expectation of high academic achievement was associated with their endorsement of the MMS. Under the influence of the Confucian cultural tradition, Koreans have historically had great faith in education as the main avenue for social mobility (Min, 2011). Korean immigrants have brought the socialization of the emphasis on children's education such as parental pressure to succeed to the United States (Min, 1998). The current study will examine if the difference in Korean American adolescents and their mothers' endorsement of the MMS is associated with psychological distress and intergenerational cultural conflict.

Although not directly examined, previous research suggests that the intergenerational difference in the MMS endorsement may be due to differences in acculturation. First-generation immigrant populations demonstrated the best performance on some educational outcomes, followed by a decline in subsequent generations (Fuligni & Witkow, 2004; Garcia Coll & Marks, 2009; Perreira, Harris, & Lee, 2006). Previous research has found that Asian American students place less importance on education than their counterparts in Asia (Chen & Stevenson, 1995) but more importance than their successive generational peers (Greenman, 2013). In addition, Fuligni (1997) noted that the academic values of Chinese children within the United States declined with each successive generation. Specifically, American-born students had lower educational aspirations, placed less value on doing well in school, and studied less often than their immigrant peers. Immigrant Chinese students often emphasized education more than did their native-born American peers because they viewed it as their primary route to success as newcomers to American society (Sue & Okazaki, 1990). As adolescents become acculturated more and faster than their parents, they may have lower academic attitudes and achievement than what their parents expect of them, which contributes to family conflict.

The intergenerational differences in the endorsement of MMS, reflective of the differences in overall acculturation, may lead to intergenerational cultural conflict. Studies examining Asian American college students have shown that parental orientation to traditional Asian culture and Asian values similar to the MMS (i.e., getting good grades, getting accepted to prestigious universities, and attaining professional careers) created a generational gap that was associated with increased intergenerational conflict (Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2008; Lee et al., 2000; Park, Vo, & Tsong, 2009). Previous research has found that Asian American adolescents perceive parental pressure to academically succeed (Lee et al., 2009; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). For example, Asian American pre-adolescents perceived more pressure from their parents for higher levels of math achievement than their White counterparts (Campbell & Mandel, 1990). While there is little research suggesting that conflict due to academic and career exists between Asian American adolescents and their parents (Ahn et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2000), there is no research examining the difference in the endorsement of the MMS leading to intergenerational cultural conflict. This issue was addressed in the current study.

The Current Study

The current study examined the links and mechanisms associated with intergenerational cultural conflict, psychological distress, and the intergenerational differences in acculturation and MMS endorsement for Korean mothers and their children (see Fig. 8.1). The current study examined the mother-adolescent dyad and not the father because childrearing and parenting is mainly the mother's responsibility in Korean culture (Choi & Kim, 2010; Kim, 2005). First, it was hypothesized that the intergenerational acculturation gap would be positively associated with the intergenerational difference in MMS endorsement. Specifically, mothers who were less acculturated would more likely endorse the MMS while the more acculturated adolescents would be less likely to endorse the MMS (i.e., greater difference in MMS endorsement). Second, it was hypothesized that there would be a link between the intergenerational acculturation gap and adolescent psychological distress, which would be partially mediated by the link to adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational cultural conflict. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the intergenerational acculturation
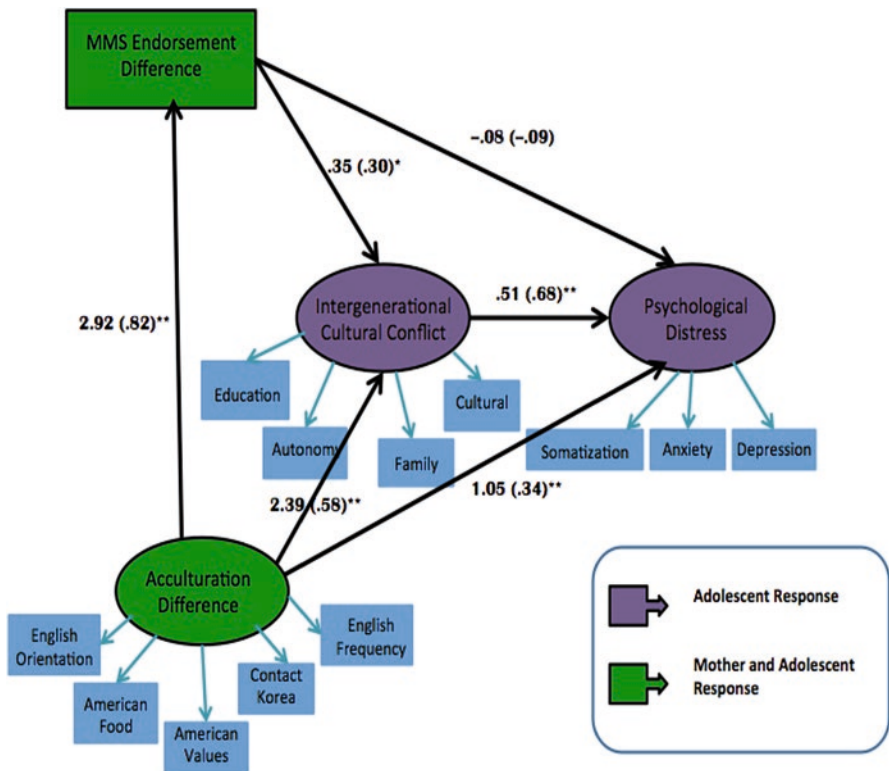
Fig. 8.1 *Hypothesized model: intergenerational cultural conflict as a mediator. *p < .05, **p < .01*

gap would be associated with more intergenerational cultural conflict, which in turn, would be associated with higher adolescent depression and anxiety. Third, it was hypothesized that there would be a link between intergenerational difference in MMS endorsement and adolescent psychological distress, which would be partially mediated by the link to adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational cultural conflict. Specifically, it was hypothesized that dyads in which less acculturated parents who highly endorse the MMS and their more acculturated adolescents who less strongly endorse the MMS would have more intergenerational cultural conflict, and subsequently, greater adolescent psychological distress.

Method

Participants

Participants were 209 adolescent and mother dyads. There were 209 adolescents (100 girls, 109 boys), ranging from Grades 9 to 12 (age range = 12–19 years, $M = 15.3$ years, $SD = 1.71$). The adolescents were 41% first-generation immigrants (South Korea born) and 59% second-generation immigrants (US born). For first-generation adolescents, the age of immigration was $M = 4.5$ years, $SD = 2.7$. The mothers (age range = 39–50 years, $M = 15.3$ years, $SD = 1.71$) were all first-generation immigrants from South Korea with the average age of immigration of 30.6 years ($SD = 4.07$).

The sample was drawn from five churches in Southern California. The county has an Asian population of approximately 14% (US Census Bureau, 2010) of which 2.2% is Korean. The community from which the sample was drawn was 34.5% Asian.

Procedures

Consent forms were passed out to all adolescents after church services. All consent forms were in English and Korean. Only those adolescents who had signed consent from their mother and gave assent themselves and assent from their mother to participate, participated in the study. The adolescents completed the questionnaires at church during various times allotted by the church (e.g., Bible study times and before service). The study took approximately 30 minutes to complete. Students received a $10.00 gift certificate at the end of the study. The mothers of the adolescents completed the questionnaire in Korean either in their own time or at church and returned it to the principal investigator.

Adolescent Measures

Psychological Distress Psychological distress was measured with the Brief Symptom Inventory designed for individuals 13 years and older (BSI; Derogatis & Fitzpatrick, 2004). The BSI measured psychological distress by evaluating three primary symptom clusters: somatization, depression, and anxiety. Anxiety (i.e., the tendency to be nervous, fearful, or worried about real or imagined problems) was measured with items such as "Scared for no reason," and "Nervousness." Depression (i.e., excessive feelings of unhappiness, sadness, or stress) was assessed with items such as "Feeling hopelessness about the future," and "Feelings of worthlessness." Psychosomatization (i.e., bodily symptoms caused by mental or emotional disturbance) was measured with items such as "Nausea or upset stomach" and "Pains in the heart or chest." The adolescents responded to 21 items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) never to (5) all the time, regarding how often each symptom was experienced. There were seven items about anxiety ($M = 2.01$, $SD = .84$; $\alpha = .94$), seven items about depression ($M = 2.26$, $SD = .87$; $\alpha = .92$), and seven items about psychosomatization ($M = 2.09$, $SD = .81$; $\alpha = .90$). Higher numbers indicated higher levels psychological distress (i.e., more anxiety, more depression, and more psychosomatic symptoms).

Intergenerational Cultural Conflict Intergenerational conflict was operationalized as intergenerational conflict and cultural conflict. First, *intergenerational conflict* was measured using the Intergenerational Conflict Inventory (ICI) developed by Chung (2001). The ICI used 24 items to measure how often the adolescents and their parents disagreed on specific topics. Adolescents were given statements such as "How much time to help around the house," "Pressure to learn Korean," and "How much time to spend on studying" and asked to "Indicate how often you and your parent(s) disagree about these things" using a 5-point Likert scale (1) never to (5) all the time, with higher numbers indicating greater conflict ($M = 2.49$, $SD = .97$; $\alpha = .90$).

Adolescents' perception of *cultural conflict* was measured by the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale developed by Lee, Choe, Kim, and Ngo (2000). Adolescents read family conflict situations that were likely to occur in an Asian American family due to cultural differences such as "You want to state your opinion, but your parents consider is to be disrespectful to talk back" and "Your parents want you to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the family, but you feel this is unfair." Adolescents answered ten items on a Likert scale on the likelihood of this conflict occurring (1) never to (5) all the time, and the overall seriousness of the conflict when it occurs (1) not at all to (5) extremely. Higher scores indicated greater likelihood ($M = 2.47$, $SD = .85$; $\alpha = .89$) and seriousness ($M = 2.61$, $SD = .98$; $\alpha = .89$) of family conflicts ($M = 2.64$, $SD = .92$; $\alpha = .94$).

Acculturation In this study, acculturation was operationalized as cultural orientation, acculturation, and the MMS endorsement. *Cultural orientation* was measured

by the adapted Bi-dimensional Acculturation Scale (BAS) by Marin and Gamba (1996). Adolescents rated how much they prefer activities and media in English and Korean. For example, they rated how much they enjoy speaking, watching TV and movies, listening to music, reading books, and writing in Korean and English. Adolescents responded to 16 items using a 4-point Likert scale (1) not at all to (4) very much, with higher numbers indicated greater cultural orientation to either English ($M = 3.91$, $SD = .18$; $\alpha = .94$) or Korean ($M = 2.25$, $SD = .71$; $\alpha = .93$).

Acculturation was measured by using the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA), based on Suinn-Lew, Ahuna, and Khoo (1992), and adapted for the Korean American population. The SL-ASIA scale consists of 26 items, measuring three aspects: a person's behaviors, a person's set of cultural values, and/or a person's inner definition of who he/she "is" (self-identity). The scale included items such as "What is your food preference at home?" "What language do you prefer to use?" "How much contact have you had with Korea?" and "Rate yourself on how much you believe in Korean values, for example, about marriage, families, education, work.". Adolescents responded using a 5-point Likert scale with higher numbers indicating more acculturation towards the dominant or Western culture ($M = 3.49$, $SD = .56$; $\alpha = .69$).

A person retaining a high Korean identity ("Asian-identified") is one whose values, behaviors, preferences, and attitudes reflect those of a person with a Korean background. For example, such a person might be expected to value the family, to demonstrate respectful behavior toward elders, to have a strong work ethic, to participate in Korean cultural events, to prefer Korean over English, and to emphasize collective or group attitudes. A person showing a high Western identity ("Western-identified") is one whose values, behaviors, preferences, and attitudes reflect those of a Western background. For example, such a person might be more self-directed and independent of parental guidance, disinterested in Korean cultural events or beliefs, committed to English as the preferred language, and more comfortable socializing with European-American friends and acquaintances.

Adolescents' *endorsement of the MMS* was measured by an adapted version of Thompson and Kiang's (2010) scale. Adolescents were given statements such as "Because I am Korean American, it is important that I should be..." "Intelligent," "Quiet/reserved," "Ambitious," "Family oriented," "Hardworking," "Talented in classical music," "Good at math/science," and "Likely to go to a prestigious college" and asked "How much do you agree with these statements?" Adolescents answered on a Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Higher scores indicated a higher endorsement of model minority stereotypes ($M = 1.9$, $SD = .78$; $\alpha = .94$).

MMS Endorsement Adolescents' endorsement of the MMS was measured by an adapted version of Thompson and Kiang's (2010) scale. Adolescents were given statements such as "Because I am Korean American, it is important that I should be..." "Intelligent," "Quiet/reserved," "Ambitious," "Family oriented," "Hardworking," "Talented in classical music," "Good at math/science," and "Likely to go to a prestigious college" and asked "How much do you agree with these state-

ments?" Adolescents answered on a Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Higher scores indicated a higher endorsement of model minority stereotypes ($M = 1.9$, $SD = .78$; $\alpha = .94$).

Mother Measures

Acculturation Difference   The mothers completed the same measures as the adolescent. The mothers responded to the cultural orientation measure (i.e., BAS) with higher numbers indicated greater cultural orientation to either English ($M = 1.43$, $SD = .48$; $\alpha = .90$) or Korean ($M = 3.90$, $SD = .47$; $\alpha = .84$). Because the current study was only concerned about the difference between the adolescent and the mother in acculturation to America, only the cultural orientation to English was used in the analysis with higher numbers indicating more acculturation towards the dominant or Western culture SL-ASIA and ($M = 1.44$, $SD = .49$; $\alpha = .86$). Because every youth's score was higher than their mother's indicating that they are more acculturated to the Western cultural orientation than their mother, the acculturation difference score was calculated by subtracting the mother's score from their adolescent's score (the most commonly used method). The higher the absolute value of the difference, the greater the acculturation gap was ($M = 2.06$, $SD = .72$).

MMS Endorsement Difference   The adolescents' mothers completed the adapted version of the MMS endorsement scale. Mothers were given statements such as "Because we are Korean American, it is important for my child to be..." "Intelligent," "Quiet/reserved," "Ambitious," "Family oriented," "Hardworking," "Talented in classical music," "Good at math/science," and "Likely to go to a prestigious college" and asked "How much do you agree with these statements?" The mothers answered 13 items ($M = 3.63$, $SD = .48$; $\alpha = .89$) on a Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Higher scores indicated a higher endorsement of the model minority stereotypes. The MMS endorsement difference score was calculated by subtracting the mother's score from their adolescent's score ($M = 1.73$, $SD = .91$).

Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for variables are presented in Table 8.1. Data analysis was conducted with the software package AMOS (Arbuckle & Wothke, 2001) to test the hypothesized model using the structural equation modeling (SEM) approach to path analysis with observed and latent variables. The hypothesized model was analyzed to examine whether: (a) acculturation difference predicted MMS endorsement difference, (b) acculturation difference predicted psychological distress and if intergenerational cultural conflict mediated acculturation

Table 8.1 Means, standard deviations, and correlations among variables

Measure	M	SD	1	2	3
Acculturation difference	2.06	.72			
MMS endorsement difference	1.73	.91	.720**		
Intergenerational cultural conflict	2.55	.93	.709**	.760**	
Psychological distress	2.12	.84	.714*	.704**	.841**

Note: * $p < .05$, **$p < .01$

difference and psychological distress, and (c) MMS endorsement difference predicted psychological distress and if intergenerational cultural conflict mediated MMS endorsement difference and psychological distress.

The model included one exogenous variable, acculturation difference (latent) which consisted of five observed variables that measured how acculturated the participants were to the American culture: English orientation, American food, American values, contact with Korea, and frequency of English usage. The model also included three endogenous variables, MMS endorsement difference (observed), intergenerational cultural conflict (latent), and psychological distress (latent). For intergenerational cultural conflict, a factor analysis yielded conflict based on four factors: family, cultural, autonomy, and education. Psychological distress consisted of three observed variables: anxiety, depression, and somatization. The standardized factor loadings of each construct were large (>.45), indicating that all factors were well determined with valid indicators.

First the measurement model was fit to make sure the model was identified and had good fit. The model was identified with no errors. The model fit the data very well with χ^2 (209) = 333.6, p = .000, χ^2/df = 3.34, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .95, Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) = .93, Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) = .044, and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .106 with a 90% Confidence Interval (CI) of .089–.124. These indicated good fit because most fit within the fit criteria of χ^2/df < 3, CFI > 0.9, GFI > 0.9, SRMR <0.08 and RMSEA <0.08. The covariates (i.e., age, gender, and socioeconomic status) were not significant and decreased model fit so were dropped from further analysis. Next, significance tests for indirect effects were constructed by obtaining parameter standard errors using bootstrap resampling in Amos.

As hypothesized, the path from acculturation difference to MMS endorsement difference was significant (.82, p < .01). Specifically, the greater the difference between mother and adolescent in acculturation, the greater the difference was between mother and adolescent for MMS endorsement difference. Thus, when mothers and their adolescents differed in their acculturation, they also differed in their endorsement of the MMS.

Consistent with the hypothesis, the paths from acculturation difference to psychological distress (.34, p < .01) and acculturation difference to intergenerational cultural conflict (.58, p < .01) were significant. Specifically, adolescents with mothers who differed from them in their acculturation experienced more psychological distress and perceived more conflict than adolescents with mothers more similar to

them. Further, as expected, intergenerational cultural conflict was significantly associated with psychological distress (.68, $p < .01$).

To examine whether intergenerational cultural conflict mediated acculturation difference and psychological distress, mediation analysis was conducted using the bootstrapping method. Bootstrapping resulted in a 95% confidence interval of 1.18–2.74 reflecting significance at $p < .05$. Indirect effects are significant if the 95% confidence intervals do not include zero (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Results suggest a partial mediation. Specifically, adolescents with a greater difference in acculturation with their mothers tended to perceive more intergenerational cultural conflict and, in turn, experienced more depression, anxiety, and somatic symptoms.

As hypothesized, the mediation analysis suggested a full mediation and the path from MMS endorsement difference to psychological distress (.09) was not significant after the mediation was taken into consideration. The path from MMS endorsement difference to intergenerational cultural conflict (.30, $p < .05$) was significant, as was the path from intergenerational cultural conflict to psychological distress (.68, $p < .01$). Mediation analysis examined whether intergenerational cultural conflict mediated MMS endorsement difference and psychological distress. Bootstrapping resulted in a 95% confidence interval of .13–.44 reflecting significance at $p < .01$. Specifically, adolescents with a greater difference in MMS endorsement with their mothers tended to perceive more intergenerational cultural conflict and, in turn, experienced more depression, anxiety, and somatic symptoms.

Discussion

The current study considered Bronfenbrenner's bioecological perspective, specifically the macrosystem of how the host (i.e., American) and native (i.e., Korean) cultures played roles in the acculturation differences between adolescents and their mothers, and how those acculturation differences were related to differences in their endorsement of the model minority stereotype. Furthermore, the study analyzed how these differences between adolescents and their mothers predict greater psychological distress, and whether intergenerational cultural conflict mediated the acculturation gap-distress and the MMS endorsement-distress paths.

As predicted, results showed that when mothers and their adolescents differed in their acculturation, they also differed in their endorsement of the MMS. Second, adolescents who differed more from their mothers in terms of how acculturated they were to American culture also experienced more cultural conflict with their parents and, in turn, felt more psychological distress. Furthermore, adolescents who differed more from their mothers in terms of how much they endorsed the MMS also experienced more cultural conflict with their parents and, in turn, felt more psychological distress.

This study adds to the current acculturation literature by recognizing and addressing the complexity of measuring and evaluating acculturation. Specifically, in line with the current literature, acculturation was assessed orthogonally with orientation towards the mainstream culture and the heritage culture assessed independently as

continuous variables (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). In addition, acculturation was assessed in multiple domains including behavioral practices (e.g., language use, social contacts, and media preferences) and cultural values (e.g., importance of family obligations, interdependence, or autonomy) (Costigan & Su, 2004; Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, & Wong, 2002).

The current study is one of many studies that found evidence consistent with the acculturation gap-distress hypothesis (Le & Stockdale, 2008; Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009). However, other studies have found no significant relationship (Lau et al., 2005; Pasch et al., 2006). This discrepancy could be due to inconsistencies in the measurement of the gap across studies (e.g., classification schemes [Lau et al., 2005; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe, 2009], person-centered approaches [Bamaca-Colbert & Gayles, 2010; Weaver & Kim, 2008], difference score method [Bamaca-Colbert & Gayles, 2010; Schofield, Parke, Kim, & Coltrane., 2008; Ying & Han, 2007], and interaction term method [Birman, 2006a, b; Ho & Birman, 2010]). Future research should take into consideration the different methods and approaches and compare them to examine if the measurement method yields different results (see Telzer, 2010, for a descriptive review).

It is likely that parent-child differences in acculturation influence the lens through which other processes take place. For example, in the current study, acculturation difference was positively associated with the MMS endorsement difference. This finding is important for two reasons. First, based on the mean values, the current study shows that mothers are endorsing the MMS to a higher degree than their adolescents. Although this is the first study to show this, this finding is consistent with previous research that shows that Asian American parents, compared to other ethnic groups, place more emphasis on educational attainment, set higher standards, and tend to have higher school grades they consider acceptable (Fuligni, 1997; Kao, 1995, Chao, 1996; Chen & Stevenson, 1995). This finding is also important because it suggests that the adolescents who have mothers who are not as acculturated tend to have mothers who endorse the MMS to a higher degree. It is likely that internalizing the MMS is damaging (e.g., leading to distress), but the current study suggests that it is also important to examine the degree to which there is a difference in endorsement between the adolescent and the mother.

