CRITICAL CULTURAL STUDIES OF CHILDHOOD

Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families

Educational and Cultural Considerations

Edited by Jorge E. Gonzalez · Jeffrey Liew
Gayle A. Curtis · Yali Zou

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Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood

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This series focuses on reframings of theory, research, policy, and pedagogies in childhood. A critical cultural study of childhood is one that offers a 'prism' of possibilities for writing about power and its relationship to the cultural constructions of childhood, family, and education in broad societal, local, and global contexts. Books in the series open up new spaces for dialogue and reconceptualization based on critical theoretical and methodological framings, including critical pedagogy; advocacy and social justice perspectives; cultural, historical, and comparative studies of childhood; and post-structural, postcolonial, and/or feminist studies of childhood, family, and education. The intent of the series is to examine the relations between power, language, and what is taken as normal/abnormal, good, and natural, to understand the construction of the 'other,' difference and inclusions/exclusions that are embedded in current notions of childhood, family, educational reforms, policies, and the practices of schooling. Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood will open up dialogue about new possibilities for action and research. Single-authored as well as edited volumes focusing on critical studies of childhood from a variety of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives are included in the series. A particular focus is in a reimagining and critical reflection on policy and practice in early childhood, primary, and elementary education. The series intends to open up new spaces for reconceptualizing theories and traditions of research, policies, cultural reasonings, and practices at all of these levels, in the United States, as well as comparatively.

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ISSN 2731-636X ISSN 2731-6378 (electronic)
Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood
ISBN 978-3-031-14469-1 ISBN 978-3-031-14470-7 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Series Editors Preface

We are pleased to have this volume in our series, as it clearly focuses on critical cultural studies of childhoods in the US. *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families* addresses nuanced family literacy and related cultural practices within and across the fasting growing groups of emergent bilingual children in the US. Contributors emphasize the demand for culturally relevant and responsive practices that bridge home and school. Its emphasis on multiliteracies is timely and reflects a respect for funds of knowledge and cultural capital in home and community.

The volume's organization is accessible to a wide readership and engages the reader across three sections, including families at the intersections of society, policy and theory, then goes deeper into specific cultural beliefs, values and attitudes and culminates in a discussion of family literacy practices. Contributors convey differences both within and across groups and reflect contemporary theories of literacy, multiliteracies and embodied practices or "pedagogies of the home" within families and cultures.

Authors draw from a range of primarily qualitative methodologies including ethnographic, personal narrative and testimonio to update the literature on multiliteracies, childhoods, and family cultural practices. Some of this work is reminiscent of the earlier germinal ethnographic work of Denny Taylor and colleagues (e.g., Taylor, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988). Much of this book reinforces the construct, "I am

my language" (Anzaldua, 1987; Gonzalez, 2001; Arias, 2021) in new and powerful ways and is relevant to persistent issues in education and the need for asset-based pedagogies (Arias, 2021) and cultural knowledge in the education of Asian and Latinx children.

Beth Blue Swadener Marianne N. Bloch

Anzuldua, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Arias, B. (2021). *I am my language*. Language Magazine November 2021. https://www.languagemagazine.com/2022/05/17/i-am-my-language/

Gonzalez, N. (2001). *I am My Language: Discourses of Women and Children in the Borderlands*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press

Taylor, D. (1983). *Family Literacy: Young Children Learning to Read and Write*.

Taylor, D. & Dorsey-Gaines, C. (1988). *Growing Up Literate: Learning from Inner-City Families*

Preface

Parents and families hold beliefs about almost every aspect of children's early learning and development. These beliefs emerge from personal histories, values, and norms and take root in day-to-day child socialization routines in the home. These routines form a crucial link between a child and their culture. This book, *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families—Educational and Cultural Considerations,* takes a look at family literacy practices in Asian and Latinx families—two groups whose home literacy practices are yet to be fully understood and too often characterized through a deficit perspective. Both Asian and Latinx families in the United States hold funds of knowledge in the form of cultural and linguistic resources accessed to promote children's early learning and school success. Understanding these funds of knowledge and how they operate as family assets may promote spaces of shared meaning that bridge families and the many systems they encounter in navigating and negotiating on behalf of their child's well-being. It is our hope that readers will draw from within these pages greater insight into how Asian and Latinx families construct or adapt culturally meaningful home literacy socialization practices as they navigate their children's development.