Consistent with previous research, family conflict has been indicated as a common mechanism proposed to explain why parent-child differences in acculturation might affect youth development, but it has not been formally assessed as the role of a mediator (Costigan, 2010). The current study found that intergenerational cultural conflict (i.e., family conflict due to the cultural dissonance that emerges between generations) was an important mediator and predicted psychological distress for the adolescents. Specifically, adolescents' psychological distress was predicted by adolescent perceptions of conflict between their own behaviors and values and differing parental expectations of their behavior and values. This supports previous research, which has demonstrated that intergenerational cultural conflicts lead to psychological distress (Chung, 2001; Lee, Su, & Yoshida, 2005; Wu & Chao, 2005). However, future research should consider other outcomes explained by this model such as substance abuse, poor academic achievement, and other at-risk behaviors. In

addition, the current study found that for both the acculturation gap-distress and the MMS endorsement-distress paths, intergenerational cultural conflict is what explained adolescents' distress. Furthermore, these results provide evidence suggesting that intergenerational cultural conflict is predicted by acculturation differences and MMS endorsement differences. Future research should explore other predictors of conflict for immigrant families, especially as the acculturation gap closes with successive generations while the MMS still persists.

A limitation of the current study is that the sample was collected from an ethnically diverse area with a large Korean enclave. However, at the national level, there are more areas across the countries that are predominantly European American, so the current study does not generalize to Korean American families in those areas. Most acculturation research has focused on areas with the heaviest immigrant population disregarding areas that are currently seeing rapid shifts in their demographics due to immigration. Future research should examine parent-child acculturation gaps and cultural conflict in different contexts, since it may be easier for families to navigate in some of these contexts than others.

The literature on acculturation gaps has been exclusively focused on differences between parents and children (mothers and children, in particular). Future research should include fathers in studies of acculturation gaps, because mother-child and father-child differences do not necessarily operate in the same way (e.g., Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Schofield, et al., 2008). In addition, research examining cultural orientation of other family members (e.g., siblings, grandparents) and overall family systems is nearly nonexistent.

Furthermore, the current literature is dominated by studies that explore the implications of acculturation gaps for children's adjustment only (e.g., current study); there is a pressing need for studies that examine the implications of acculturation gaps for parents' adjustment as well. For example, acculturation gaps with children may undermine parents' feelings of efficacy in the parenting role, and parenting efficacy has been shown to be strongly related to parents' psychological adjustment and the quality of their parenting (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011; Jones & Prinz, 2005). Immigrant parents' adjustment is an important factor because parents' well-being has implications for the adjustment of the children. Future research needs to acknowledge the interdependence of relationships within a family; relationships between parents and children, between spouses, and among siblings are not independent of one another and adopt a family systems perspective.

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Chapter 9
"How Do We Raise Chinese Kids Here?": A Qualitative Study on the Cultural Translation of Immigrant Chinese Parents in the Midwestern US Context

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There is a growing body of literature devoted to understanding the outcomes associated with immigrant parenting (Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom 2003; Costigan & Su 2008) and parenting practices (Chen et al. 2014). Yet, little is known about the process of parents' cultural adaptation as it relates to parenting youth. Parenting beliefs do not exist in a vacuum and are shaped by parents' experiences of simultaneously navigating the native and host societies (Bornstein & Lansford 2010). By definition, acculturation refers to changes following contact between those from different cultural backgrounds (Sam 2006). Although acculturation has been used to study immigrant cultural adaptation, scholars (e.g., de Haan 2012) have critiqued it for its inability to "capture the complexities of the transformations that take place when multiple cultural traditions come into contact with each other" (p. 376).

The cultural adaptation of Chinese immigrant parents is especially important to consider in the US context. The United States is the top destination for Chinese immigrants, accounting for 22% of the approximately 11 million Chinese individuals living outside of China (Migration Policy Institute Tabulation of Data from the United Nations 2017). Within the Asian subgroup, individuals identifying as Chinese comprise the largest subgroup, representing one quarter of Asians (4.9 of 21.4 million) (U.S. Census Bureau 2018). Chinese immigrants in the United States are also the third largest foreign-born group in the United States (following Mexican and South Asian Indian subgroups) (Zong & Batalova 2017).

The parenting practices of Chinese immigrant parents living in Western contexts has been primarily understood using Western frameworks (Chuang, Glozman,

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Green, & Rasmi 2018). This body of work (e.g., Chao 1994, Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song 2013) has brought criticism to the utilization and application of Western-based parenting typologies that yield deficit-based interpretations toward non-Western, Chinese parenting. These concerns include the juxtaposition of "Western" and "Asian" cultures as dichotomous cultural orientations. Instead, researchers suggest that coexistence is more likely and that researchers should take into consideration the fluid and dynamic nature of time, context, and sociocultural changes to understand parenting (Bronfenbrenner 1995; Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2008). Exploratory, open-ended approaches that seek to understand individual meaning, motivation, and interpretation might allow researchers to better understand the cultural adaptation of immigrant parents as it relates to their parenting practices.

To date, quantitative studies driven by an acculturation framework (Chia & Costigan 2006) have brought attention to the inconsistent findings about post-migration cultural adaptation and the implications for parenting. For example, with first-generation Chinese immigrant mothers and fathers in the United Kingdom, Huang and Lamb (2015) found that parents continued to adhere to Chinese cultural practices regardless of how long they lived in the United Kingdom. Additionally, their findings captured complexities in the parents' cultural adaptation process, such that the longer they lived abroad, the less they engaged in authoritarian parenting while practicing more authoritative parenting. Thus, even though living in the United Kingdom did not directly affect parents' affiliation with Chinese culture, it increased their opportunities and exposure to English culture, which had implications for their parenting practices. Consequently, even though parents may not be immediately or directly adopting new cultural practices post-migration, their child-rearing practices and attitudes may still be influenced by the new, mainstream culture via parents' cultural adaptation to the new environment.

How immigrant parents interpret and integrate multiple cultures is important to understand in their parenting. A growing body of research has highlighted the complexities and inconsistencies that underscore the need for more qualitative inquiry with both mothers and fathers. For example, in Costigan and Su's (2004) work with immigrant Chinese Canadian fathers, the researchers found that some of the fathers endorsed both Chinese and Canadian culture, while others perceived aspects of the two cultures to be incompatible. Additionally, those who reported inverse relationships between Chinese and Canadian identities, values, and orientation had also resided in Canada for longer periods of time. Conversely, in a study conducted with Chinese immigrant mothers, the same researchers (2008) found that mothers' exposure to Canadian culture had no direct relation to their Chinese parenting beliefs, and that the mothers' parenting beliefs were actually better understood by their adherence to Chinese values. For some parents, culturally ingrained parenting beliefs may be slower to change following immigration, regardless of the length of time and exposure to the mainstream culture of the post-migration society. These findings indicate that parents' cultural adaptation shape parenting, and that the process is complex, messy, and cannot be neatly captured by pre-determined acculturation categories.

Such richness in findings have also been found in the work of Chuang and Su (2009) and their results that mothers' parenting practices were influenced by their acculturation into the Canadian way of life, but that this was not the case for the fathers. These results not only suggest differences within parental dyads, but the researchers caution against making binary comparisons about what it means to acculturate to a Canadian "way of life," and to explore, instead, the motivations, meanings, and interpretations of the parents. Collectively, these studies underscore the importance of exploring Chinese immigrant parents' cultural adaptation and its implications for parenting.

One conceptual framework for understanding immigrant parenting is cultural translation (Papastergiadis 2000). Cultural translation recognizes that cultural traditions are fluid and "translation cannot happen without changing the original meaning" (de Haan 2012, p. 380). Changes in any cultural system affect multiple systems so that the process is dynamically transformative rather than transitioning from one culture to another. Applied to post-immigration parenting practices, this concept has been used to explain the confrontation that parents face when they must negotiate at least two cultural systems and create novel practices in their unique situations (de Haan 2012). Specifically, cultural translation has been able to "explain why immigrant practices are neither like those of the country of origin, nor like that of the mainstream culture…" (p. 380). For example, some parents might maintain parenting practices that are more similar to that of their native society, despite having resided in the new country for a number of years (Costigan & Su 2008).

To date, the process of cultural translation in immigrant parenting has not been descriptively studied. Quantitative and qualitative findings have converged to suggest that immigrant parents simultaneously confront multiple and conflicting cultures that shape their parenting beliefs and practices. Among Chinese immigrant mothers raising young children in the United States, Cheah, Leung, and Zhou (2013) found that mothers promoted different aspects of parenting from their native and host cultures and attempted to achieve a balance. Additionally, the mothers shared their ongoing process of learning and adjusting their parenting as they were acculturating and adapting in the larger social context in the United States. These findings as well as the findings of others (e.g., Yu, Cheah, & Calvin 2016) underscore that immigrant parenting is important to understand: not only as predictors of youth adjustment, but as complex processes worthy of exploring to understand parents' cultural adaptation.

Parents are simultaneously adapting while trying to determine effective parenting practices in a context that is unfamiliar to them, their own cultural upbringing, and socialization practices. Understanding the contexts and processes of immigrant parenting would allow for the development of better prevention and intervention services that are sensitive to their needs. Although a number of scholars have maintained that parenting is a culturally constructed phenomenon (Bornstein & Cheah 2006), it remains unclear what and how the process unfolds for immigrant parents in determining their parenting beliefs and practices.

Cultural Translation and Chinese Immigrant Parents

Research on Chinese immigrant parenting has received increased attention over the years as a result of the heightened focus comparing Chinese values and practices such as collectivism, parental control, and emotional constraint, from Western parenting that promotes individualism and independence building (Chao 1994; for review and critique, see Chuang et al. 2018). However, as researchers have contended, Chinese parents can value both individualistic and collectivistic values (see Chuang & Su 2009; Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2008). However, as Chinese parents raise their children in cultural environments that may vary or conflict with their own upbringing and socialization, it is unclear as to the process of how parents culturally adapt. Unfortunately, extant literature on Chinese American parents have focused primarily on categorizing parenting styles/practices into pre-existing categories and therefore over-simplifying the complexities of parents' subjective interpretations and meaning-making (Chuang et al. 2018).

Research examining Chinese immigrant parenting has also been primarily focused on negative outcomes such as intergenerational conflict and youth distress (e.g., Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe 2009). This negative focus on detriments underscores the ways in which scholarship in this area assumes deficits and challenges associated with immigrant parenting, rather than exploring it in an open-ended manner, as qualitatively unique experiences based on participants' subjective interpretations. Additionally, the majority of scholarship on parenting practices are primarily focused on the experiences of parents raising young children (e.g., Chuang & Su 2009; Wang 2013) and less is known about the experiences of immigrants parents' cultural adaptation process (Costigan & Koryzma 2011) who are raising youth.

Adolescence is a distinct period of time in which parents' efforts for cultural transmission tend to be overridden by their acculturation into dominant society and culture. For parents, they simultaneously have to negotiate intergenerational and intercultural challenges in parenting as their youth experience developmentally appropriate yearnings of increased autonomy and independence alongside cultural adaptation (Qin 2006). The cultural and developmental context of being immigrant parents raising youth is therefore uniquely distinct and in need of greater understanding given the challenges of having to simultaneously face developmentally normative adolescent individuation while navigating culture-specific challenges in raising a generation in a different cultural context (Kiang, Glatz, & Buchanan, 2017).

As immigrant parents are faced with the challenge of determining how to best raise their youth, cultural translation can help to contextualize their journey of transforming their parenting beliefs and practices. In order to do so, cultural translation must take into account that parents are negotiating how cultural systems across time and space, through an ongoing process of "traveling" back and forth between their upbringings in their native homelands and their present efforts to raise their children in the host society.

It is important to recognize that the Chinese diaspora reflects a vast amount of diversity across the differing social, political, economic, and historical contexts (Chuang et al. 2018). These contexts influence how culture can influence parenting. For example, the rapid economic growth and social change in the People's Republic of China has influenced parenting to shift more toward promoting greater autonomy and individualism in child rearing (Way et al. 2013). Whereas in countries that have not experienced rapid economic change, such as Hong Kong and Taiwan, one may assume that Confucian traditions may have greater influence on parents' views on parental authority (Luo et al. 2013). However, the political systems in Hong Kong and Taiwan are significantly different (e.g., Taiwan's government is democratic); yet, with the limited research on subethnicities among Chinese societies (Chuang et al. 2018), further studies are needed. There has been some work on the culture-specific nature and contexts of Chinese families living across different contexts, including mainland China, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan (see Sim et al. 2017 for an overview of these contexts as it relates to Chinese family dynamics). Unfortunately, few researchers have explicitly explored parenting among various Chinese societies in systematic ways (see Chuang et al. 2018).

Understanding Cultural Translation from an Ecological Framework

Cultural translation is a process that occurs across time and place and Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1995) bioecological model can help contextualize the spaces that influence immigrant parenting practices. Previous efforts have served to only understand parenting within the context of parent-child interactions; yet, developmental theorists have underscored the importance of understanding extrafamilial conditions (Bronfenbrenner 1986), such as the influence of the different systems on parents and their parenting decisions. The ecological model sheds light on the ways in which parents' lived experiences are embedded in multiple sociocultural contexts that are mutually and dynamically influential. The spheres of influence that are emphasized can be found in the macrosystem, mesosystem, and microsystem. For the purpose of this chapter, emphasis is placed on the macrosystem and its intersections with the microsystem and mesosystem in order to provide a framework for contextualizing the fluidity of cultural translation for immigrant parenting beliefs and practices.

Macrosystem The macrosystem refers to overarching values that shape and influence the cultural values of an individual's native and host societies. Applied to cultural translation, this encompasses the ways in which parents' cultural identities are fluid and mutually influence their parenting practices and beliefs. To date, studies have yielded complex findings regarding immigrant parenting practices in new societies. For example, Yu et al. (2016) found that among Chinese immigrant mothers in the United States, acculturation to the US society was more beneficial to their

psychological well-being and was, in turn, related to more authoritative parenting and less authoritarian parenting. Furthermore, being more acculturated to US society was associated with less depressive symptoms only when mothers were also endorsing enculturation to their native, Chinese cultures. These findings underscore the importance of and nuances in retaining aspects of the native culture as well as adapting to ways of the new society. In order to understand the "how," the "what," and the "why" of immigrant parenting beliefs and practices, it is therefore necessary to understand acculturation and parenting simultaneously (Bornstein, 2017).

Macrosystem x Microsystem The microsystem refers to an individual's immediate environment, such as the family as well as the surrounding community in which one inhabits. This includes the composition of the neighborhood such as its demographic makeup, its location (e.g., urban vs. rural), and available social support. In immigrant families, research has shown that youth acculturate at a faster rate than their immigrant parents, such that they are more oriented to the ways of the new society while their parents retain the ways of the native homeland. Acculturation gap (e.g., Birman 2006) is used to refer to the acculturation discrepancy between immigrant parents and their children. Research with Chinese immigrant families found that acculturation gaps are largely associated with negative outcomes for the family (for review, see Ho, 2014). Specifically, Chinese Canadian mothers reported being less acculturated than their children and expressed a need to learn more about their children growing up in the host country. Moreover, mothers who reported greater gaps also indicated having more parenting difficulties (Buki et al. 2003). It would seem that in these circumstances, social support would be important for the well-being of immigrant parents. However, there has been limited attention placed on the role of social support for the sake of parent well-being, and more attention placed on it being a protective factor for parenting children (Geens & Vandenbroeck, 2012).

Macrosystem x Mesosystem The mesosystem refers to the interrelationships between the microsystems, such as the relationship between the social supports in the neighborhood and community. Specifically, immigrant parents may socialize their youth differently depending on the cultural environment of their community. Lee et al. (2014) found that among Chinese immigrant families, high Asian concentration in the neighborhood was positively linked with authoritarian parenting practices, which, in turn, was associated with children's higher externalizing and externalizing problems. The findings suggest that living in neighborhoods with a greater Asian density may enhance children's risk for behavioral problems due to children's increased exposure to authoritarian parenting. It is possible that by living near other Asian residents, Chinese parenting practices (e.g., increased firm control) may be more endorsed and reinforced (Lau, 2010). Thus, the surrounding environment, such as the neighborhood context is therefore important to consider, in terms of Chinese immigrant parents' cultural adaptation and parenting.

   Cultural translation requires individuals to constantly negotiate multiple countries and cultures. Given this to be the case, the purpose of this chapter is to describe the contexts of cultural translation, through an in-depth analysis of interviews with Chinese immigrant parents. Informed by the macrosystem perspective, we sought to contextualize parents' cultural translation process in order to understand "what" and "how" it was for them to simultaneously navigate their cultural identities while also parenting in a context that is unfamiliar to them and their upbringing. The primary research question was: "How does cultural translation contextualize the experiences of Chinese immigrant parents in a Midwestern US cultural context?"

Method

Participants and Procedures

Data for this project is part of a larger qualitative investigation conducted with three Chinese families in a Midwestern region of the United States. The inclusion criteria were as follows: (1) all of the immigrant families identified as being "Chinese," with ancestry tracing back to China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong; (2) the families voluntarily immigrated to the country; (3) all parents were first-generation immigrants (born in their native countries) with at least one youth being second-generation (US born); and (4) the youth identified to participate was between 13 and 17 years of age. In order to identify participants who would fit the inclusion criteria, key informants were used in the community in order to locate and recruit Chinese families. Specifically, the first author collaborated with the principal of two Chinese language schools as well as religious leaders in nearby Chinese Christian churches. For the purpose of this analysis, only parent data are analyzed in order to focus specifically on parents' cultural translation process.

   The participants were six parents (three sets of mothers and fathers) who identified as "Chinese" and emigrated from a Chinese country (i.e., Taiwan, Malaysia, China) (M age = 46.67 years; SD = 0.52). Demographic information about the participants can be found in Table 9.1. In the two counties in which this study was conducted, individuals who identified as "Asian alone" represented approximately 4% of the total population, and 8% were foreign-born based on the U.S. Census Bureau (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). All participants had resided in the United States for approximately two decades. Participants came to the United States in pursuit of education or career opportunities either for themselves or with their spouses. Participants' educational levels ranged from college to doctorate degrees. With the exception of one participant who was a stay-at-home parent, the other five parents worked in full-time administrative settings.

   Participants completed consent forms and attended two face-to-face interviews at times and places that were convenient for them. Interviews ranged from 45 to 90 minutes. The first interview was guided by a semi-structured interview protocol,

Table 9.1 Demographic background of the participants using pseudonyms

Families	Mother demographics	Father demographics	Adolescent demographics
Lee family	Mother Lee Age 46 Finance 20 years in the United States China	Father Lee Age 47 Computer Engineering 20 years in the United States China	Tom Lee (male) Age 17, 12th grade
Sun family	Mother Sun Age 46 Health field 16 years in the United States China	Father Sun Age 47 Scientist 19 years in the United States China	Michael Sun (male) Age 13, 8th grade
Ma family	Mother Ma Age 47 Homemaker 20 years in the United States Taiwan	Father Ma Age 47 Engineer 26 years in the United States Malaysia	Anne Ma (female) Age 17, 12th grade

after which, parents were each given a digital camera to take 10 photos that captured their experience of "being Chinese." A second or subsequent interview meeting was scheduled to discuss the meaning behind their pictures. This photo elicitation approach was used for the purpose of eliciting participants' lived experiences. The photos were therefore used to generate more in-depth information about their day-to-day experiences (for more information about methodology, see Wang, Plano Clark, & Scheel 2016). Depending on each participant's preference, the interviews were held in English, Mandarin, or a combination of both. All of the interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and then transcribed by a professional transcription agency. For the interviews conducted in Mandarin, transcription was completed by a professional Chinese school teacher who lived in a separate city and state. In addition to interview data, the first author maintained a reflexive journal to document her subjective assumptions, reactions, and thoughts.

Researcher Positionality

The first author identifies as a Chinese American woman who immigrated to the United States from Taiwan at the age of six with her family. As an immigrant herself, she was acutely aware of the ways in which her personal experiences would overshadow participants' experiences. The second author is non-Latino White American and held expertise in research methodology and family therapy processes and outcomes. The third author also identifies as a 1.5-generation Chinese American woman. She participated in the data analysis phase.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was selected for this investigation given its utility in identifying behaviors, themes, and patterns in participants' lived experiences (Clarke & Braun 2017). There are six steps involved in the process, namely, becoming familiar with the data, coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and writing up the findings (Braun, Clarke, & Terry 2014). In accordance with these recommendations, the first and third authors of this study gained familiarity with the data by separately reading the interview transcripts and reflexive journal notes to identify potential patterns, themes, and quotes. The subsequent coding process included categorizing the data into larger categories to see how the identified patterns served to answer the research question of the study. In several instances, themes were identified based on the exact words and phrases used by the participants, through in vivo coding. Themes were defined and redefined in the process until consensus was reached. The last step entailed writing up the themes in this manuscript. In accordance with the philosophical assumptions of qualitative inquiry, the data analysis process for this study was inductive and emergent such that data were analyzed in an ongoing process (Merriam & Tisdell 2015). Data analysis included interview transcripts and the first author's reflexive journal and field notes.

Results

Three key themes emerged to capture the ways in which parents negotiated parenting in the context of cultural translation. These findings were as follows: (1) adapting Chinese parenting in a Western context; (2) contrasting the experiences of being "here" from being "back home"; and (3) broadening the meaning of being Chinese to include other worldviews. To best contextualize cultural translation in its multiple contexts, the ways in which participants negotiate their parenting beliefs and practices are presented across three levels of the ecological framework (i.e., micro-, meso-, and macrosystems). The process of parenting is shaped by a number of interactions and relationships between the parents and the different layers of their surroundings. These contexts include the parent-child dyad, the local community, and the national and cultural values placed on parenting in Chinese and "Western" contexts. The participants will be referred to using pseudonyms: the Lee, Sun, and Ma parents.

Macrosystem Influences: Adapting Chinese Parenting in a Western Context

All of the parents mentioned their youths' desire for autonomy while recognizing that they did not have the same impact on their youth as their parents had on them. They attributed this distinction not only to normative developmental desires for

independence, but also cultural differences between themselves and their youth. Concisely stated, father Sun contrasted his Chinese upbringing experience with his current parenting experience in the United States: "before, parents had more influence than they do now... And in the Western culture, parents have even less influence." Thus, even though he recognized the universal nature of youth wanting greater autonomy from parents, he acknowledged cultural differences in parent-child relationships between Chinese from "Western" cultures. Father Sun described himself as standing at the juncture between developmental and cultural change and realizing how small of a role he played. He was not only a parent raising a youth; he was a parent raising a youth in a Western environment, and he believed that his impact on his youth would be greater if they lived in China instead of the United States.

Collectively, all of the parents described their youths' desire for them to interfere less, be less strict, and be less "Chinese" in their parenting strategies. Some parents maintained that they would not change their parenting strategies, while others expressed intentional efforts to parent "in a different way." For example, mother Lee proudly described her son as being more independent than his counterparts in China. Furthermore, she attributed this to her own efforts of being hands-off, thereby making it possible for him to take charge of his life:

> We have relatives with kids are growing up in China. You can tell that for the most part, their parents do a lot for them. Everything is organized by their parents. Aside from academics, they don't have to worry about anything else because parents have already taken care of it for them… [but] not in our family. When it comes to his own things, he takes cares of them. He just tells me I'm going here today, I'm going there tomorrow, this is what needs to be paid, what's happening where. He still has to tell us, but he basically organizes his own schedule and we rarely tell him you have to do this and do that...

The participants also adapted their parenting as a result of the reduced academic pressures in the US society compared to the Chinese contexts. They recognized that scholastic achievement was not the sole indicator of success in the US, and consequently, they did not need to place as much pressure on themselves to prepare their children to be the best academic performer. Although all of the parents emphasized that "the Chinese [people] emphasize academics," they also revised their expectations to fit that of the US culture. For example, mother Sun commented: "This environment [in China] is like that. It's competitive, so it makes the kids that way. Other parents are doing that too, so you must [be competitive]. But it's less competitive here."

Relatedly, parents allowed their youth to broaden their extracurricular activities because of their relative importance in the US context. Specifically, they encouraged their youth to partake in non-academic extramural activities. Mother Sun described changing her standards from the traditional expectations of prioritizing school achievement to accepting her son's "OK" performance with schoolwork:

> The U.S. values athletics, which is good. It can help them be healthier. So I let him play volleyball, swim. I don't push too much for studying. Do OK and finish your homework. Health is #1. And then do OK in school…

The parents therefore tried to acclimate to the US environment while simultaneously referring to their native homelands to compare their experiences. Almost all of the parents emphasized that they were less involved than they would be in a Chinese context. Mother Lee made this comparison by saying, "We also are more relaxed with them. Whatever they want, usually we say OK. Traditionally, he should learn to play piano, art, etc… But he wants to go out to play ball so we let him go."

However, not all of the parents agreed to place less pressure on their youths' school success. Father Ma emphasized the importance of having his children partake in orchestral symphony outside of the school band, in order to provide training opportunities that are more "challenging." He highlighted the benefits of performing for an audience, by auditioning for more advanced roles and "creat[ing] competition among each other so they play [their instruments] more" than they would if they only participated in the school band.

Mother Ma emphasized the need to exert even greater influence on her children because of her identity as a first-generation Chinese immigrant. Just like she was taught by her parents to "obey," she now felt a compensatory burden to teach the next generation to retain traditional Chinese values, especially living abroad. Particularly with her parents living in her native country while she is in the United States, mother Ma described having increased "responsibility" to pass down to her children the meaning and importance of obeying older generations.

> …Chinese people really respect their parents… I don't know what it's like for Westerners, but… When Chinese parents used to say even one word, or when an elder would say even one word... people must "obey" and they must do it… This is different from other cultures... But it is "very strong" for Chinese people… I don't know what will happen with this "young generation" and onward because times have changed, but… as parents, we have a responsibility to continue to teach the next generation and the generation after.

Macrosystem × Microsystem Influences: Contrasting the Experiences of Being "Here" from Being "Back Home"

Parents strived to "teach" their youth about their Chinese ancestry, but their efforts were complicated by the historical and political contexts of their upbringing. In describing their attempts to socialize their youth, some parents found that they could not actually explain their experiences even to themselves. Particularly for those who lived in mainland China under the communist ruling, they were confused about how they could share their histories when they did not understand it, even retrospectively. Mother Lee detailed her experience with the following example:

> [W]when we were young, during the Cultural Revolution… a lot of things happened during that time and when I look back, it is preposterous, unbelievable, and very difficult to understand… We don't even know how to explain it [to our children], so they definitely could not understand it. For example, if you had placed Chairman Mao's figure on the ground, that would have been counter-revolutionary. You would have been imprisoned and put into jail. A lot of scenarios like this happened then which would be unbelievable now… [Our children] would certainly think, how could this happen? So what if there is a statue of a person

sitting on the floor? How could things have happened the way that they did? How could people from that time period be so stupid? …Why would you put a statue of the president beneath your butt! But then you think about it, and isn't a president just a person? Not to mention, it is just a figure, so why was this even a problem?

As mother Lee discussed her challenges of recounting Chinese history to her youth, she articulated the difficulties of making Chinese history sound appealing when she herself did not understand the history. She continued to grapple with the "why" and "how" questions of the Cultural Revolution. Even more disappointing was the fact that she was unable to share her history in a positive way to prompt her children to develop positive feelings toward their shared Chinese ancestry.

As the parents described how their upbringings differed from that of their youths', the topics of modernization and Westernization emerged across the interviews. These issues developed as the parents provided examples of the changes they have seen in both their native countries and the Midwestern US community that they have lived in for the last two decades. Several of the parents stated that they could no longer recognize their native hometowns due to the rapid Westernization in their countries since migration. For example, father Sun described the Westernization of China through events such as beer festivals and the architectural design of high rise buildings in rural parts of China, including where he grew up. When recounting his visit to China recently, he was shocked by the physical changes that emerged only in the last few years, noting that "there didn't use to be such tall buildings" and that "the changes are significant."

The rapid expansion of China was shocking to the participants, particularly its impression from being "backward" to "becoming more Westernized and showing off [to the rest of the world]". The increased international attention on China was a stark contrast to their collective experiences of being one of the few Chinese people in their predominantly White American, monocultural community, at the time of their migration. They recalled that two decades ago, people would ask them questions such as, "are you a communist?" to "do you have TVs [in your homeland]?"

Participants noted that over the last decade, there has been a growing influx of Chinese migrants coming to the U.S. and therefore, changing the ethnic landscape of their communities. They had dwindled excitement in seeing this influx, because many of the new arrivals were young college students coming to the United States to pursue higher education. The young student population therefore signified increased opportunities for mobility. As a result, their social networks have decreased either because their friends have moved away or they themselves have relocated into higher-class suburban neighborhoods with predominantly White American neighbors.

With regard to social support, all of the parents preferred socializing with their Chinese peers in contrast to non-Chinese colleagues and friends. They experienced solace when interacting with those who shared the same language and cultural background. Specifically, participants appreciated having a community of first-generation immigrant Chinese parents to relate to, given they were all raising their youth without the support of their extended families in their native countries. Mother Lee explained:

> We still prefer to socialize with Chinese people because our cultural backgrounds are more similar, and so are our histories. It is easier to communicate and the problems we face are more similar. Because we are all raising Chinese kids, how do we raise them here? So, it's easier to communicate [with other Chinese people].

Additionally, despite residing in the United States for more than two decades, parents expressed challenges interacting with non-Chinese peers due to language and cultural differences. For example, when the participants described socializing with non-Chinese colleagues or neighbors, they found themselves not knowing what to do, which compounded their confusion of not knowing how to raise their children in a culture that remains foreign to them and their upbringing. Thus, the parents' experiences were almost the complete opposite as their youth, given that their offsprings primarily interacted with White American, non-Hispanic peers at school. This contrast was so stark that father Lee remarked on his unease and discomfort when socializing outside of the Chinese social circle:

> Although I have lived here for a long time, for 20 years, it's still hard, with regard to being Chinese. As a Chinese [person], I think we still have a hard time [engaging] with people from other races: From White, from Black, from other, Hispanic. And so, we're not so comfortable, at least I'm not so comfortable to interact with them.

Parents also had concerns about understanding US traditions, given the implications for helping their youth attain important milestones such as getting married. One particular "custom" was proactively discussed by both father Lee and father Sun. The two fathers contrasted US weddings with traditional, Chinese weddings. Father Lee was especially concerned about customs of the United States and whether he would know to respond in a culturally appropriate manner. He questioned aloud:

> I don't know much about American customs. If the kids have a wedding, what do I do there? Give gifts? How much? Those kinds of things. Because I definitely don't have much engagement with local people. So I'm not so confident in those situations.

Similarly, father Sun noted these same concerns. However, having attended Chinese weddings in the United States, he remarked instead, on his observations of the discrepancy between the two cultures. He shared a photo of a Chinese American wedding held in the US and provided the following critique:

> If [this wedding] were conducted in a Chinese style, then they would be wearing different clothes like traditional garb. In fact, they would not be wearing white at all because white outfits are usually only worn when attending funerals… Even in terms of the gifts that you give to the couple, Chinese [people] give much more [money]. Americans on the other hand give presents that are only worth about $20, which is so little.

Although the two fathers identified stark differences between Chinese and US wedding traditions, they differed in their endorsement of Western traditions, such as their participation in US holidays. In the Sun household, both mother and father Sun separately described celebrating American holidays like Fourth of July and Halloween by cooking food and inviting people over to celebrate. In contrast, the Lee and Ma families noted that their social gatherings were mostly with Chinese friends and celebrating Chinese holidays and events, whereas their youths' social interaction were primarily with non-Chinese peers and friends from school.

Macrosystem × Mesosystem Influences: Broadening the Meaning of Being Chinese to Include Other Worldviews

Parents felt that they needed to give their children a broader perspective about faith as well as a designated space to learn Chinese culture and language. The church served as a support system for these families, offering them the opportunity to develop a Christian identity within the context of being Chinese. This contributed to the complexity of their identities of being simultaneously Chinese and Christian. Participants described their Chinese church as one of the few opportunities to have a Chinese community—both for themselves and especially for their youth. Consequently, parents looked to the church as a venue for facilitating their children's exposure to Chinese language and culture. All of the parents were actively teaching or enrolling their youth in Chinese language classes, either at the church or through various types of church activities. The Chinese Christian church was therefore one of the parents' major resources for helping transmit Chinese culture to their youth. However, as the participants reflected on their reasons for joining the church, they recalled joining the church for their children's sake rather than for their own support system. Father Sun aptly described this:

> I always thought in China, that it would be ideal to have faith, but after we arrived in the U.S., it was as though we lost something. [So] we thought the kids should have a logical rational principle to adhere to because there are many temptations in the U.S. So, we took them to church at the time because we thought it would be good for them, and afterwards we just started regularly attending church.

The novelty of Christianity was especially unique for parents who came from mainland China, given its political, specifically, communist history. Both father Lee and father Sun described their own upbringings as being limited because of their lack of exposure to spirituality and having a faith system. As a result, they wanted to expose their children to opportunities that they themselves were not afforded. Father Lee shared:

> Chinese [people] are educated to not believe in God. It's not just about having "no God", it's the concept of being "Godless"… when the Communists took over, everything changed to no God, and no spiritual world could even exist. So, that was the environment we grew up in, Godless.

Due to this context, father Ma described church activities as opportunities to provide a broader learning environment for his children so that they can make informed decisions in ways that he and his wife could not because of their upbringing in China. In the process of trying to give their children more opportunities and exposure for different belief systems, he inadvertently developed a social circle at the church, even though the original intent of going to church was to provide learning opportunities for the children.

> We were always educated there was no God in the world, no spirits in the world… So, that's when we started to accept the invitation. We say, "Oh, maybe we shouldn't govern their beliefs." Give them an opportunity to learn, to experience, to see by themselves so they can make the decision. It wouldn't be fair, right? To only educate them in one way without

> knowing there are other views of the world… Plus, we also think the Friday night gathering is pretty fun.

Christianity was therefore a venue for parents to help educate and broaden their children's learning, in ways they never experienced in their upbringing. Unexpectedly, however, parents themselves found themselves learning and absorbing Christianity in ways that made them less "traditional" and more "Western" in their beliefs and in their ways of life. This was noted by mother Lee as she described her own evolution of embracing Christianity:

> I think our thinking has changed significantly because it was 20 years ago that we were in China. It was a different time period and we have also lived for such a long period in the U.S. The cultural influence is quite significant. My husband, my child, and I now follow Christ, and the influence of the Bible has been impactful for us. So, a lot of the concepts we had before are different. I can't say that we think completely in a Western way, but the teachings of Christ have influenced our day to day life significantly, but compared to traditional ways of thinking, there's definitely a difference.

The parents therefore described their experiences as being distinctly unique because of the influence of Christianity on their identities. They were no longer similar to their non-Christian Chinese peers living in their native countries, but at the same time, they were also unlike those who thought in a "Western way." Instead, these participants were pioneers in integrating their identities of being Chinese immigrants living in the United States who followed Christ. The role of Christianity was a key aspect of their cultural adaptation. Additionally, the parents were able to integrate Christianity with facilitating their youths' enculturation process to develop Chinese language skills and cultural identities. For example, one parent, mother Ma, stated that she did not speak English proficiently, and therefore, she often reminded her children that they can do a better job at serving God by using their bilingual and bicultural Chinese and English skills. She proudly showcased how she prompted her children with the following message:

> Be proud to be Chinese. God gave you this. [There are] good lessons taken from Chinese history. Learn from their experiences and work ethic. You already are Chinese… [and] you know the culture here… You have more opportunities so you should have more responsibility to help.

The Chinese Christian church represented a number of resources for them that they came to utilize and integrate into their identities over time. Initially, they strived to provide their children with increased learning opportunities through the Christian church. Parents recognized that their political environment in countries like China limited their worldviews, and consequently, wanted to offer their children perspectives that they did not have in their cultural upbringing. In this process, they unexpectedly and inadvertently broadened their own cultural experiences and identities by becoming followers of the Church themselves, and integrating Christianity with Chinese cultural identity into their parenting.

It would seem then, that parenting and cultural adaptation must therefore be understood as fluid, interactional processes that influence one another. The participants' journeys align with the concept of cultural translation as transformative

processes that require them to negotiate the frame of culture from their native countries with the frame of the host society. In this way, "both frames are transformed so that their result is by definition not a perfect translation but basically a reformulation of both frames" (de Haan 2012, p. 393).

In short, parents' cultural translation processes can be understood as a layered phenomenon such that their parenting beliefs and practices are dynamic, fluid, and constantly evolving across time and space. Parents varied in their understanding of what is the best way to parent their youth, given the contradictions they faced when assessing multiple cultural systems. The participants' accumulated life experience, their recounts of their developmental journeys, and their current developmental status of being parents, all contributed to how they strived to parent their US-born youth.

Discussion

For Chinese immigrant parents raising US-born youth, parenting is an ongoing negotiation of integrating experiences and interpretations of multiple culture(s), of the past, and of the present ways of life. Informed by Bronfenbrenner (1979)'s ecological framework, the themes contextualized these parents' experiences of navigating multiple contexts and cultures in their ongoing journey of parenting their youth. In the current investigation, the participants collectively described the tensions of constantly assessing and re-assessing their parenting beliefs and practices, given the complexities of having to negotiate differences the cultural norms they grew up with, and the cultural norms surrounding their experience of raising their youth in the present day. As parents strived to accommodate to their daily challenges and demands of parenting, they each had to broaden their understanding of parenting to develop beliefs and practices in ways that were beyond adding cultural features of Western culture into Chinese parenting and vice versa.

Other qualitative research methods with Chinese immigrants have yielded similar findings in which mothers discussed that they had to be flexible across areas of parenting, namely, facilitating their children's autonomy and independence in the US context (Cheah et al. 2013). The current findings support and build on those results and provide additional contextual information about "how" culture and parenting mutually influence each other. Participants referred to their own subjective experiences and perceptions to describe the ways in which they had to expand and transform their lens to respond to new cultural contexts and experiences. Drawing from an ecological framework, our study sheds light on the descriptive nature in which parenting beliefs and practices evolve with parents' cultural adaptation processes.

The cultural translation process aligns with the cultural-ecological perspective, which posits that minority parenting practices emerge through parents' adaptations to best promote their children's growth in their immediate environment (Ogbu 1981). Thus, parents endorse parenting beliefs and practices based on what should maximize their children's success. Unique to cultural translation is the assumption

that the process is not about being "more" or "less" adaptive, but of transforming in ways that can "induce the formation of new [parenting] practices that are qualitatively different from the ones that previously existed" (de Haan 2012, p. 379). For example, all of the parents in this study integrated Christian faith with Chinese identity in order to help strengthen their youth's ethnic identity. However, two of the families (the Lee and Sun family) had not been exposed to Christianity in their upbringing and had not intended to convert to Christianity. It was not until their children enrolled and engaged with the Chinese Christian community that the parents gradually participated in the church community and found peer support, community, and belonging. It is therefore important to recognize that the participants' initial intent for attending Church had only been to introduce their children to "other views of the world."

Unexpectedly, the families found themselves broadening their worldview as well, and therefore, the Chinese church evolved to become an important source of support for them and their acculturation to the US society. The critical role of Chinese Christian church communities has been documented in the literature, by assisting immigrants with adapting to the American culture via language, spiritual, and social resources (Lu, Marks, & Apavaloiae, 2012). Cultural translation, for these parents can seemingly be understood as a unique intersection of social, cultural, and religious influences that would not have existed in each of the parents' countries of origin. These factors profoundly shaped each of the parents' parenting beliefs and practices by simultaneously affecting their cultural adaptation process in the United States. Cultural translation might therefore be understood as a dynamic process for immigrant parents, in which their parenting beliefs and practices shape their cultural identities and vice versa.

de Haan (2012) has suggested that immigrants sometimes "become more 'traditional' and develop new solutions which result from the tension of having to live between contradicting traditions" (p. 380). Thus, parents are not merely choosing between having traditional parenting practices or not; instead, they have to craft innovative ways of parenting given the novel circumstances of raising children in a "new" culture. For example, even though all of the parents emphasized the importance of involving their youth in non-academic extracurricular activities, they varied in the degree to which they would place academic pressure on their youth. Some endorsed the belief that their youth needed to do well in academics and in their after-school activities. These discrepancies between the participants indicate that parents subjectively decide which features of the culture(s) they want to incorporate as well as which ones they choose to reject. Furthermore, participants generated solutions (e.g., being less strict) that would have been socially unacceptable in their countries of origin.

The themes in this chapter underscore the need to conceptualize parenting beliefs and practices as processes that are relevant for nonclinical samples of immigrant parents. Research and services for Chinese immigrant parents have been primarily limited to those raising young children (e.g., Lee & Landreth, 2003) or with parents who are experiencing intensified intergenerational and cultural conflict with their youth (Ying, 2009). More remains to be learned about the normative, developmental

processes of immigrant families who are appropriately negotiating the multiple cultures, contexts, and languages of their native and host societies.

Clinical and research implications include better understanding immigrant parents' cultural adaptation given the dynamic influence on their parenting beliefs and practices. Because cultural adaptation is a complex process, parent support groups may benefit from being less focused on specific techniques and strategies, and more focused on helping parents explore their cultural adaptation journeys and parenting influences. While this type of group format has only been applied to individuals to process their traumatic immigration experiences, Gonzales, Lord, Rex-Kiss, and Francois (2012) have found that immigrant parents developed more assertive and poignant voices afterward, and experienced increased self-concept and empowerment to better advocate for themselves. Therefore, helping parents become more aware of their cultural backgrounds can help them make informed decisions about how they want to parent and to recognize the influences surrounding their parenting decisions. In turn, they can develop increased confidence in their parenting decisions to address areas where they may feel confused or need greater information. Parent support groups might benefit from being more process-oriented instead of content-oriented, so that parents can develop greater awareness of the drivers facilitating their cultural beliefs and practices.

The limitations of this study must be noted. To begin, there is great heterogeneity within the Chinese diaspora, and the current investigation recruited participants who emigrated from three very different geographical environments (i.e., Taiwan, Malaysia, China). Therefore, the study findings are limited in their interpretations of and application to other populations and contexts (e.g., some of the participants discuss growing up in a communist society but not others). Thus, even though all of the participants identified as being "Chinese," it is important to recognize the within-group diversity of this identity, given the expansiveness of what it means to be Chinese across differing countries, languages, political governments, and even historical and social changes over time (Chuang et al. 2018).