With this aim in mind, in these chapters we share and explore Asian and Latinx home learning environments paying special attention to cultural values and beliefs that inform the choices families make. Among Latinx families, we explore deeply rooted values like *respeto* (respect), *familismo* (familism), *bien educado* (well-educated), and their role in children's development. Among Asian families, we explore *qian xùn* (modesty), *xiao* (filial piety), *zhi* (knowledge), and the role they play in Asian home

learning environments. We also take a much-needed glimpse into the early literacy learning in Asian and Indigenous Children of Hawai'i around children's alternative language and literacy competencies.

Houston, TX — Jorge E. Gonzalez
College Station, TX — Jeffrey Liew
Houston, TX — Gayle A. Curtis
Houston, TX — Yali Zou

Acknowledgments

On behalf of the editors and authors of this book, we would like to thank the many Asian and Latinx parents who participated in the numerous research studies which made this book possible. Their willingness and openness to share their family backgrounds, their beliefs on education, and, in particular, their family literacy practices provided new insights into the multi-faceted influences on parental attitudes on children's learning and the multiple strategies Asian and Latinx parents utilize in supporting their children's literacy development. We appreciate and applaud the time, effort, and financial investment these parents are making in their children's future.

Praise for *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*

"Through daily routines parents socialize children to promote internalization of social and educational goals. These learning spaces are strongly tied to norms, beliefs, and values that sit at the intersection of core cultural niches and realized in home literacy environments. Although the prominent role of culture in shaping children's early learning is established, few studies have sufficiently focused on the ways Latinx and Asian families support their children's learning in the home. This book provides a much-needed comprehensive examination of family and home literacy practices in Asian and Latinx families, representing the largest number of emergent bilinguals in our schools today."

—Laura M. Justice, *EHE Distinguished Professor of Educational Psychology and Executive Director of the Crane Center for Early Childhood Research and Policy and the Schoenbaum Family Center, Ohio State University, USA*

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Notes on Contributors

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focused on the use and promotion of family literacy practices. Aguirre-Muñoz currently serves on the California Association for Bilingual Education (CABE) Executive Board as the Region II Representative and on the Emerging Bilingual Collaborative Advisory Committee, a national non-profit organization that serves the needs of early childhood bilingual students. She has recently served as the Chair of the Bilingual Education Research Special Interest Group of the American Education Research Association.

Rosie Bumgardner is a professional educator and presenter with over 34 years of extensive work in the field of education. She achieved her doctorate degree at The University of Oklahoma in Organizational Leadership with an emphasis on education. Her research and scholarly interests revolve around the academic success of students, Social Cognitive Theory, human agency, self-efficacy, and how self-efficacy can enable students to achieve. She applies her research and work with the development of children's beliefs in their capabilities and in the training of adults who work with children and students.

Vincent D. Carales is an Assistant Professor of Higher Education in the Educational Leadership and Policies (ELPS) Department in the College of Education at the University of Houston. His scholarship focuses on issues related to student success, college affordability, and faculty diversity with a special interest in studying how institutional cultures (e.g., HSIs and CCs), climates, and structures influence Latinx and low-income student's experiences, opportunities, and outcomes across the P-20 pipeline. His work has been published in traditional community college journals such as the *Community College Journal of Research & Practice*, *Community College Review*, *New Directions for Community Colleges*, and *Journal of Applied Research in Community Colleges.* His research has also been published in a variety of education journals including *Teacher's College Record*, *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, *Journal for the Study of Postsecondary and Tertiary Education*, and *Educational Policy.* Carales completed his Ed.D. in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at the University of Texas, San Antonio.

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Carlos Chávez is a PhD student in the Quantitative Methods in Education program in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Minnesota—Twin Cities. His research and scholarly interests revolve around test development, culturally responsive assessment, and methodology for supporting the interpretation and use of test scores. He applies his research interests in work with youth development, such as theories of social-emotional learning and Spanish-English dual language learners.

Gayle A. Curtis, Ed.D., is Program Manager for Asian American Studies, University of Houston, and Postdoctoral Research Associate at Texas A&M University. She was awarded the 2019 AERA Narrative SIG Outstanding Research Article Award for her co-authored article, "The Embodied Nature of Narrative Knowledge: A Cross-Study Analysis of Embodied Knowledge in Teaching, Learning, and Life" and the 2014 AERA Narrative SIG Outstanding Dissertation Award for her dissertation entitled of "Harmonic Convergence: Parallel Stories of a Novice Teacher and a Novice Researcher." Dr. Curtis' research delves into the lives of teachers, reflective practice, teacher collaboration, culture, and racialized experiences employing varied methods, including narrative inquiry, critical ethnography, and self-study.