Additionally, in the current study, gender differences were not examined to delineate mother and father perspectives or parenting beliefs and practices toward sons and daughters. Consideration of gender may be important given that differences have been shown between the traditional child-rearing beliefs of East Asian immigrant parents (Barry, Bernard, & Beitel 2009) and specifically, Chinese immigrant mothers and fathers (Costigan & Su 2004, 2008).

In terms of the strengths of this study, this is the first to descriptively contextualize the cultural translation process of immigrant parents, using an ecological framework and a qualitative research design. Of particular distinction was also the nonclinical nature of the sample, with parents who were not sampled for their distress or for any child or family distress. Understanding the experiences of immigrant parents who are free from distress is important, to refrain from pathologizing immigrant parents when examining cultural influences in parenting.

The utility of the ecological framework can also be expanded to include the chronosystem, which refers to the passage of time. Immigrant parents are faced with the developmental experience of having been youth themselves, raising a subsequent

generation of youth in a time period and environmental context distinct from their own lived experiences. A more in-depth contextualization of immigrant parents' experiences might incorporate considerations of time and space through the lens of the chronosystem, in order to yield a richer understanding of immigrant parents' cultural translation process.

Altogether, the purpose of this chapter was to contextualize the process of cultural translation, through an in-depth analysis of interviews with six Chinese immigrant parents and informed by an ecological perspective. Our findings underscore the importance of considering parent cultural adaptation as fluid processes that require parents to expand, re-frame, and even generate new solutions in new cultural environments: as cultural beings and simultaneously as parents. By understanding how their surrounding environments influence their parenting beliefs and practices, scholars and practitioners can better understand cultural translation as a process that embraces the intricacy of developmental and cultural interactions, rather than distill their complexity into typologies and categories.

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Chapter 10
A Tale of Two Cultures: Nigerian Immigrant Parents Navigating a New Cultural Paradigm

Chinwe Onwujuba and Olena Nesteruk

Immigrant families are subject to considerable adjustment and adaptation changes in the new culture (Rasmussen, Akinsulure-Smith, Chu, & Keatley 2012). Narratives and empirical research on immigrant family adjustment has mostly focused on Latino and Asian families (Cheah, Leung, & Zhou 2013). The growing population of African immigrants in the United States has received comparatively less attention from the research community (Andemariam 2007; Takougang & Tidjani 2009; Tarlebbea 2010). This chapter seeks to provide greater insight into the adaptation process for this immigrant population, to create a more comprehensive view of immigrant families.

By 2016, the immigrant population in the United States was over 43 million, constituting about 13.5% of the total population of 323.1 million (Zong, Batalova, & Hallock 2018). In 2015, African immigrants comprised one of the smallest immigrant groups at 4.8% of the total immigrant population, which is about 2.06 million (Anderson 2017), and among this group, Nigerian immigrants made up 18.9% of the total African immigrant population (Zong & Batalova 2017). Factors instigating a "push" for immigration have included deteriorating socio-economic conditions in African nations, political instability in the largely post-colonial nations, and immigrants' quest for educational opportunities (Takougang & Tidjani 2009).

This study addresses the research gap on Nigerian immigrants residing in the United States. Adopting a phenomenological philosophy (Daly 2007), we will focus specifically on the lived experiences of Nigerian immigrant parents as they raise their children within the socio-ecological influences of two cultural worlds, the

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meanings they ascribe to these experiences, and the function of these meanings in their adaptation processes.

Theoretical Framework

Immigrant families' adjustment strategies are essentially reactions to the social ecology of the host country. This idea of context-driven adaptation is pivotal in understanding the components of immigrant family adjustment decisions. The influence of contextual indices (i.e., immigrants' pre- and post-migration experiences, degree of identification with country-of-origin and host-country cultural domains, value paradigms, and interactional settings) on acculturation decisions is further examined through the lens of two theories that focus on social interactions: acculturation theory (Berry 1979) and bioecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 1994).

Acculturation Theory

Acculturation is the phenomenon that occurs when groups of individuals from different cultures come in continuous contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural pattern of either or both groups. Berry (1979) identified two key issues influencing an ethno-cultural group's adaptation in the host country: (a) cultural maintenance (whether one's own cultural identity is worth maintaining), and (b) adoption (whether to adopt and participate in the socio-cultural life of the host country). These dimensions (maintenance and adoption) could exist as independent constructs, meaning that an immigrant could desire one without relinquishing the other. Research into these two key issues informed a fourfold classification of acculturation orientations: assimilation (adopting the host culture without maintaining the heritage culture), separation (maintaining heritage culture and not adopting the host culture), marginalization (a rejection of both cultures), and integration (maintain components of the heritage culture and adopt elements of the host culture). Integration is associated with more positive psychological and sociological adjustment within the new culture. Acculturation theory highlights immigrants' ability to interact with the cultural values and norms of the host culture from a behavioral and/or a psychological standpoint.

Additional research proposes that immigrants exhibit acculturation strategies based on the areas of life involved (public or private) and the acculturative expectations held by the host society toward immigrants (Navas et al. 2005; Rojas, Navas, Sayans-Jimenez, & Cuadrado 2014). Public areas involve more frequent interactions with members of the host culture (political, social well-being, work, and economic contexts) and possibly greater expectations for immigrants to assimilate or integrate; and private areas consist of more intragroup interactions (social, family, religious, and values), with higher expectations for maintaining the heritage culture.

Bioecological Systems

Bronfenbrenner's (1994) seminal work identifies the interconnectedness of place, time, and social interactions, within nested system levels (i.e., microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and the chronosystem) of human development. Extant literature has adapted the original conceptualization of the theory from a specific focus on the developing child, to more general iterations that highlight setting/place and social interaction influences on individual development and adaptations (Hoare 2008). Neal and Neal (2013) propose that these systems interact as a network of influences on the individual, as opposed to Bronfenbrenner's original description of the systems as nested; a relevant paradigm as we consider the impact of immigrants' socio-ecological interactions with varied components of the host society, as well as perceptions of acceptance by members of the host environment, on immigrant acculturation strategy.

Compared to the proximal micro- and mesosystems, the exosystem addresses interactional settings that do not directly involve the focal individual but impact their developmental and adaptation processes (e.g., laws outlining children's rights and parental obligations can impact parenting processes and parent-child interactions). Bronfenbrenner (1994) conceptualizes the exosystem as the "linkages and processes" that occur between two or more settings. Interactional contexts, such as neighborhood settings, media input, school, health, and other community institutions, may play a role in the immigrant parents' perception of what parenting practices and values are afforded in the host country's ecology. These indirect impacts of exosystem indices are the focus of this study.

The Social Ecology of Immigrant Parenting

The designation of immigrant status creates an awareness of the opportunities and limitations afforded within the new socio-ecological system. Societal institutions embedded within this system conceptualize immigrant opportunities and limitations. Societal values, regulations, and ideologies are created, sanctioned, and maintained by societal institutions, as illustrated in research on gender socialization through social institutions (Pearse & Connell 2016). Gender roles, educational goals, religious expectations, laws and mores, as well as parenting practices are legitimized by distinct but interconnected social institutions. A review of these societal institutions is provided below.

School Settings

Immigrant parents observe how American parents and professionals interact with children in various contexts and may begin to adopt practices advocated by schools and community regulations such as timeout, sticker chart, praise, and privilege

withdrawal. For example, first-generation Korean parents reported eschewing spanking and limited expressions of affection that are common in Asian culture (Kim & Hong 2007), and Chinese immigrant mothers expressed an increased awareness of children's emotional development and adopted practices they had witnessed at their child's school, like praise, that promoted children's self-esteem and confidence: traits that are valued in American culture (Cheah et al. 2013). Additionally, Eastern European parents became less authoritarian and adopted practices that promote children's self-esteem and confidence: practices that are valued in American culture (Nesteruk & Marks 2011).

Interactions with the school system inform immigrant parents' context of reception (Berry 2001). The availability or lack of systems and structures for the support of immigrant families and their students present a perspective of positive or negative response toward immigrants and their families. Welcome and support centers (community and/school initiated), ESL certification requirements, representation on Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) and other decision-making groups, and general cultural awareness initiatives impact opportunities to interact with host country citizens and build social capital. Parents' practices are informed by their interactions with school actors and spaces; however, differences in language and socio-cultural expectations limit parents' power in interaction with school structures and processes (Carreon, Drake, & Barton 2005).

Media

The media (through commercials, television and radio programs, and other media sources) serve as access points for information on prevailing and acceptable parenting practices and ideas. Immigrant Latina mothers gleaned parenting and child health information from television shows and the internet to inform decisions on breastfeeding, sleep recommendations, and to initiate a change in the use of iPads with young children (Criss et al. 2015) in their quest for relevant and potentially actionable parenting information. Immigrant parents, who are predisposed to parenting practices distinct from the mainstream, may re-consider their parenting ideology in favor of one more socially acceptable, because of the negative connotations ascribed to it by the media. To illustrate, media representations of the "tiger mom" phenomenon have created passionate discussions for and against the appropriateness and effectiveness of Chinese parenting ideology and practices (Cheah et al. 2013). Additionally, ethnic media reports of the consequences of corporal punishment are both informative and change-inducing among immigrant parents in New York (Zhao 2002).

Conversely, media resources can be implemented in the enculturation (cultural socialization) of children in the host country. Immigrant parents use satellite television and the internet to introduce and familiarize their children with telenovelas, music, and cultural practices from the home country (Ferguson, Costigan, Clarke, & Ge 2016). For example, Korean immigrants in Texas utilized satellite television to

teach their children Korean culture, language and history, and also to keep up with current news and trends in Korea (Lee 2004).

Government

Immigrants' experiences with government laws and regulations may influence individuals' acculturative decisions, degree of confidence, and participation with parts and representatives of government institutions. To illustrate, the processes and practices of immigration law become parts of the context of reception for immigrants (Menjívar 2006). Immigration law delineations (legal status designations and visa provisions) significantly impact family compositions (Glick 2010), education, healthcare, housing, and employment opportunities for immigrants (McConnell & Marcelli 2007), and further, form the context of interactions with agents of government institutions, like teachers, clerks, social workers, doctors, and police officers. Specifically, immigrant experiences with law enforcement (directly and indirectly) create perceptions of police attitudes and inclinations toward immigrants. For example, Latino immigrants (documented and undocumented) are hesitant to interact with police (Theodore & Habans 2016) due to perceived and experienced negative interactions. Further, pursuant to Arizona immigration law (AZ-SB 1070), immigrant interactions with police officers in Arizona have become fraught with anxiety and an aversion to contact.

Experiences with societal institutions (government, economy, health, school, and family) within a new social system represent adaptation entry points for immigrant families, but may delegitimize pre-migration practices and values, presenting a need for evaluative and acculturative decisions.

Nigeria: Parenting in a Cultural Context

Nigerian families generally endorse a patriarchal system (Heaton & Hirschl 1999), with roles and norms of behavior supported and institutionalized by religious groups, community regulations, and long-standing traditional systems. Male dominance is the over-arching paradigm of family dynamics (Sadiq, Tolhurst, Lalloo, & Theobald 2010), and historically, fathers are breadwinners and are to be accorded unquestioning reverence, respect, and obedience. Mothers are nurturers and homemakers, and are mainly responsible for child care and rearing while the child is young. Fathers are typically un-involved until the child is older and ready to be initiated into culturally prescribed gender roles, particularly boys. Children are to obey and respect their parents. However, changing global and national economic trends have contributed to role modifications, with increasingly more mothers working outside of the home and taking on provider roles, and fathers becoming more engaged in domestic activities (Heaton & Hirschl 1999).

All ethnic groups in Nigeria generally endorse and practice a patri-lineal kinship relationship (Ekong 1986). The Igbo notion of *Ezi n'ulo* (compound and home) represents a fundamental kinship connection (Ekong 1986) that includes and transcends spatial proximity. It is not uncommon for a family to live in a compound with houses arranged in a close cluster, and members living in close proximity to cousins, aunts, and uncles. This compound becomes a unit of social and economic unity and a functional mesosystem of development. Kinsmen, however distant, are treated and expected to behave as siblings from the same parents. Within the Hausa community, cousins are referred to as *yanuwa* (children of my mother), thereby extending the concept of family beyond a nuclear structure ("Hausa" 1996). Belonging to a kinship group involves reciprocal acts of responsibility for one another, sharing material resources, giving affection, as well as child-rearing responsibilities (Alber, Haberlein, & Martin 2010), all of which are no longer available to Nigerian immigrants.

Nigerian families are usually large and do not consist merely of the nuclear unit of father, mother, and children but includes grandparents, cousins, aunts, uncles, in-laws, neighbors, and close friends. Child rearing is a joint responsibility of all members of the kinship network. A popular saying among the Igbo, *"ora n'azu nwa"* ("the community raises the child") embodies the belief that children are a communal responsibility, and a child is answerable to any elder or any older adult (Hron 2008). In Nigeria, it is not uncommon for children to refer to neighbors and adult acquaintances as "aunties" and "uncles." It is also not uncommon for a child to be disciplined by a neighbor or even a stranger as children are generally thought of as belonging to not only their biological parents, but the kinship group. In addition, structured and unstructured exosystem institutions (schools, religious organizations, social groups, and the community at large) are also collectively responsible for socializing children. Teachers and the school environment are expected to dually provide academic training as well as character education and effective discipline to the children. Teachers are also expected to uphold parents' ultimate authority in training and implementing discipline over a child.

Nigerian parents subscribe to the child rearing ideology of "training" (Bledsoe & Sow 2011), which is the idea that children have a responsibility to help with family advancement. "Training" is different from formal schooling in scope and goals. The former does not address academic goals and utilizes exposure to experiences that will teach personal struggle, moral discipline, and perseverance in the face of adversity, so that children might become useful members of the community. Also, respect is a significant goal of "training"; children are expected to greet elders or "seniors" first, with seniority determined by age, social, educational, and/or marital status, and it is considered rude behavior to interrupt, contradict, or look an adult in the eye when addressing them (Ohuche 1986). Exosystem institutions like local churches, mosques, or other religious affiliations, as well as child and adult-oriented media productions, validate and endorse the "training" ideology, and consequently, parenting values and practices.

Within the United States, exosystem structures and indices advocate for parenting values, goals, and processes that differ from those promulgated in Nigeria,

motivating parents to negotiate child-rearing values and practices as an adaptive measure. Nigerian cultural values which, hitherto, would have presented macrosystem influences on parenting within Nigeria, become exosystem variables that provide indirect influences on parenting processes outside of Nigeria.

This study seeks to analyze the distinct contributions of the exosystem to immigrant parents' acculturation processes and parenting practices. Specific exosystem components relevant to this study include media (particularly T.V. consumption), school, and societal institutions (e.g., government, economy, health, school, and family) in the host country as well as influences from the heritage country culture. The focus of this qualitative study is on Nigerian immigrant parents' experiences in negotiating the pull of both host culture and heritage culture influences, as they adapt parenting beliefs and practices in the United States.

Method

The data for this chapter comes from a larger study examining the adaptation experiences of Nigerian immigrants residing in the southern region of the United States (Onwujuba 2015). In-depth personal interviews were conducted with 30 immigrant parents (15 families) to obtain narratives of their immigration experiences. These parents had lived in various parts of the United States prior to moving to Texas (Ohio, Connecticut, California, Oregon, New York, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Maryland, and Atlanta). See Table 10.1 for demographic data.

The participants represented the southern, eastern, and western parts of Nigeria. Except for one couple who came to the United States on a student visa, and another who migrated separately, all other couples migrated together via Diversity Visa (DV) lottery. Established by the Immigration Act of 1990, the Diversity Visa lottery

Table 10.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of study participants

Participants	N = 30 (15 married couples)
Age	30–40 years (modal range)
Education	Some college (n = 4) MS/MBA (n = 22) PhD (n = 2)
Occupation	Customer service representative, social worker, IT professional, nurse, pharmacist, accountant, electrical engineer, and data analyst
Family income	$40, 000 and under (3 families) $60,000–80,000 (8 families) $100,000 and over (4 families)
Residency in the United States	11 years [8–16 range]
Children	N = 27 (born in Nigeria (n = 6); born in the United States (n = 21)) Average age = 7 [range 1–12] Average number of children/family = 2

is a pathway for immigrants to receive a Permanent Resident card. Potential immigrants from countries with low US immigration rates apply to the program, from which random selections are made.

Recruitment and Data Collection

In order to be eligible to take part in the study, participants had to meet the following criteria: (1) married couples with young children between 6 and 10 years of age, (2) first-generation immigrants from Nigeria, and (3) minimum length of residency in the United States of 4 years to ensure familiarity with the culture. After receiving Institutional Review Board approval from the university, the participants were recruited through proprietors of African markets/shops located in the area; the leaders of the local chapter of a Nigerian association group; an African church with members originating from different countries across Africa; and snowball sampling.

Participants filled out informed consent forms and a background information questionnaire, after which semi-structured interviews were conducted by the first author. Each interview was recorded and later transcribed verbatim. Participants lived in suburban communities in a central Texas city, and each interview took place in their home for an average duration of 60–90 minutes. Both spouses were interviewed together in all but two instances, due to spouses' work and personal schedules. All interviews were conducted completely in English, except for one instance where the participant and the researcher shared the same language, this resulted in occasional language switch during the interview. The first author translated these comments into English with consideration for cultural context.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was informed by phenomenology (Daly 2007) and grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1998). Phenomenology allows for the exploration and interpretation of concepts using participants' perspectives on their lived experiences and the meaning they ascribe to them. Grounded theory allows for the careful examination of raw data (events, activities, responses) to extrapolate similarities and thematic concepts in data sets. Specific to this study, both methods allowed for the careful and in-depth examination of Nigerian immigrant parents' acculturation experiences and, further, the identification of similarities in interpretations.

Data collection and analysis were done simultaneously to adequately utilize the cues that present themselves during data collection. All data was audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim within a few days of collection by the first author and coded by hand for relevant themes. Data was coded using open and axial coding, with a combination of line-by-line and sentence or paragraph coding for initial interviews. For instance, if a certain sentence or paragraph reflected parents'

perceptions on "respect" it would be noted on a post-it-note. After conducting more interviews and open coding sessions, numeric content analysis was used to ascertain the number of themes that appeared most frequently across the different interviews. This was done by grouping together the post-it-notes that contained similar summaries to form a distinct theme. This plan of analysis was adapted from a similar strategy used by Marks, Nesteruk, Swanson, Garrison, and Davis (2005). Axial coding was used to compare and make connections between themes. Both researchers conducted regular collaborative discussions in which the insider and outsider status of the first and second researchers (respectively) ensured an in-depth, yet objective and rigorous analysis of emerging themes. Both authors negotiated the meanings behind the codes and eventually, the most salient and frequently mentioned concepts were identified.

Reflexivity

An essential pillar of rigor in research is reflexivity: researchers' awareness of their biases that might affect data collection and analysis (Daly 2007). We would like to note that both authors are first-generation immigrants. The first author and her husband are both immigrants from Nigeria and are parents of two children. This shared cultural background with study participants enabled an insider status for the first author and facilitated participants' recruitment and building rapport. The second author contributed alternative perspectives to data interpretation as a Ukrainian-American immigrant mother of two children.

Results

Three major themes pertinent to the acculturation responses among Nigerian immigrant parents emerged from the data: (1) socio-cultural modifications in parenting practices and beliefs, (2) limited "proper" socializing influences, and (3) establishing parental authority and efficacy at the intersection of two cultures. These themes will be expounded below, supported by excerpts from parents' narratives.

Socio-cultural Modifications in Parenting Practices and Beliefs

In their quest to provide optimal family adjustment, all the parents indicated that their proximal and distal interactions with members and systems of the host culture, media portrayals of "common" parent-child exchanges, and encounters with school policies and expectations of parental involvement, allowed a juxtaposition of host and heritage cultures to assess the worth of each to the goal of adaptation. Most of

the parents (13 mothers and 13 fathers) showed evidence of an integrated style of acculturation, as expressed in their desire to blend cultural values from both Nigeria and the United States to create a uniquely functional and blended schema of parenting practices that serve the purpose of helping them provide their children with the best opportunities they deemed available for success.

> John[1](father): I try to find a common ground, I borrow a little here and a little here and try to come up with what I think is ideal for my own home or my own interactions with my family.… it's modified; I could pick some good from Nigeria, some good from here and blend it together, so pretty much a blended culture.

Parents' immigrant identifications allowed them to assess the worth of what would otherwise have been blindly accepted cultural norms and values to create a blended culture. A relevant example is the re-adjustment of expectations of how children should communicate with adults. Most of the narratives revealed the adoption of more open and democratic communication between parents/adults and their children to "allow children to express their opinions," as opposed to Nigerian culture where "we like to shout kids down."

> Ene (mother): My 7-year-old will come to me 5, 6, 7 times and say "Can I ask you a question? Why don't you want me to do this or that?" In Nigeria, I would have said, "Keep quiet! I told you not to do it so don't do it!" But here I take time to explain.

Raising Bi-cultural Children   Some of the parents emphasized the positive aspects of an integrated acculturation mode. They believed that encouraging their children to adapt to both Nigerian and US cultures opens the door for diversifying their cultural experiences and creating greater personal opportunities. Integrating new culture, while remembering one's original culture, was deemed a desirable outcome for the participants' children, one that would result in being a "better person."

> Friday (father): For my daughter, knowing that she has American and Nigerian cultures in her makes her better than her parents. The thing is that she has to keep those cultures, if she tries to adapt solely to the American culture that's when problems start cropping [up].

These immigrant parents took a global perspective of their children's development and were expanding the possibilities of their immigrant identification as people who can adapt to diverse cultures and situations for the utmost benefit. This identification might indicate a perception that they are not rooted or tied to one geographical location, having made the first step to leave their homeland. For such an outlook to be effective, however, some dimensions of the heritage culture had to be retained for the sake of posterity and the reality of raising bi-cultural children; total assimilation into American culture was not the goal for these parents.

> Ife (mother): We have to mix both, but then let them know the difference. You can't tell them, "This is how it's done in Nigeria" … they are not in Nigeria. We still want them to have the history and the knowledge of what Nigeria is like, but at the same time they are in the U.S.

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[1] All participants' names are pseudonyms.

Gender Role Modifications Gender role delineations had also become less distinct. Mothers worked outside of the home but were still significantly responsible for family health and home management: cooking, cleaning, and nurturing. Fathers, however, took on more childcare roles than they would have in Nigeria, particularly in the absence of mothers. Some of the fathers became more involved in their children's school, learning, and socio-emotional development.

> John (father): My son is now 12 (years old) and I want to start having some talks with him. I want to be his number one confidant. My goal is that my kid will trust me enough to share what he is going through…developmental challenges, issues with work…such one-on-one interaction is lacking in Nigeria.

Fathers' interactions with host country parenting strategies, as well as the evaluation of the benefits of host country parenting, are identifiable change motivators. Although these parents integrated "American ways" into their parenting processes and valued components of both American and Nigerian cultures in their daily lives, they believed that the acculturation experience for their children would tend toward assimilation. Mothers, especially, shared that they were deeply saddened by the fact that their children would grow up without the full experience of Nigerian culture. They also knew that their children would grow up fully immersed in the "American way" of life because it would be a daunting task to provide them with authentic Nigerian socio-cultural experiences. These experiences would have to come either through frequent trips to Nigeria (a financially and logistically challenging option), or creating the extensive social network needed to immerse their children in meaningful Nigerian culture.

Issues of Cultural Maintenance These parents continuously tried to find avenues to socialize their children into the Nigerian culture, such as introducing and sustaining interactions with indigenous Nigerian foods. These parents used food as a tool to impart an increasing awareness of cultural heritage through the diets they encouraged and enforced at home.

> Martha (mother): I stay on them to eat Nigerian food. Of course, they revolt, I don't expect them to eat it the way they would eat [a] burger but I think they've gotten used to it. Initially they were so much into the "junk food," but now I think they've come to a common ground. I think it's more of a feeling that the African food is healthier.

All the parents definitively declared that they eat Nigerian dishes and that they would like their children to develop a taste for it even if they have to "be forced to eat it" because it is "a part of their heritage" and "healthier." Considering the inability to provide their children with rich experiences of Nigerian culture, food socialization presents parents with a sense of agency in deciding what cultural domains to expose their children to.

Limited "Proper" Socializing Influences

Parents shared their frustrations and concerns over the perceived norm for parent/adult-child interactions in US culture. These immigrant parents indicated their strong displeasure with the way American children appeared to be overly casual and informal in their communication and behavior toward their parents and other adults. Parents noted that kids dared to question their decisions and statements: behavior that is considered an affront to parents' legally and culturally imbued authority over the child and is typically met with harsh discipline in Nigeria.

> Ada (mother): In my culture, you don't talk back when your parents talk; you keep your mouth shut. But my daughter wants to know why, how, and all, and I have to shut her down. They do talk back and it bothers me. So, I had to teach them not to talk back to me.

This kind of interaction is considered disrespectful by Nigerian parents raised on the values of deference to adult authority and culturally appropriate ways of addressing adults. Some parents indicated that it was a culture shock to encounter such behavior from their children as they got older in the United States. Parents acknowledged the significant influence of their children's interactions with conduits of socialization within the "American" society (e.g., school, peers, media consumption, organized activities/classes like sports, dance, arts, etc.) in the development and perpetuation of this "authority-questioning" behavior. They unanimously agreed that they had to make a conscious attempt to understand the reason for such behavior and then to teach their children the "appropriate" and "respectful" way to address adults.

> Sade (mother): One day my daughter told me, "Are you dumb or something?" And I think, "O my God!" I talked to her about the proper way to talk to an adult. She said she had heard something and was imitating it, that she didn't know not to talk that way. I think, well, it's because we are in America.

Teaching Them the Right Way, Without Help   "Proper" behavior in interactions with adults is easily adopted by children in Nigeria because it is taught, reinforced, and legitimized by various societal institutions, and manifested in the social interactions of their everyday lives. Mothers were particularly dissatisfied with the perceived lack of communal parenting support that they experience here in the United States and having to train their children all by themselves.

> Martha (mother): Back home those are not things you deal with… they are known growing up as a child. You don't need anybody to tell you [how to behave] because you see it done everywhere, so you kind of pick it [up] that way. But here, it's like you have to teach them because it's not part of their culture, probably they are not obligated to.

Societal institutions and linked socio-ecological systems that could be depended on, pre-migration, to appropriately socialize children, were perceived as having an alternate agenda that did not support parents' goals. Neighborhood communities were deemed unreliable, as neighbors would not step in to reprimand or correct your child if they saw them doing something wrong: an attitude that is acceptable in

Nigeria. School interactions were warily approached because parents could not identify a suitable moral training "curriculum." Media consumption via T.V. was perceived as detrimental because children easily absorbed disrespectful and inappropriate behavior from many programs.

> Binta (mother): They grow up [here]; they don't see any other side of life, it's just that [American] side. Most of the problem is with T.V… cartoons, and the cartoon is the real American life so they feel that is the way of life. They see something, and you are telling them something else…they think you are crazy!

Both mothers and fathers shared that it was a challenge having to create a distinct socio-ecological environment around their children that suits their socialization goals for them. They complained about having to subsist on a two-person cultural community that consists of mother and father, to socialize the children into expected behavior.

> Efehi (father): Parenting is a community job. [In Nigeria] neighbors and relatives help watch and discipline kids. Here, it's all on the parents; it's just you alone taking care of the kids. Back home, there are people around to help take care of the kids. There are always cousins, uncles, younger siblings, neighbors, family members there to assist you.

> Foluke (mother): [In Nigeria] you know every other person is watching them…they want to help you [parent your child]. Here if you don't work on the child they will just leave the child. In school if you don't train your child, the teacher will just leave the child to do whatever.

A diminished ability to effectively implement heritage culture socialization goals informed a perception of limited parental capacity, as will be discussed in the next theme.

Establishing Parental Authority and Efficacy at the Intersection of Two Cultures

As stated previously, the parents in this study grew up in a socio-cultural environment with categorically defined expectations for interactions between, and obligations toward, adults and children. The use of punitive discipline strategies is widely accepted in Nigerian society, as a means of re-directing erring children (*"parents can beat you all they want"*). Immigrant parents, however, discussed the restrictions that they felt from host culture norms and laws, in trying to apply familiar discipline measures in a new society that is less accepting of punitive discipline measures.

> Efehi (father): I am careful in dealing with [my children], especially at a certain age, so as not to involve the police. They know that if the parents go beyond certain limits, they can call the police. Here kids are trained at school about their rights, where to go to report parents. They know they are not supposed to be spanked or maltreated.

Some parents opined that these limitations make it difficult to instill discipline and raise children "correctly," especially in a culture that is lacking "acceptable" norms

of behavior and respectful attitudes toward adults. All they can do is proactively train their children on proper behavior and attitudes, surround them with approved influences (interactions with other Nigerian families or families with similar values, monitoring T.V. choices), guide them in distinguishing "our culturally appropriate behavior" from "American behavior," and pray that they turn out alright.

> Kehinde (father): I think right now when they are really, really young you want to put a lot of things in them to show them that this is how we do things, this is your place in the society, you're not like those other guys [in the host culture, who do things differently].

Parents talked about having to modify their claim to absolute parental authority and gradually adjust their parenting approach since moving to the United States. With time (out of necessity or by choice), parents evaluated the benefits and detriments of their pre-migration conceptualizations of parental authority to determine how effective and important it is to them. They concluded that a change to their behaviors/practices was necessary in order to fit into the host society.

> Stella (mother): Back home, if a child does something, you spank them or you scream (yell). But here [in the U.S.], I understand that sometimes they don't even know what they've done, so I call them and let them know that this is why I'm screaming. Back home [in Nigeria] we don't have that patience at all; you just feel the child is supposed to know… So right now, I'm working on trying to explain to them, 'do this, do that'… so that next time they will understand.

Instead of applying punitive discipline, they adopted the "American way" of talking to their children and explaining the reason for their expectations. Parents also sought to teach their children the differences between the "Nigerian way" vs. the "American way" of behavior and attitude as a method of socialization. Although parents shared their experiences of adapting to new parenting norms and styles, one of the mothers shared that she mixes the "American way" of talking, with the "African/Nigerian way" of spanking. This strategy was, however, dependent on the situation and context of a behavioral infraction. Her account reflects a generally held opinion, among this group of immigrant parents, that the "American way" works to a certain degree, but some infractions require more punitive or consequential approaches. It also provides insight into the durability of ingrained cultural attitudes, and parents' continued attempts to negotiate the manifestation of their parental authority amidst conflicting cultural paradigms.

Immigrant adaptation depends on their ability to understand and participate within the structural and interactional parameters set by social institutions. For these immigrant parents, the process of raising well-trained and respectful children involves a distinct awareness of the linkages between their micro-system interactions and exosystem contexts, particularly school, media, police, and government laws that impact parenting practices.

Discussion

This study explored the socio-ecological influences on the acculturative experiences of Nigerian immigrants living in the United States, particularly as related to their parenting decisions and practices. Two theories guided this inquiry: ecological systems theory, which describes the interconnections and linkages between social systems (consisting of microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem) and acculturation theory (which examines strategies used by immigrants in their goal for adaptation). More specifically, this study focused on Nigerian immigrant families' interactions within the exosystem setting that influenced their parenting-oriented practices and decisions.

The parents in this study are highly educated, suburban middle-class parents in professional occupations: factors that enable a more positive structural adjustment to the host culture. Parents' willingness to adopt certain US cultural values and behaviors, while maintaining some pre-migration cultural values, suggests an integration acculturation strategy. This finding is consistent with previous studies on Nigerian (Rodriguez 2014), Eastern European (Nesteruk & Marks 2011), and Chinese (Cheah et al. 2013) immigrant parents who are highly educated and in professional occupations. Further, the presence of socio-cultural similarities (e.g., the use of English as the national official language, and the pervasiveness of American media, entertainment, and fashion, among other similarities) between Nigeria and the United States is an asset that supported an easier adaptation to the new culture, enabling an integrated form of acculturation that may make the decision to blend both host and heritage cultures much easier.

The existence of these similarities, however, does not preclude adjustment difficulties. For parents in this study, the overarching and internalized macrosystem values of communalism, indigenous parenting values, and child-rearing expectations (now exosystem influences in the United States) present challenges of adaptation for Nigerian immigrants in the United States. Further, Amayo (2009) reports that being bereft of their large extended family was a significant adaptation and child-rearing challenge for Nigerian immigrant parents.

Higher levels of acculturation have positive effects on maternal and paternal levels of involvement with their young children (Cabrera, Shannon, West, & Brooks-Gunn 2006). In a new society with limited social and extended family support, parents depend on one another to fulfil child-rearing and care responsibilities, necessitating changes in gender roles and responsibilities. Additionally, shifts in parenting practices and values may occur for parents raising young children in a new country (Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2007). Fathers in this study were involved in child care and children's socio-emotional development as opposed to being aloof and unapproachable. Further, the diminished influence of heritage country societal institutions (macrosystem) that legitimize male patriarchy and limited child care involvement, combined with experiences of father involvement in child care in the host country, contributes to behavioral changes in father involvement (Cabrera et al. 2006). There is, however, limited evidence that these behavioral changes are also

psychological, as all families interviewed still maintained the core of indigenous gender role designations with mothers being the primary home maker and fathers the providers.

Host society laws regarding punitive methods of discipline was interpreted as a negative perception of Nigerian discipline style. Evident in parents' narratives is the notion that societal institutions (particularly the police and child welfare institutions) have taken away the parent's authority in raising their children: that these institutions empower children with information about the legal limitations on parents' authority, as well as "socially acceptable" parental behavior toward children. In a study on West African parents in New York, Rasmussen et al., (2012), participants equally complained of parental disempowerment and feelings of legal restraint from adequately raising their children. The school environment was perceived as the "training ground" for inculcating ideas of independence from parents: where children are "taught their rights" about what discipline strategies their parents could and could not use on them. Among the parents in this study, the perception appears to be that one has to "change" or make conscious decisions to adapt to the expectations of the host society; otherwise, it would be very hard to adjust.

In addition to findings on interactional contexts and acculturation, parents in this study appeared to toggle between parenting strategies that would enable their children "fit" into the host society, and their attitudes or preferred inclinations toward the host environment. This tendency is reflected in the fundamental premise of the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) (Navas et al. 2005). Within the parenting domain, participants exhibited different acculturation preferences: a concept explored by the RAEM. An apt example involves the decision not to "shut children down" but to allow them to freely express their opinions and thoughts (suggesting an assimilation acculturation preference). However, questioning parents or "talking back" was deemed rude and disrespectful (suggesting a preference for the acculturation strategy of separation). Further, parents' dual adoption of host country prescribed discipline strategies and heritage country spanking practice (depending on the context) suggests divergent strategies within the public area (assimilation) and private area (separation) of life.

Food socialization strategies were adopted in attempts to curb children's accelerated acculturation to "American food" and the "American way." Parents' adoption of a multi-cultural food experience was aimed at avoiding inter-generational acculturation conflicts and to foster an identification with the heritage culture for their children. This strategy is consistent with research on Sub-Saharan immigrants in Australia (Renzaho & Burns 2006), Portuguese, Asian, and African immigrant parents (Garnweidner, Terragni, Pettersen, & Mosdol 2012; Morrison & James 2009) who report maintaining heritage country dietary norms while adopting some host country food choices and practices.

All parents in this study are first-generation immigrant parents and their adoption of host culture practices (such as increased open communication) appears to have increased with length of stay, a phenomenon consistent with previous studies (Dow 2010). Immigrant parents' continued and consistent interactions with host culture

practices provide greater experiences for evaluating and adopting parenting practices that would help accomplish their enduring goal of helping their children adapt optimally (Huang & Lamb 2015; Kim & Hong 2007). Involvement and experiences with exosystems such as media, school, social service institutions, as well as law enforcement, all provided information on the "preferred" form of parenting attitudes and strategies within the host culture. Parents' narratives indicate a perception that the environmental influences on their children's socio-cultural development is a challenge: one that they would have to adapt to, albeit not completely.

Limitations and Conclusions

For this study, a purposeful sample was used in the interest of fully exploring the experiences and interpretations of Nigerian immigrant parents in the United States. A limitation of this choice is the diminished variability in parents' origins and family structure. Study parents possess similar attributes (education, socio-economic status, host language proficiency, sub-urban neighborhood context) which interact with the network of societal systems to afford particular experiences of acculturation in parenting. Further, the interview structure involved joint sessions with both spouses present, which might not have allowed for the expression of differing opinions from either spouse, and consequently, the examination of nuances like gender interactions with acculturation experiences and gender differences in parenting. Finally, children's perspectives and experiences of acculturation within a dual culture paradigm were not accessed: limiting the possibility of exploring intergenerational analyses of exosystem influences on the family system. Future research can address sample size and variability, children's acculturation constructions, as well as joint and individual interviews to better ascertain the nuances and gender-based experiences of this group of immigrant parents.

Family practitioners, teachers, and human service professionals working with immigrant families can attempt to identify the socio-ecological spaces and systems that impact Nigerian immigrants' parenting decisions and the acculturation preferences afforded to them within these spaces and systems. It is also crucial for relevant professionals to recognize that immigrant parents modify acculturation behaviors and strategies depending on the context and situation in their attempts to "fit in" while still maintaining preferred pre-migration values.

Immigrant parents face the daunting responsibility of not only simultaneously inhabiting two worlds, but also guiding their children through these worlds and blending their heritage culture with the host micro-, meso-, and exo-ecological systems. The narratives that have been shared by the parents in this study provide some insights into the socio-cultural push and pull factors that influence acculturative and parenting decisions, as well as the conflicts that can arise therein.

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Part III
School

Chapter 11
Demand and Direct Involvement: Chinese American and European American Preschoolers' Perceptions of Parental Involvement in Children's Schooling

Yoko Yamamoto, Jin Li, Hanna Bao, and Wendy Suh

Over the last few decades, scholars have attributed Chinese parents' involvement in their children's education as one of the key elements explaining Chinese American students' overall academic success (Cheah & Li, 2010; Li, 2012; Pomerantz, Ng, Cheung, & Qu, 2014; Qu & Pomerantz, 2015; Yamamoto, Li, & Liu, 2016; Zhou, 2009). Ample evidence has documented that Chinese immigrant parents are generally committed to and highly involved in their children's educational processes from an early stage (Chao, 1994; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Jung, Fuller, & Galindo, 2012; Yamamoto et al., 2016). Nevertheless, little is known about how children with Chinese immigrant parents perceive their parents' support and involvement in their schooling, especially when they are young. An increasing number of studies have delineated Chinese and Chinese American adolescents' awareness of their parents' involvement in their education and a sense of obligation to meet their parents' expectations (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Qu & Pomerantz, 2015). However, to date, no systematic studies have examined how children with Chinese immigrant parents view their parents' involvement and support during the preschool period. Using a mixed method approach, we examined perceptions of parental support related to school attendance among such a group of preschoolers.

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Theoretical Framework

According to Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979, 1995), children develop at the center of interconnected and reciprocal spheres of influence, such as family, school, community, and social institutions. Based on this theory, the microsystem, primary and immediate agents for the child such as families influence children's developing beliefs about learning and attitudes toward schooling. In general, parents' involvement in their children's education is positively associated with their children's educational processes from early childhood through adolescence and has been found to increase children's valuation of school, engagement in school, and academic skills (e.g., Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Hill et al., 2004; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Li, Yamamoto, Kinnane, Shugarts, & Ho, 2018). Parents' engagement in education that facilitates greater parent–child interactions also transmits their educational values to their children, promotes parent–child cooperation with their expectations, and increases children's motivation and engagement (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Hill et al., 2004; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997).

While ample evidence demonstrates the importance of the mesosystem, the second layer surrounding the microsystem such as the relationships and interactions between families and schools, in children's beliefs related to learning, especially for minority and immigrant families (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1995; Kara, 2005; Mapp, 2003), families tend to play a more salient role in young children's related formation of beliefs (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Li, 2012). What parents do and say about schooling directly and indirectly influences preschoolers' development of beliefs related to learning (Li, 2012; Li, Fung, Bakeman, Rae, & Wei, 2014). Parental engagement in their children's cognitive and learning activities at home is associated with young children's intellectual, academic, and language development (Holloway, Rambaud, Fuller, & Eggers-Pierola, 1995; Li et al., 2018; Yamamoto et al., 2016).

Parents' beliefs and engagement in their children's education are also largely influenced by cultural models of learning (LeVine, 1988). Although the ecological systems theory suggests a critical role of culture in parents' beliefs and interactions with their children, it considers culture as a distant layer that influences children's development (Vélez-Agosto, Soto-Crespo, Vizcarrondo-Oppenheimer, Vega-Molina, & García Coll, 2017). As other sociocultural and ecocultural theorists point out, culture permeates everyday activities, routines, and interactions experienced by children (Gjerde, 2004; Jensen & Arnett, 2018; Weisner, 2002). Through these everyday experiences and interactions, individual children actively construct their beliefs and negotiate cultural beliefs. In this study, we extend Bronfenbrenner's theory and view parental involvement in their children's education as a "cultural microsystem" in which cultural practices take place in parents' school- and learning-related communications and interactions with their children (Vélez-Agosto et al., 2017). Using this theory, we view children as active individuals who construct their views with their parents' support through everyday cultural practices and routines

related to school learning rather than as recipients of cultural practices of such parenting. Although children internalize norms and values from their caregivers, they do not passively and blindly accept beliefs conveyed by adults and society. Instead, children actively construct beliefs and understanding of their world through their ongoing interactions with their parents and other socialization agents (Li, 2012; Morrison, Rimm-Kauffman, & Pianta, 2003; Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982; Sigel, 1998). Thus, an examination of children's perceptions and understandings of parental support and engagement in their education would help us understand how children interpret their parents' involvement.

Chinese Parents' Involvement in Their Children's Education

Extant evidence demonstrates that Chinese immigrant parents play a key role in fostering their children's academic motivation and school engagement (Chao, 1994; Cheah & Li, 2010; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Li, 2012; Pomerantz et al., 2014; Zhou, 2009). Asian immigrant parents, including Chinese immigrants, tend to hold higher aspirations and expectations of their children's academic achievement than parents in other ethnic groups in the United States (Cheah & Li, 2010; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). In Chinese culture, academic success is one of the most crucial outcomes children are expected to achieve. Education is considered invaluable as a means to cultivate a moral mind and self (Li, 2012). Learning is regarded as a duty rather than a pure academic endeavor. Thus, children's academic achievement brings honor to their parents and families, whereas academic failure could bring disgrace (Cheah & Li, 2010; Li, 2012; Ng, Pomerantz, & Deng, 2014; Qu & Pomerantz, 2015). Parents perceive themselves as being responsible for guiding and instructing their children (Chao, 1994; Cheah, Leung, & Zhou, 2013; Ng et al., 2014; Pomerantz et al., 2014; Yamamoto et al., 2016). With strong emphasis on parental dedication to, and sometimes sacrifice for their children's education and development, Chinese parents tend to feel obliged to train their children, and are highly involved in their children's academic activities at home from a young age (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Jung et al., 2012; Ng et al., 2014; Yamamoto et al., 2016).

Cultural emphasis on education and parental involvement could be especially beneficial to low-SES children who face various risks and challenges. Although there is an academic gap associated with socioeconomic status (SES) within the Chinese immigrant group, low-SES Chinese immigrant children generally exhibit high academic performance compared to other ethnic groups in the United States, even before attending formal schooling (Chen et al., 2015; Li, Yamamoto, Luo, Batchelor, & Bresnahan, 2010). It has been argued that the Chinese cultural model and value placed on education buffer the negative effects associated with poverty and increase low-SES parents' involvement in their children's education (Li, Holloway, Bempechat, & Loh, 2008; Yamamoto et al., 2016). Relative to their middle-SES counterparts, low-SES Chinese immigrant parents have been found to maintain more harmonious family environments and demonstrate a stronger sense

of responsibility in teaching and disciplining their children, despite limited financial resources (Yamamoto et al., 2016). Moreover, low-SES Chinese immigrant parents tend to be engaged in teaching basic letters and numbers to their children during the preschool period (Yamamoto et al., 2016). Low-SES Chinese immigrant families also tend to reside in ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown where traditional cultural beliefs and practices are maintained, compared to middle-SES families who tend to live in suburban towns (Yamamoto et al., 2016; Zhou, 2009). Thus, low-SES families may be able to preserve traditional cultural values that enable them to be involved in their children's school processes. In this study, we included both low-SES and middle-SES children with Chinese immigrant parents to understand possible variations associated with SES in children's perceptions of parental involvement in their educational processes.

Despite strong engagement in their children's education, research has demonstrated mixed findings about the quality of Chinese parenting and parental involvement. In general, Chinese, Chinese American, and Chinese immigrant parents are viewed as more controlling and authoritarian than European American parents (Camras, Kolmodin, & Chen, 2008; Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997). For example, Chinese American children and parents exchange less talk, and parents tend to be more serious and orderly toward their children than Caucasian American families (Cheah et al., 2013; Huntsinger & Jose, 1995; Yamamoto & Li, 2012). Moreover, the Chinese concept of filial piety is often practiced in specific forms that grant parental authority over children (Li, 2012; Qu & Pomerantz, 2015). Such parent–child relationships may appear to indicate cold, distant, and authoritarian parenting styles that are dissimilar to authoritative parenting styles reflecting parent warmth and responsiveness to children's interests (see Cheah, Li, Zhou, Yamamoto, & Leung, 2015).

However, studies focusing on indigenous beliefs have provided alternative interpretations of Chinese parents' ways of disciplining their children and involvement in their children's education. For example, Chinese immigrant parents strongly value family cohesion and a dependable and trusting family environment for children (Chao, 1994; Li, 2012; Yamamoto et al., 2016). Indeed, in Chinese culture, family is considered to be an important unit that protects and nurtures children's well-being and various domains of development. Chinese parents value warm parent–child relationships and express their affection and warmth. However, they express their care and warmth through instrumental care such as cooking their children's favorite foods or monitoring their children's academic work rather than through physical or verbal expressions (Cheah et al., 2015; Cheah & Li, 2010). Parents' deep involvement in their children's education is a way of showing their love and care. These studies suggest authoritative aspects of Chinese parenting that may not have been reflected in studies on parenting styles and thus highlight the importance of examining the indigenous meanings behind Chinese parents' practices and behaviors.

Children's Perceptions of Parental Involvement

Children's subjective views of their parents' involvement in their education may provide a good window for us to understand the meaning and quality of their parents' involvement. In general, the authoritarian parenting style tends to be negatively associated with students' outcomes in the United States (Baumrind, 1971; Beato, Pereira, Barros, & Muris, 2016; Pinquart, 2015). While similar associations appear in China and Taiwan, several studies on Asian American families found a positive association between the authoritarian parenting style and students' academic performance (Chen et al., 1997; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Pong, Johnston, & Chen, 2010; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). These findings suggest that children's perceptions of parenting and parental engagement may mediate the linkage between parental involvement and children's educational processes. Studies on Chinese adolescents have shown that they are aware of their parents' expectations, efforts, nurturance, and caring in raising them and feel a sense of obligation to respect their parents and follow their advice (Bempechat, Li, & Ronfard, 2018; Fuligni et al., 1999; Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Qu & Pomerantz, 2015). Chinese adolescents maintain their sense of responsibility to parents and try to honor them by meeting their expectations of learning and achieving well (Qu & Pomerantz, 2015). Such a sense of obligation is further heightened in immigrant contexts: Adolescents with immigrant parents tend to recognize sacrifices made by their parents and value their duty to respect and assist their families (Fuligni et al., 1999; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). A sense of responsibility to parents derived from cultural and immigrant contexts is likely to lead Chinese American adolescents to maintain their values on education, ultimately keeping them engaged (Bempechat et al., 2018; Pomerantz et al., 2014; Qu & Pomerantz, 2015). Although these studies highlight a sense of responsibility shared by Chinese and Chinese American adolescents, little is known about how young children of Chinese immigrant parents perceive their parents' involvement in their education.

To date, research on young children's perceptions of parental involvement is scarce. Although it is methodologically challenging to elicit young children's beliefs and perceptions, previous studies have succeeded in eliciting various types of learning-related beliefs from 4-year-old children. During the preschool period, children express sophisticated and complex beliefs related to school learning (Li, 2004; Li et al., 2010). Using a story-completion method, we examined preschool children's perceptions of parental involvement in their schooling. Story-completion is a well-established method that has been used to elicit young children's developing views (Li, 2004; Li et al., 2010; Wang & Leichtman, 2000). Scholars have identified that young children are able to express culturally unique sociocognitive processes and perceptions of world internalized through family socialization practices in their narratives derived from imaginary stories and autobiographical events (Wang & Leichtman, 2000). In response to hypothetical but common scenarios, children tend to share their views related to parental involvement that are likely constructed based

on their experiences and interactions with their parents. In this study, we focus on parental support in the domain of schooling, such as school attendance and school learning. For the majority of children, attending school is a critical everyday routine that builds a platform for educational success in the United States; regular school attendance is associated with positive academic performance. Furthermore, the academic benefits of school attendance are especially robust for young children with low SES (Ready, 2010). Thus, ensuring their children's regular school attendance is one crucial type of parental support when children are young.

Parents' encouragement and support for school attendance may also foster various beliefs related to school learning, such as purposes and meanings of school attendance for their children. Thus, we analyzed children's responses to stories related to school attendance. In this study, we included European American children as a comparative group. Whereas children in the United States may develop similar views about parental support due to shared experiences in American schooling (e.g., routines and compulsory education), socialization processes and parent–child relationships based on different cultural models likely yield cultural differences in such views (Li, 2012; Yamamoto et al., 2016). We used a mixed-method analytical approach for this study. First, we examined children's perceptions of parental support with the following foci: whether preschool children were aware of their parents' support in their schooling, how children perceived their parents' involvement, and how they judged such parental involvement (e.g., if children thought parental involvement was good or not or liked it or not). Then we looked at cultural and socioeconomic differences in children's perceptions of their parents' involvement.

Method

Participants

Data for this chapter were drawn from a longitudinal study that examined Chinese American and European American children's socialization processes. Both Chinese American and European American children were recruited from two states in New England as part of the larger study. For this chapter, we randomly selected 180 children (60 low-SES children with Chinese immigrant parents, 60 middle-SES children with Chinese immigrant parents, and 60 middle-SES European American children), half boys and half girls in each group, from a larger sample.

The mean age of the children was 4.62 years ($SD = 3,42$), but the European American children were significantly younger than the Chinese American children, $F(2, 177) = 16.55$, $p < 0.001$. Ninety-eight percent of the children attended a daycare or preschool. The average length of preschool or daycare attendance was 1.5 years, and there was no significant difference among the three groups. About 93% of children with Chinese immigrant parents were born in the United States, and their mothers were born outside the United States. Approximately 93% of the

mothers came from Mainland China, and others came from Hong Kong, Taiwan, or Vietnam. The mean length of Chinese immigrant mothers' US residence was 9.91 years ($SD = 4.68$). Both children and parents in the European American group were born in the United States.

We used the Hollingshead index that takes into account both parents' education and occupation to determine the families' SES (Hollingshead, 1975). Families with a score of 40 or higher were classified as middle SES and those below 40 as low SES. All of the middle-SES families had at least one parent with a bachelor's degree, and low-SES parents had high school diploma or less.

Procedure

To elicit children's perceptions of their parents' involvement, we employed a story-completion interview method that was developed to elicit young children's beliefs and views related to schooling and learning (Li, 2004). We used two scenarios that portrayed children's school attendance and processes. The two-story stems depicted young children's attitudes toward preschool attendance, but from opposite perspectives. One was about a child eager to go to school, and the other was about a child who did not want to go to school. In the interview, each child listened to the two-story stems, in random order, while looking at a black-and-white picture that presented the image of each story. Next, the child was asked to complete the story. Whenever the child mentioned any schooling- or learning-related ideas, a follow-up question of "Why is it good to …?" or "What's good about ...?" was asked to probe the child's response. Because the goal of this study was to understand children's voluntary views related to parental support and parental involvement in their school processes, the interviewers encouraged children to provide free responses and did not prompt children to think about their parents' roles in these scenarios. The interviewer continued to probe until the child indicated by speech or gesture that he or she had finished responding. Each story took about 5 minutes. For Chinese American children, interviews were conducted in their preferred language. Only 20% of low-SES children and about 63% of middle-SES children chose to be interviewed in English. The remaining Chinese American children were interviewed with our bilingual interviewers in Chinese. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim in the original language.

Mixed-Method Analytical Approach

We employed one of the mixed method approaches, concurrent nested design, in which qualitative data is used to identify themes and to form variables to be examined in quantitative analyses (Creswell, 2014). In order to elicit children's perceptions of parental support, we first qualitatively analyzed children's narratives. By

Table 11.1 Qualitative examples of the four types of children's perceptions of parental support

Recognition and appeal to parental support
He can ask his mom to bring him to school.
Because mom can teach me how to read.
She is sick and asks mommy to read to her.
Parents' demands/expectations
His mommy say "you have to go."
Mommy wants him to go to school.
She [mom] shouts, "Go to school,"
Her mom said, "You can't play anymore! You have to do homework or something."
Parents' reasoning
She [mom] will say "If you go to school, lots of friend will play with you."
Mommy says "School makes you smart."
Mommy says "You have to go to school so you can learn things."
Parents' direct involvement
Mommy takes him to school.
Her mom talks to a teacher and she can go to school.
Mommy puts him in a car and go to school.

adapting techniques of content analyses developed by Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, and O'Connor (1987), and refined by Li (2004), we conducted qualitative analyses to identify "distinct" themes shared by children. The distinctiveness of an idea was defined as one that was not interchangeable with another. Through this procedure, we found four distinctive themes related to parental support and involvement: recognition and appeal to parental support, parental demands/expectations, parental reasoning, and parents' direct involvement (see Table 11.1).

To conduct quantitative analysis on the four elements emerged in our qualitative analyses, all of the data were coded in the original language of data collection. Two bilingual coders for the Chinese immigrant data and two native English speakers for the European American data who were blind to our hypotheses coded a random sample of 20% of the data. After reaching reliability, they independently coded each variable by counting the number of occurrences in each child's responses, excluding repeated utterances. In order to examine group differences, we conducted a set of ANCOVAs for all of the four parental involvement codes for the three groups, low-SES Chinese Americans, middle-SES Chinese Americans, and middle-SES European Americans. We ran correlations with variables that were possibly correlated with the parental involvement variables. The amount of talk expressed by children in the interview of the stories could be correlated to their mentioning of parental support in those stories. To rule out this possibility, we ran correlational tests between the amount of talk and the four types of parental support variables.

To achieve English–Chinese equivalence, we followed the method used by Fivush, Brotman, Buckner, and Goodman (2000), and counted the number of subject-verb structures (SVS) rather than the number of individual words in the children's responses. In addition, because some interviewers did not ask the

children all of the standard follow-up questions, such uneven probes might have affected children's opportunities for mentioning parental support. Thus, we counted the frequencies of missed probes and ran correlational tests between "missed probes" and the four types of parental support variables. Children's age in months might also influence their abilities to express and understand parental involvement in their learning processes. Because European American children were significantly younger than Chinese immigrant children, we ran correlations with children's age in months and the four types of parental involvement variables. We entered the variables with significant correlations as covariates in the subsequent analyses.

Results

Qualitative analysis of children's free expressions demonstrated that even at age four, they held complex views related to parental involvement and support. In our analysis, four types of key themes pertaining to parental involvement emerged: (a) recognition and appeal to parental support,(b) parents' demands and expectations, (c) parents' reasoning (verbal communications), and (d) parents' direct involvement (see Table 11.1). As Table 11.2 shows, Chinese American children mentioned *parents' direct involvement* the most, while European American children did so with *parents' demands and expectations*, among the four parental involvement-related variables. However, Chinese American children mentioned all aspects of parental support more than European American children.

Table 11.2 Mean frequencies, standard deviations (in parentheses), and one-way analysis of variance or covariance of parent involvement variables

Perceptions of parental involvement	Middle-SES Chinese Americans	Low-SES Chinese Americans	European Americans	F	η^2
Recognition and appeal to parental support[a]	0.05	0.13	0.05	1.55	0.02
	(0.34)	(0.29)	(0.29)		
Parents' demands and expectations[a]	0.30	0.27	0.23	0.12	0.00
	(0.65)	(0.52)	(0.43)		
Parents' reasoning	0.02	0.05	0.00	1.80	0.02
	(0.13)	(0.22)	(0.00)		
Parents' direct involvement[b]	0.38	0.43	0.05	3.85*	0.04
	(0.59)	(0.78)	(0.22)		

Note. *$p < 0.05$
[a]SVS was entered as a covariate. [b]Missed probes and age in months were entered as covariates

Recognition and Appeal to Parental Support

This theme indicated children's strong recognition of their parents' support and engagement in their school processes and learning. This theme was expressed second most by European American children along with parents' direct involvement and third most by Chinese American children. Children viewed their parents as teachers, helpers, and providers of learning opportunities, as one child noted, "Because mom can teach me how to read." Comments signaling children's awareness of parents as teachers or learning facilitators tended to be mentioned in the domain of actual learning processes rather than school attendance. Further, their expressions tended to show warm parent–child relationships and children's positive feelings associated with their parents' support and engagement. For example, a low-SES Chinese American boy voluntarily noted that he liked to read books because he liked to have his mother read books for him as follows:

Child (C):	Because like my mommy read story for me.
Interviewer (I):	You like your mommy coming for you?
Child:	No, read story for me.
Interviewer:	You like your mommy reading story for you?
Child:	Yeah.

One child also mentioned that the protagonist in the story asks her mother to read at home when she is sick and does not want to go to school. Another child mentioned that her mother is available to teach her how to sound out letters. These responses were given by both Chinese American and European American children and revealed their recognition of their parents' home-based involvement. However, children's awareness of parental engagement was not limited to home-based involvement. A few children also described parent's school-related involvement. In the story of a child who wants to go to school, one low-SES Chinese American boy said that the boy in the story could ask his mother to bring him to school. Other children reported that the child in the story could ask her/his mother to sign up for a school or to talk to a teacher so that she/he could attend school. These comments reveal children's broad understanding of their parents' abilities to communicate, interact, or negotiate with school officials and teachers. Children seem to be aware that parents' support is needed for young children to learn or to resolve school-related issues.

To examine a group difference within this theme, we performed a one-way ANCOVA. We entered SVS which was significantly correlated with this variable, $r(180) = 0.21$, $p < 0.01$, as a covariate. There was no significant main effect of the group on children's mentioning of parents as teachers or learning facilitators (see Table 11.2 for results).

Parents' Demands and Expectations

We also identified a theme that reflected children's verbalizations of their parents' expectations and demands related to school attendance. Among the four types of parental support identified in the children's narratives, this theme was mentioned most by European American children and second most by low-SES and middle-SES Chinese American children (see Table 11.2). Children mentioned scenarios in which parents expected their children to attend school and made demands for children not to be absent from school. For example, upon hearing a story of a child who does not want to go to school, one middle-SES Chinese American girl elaborated parental expectations as follows:

C: She [her mom] says not a choice.
I: Why does she say that?
C: Because need to go to school.
I: Mm. So is going to school good or not good?
C: Good.
I: What's good about going to school?
C: Be smart.
I: What's good about being smart?
C: So you can learn.
I: And what's good about learning?
C: So when you grow up, you can be smart.

While the girl noted a firm expectation by a parent, many children also conveyed parental demands such as "Her/his mom say 'you have to go!'" Most children did so by indicating their awareness of the division of labor in their households and a heightened maternal role in ensuring children's daily school attendance. But some children also mentioned expectations shared by both fathers and mothers, and demands made as a family effort, as exemplified in a comment such as "His daddy said, 'he has to go school' and his mom told him to go school."

As illustrated by the girl who articulated the benefits of going to school, both European American and Chinese American children often referred to benefits of going to school and learning in relation to parental involvement. For example, when an interviewer probed, "Why does mommy say that John has to go to school?", a middle-SES Chinese American boy noted, "Because school is also good for you." Another low-SES Chinese American girl also concurred that the girl in the story would go to school because her mother demanded her to do so, and it is good "because you can learn things." They often stated that the point of their need to go to school and parents' demands and expectations was to help them learn. For example, another Chinese American girl shared a message she received from her mother in relation to school learning. Despite being only four years of age, she revealed her parents' expectations and children's obligation to do homework (in response to the protagonist who did not want to go to school):

C: Um, she just play very… a long time and she-, her mom said, "You can't
      play anymore! You have to do homework or something."
I: Oh, okay. So she g-, plays for a very long time and her mom says, "You
      can't play anymore! You have to do homework!" Right?
C: Yeah.
I: Why does she say that?
C: Because she's a grown-up.
I: Because she's a grown-up? And? Why do grown-ups say that?
C: Ummm, because our mom always say that to us.

It is also important to note that sometimes children mentioned parental directives as a sanction, as this low-SES Chinese American boy articulated as follows, in response to the same story:

C: His mom is angry.
I: His mom is angry? And then what happens?
C: Then she shouts, "Go to school," and then he did.
I: Oh so mom shouts "Go to school" and then he did? Ok. Is it good or not
      good that mom shouted "Go to school?"
C: Bad.
I: Why is it bad?
C: Cause then, then he get, then mom doesn't let John play.
I: Mom doesn't let John play? Why doesn't mom let John play?
C: Cause he didn't go to school.

This narrative shows parental demand, with strong reasoning as well as emotions. The child responded in his mother's voice to convey his understanding of the consequences of not going to school.

To examine a group difference, we conducted a one-way ANCOVA with SVS as a covariate which was correlated with parental expectations and demands, $r(180) = 0.23$, $p < 0.01$. There was no significant main effect of the group on children's mentioning of parental expectations and demand.

Parents' Reasoning

While children's perceptions of parents' demands tended to be direct and restrictive, some children presented parents' verbal explanations or reasoning, such as why the protagonist should go to school. Among the four themes, this theme was mentioned least by both European American and Chinese American children. The explanations and reasoning were delivered with parents' words, including the benefits of going to school as well as the consequences of not going to school. One middle-SES Chinese American girl stated, in response to the protagonist who does not want to go to school:

C: Then his mom said no no.

I: Oh, Sarah's [protagonist] mom says no no. And then?

C: And then she will say "if you go to school, lots of friend will play with you."

I: Ah. Mommy says if you go to school, a lot of friends will play with you. And then what happens?

C: And then um they will eat snacks.

In the story, the child continued to mention various benefits of going to school (e.g., playing with other children; going to park from school together) elaborated by the parent who was trying to convince the protagonist why she should go to school. While the benefits mentioned above by the girl focused on the social domain and fun activities, other children often shared parental explanations in the intellectual and educational domains. For example, comments such as "Mommy say 'You have to go to school so you can learn things'" or "Mommy say 'because school is good for you'" suggest parents' emphasis on intellectual benefits from attending school and valuation of education. In addition to the benefits, children also uttered the consequences of not attending school, in their parents' voices:

C: I mean, he, his mom says "you have to go to school, or you don't know something."

I: Oh.

C: That's what my mom say to me.

I: Oh. So, then what?

C: He'll be in trouble.

While parental reasoning and explanations appeared to be less directive and more elaborative than parents' demands, this theme was expressed less by children. It is possible that children were still too young to be aware of parents' reasoning or explanations, or to elaborate on parents' reasoning, even when they recognized it. It is also possible that demands or direct involvement in their children's education may be more commonly used by parents with young children than reasoning or explanations. Especially, parents may consider school attendance as a necessary daily routine that does not require any explanations or negotiations.

To examine a group difference, we conducted a one-way ANOVA because SVS, missed probes, and children's age in months were not significantly correlated with *parents' reasoning*. The result demonstrated no significant group effect on parents' reasoning.

Parents' Direct Involvement

Children's references to parents' direct involvement demonstrated actions taken by parents or their direct behaviors that facilitated children's school attendance or learning. Among the four themes identified in this study, parents' direct involvement appeared as the most mentioned theme by Chinese American children. For

example, in response to the protagonist who does not want to go to school, a low-SES Chinese American boy noted:

C: Then his mommy say "you have to go."
I: Ah, then his mommy says "you have to go to school." And then what happens?
C: Then she put him in and got on a car and vroomed, and the car vroomed away to school.
I: Ah, so she put him in the car and vroomed away to school?
C: Yup. Then she pull him in and got to school.

Some children said that their parents would take them to school when the protagonist does not want to go to school. They articulated parents' actions or physical involvement after acknowledging parents' demand or request for school attendance. As this theme often came in a story about a child who does not want to go to school, these comments suggested children's understanding that parents would take an action and bring the child to school when he/she did not want to go. While such a direct and physical enforcement may be viewed as a sign of controlling or authoritarian parenting style, in children's expressions, negative comments related to their parents' interventions and physical enforcement rarely appeared. To the contrary, many children noted that parents' direct involvement was beneficial because the child could attend school and learn. For example, one European American boy mentioned that a child's mother would take him to school and that was good "because he will learn more." In the views of many children, parents' direct involvement and actions were considered "good."

We ran a one-way ANCOVA with missed probes and age in months as covariates because children's perceptions of *parents' direct involvement* were significantly correlated with missed probes, $r(180) = 0.18$, $p < 0.05$, and age in months, $r(180) = 0.20$, $p < 0.01$. There was a significant main effect of groups on *parents' direct involvement, $F(2, 175) = 3.85$, $p = 0.023$* (Table 11.2). The results of Post Hoc Group Comparisons demonstrated that Chinese American children, both low-SES and middle-SES, reported significantly more *parents' direct involvement* than European American children. There was no significant difference between low-SES and middle-SES Chinese American children.

Discussion

Although previous research has demonstrated that Chinese immigrant parents tend to be highly involved in their children's education, research examining young children's perceptions of such involvement has been scarce. By extending Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1977, 1995), we aimed at eliciting children's perceptions of parental involvement with regard to school attendance and learning in "cultural microsystem" in which parental involvement in their children's schooling is considered as everyday routines, interactions, and experiences that

embed cultural values and norms (Vélez-Agosto et al., 2017). Using this theory, we viewed young children as actively constructing meanings regarding their parents' involvement in their schooling rather than passively accepting beliefs conveyed by parents and cultures through their interactions with their parents. We also examined both low-SES and middle-SES Chinese American preschoolers in comparison with middle-SES European American preschoolers. As far as we know, our research is the first to document preschool children's perceptions of various dimensions of parental involvement.

Our qualitative findings revealed the complex nature of children's perceptions of parental involvement. Even at age four, children were not only aware of parental support in their schooling and learning processes, but they were also able to express how parents could be involved in hypothetical scenarios. Our findings show that at age four, children already recognize the value of parental involvement and have internalized, to some extent, messages communicated by parents. The four types of parental involvement in schooling identified in children's responses suggest that preschoolers recognize parental support and engagement as important and necessary for their learning. Children also mentioned different ways through which parents could be involved in young children's school processes, such as by teaching, demanding, reasoning and explaining, and being physically and actively involved. However, we could not identify which of the four types of parental support described by the children would convey the strongest message or educational values to the children. Although young children's responses were still limited, what they shared pertaining to parental involvement was learning-related beliefs such as valuation of schooling and benefits from school attendance and learning. It is possible that their parents' involvement conveyed the message to the children that school attendance was critical and expected, and that learning at school would ultimately bring intellectual benefits to them. Previous research has indicated that at this age children can express purposes, benefits, and meanings of school learning (Li, 2004; Li et al., 2010). Children in this study also expressed intellectual and social benefits (e.g., "being smart" and "Mommy and Daddy will praise me," respectively) from school attendance. Children often articulated these perceptions in the voices of their parents, showing their awareness of their parents' involvement. It is possible that various types of parental involvement such as verbal communications and direct physical involvement help their young children construct the fundamental meaning of school attendance: children attend school to learn.

Results of ANCOVAs demonstrated that Chinese American children reported parents' direct involvement significantly more than European American children, after controlling for missed probes and age in months. We speculate that this finding may reflect different degrees of physical and direct involvement between these two groups of parents. As previous research indicates, Chinese parents tend to be highly involved in their children's schooling and education from early on (Chao, 1994; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Li, 2012; Yamamoto et al., 2016). Learning is viewed as a moral endeavor and self-cultivation rather than an academic endeavor per se (Li, 2012). Furthermore, actions are often more valued than speaking in Chinese culture (Li, 2012; Yamamoto & Li, 2012). Chinese parents may consider school attendance,

which provides a platform for learning, as a moral obligation and children's responsibility, with no room for negotiation (Li et al., 2008). Such beliefs may make Chinese immigrant parents view themselves as being responsible for taking actions and being physically and directly involved more than European American parents.

It is also important to note that most Chinese American children seemed to view parental involvement and authority as beneficial, and often necessary, although some children referred to emotional distress such as crying due to parents' anger and punishment. In previous research, Chinese American adolescents were found to be aware of their parents' expectations, efforts, and caring in raising and educating them, and feel a sense of obligation to respect their parents and to follow their advice (Bempechat et al., 2018; Fuligni et al., 1999; Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Qu & Pomerantz, 2015).

However, our results need to be interpreted with caution as we were not able to examine the relations among actual degrees of parental involvement and children's internalization of learning-related beliefs. Whereas our finding showed a cultural difference in children's views of parents' direct involvement, we could not ascertain whether such a difference originated from different degrees of children's awareness or different degrees of actual parental involvement between the two groups. Chinese American children might have been more sensitive to a certain type of parental involvement and reported their parents' direct involvement more than European American children, even if parental involvement in both cultures turned out to be similar. Future research on such relations would help us understand the roles played by parental involvement in children's internalization and construction of the values and meanings of schooling early on.

There were no significant cultural differences in children's perceptions of other types of parental involvement, that is, awareness of parental support, parental expectations and demand, and parents' reasoning and explanations. As Chinese immigrant parents are found to talk less and be more directive than European American parents (Huntsinger & Jose, 1995; Li, 2012), one might expect a significant cultural difference in parents' reasoning and demands. Parents' use of reasoning for young children or young children's ability to elaborate parents' reasoning might still be limited. Cultural differences in verbal communications between parents and children may become more salient during middle childhood and adolescence, especially considering different degrees of acculturation and possible language barriers between Chinese immigrant parents and their children (Cheah & Li, 2010).

We did not find a significant SES difference in any type of parental involvement perceived by children within the Chinese group. It is important to note that we focused on the domain of school attendance and not actual learning or teaching in this study. Socioeconomic differences may become more salient in children's perceptions of parental involvement in actual learning processes as there is generally an SES gap in parents' knowledge and skills to help their children's education (Yamamoto et al., 2016; Yamamoto & Sonnenschein, 2016). Moreover, from this study, we do not know the impact of various types of parental involvement perceived by children on their academic processes and outcomes. For example, parents' direct involvement that was more highly perceived by Chinese American

children than European American children may play a critical role especially for low-SES children's learning, as school attendance has a larger impact on low-SES children's academic achievement than that of higher-SES children (Ready, 2010). In fact, a study shows that Asian American children are less likely to be absent from school during kindergarten and first grade than non-Asian minority children in the United States (Ready, 2010). In future research, it is critical to examine whether children's perceptions of parental involvement play a key role in their educational processes, considering low-SES Chinese American children's relative academic success compared to low-SES children in other ethnic groups (Li et al., 2010; Yamamoto et al., 2016).

Previous research has demonstrated various ways immigrant parents or parents from different cultures support their children's schooling (Chao, 1994; García Coll & Marks, 2009; Yamamoto et al., 2016; Yamamoto & Sonnenschein, 2016). Our study suggests an early onset of the process of internalizing parental support. It also suggests possible types of parental involvement perceived by children, depending on cultures or immigrant contexts. Such an early process may be a key to understanding how children develop learning beliefs that promote learning and achievement.

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Chapter 12
Neighborhood Experiences of Immigrant Families with Young Children in the United States

Elizabeth A. Shuey and Tama Leventhal

Historically, neighborhoods have played a key role in immigrant families' post-migration experiences (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Moreover, neighborhoods may be a potential mechanism through which differences in social and economic well-being emerge among immigrant families, as well as in comparison to their non-immigrant counterparts (García Coll & Szalacha, 2004; Leventhal, Xue, & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Pong & Hao 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, 2001). However, few studies have examined the specific neighborhood aspects that are theorized to be of importance for immigrants, and even fewer have done so with families of young children as a focus (Pong & Hao, 2007; Takanishi, 2004).

This chapter focuses on immigrant mothers of young children embedded in their neighborhood microsystems. In addition, formal child care settings are considered as a microsystem of interest for these families, leading to an exploration of the intersection of neighborhoods and child care decision-making at the mesosystem level. We draw on longitudinal ethnographic data to raise attention to issues of diversity in immigrants' experiences, and investigate process aspects of low-income immigrant mothers' decision-making around child care. With this lens, we explore how low-income immigrant mothers' neighborhood perceptions and experiences might shape their child care preferences and use of different types of child care.

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Immigrant Families' Neighborhoods

Immigrants often settle in communities comprised of other immigrants (i.e., ethnic enclaves) with a shared language, values, practices, and possibly social ties (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Such neighborhoods may facilitate the adjustment of individual families in the United States by communicating knowledge of local resources (Yoshikawa & Kholoptseva, 2013), as well as through reinforcing positive cultural values, such as norms around parental authority (García Coll & Szalacha, 2004; Shields & Behrman, 2004). These immigrant neighborhoods, however, are often more disadvantaged than neighborhoods with fewer foreign-born households (e.g., rates of poverty, public assistance, education levels; Leventhal et al., 2006; Pong & Hao, 2007), and thus may lack many institutional resources that can benefit families with young children. Yet, when immigrant families are able to access community resources, these resources can act as key protective factors for families' well-being (Fuligni, 2012; Leventhal & Shuey, 2014).

As immigrants may lack familiarity with resources available in the United States (Chaudry et al., 2011; Simpkins, Delgado, Price, Quach, & Starbuck, 2012), low availability of services within their neighborhoods may create significant barriers for families trying to adjust to mainstream US values, norms, and practices. Limited access to quality resources is likely to serve as a source of risk for immigrant children, particularly around academic achievement (García Coll & Marks, 2012). Similarly, with few institutional supports for child-rearing, immigrant parents may feel isolated and less able to act as advocates for themselves and their children. Alternatively, to the extent that immigrant parents are deterred from using low-quality resources, their children may be protected from harm and demonstrate resilience.

Although immigrants are becoming increasingly dispersed across the United States, they continue to concentrate in urban areas that are traditional "immigrant gateways" (Hernandez, 2004; Marrow, 2011). Increasing residential segregation between immigrants and non-immigrants is likely to exacerbate many of the differences between communities that historically are home to one group or the other (Cutler, Glaeser, & Vigdor, 2008; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Despite the potential tension between the benefits and drawbacks of immigrant neighborhoods, very little research has attempted to identify how immigrants perceive their neighborhoods, including how neighborhood social conditions and access to resources may support immigrant families in the face of broader socioeconomic disadvantage.

Child Care as a Neighborhood Institutional Resource

Child care is important for families with young children both as an educational and developmental support for children (Crosnoe, 2006, 2007) and as a means through which parents can engage in the workforce (Chaudry, Henly, & Meyers, 2010;

Weber, 2011). Local availability of child care resources can be a powerful determinant of how well child care supports these dual goals for families: Use of more or less formal types of child care is linked with the relative availability of each in families' neighborhoods (Coley, Votruba-Drzal, Collins, & Miller, 2014). Notably, when there is greater per capita availability of child care in communities, low-income parents and non-English speaking parents have an increased likelihood of using child care centers (Fuller, Kagan, Caspary, & Gauthier, 2002; Hirshberg, Huang, & Fuller, 2005), highlighting the importance of local institutions. For immigrant families in particular, transportation and lack of trust or familiarity with providers outside of the community may create barriers to accessing child care outside of the neighborhood (Matthews & Jang, 2007; Simpkins et al., 2012). Unfortunately, there is some indication that given population growth in immigrant neighborhoods, child care availability has not kept pace with demand (Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2011). Further, quality child care is generally less available in more disadvantaged neighborhoods (Adams, Tout, & Zaslow, 2007; Burchinal, Nelson, Carlson, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008; Fuller et al., 2002; García Coll & Fuller, 2010; Hatfield, Lower, Cassidy, & Faldowski, 2015), and is not widely available in immigrant and language minority communities (Matthews & Jang, 2007).

Beyond availability of child care, neighborhood ethnic composition may be important for shaping parents' knowledge of and decisions regarding child care. In neighborhoods with higher concentrations of Hispanic residents, as well as neighborhoods with greater concentrations of residents who do not speak English, the average age of enrollment in child care is higher than in neighborhoods with fewer Hispanic and non-English speaking residents, net of neighborhood socioeconomic conditions (Fram & Kim, 2008). Discrimination also may play a role, with immigrant families living in neighborhoods with fewer co-ethnic residents experiencing more discrimination and, in turn, engaging less with neighborhood resources (Simpkins et al., 2012). Conversely, when Hispanic immigrant families live in communities where Spanish is spoken regularly outside of the home, parents are more comfortable enrolling their children in child care programs where only English is spoken, than when families live in communities where Spanish is not a primary language (Tobin, Arzubiaga, & Adair, 2013).

There are also hints in the literature that neighborhood social networks may support immigrant parents in finding and using child care and related resources for their children (Burchinal et al., 2008; Chaudry et al., 2011; Shuey & Leventhal, 2018 Yoshikawa, 2011; Yoshikawa & Kholoptseva, 2013). However, in the case of close-knit communities, where members tend to be similar to one another, social connections may restrict the range and types of information that parents have available to share with one another (Chaudry et al., 2010). Along these lines, immigrant parents with large neighborhood social networks enrolled their children in a greater range of child care programs, including center-based care, in comparison with immigrant parents with small neighborhood social networks, who tended to use either informal care or family child care programs (Chaudry et al,. 2011; Shuey & Leventhal, 2018).

Linking Families, Neighborhoods, and Child Care: The Mesosystem

On average, immigrant families use formal child care at lower rates than non-immigrant families; however, as the discussion of child care as a neighborhood resource suggests, the reasons for this disparity are likely complex and shaped by numerous systems, extending far beyond family preference (Brandon, 2004; Crosnoe, 2007). Understanding how immigrant families with young children perceive their neighborhoods and learn about child care opportunities is important for several reasons. First, children who attend quality early education settings enter kindergarten with an advantage compared with children who lack these early experiences (Belsky et al., 2007; Burchinal, Magnuson, Powell, & Hong, 2015; Fuller, Holloway, & Liang, 1996; Gormley Jr. & Phillips, 2005; Loeb, Fuller, Kagan, & Carrol, 2004). Children from households where English is not the primary language are especially likely to benefit from enriching child care experiences (Burchinal et al., 2015; Gormley Jr. & Phillips, 2005; Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2007; Magnuson, Lahaie, & Waldfogel, 2006). Given the increasing share of young children in the United States who are from immigrant households, ensuring that all families have access to high-quality child care programs is likely to create societal benefits into the future, as these children grow up through US school systems and themselves seek employment.

Second, parents benefit in various ways from knowing their children are in safe, enriching settings. For one, parents may participate in the labor force or seek additional educational and training opportunities. Among immigrant parents, such opportunities may include learning about how to transfer degrees and credentials from their home countries to use in the United States, or improving English language skills. Any such activities are likely to support their children's well-being because family poverty is one of the strongest correlates of and risk factors for children's developmental outcomes (Duncan, Magnuson, & Votruba-Drzal, 2015; Small, 2006, 2009). A two-generational or family approach in child care settings may be beneficial for immigrant parents by helping them gain familiarity with US education systems, thereby enabling them to participate and advocate for their children and themselves (Karoly & Gonzalez, 2011; Takanishi, 2004).

Mesosystems, linkages between microsystems, can be difficult to assess and analyze in meaningful ways (Wachs, 2015). In the remainder of this chapter we present a longitudinal qualitative methodological approach to understanding both the neighborhood microsystem, and linkages between immigrant families' experiences and perceptions in their neighborhoods and use of formal, center-based child care settings for their young children. The results from this approach suggest that immigrant mothers' neighborhood experiences do shape, to some extent, perceptions of child care options. The "Discussion" section describes implications of these findings for future research on immigrant families using Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Method

Data were drawn from the ethnographic component of Welfare, Children, and Families: A Three City Study, a longitudinal, multi-method study of the well-being of low-income children and families in the wake of welfare reform.

Sample and Data

Two hundred and fifty-six families with young children in moderate- and high-poverty neighborhoods in Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio were recruited to participate in the ethnographic component of the Three City Study during 1999/2000. Ethnographers recruited families from formal child-care settings, the Women, Infants, and Children program, neighborhood community centers, local welfare offices, churches, and other public assistance agencies in each of the three cities. A focal child (age 2–4) was identified within each family, and that child's female primary caregiver ("mother") was interviewed on a range of topics over a series of visits with the ethnographer. Families were visited an average of once or twice per month for 12 to 18 months and then every 6 months thereafter through 2003, providing information across the span of 4 years in most cases. Interview topics were many, but included experiences with child care and neighborhood perceptions.

Ethnographers conducted interviews and observations with participants in each city and were matched with families in terms of race/ethnicity and language; interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish, based on mothers' preferences. "Structured discovery" was used to gather information from families: In-depth interviews were focused on specific topics (e.g., child care) but allowed flexibility to capture unexpected information (Cherlin, Burton, Hurt, & Purvin, 2004; Winston et al., 1999). Interviews were either transcribed or summarized by the ethnographers with support from qualitative research staff in each city; interviews conducted in Spanish were typically summarized in English, rather than being transcribed.

Of the 256 mothers interviewed as part of the ethnography, 35 reported a place of birth outside of the mainland United States and were therefore considered immigrants; women born in Puerto Rico were considered social immigrants. Thirty-four of the 35 immigrants identified in this manner resided in Boston or Chicago; only one immigrant resided in San Antonio. In addition, only one immigrant was identified as White (she was born in Poland), whereas all other immigrants were identified as either Hispanic or Black. Given the divergent policy circumstances and differential sampling in the three cities (Winston et al., 1999), as well as the different contexts of reception for families of color in comparison with immigrants of European origin (García Coll & Szalacha, 2004; Portes & Rivas, 2011), data were used from only the 33 immigrant mothers who were women of color and who were recruited in Boston ($n = 17$) and Chicago ($n = 16$).

Analytic Strategy

Rooted in both the theoretical perspective of the bioecological model and the ethnographic methods used to collect the data, we employed thematic analysis, proceeding in three general stages (Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017). First, open coding was used by the first author, followed by preliminary axial coding (i.e., identifying relationships among the open codes), looking for "clusters of meaning" (Creswell, 2007) to create a stream-lined coding paradigm. In the second phase, this refined coding paradigm was employed to code documents in Atlas.ti with two undergraduate research assistants. The first author coded all of the documents and each research assistant was assigned to code half of the documents, ensuring that the codes were employed systematically for each of the 33 cases. During both coding phases, memos to reflect on important themes and questions emerging from the data were written.

The third phase of analysis built on these memos and employed Miles and Huberman's (1994) approach to qualitative analysis using matrices. This approach permits a visualization of coded data by organizing information around various dimensions or themes. Notes on each case were arranged to examine similarities and differences across cases based on numerous characteristics, including city of residence, country of origin, family structure, maternal employment, use of formal child care settings, and neighborhood ethnic composition. During this process, the memos from the coding process were further developed. Ultimately, when patterns seemed to emerge from the data, the coded data from individual cases were revisited to explore greater nuance or disconfirm impressions.

Neighborhood Experiences of Immigrant Families and Child Care Use

Table 12.1 summarizes family characteristics for the 33 cases, with attention to the dynamic nature of families' lives across the years of data collection. Most mothers in Chicago were from Mexico, whereas Puerto Rico was the primary location of origin for mothers in Boston. Mothers in the Chicago sample were somewhat more likely to be first generation (i.e., moved to the United States at the age of 15 or older), rather than 1.5-generation immigrants (i.e., moved to the United States before age 15). In contrast to expected demographic patterns, mothers in both cities, but particularly Chicago, were somewhat more likely to have completed education through high school or beyond than to have less than a high school education. A majority of mothers spoke English at least well enough to get by in day-to-day tasks, although a substantial minority of mothers in Chicago spoke very limited English.

The majority ($n = 26$) of families in this sample used center-based care at some point during their participation in the ethnography. The high rate of center-based

Table 12.1 Ethnographic sample description

	Boston N = 17	Chicago N = 16	Full sample N = 33
Mother country of origin			
Dominican Republic	4	0	4
El Salvador	1	0	1
Honduras	1	0	1
Jamaica	1	0	1
Mexico	0	15	15
Puerto Rico	9	1	10
Trinidad	1	0	1
Mother age as of 2000			
19–24	5	1	6
25–30	5	3	8
31–36	2	7	9
> 36	4	5	9
Unknown	1	0	1
Mother age when moved to the United States			
<15	7	3	10
≥15	7	11	18
Circular migration during childhood	2	2	4
Unknown	1	0	1
Significant other			
Stable partner	5	11	16
Unstable partner	6	2	8
Stable single	6	3	9
Number of children			
1	3	2	5
2	5	0	5
3	4	6	10
≥4	5	8	13
Mother education			
<High School	8	5	13
≥High School	9	9	18
Unknown	0	2	2
Mother employment outside the home			
Stable full-time	5	6	11
Unstable	8	5	13
None	4	5	9
Mother English ability			
Very limited	4	6	10
Adequate–excellent	11	8	19
Unknown	2	2	4

child care use is likely a function of the recruitment process, which involved child care centers, particularly in Chicago where five mothers were using the same center-based program. However, six mothers who were not using center-based child care at the outset of the ethnography transitioned their children into these types of formal arrangements during the study, and three families transitioned out of formal care during this period. Seven families did not use center-based child care programs at any time during the study. Thus, the variation in use of center-based care among families provides an excellent forum to understand how immigrant parents navigated the complex web of child care options, how they viewed different child care arrangements, and why they chose formal versus informal arrangements.

Mothers' discussions of child care suggested multiple ways in which neighborhoods contributed to child care decisions, and vice versa: Child care played a role in determining where families lived. Themes emerging from the data explore the push and pull factors present in immigrant families' neighborhoods, including concerns about crime and safety, availability of neighborhood resources, as well as access to support from friends and family, and the meaning of living in co-ethnic compared with predominantly European American or more diverse communities. We explore each of these factors.

Resource Trade-Offs

Twenty-six mothers expressed serious concerns about crime and safety in their neighborhoods. These concerns were particularly acute in Chicago where gang activity was a primary worry for 13 mothers, yet for many families even dangerous neighborhoods provided valuable reasons to stay. Eleven mothers described their access to neighborhood resources, especially public transportation and schools, as key reasons they liked living in their neighborhoods despite worries about safety. For example, Rita, a mother of five from Mexico, very practically recognized the fact that all of her children could attend school within walking distance was a critical logistical advantage—despite her concerns about gang involvement in the house next door.

Similarly, Aileen and her four children stayed in their neighborhood because Aileen's sister lived in the same building and they had close friends down the block—this access to family and friends meant Aileen could rely on child care assistance if she would not be home from work on time to meet her children. Nonetheless, Aileen had many concerns about raising her children in the neighborhood. The ethnographer describes the area:

> In this side of the city, there is a big concentration of the Mexican working class. Most of the shop advertisements are in Spanish: Envíe dinero a México, verduleria, carniceria y tacos *[send money to Mexico, grocery store, butchery and Mexican food]*! Low-income immigrants live in this neighborhood. This becomes a fact when looking at the uncaring appearance of buildings, shops and streets. There are broken windows, pealing walls, graffiti, old construction structures, weeds, and garbage. The people don't seem to pay attention

to the bad conditions of their neighborhood. They just go on with their lives and continue their everyday activities.

Aileen complained about her neighborhood on multiple occasions, but did not discuss the physical disorder noted by the ethnographer, and instead focused on gangs as her primary concern: "Well here on [my street] (chuckles) I think it's not too good… Yes, outside because there are lot of gang members, lots of uh...lots of bad things." Among the "bad things" Aileen recounted at various times were frequent gunfire, screaming, and loud arguments that disrupt her children's sleep.

For Aileen and many other mothers, local social networks supported mothers' ability to use formal center-based child care by enabling families to seek occasional help with drop-off and pick-up schedules, wrap-around care before and after formal programming, and assistance with transportation. In fact, Aileen turned down an offer of subsidized housing because it meant she would no longer have family and friends in close proximity to assist with child care. The importance of both proximal child care programs and supportive social networks to facilitate center-based care use was evident for Jacinda: She moved away from her social network when she received a public housing unit in a different Boston neighborhood. Jacinda tried to enroll her 3-year-old son, Carlos, in the Head Start program near her new home, only to find there was a waitlist. Initially undeterred, Jacinda inquired about child care vouchers, getting herself on another waitlist, and called local programs to inquire about sliding scale fees, only to be added to yet more waitlists.

Unable to afford the regular fees at any center where slots were available, Jacinda finally gave up, telling the ethnographer: "it's not going to work out." Not long after Jacinda gave up hope, Carlos was offered a spot in another Head Start program, approximately 30 minutes from their home by public transit, and Jacinda accepted immediately. Yet, this commute became untenable for Jacinda after only a few months: "because I was having a high-risk pregnancy so I had to take Carlos to the school walking and winter was coming and I was like no, so I pulled him out and I kept him at home." Jacinda had no one in the area who could help her transport Carlos to the Head Start center outside of her neighborhood, and thus Carlos remained in the sole care of his mother until he could enter a public pre-kindergarten program, which provided transportation.

Pros and Cons of Co-Ethnic Neighborhoods

During most of the study, 12 of the families in the Chicago sample lived in neighborhoods that were predominantly Mexican, and the remaining four families in Chicago lived in more ethnically diverse neighborhoods that included other Hispanic families. In contrast, in Boston six families lived in predominantly European American neighborhoods, whereas the remaining families lived in areas that were predominantly minority but generally diverse in terms of ethnic composition.

Availability of ethnic food in their neighborhoods was a resource of focus for nine mothers. In Chicago, mothers were generally able to find desired products in small family-owned stores, but also increasingly in large chain grocery stores: Malissa, a mother of five said, "Thanks God, there are several Mexican grocery stores, and we can buy and cook Mexican food in the Mexican way." In Boston, however, most mothers reported traveling outside of their neighborhoods, often to other nearby cities, to find preferred products. When Julia was asked what resources her Boston neighborhood needed, her first response was: "How about a Hispanic supermarket. I am forever running out of food and I have to go far to get it."

Six mothers reported explicitly choosing their neighborhoods, or preferring to stay in their neighborhoods, for the concentration of co-ethnic residents. Families tended to find others from their same villages in Mexico in their neighborhoods in Chicago, but it was living in a Spanish speaking community that was described as being of central importance, with all but one of these mothers having very limited English skills. A few mothers described these enclaves as a place for "newcomers" to find support from others of their same cultural backgrounds and indicated that it was possible feel "secure" in their neighborhoods because they knew the other families shared their values. Whereas four of these mothers moved directly into Mexican neighborhoods upon arrival in the United States, the other two mothers sought out Hispanic communities after residing in predominantly European American communities. For Rissa, a single mother from Puerto Rico who spoke almost no English, the institutional resources readily available in her historically European American Boston neighborhood could not compensate for the isolation she experienced there:

> Rissa: Sometimes I feel alone.
> Ethnographer: You feel you are away from everything?
> Rissa: No. Here I have everything close by; and the clinic is close. The problem is that there
> is no one Hispanic.

In addition to the desire to be near other Hispanic families, Alicia, a single mother from Mexico explained that when she lived in a European American neighborhood, her neighbors were "the type that ignores you, the type of people that think they're above you," and "those two year [in that neighborhood] were awful!"

These preferences to avoid European Americans and engage with Hispanic families were echoed by five other mothers who lived in more ethnically diverse neighborhoods. Anna, a mother of four from Mexico, appreciated that other Mexican families in her neighborhood shared her values, but noted that "Americans" in the neighborhood tended to be younger and less concerned with family responsibility. Similarly, Anita, a Mexican mother of three, reported that the "Americans" in her neighborhood were unfriendly and therefore untrustworthy.

For some mothers, this discomfort with "Americans" led to an active avoidance of the neighborhood and any available resources. This trend was particularly pronounced in Boston among mothers seeking child care in predominantly European American neighborhoods. Although Marka eventually decided to enroll her only child, Tia, in a neighborhood preschool where "all the other kids… are white," she refused to seek help from other parents at the school when her work schedule

demanded she arrive before the preschool opened, creating a gap in child care. Marka explained her reasoning to the ethnographer: "I don't trust white people. I have no connection to them."

Similarly, Sonia, a young mother who moved from the Dominican Republic when she was 5 years old and grew up speaking fluent English in a predominantly European American Boston neighborhood viewed herself as quite different from her neighbors. When the ethnographer asked Sonia about her drive to further her education and work full-time, Sonia compared herself to others, especially in her neighborhood:

> I think that I am different… it's hard to judge but many girls my age don't want to improve. Particularly the white girls who are hanging out… They have had to work less to get things we have to work for and then they don't take advantage of what is given to them.

When it came to exposing her daughter, Nola, to the neighborhood, Sonia was even less forgiving of her neighbors: "No, I don't let [Nola] be in any activities around here. No me gusta nada. Los niños tienen malas manas *[I don't like anything here. The children have bad manners]* around here." When Sonia was struggling to find center-based child care for Nola, the ethnographer asked about the school down the street and Sonia continued:

> It's probably full of white kids and they will be mean to Nola… They are little racists. I don't want my daughter to have to deal with them. Then she will come home thinking that there is something wrong with her. The girl next door, she calls Nola 'stupid.' I tell her to stop doing that and she doesn't. It is just here. I can take her anywhere and not have those problems but here, they are racist.

Being an ethnic minority created a particular set of struggles for families in European American neighborhoods, but Sonia's perceived differences between her own and her neighbors' values were also reflected among immigrant families living in co-ethnic and in more diverse communities. Whereas mothers in Boston were most apt to describe their neighbors as lacking ambition, Mexican mothers in Chicago were more often deeply critical of the disengaged parenting behaviors they observed among their neighbors, including critiquing parents for working too much at the expense of spending time with their children.

In addition, the downsides of living in a co-ethnic community or associating only within ethnic groups in more mixed neighborhoods were noted by five mothers. Carrie, a Dominican mother of one, summarized:

> So when I moved here to [this street], it's full of my Latino community, where the majority are Puerto Rican, Dominican, and that's like mixing opposites, like blending positive and negative solutions [mimics explosion sound] … There's a lot of gossip, lots of noise, they want to know all that goes on in your life, they criticize you, they're always checking on you to see what you're doing or not doing, who you go out with, don't go out with. It really isn't a peace like I would wish for.

Concerns about gossip were echoed by Mexican mothers as well, with one mother feeling that it was necessary to defend her decision to send her children to Head Start in her predominantly Mexican neighborhood; she thought that other mothers in the neighborhood believed she allowed her children to spend too much time away

from home, even though the program was recommended to her by a neighborhood friend. Conversely, as Julia watched the Hispanic population increase in her historically European American neighborhood, she emphasized that ethnicity alone could not create a cohesive community: "Be conscious that I don't think of them [new Hispanic residents] as friendlier or anything because they are Latinos. Some hardly even speak Spanish." As Julia's comment highlights, social capital and cohesion in mothers' neighborhoods was often bounded by language or membership in a specific ethnic group.

Discussion

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model situates individuals within complex systems, recognizing the importance of proximal influences (i.e., microsystems) as well as broader social, cultural, and historical contexts. For immigrant families, the intersections of these systems can be particularly meaningful as individuals navigate through differences between countries of origin and reception. This study examined two microsystems—neighborhoods and child care—as well as their mesosystem intersection to shed light on the experiences of immigrant mothers with young children. Neighborhood resources and neighborhood ethnic composition played significant roles in determining the types of care families accessed. The longitudinal ethnographic approach used in this study allowed us to examine the complexities of push and pull factors related to neighborhoods and use of center-based child care at the level of the mesosystem.

The low-income immigrant mothers in this study expressed concerns about their neighborhoods, particularly around safety. Families in this study were recruited from low- and very-low-income urban neighborhoods, and thus mothers' perceptions of safety likely reflect the real prevalence of crime in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods. Further, quantitative data from Chicago suggest that first-generation immigrants report less disorder (e.g., presence of graffiti, litter) than third-generation immigrants within the same neighborhoods (Sampson, 2012). This finding suggests that recent immigrants either do not notice or are less likely to report on conditions of disorder in their neighborhoods than individuals who have a longer family history in the United States. In either case, this difference highlights that the safety concerns reported by mothers in this study are likely to reflect neighborhood conditions that have the potential to be truly detrimental or dangerous for these families with young children rather than a type of reporting bias.

Further, quantitative data reveal that immigrant families live in neighborhoods with lower concentrated affluence (e.g., percent high–income residents, percent professionals/managers) *and* lower concentrated poverty (e.g., poverty rate, percent of residents receiving public assistance) than non-immigrant families (Shuey & Leventhal, 2018). Thus, immigrant families experience lower levels of neighborhood advantage than their non-immigrant counterparts, but they do not appear to face the same degree of systemic disadvantage and neighborhood isolation

confronted by many non-immigrant families in the United States, most notably African American families (Huston & Bentley, 2010; Wilson, 1987). This situation is notable because neighborhood concentrated affluence is associated with a greater likelihood of center-based child care use for both immigrant and non-immigrant families (Shuey & Leventhal, 2018). Relatedly, neighborhoods in the United States are increasingly segregated by income, and this economic segregation disproportionately affects minorities compared with European Americans (Reardon & Bischoff, 2011). Among immigrant families, segregation can create steep barriers to accessing more affluent neighborhoods (García Coll & Marks, 2012). As such, it is perhaps not surprising that mothers in the current study often struggled to find desirable child care for their young children. Yet, a majority of the families opted to use center-based care, underscoring the perceived value of child care programs among low-income, immigrant mothers as well as the barriers and constraints faced by these families in accessing child care resources (Shuey & Leventhal, 2020).

Past research highlights the importance of overlaying race and ethnicity with immigrant status to understand how children and families fare in the United States (e.g., Brandon, 2004; Crosnoe, 2006). In the present study, we identified a reluctance to use formal child care programs in neighborhoods where immigrant families were ethnic minorities. Findings from other work examining the contexts of reception for immigrant families confirm the perceptions of racial and ethnic biases described by the immigrant mothers in this sample, but also highlight that these biases are present in communities receiving immigrants, as well as among immigrants themselves (Marrow, 2011).

Social trust in co-ethnic communities may have helped mothers in this study to feel comfortable using neighborhood child care resources, and may help explain the meaning of race and ethnicity as complex predictors of child care use in quantitative studies (Coley et al., 2014; Shuey & Leventhal, 2018). Among the mothers in this ethnography, living in a co-ethnic community was desirable, and provided at least some feelings of shared values and cohesion. This finding mirrors quantitative findings that trust is greater among neighbors in co-ethnic neighborhoods (Wu, Hou, Schimmele, & Carmichael, 2018). Nonetheless, having only a modest level of perceived similarities in values appears to have helped mothers feel a degree of ease engaging with formal neighborhood resources: Mothers did not always think that their co-ethnic communities supported their use of formal child care centers. Similarly, mothers did not always welcome the degree of community involvement in personal matters that existed in some co-ethnic neighborhoods.

Past research suggests that Mexican immigrant parents, in particular, may be likely to encourage their children's acculturation while themselves remaining isolated from US culture in predominantly Mexican American neighborhoods (Delgado & Ford, 1998). The potential consequences of this approach to family acculturation are often considered with regard to adolescent development and family conflict (see Bui, 2012), but are less well understood in the ways they may shape children's early experiences with US institutions, including child care settings. Parents' adherence to traditions and cultural values from their home countries is also typically expected to be a protective factor for children (see García Coll & Szalacha, 2004); however, to the

extent that immigrant families are deterred from engaging with needed services or a sense of belonging in the United States is discouraged, outcomes, at least for older children, can be deleterious (Marks, McKenna, & García Coll, 2018). Moreover, differences in individuals' acculturation within neighborhoods may shape the extent to which immigrant families can access social capital in their neighborhoods (Chaudry et al., 2011; Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi, & Suárez-Orozco, 2011).

Child care programs provided to immigrant families as part of settlement houses at the turn of the twentieth century were considered one way to contribute to the process of immigrants' assimilation (Tobin et al., 2013). The limited attention to the social function of child care in recent debates on both child care and on immigration may be related to critical pushback from family advocates regarding the "subtractive" nature of efforts to assimilate immigrant children by limiting their knowledge of family language and cultural values (Valenzuela, 1999). Yet, child care can be a meaningful way to connect families to important services, help immigrants adjust to life in the United States, and promote key early learning goals for immigrant children. The findings presented in this chapter reveal that the immigrant mothers in this ethnography were generally interested in child care opportunities for their children but often experienced barriers around access to care in their neighborhoods. These neighborhood barriers were related to support from family and friends around the logistics of using child care services and to feelings of discrimination or mistrust in neighborhoods where families were an ethnic minority.

The relevance of these findings for current debates on immigration and growing interest in early childhood programs notwithstanding, as an ethnographic study, it is not possible to generalize the findings beyond the 33 families who participated. Further, the findings are limited by the timing of data collection: The chronosystem has an integral role in shaping immigrant families' experiences. Since the time of data collection, the context of reception for immigrant families in the United States has become increasingly unwelcoming. In addition, the expansion of publicly funded preschool programs for 3- and 4-year-olds in recent years may remove some of the barriers to accessing child care that families in this study experienced.

Nonetheless, some of the limitations of these data are also strengths of the research approach: Longitudinal ethnographic data allow for an in-depth understanding of the experiences of these 33 families. Immigrants are disproportionately located in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Cutler et al., 2008; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Thus, illuminating how immigrant families perceive their neighborhoods and the meaning of these neighborhood circumstances for their child care selection strategies is a key contribution of this study to the broader literature.

Future Directions

The findings presented in this chapter suggest many opportunities for further research on immigrant families in the context of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model. Given the limitation of the timing of data collection and the specific

geographic contexts, future research should investigate immigrants' neighborhood perceptions and child care use in the current sociopolitical climate, as well as in a broader range of locations. Additional qualitative work will help to continue elucidating the complex push and pull factors immigrant families face, whereas quantitative studies could provide more generalizable information on neighborhood experiences, particularly around discrimination, trust and social cohesion, and resource usage. Further, the shifting nature of immigrant destinations, with more and more families migrating to non-urban areas of the United States (Farrell, 2016), makes it imperative to understand how suburban and rural contexts contribute to immigrant families' experiences in their neighborhoods. Studies using a neighborhood-based sampling design, like this study, will be well positioned to disentangle individualized perceptions and experiences from broader neighborhood trends affecting immigrant families.

Another area for future research is young immigrant children's acculturation in disadvantaged neighborhood contexts as well as the role of child care. Acculturation and the immigrant paradox are quite nuanced: On the one hand, findings suggest that a younger age of arrival in the United States makes children more vulnerable to depression, but also can support better educational outcomes than a later age of arrival (Perreira & Ornelas, 2011). On the other hand, Latino children in particular seem to pay a steep price for acculturation in the United States, with the real possibility of downward assimilation among children whose families lack human capital (Suárez-Orozco 2001). These processes are not sufficiently understood at the individual level, and the microsystems studied in this chapter may have a key role to play. For instance, the neighborhoods in Chicago where immigrant mothers lived were largely Mexican neighborhoods, providing cultural support in many ways for new families. However, these same neighborhoods were plagued by gang violence, with many mothers hoping to find alternate living arrangements for their whole families, or at least their adolescents, before children were old enough to attend local high schools and become enmeshed in the gang culture. Thus, not only may social capital be restricted within co-ethnic neighborhoods, it may also contribute to downward assimilation in some neighborhoods (Kelly & Schauffler, 1996; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Children's age is likely very important in how families view and use their neighborhoods.

Similarly, participation in center-based child care typically provides cognitive advantages for young children; but, to the extent participation in neighborhood institutions restricts social capital and opportunities to utilize resources outside of one's neighborhood, center-based child care may not adequately compensate for the range of disadvantages children face. In other words, access to center-based child care alone cannot be assumed to provide immigrant children with the academic advantages available to non-immigrant children in more advantaged communities: Future studies must carefully attend to differences in the quality of child care across neighborhoods as well as the constellation of risks and resources encountered by diverse families.

Finally, this study suggests that access to public housing and housing subsidies may be another microsystem worthy of research in understanding immigrant

families' trajectories in the United States. For instance, both Aileen and Jacinda were offered some sort of housing assistance. Jacinda accepted this assistance, but in doing so removed herself from a supportive local network of friends and kin. Aileen turned down her housing assistance, despite her real need for it and her desire to move to a safer street—she was too afraid of leaving her network of child care supports. Moreover, immigrants who lived in predominantly European American neighborhoods in Boston did so primarily because they were offered public housing units in those neighborhoods. Access to public and subsidized housing programs at the federal level for non-citizens fall under somewhat less restrictive control than many other federal social safety net programs (Siskin & McCarty, 2012); thus, understanding the circumstances and service utilization of immigrant families who access housing assistance would be informative both about their potential barriers to child care use and neighborhood conditions.

Conclusion

Families are embedded in myriad microsystems, and examining the mesosystem linkages between these microsystems is essential for understanding how families navigate across and within systems. For immigrant families, this navigation also means learning about differences in systems between two, or more, countries. The findings presented in this chapter suggest that neighborhoods and child care are two microsystems that are closely linked for low-income immigrant families. Notably, immigrant mothers experience push and pull factors within their neighborhoods, with access to resources for their children being one reason families remain living in areas that may otherwise not be their communities of choice. By examining the complexities of immigrant mothers' neighborhood perceptions and decisions around child care for their young children, this chapter highlights themes around the role of physical safety, race and ethnicity, and social cohesion.

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[1] The author's views are her own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Organisation or its Member countries.

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