Lillian Durán has a PhD in Educational Psychology from the University of Minnesota and is a professor in the Department of Special Education and Clinical Sciences at the University of Oregon. She holds a B.A. in Elementary Education from Antioch College and an M.A. in Education and Human Development from the George Washington University. Her research is focused on improving instructional and assessment practices with multilingual children. She is currently involved in several efforts developing Spanish language and literacy assessments from preschool to 6th grade. She also is the project director on several Office of Special Education Programs training grants focused on preparing master's and

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Matthew J. Farmer, MPP, is a Research Associate in the Education Systems and Policy program area at the American Institutes for Research (AIR). His research focuses on continuous improvement, college and career readiness, and social science education. His current projects involve data analysis and reporting for an evaluation of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation Networks for School Improvement initiative; an Institutes for Education Sciences (IES) grant studying the effects of a policy to increase access to advanced course taking for underrepresented students; and multiple research and coaching partnerships with school districts as part of Regional Education Laboratory Midwest. Prior to joining AIR, Farmer was a teacher in the Houston Independent School District.

Jorge E. Gonzalez is Professor and Program Director of the School Psychology Program in the Psychological, Health and Learning Sciences (PHLS) Department in the College of Education at the University of Houston. His scholarship focuses on the causes and correlates of early oral language and literacy challenges in young children, especially vocabulary among English learners with an emphasis on adult-child interactive shared book reading (SBR). Gonzalez' research also explores Latinx children's home literacy environments (HLE) at the intersection of cultural values and responsive mother-child talk, the effects of teacher-child conversations around shared reading, and longitudinal effects of shared reading interventions. Publications represent an array of journals with a focus on child development including *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, Bilingual Research Journal*, *Journal of Educational Effectiveness*, *Early Education and Development*, *Journal of Special Education*, *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, and *Journal of Early Intervention*. He has been the lead investigator on an Early Reading First (ERF) project titled *Accelerating Children's Early Literacy and Language (ACELL)*, an Institute of Education Sciences

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Danni Li is a doctoral candidate in Developmental Sciences in the Department of Educational Psychology at Texas A&M University. Her research interests include academic motivation, home literacy, parenting, and cultural influences, especially among Asian/Chinese American children and youth. She has published in *Reading Psychology, School Psychology*, *Early Childhood Education Journal*, and *Journal of Career Development*.

Jeffrey Liew is a professor in the Department of Educational Psychology in the School of Education and Human Development at Texas A&M University. He is a developmental and learning scientist, and has been nationally and internationally recognized for his expertise on social-emotional development and emotional self-regulation processes in early childhood to early adulthood. A major strand of Liew's research focuses on individuals' resilience, thriving, and flourishing, including the risk and protective or promotive factors that are linked to developmental and learning or academic outcomes. Liew has been invited for keynote presentations internationally. He has also been invited for his expertise and served as a grant reviewer or as panel member for the National Institute of Health (NIH), the National Science Foundation (NSF), the Ministry of Education of Singapore, and the University Grants Committee of Hong Kong. Dr. Liew was elected as an American Psychological Association (APA) Fellow for outstanding contributions and national impact in the field of psychology, and he has authored more than 100 scholarly publications with much of his work funded by state, federal, or foundation grants, including the NIH and the NSF. Liew has served in multiple leadership positions, including Interim Head for his Department

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Her work uses community-based participatory research methodology and an equity-focused approach to design tools and resources that are meaningful for the educators and families who support young children. She has published in a variety of measurement and early education journals, including *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *School Psychology Research Quarterly*, *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, *Journal of Early Intervention*, *Journal of Educational Measurement*, and *Educational Assessment*. Wackerle-Hollman has been the lead PI on seven different awards from the Institute of Education Sciences, primarily for her measurement work.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the Book

Jeffrey Liew and Jorge E. Gonzalez

Introduction

Literacy development and literacy achievement is an educational priority for all learners worldwide, from early to adult learners, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has placed global literacy as a priority since 1946. Literacy development and functional literacy skills are important for nearly all areas and stages of daily life. It is important to recognize that literacy development begins in early childhood, before children enter formal schooling or interact with formal teachers. When children enter formal schooling, the connection or bridge between the home and school literacy environments as well as the relationships between parents and teachers also contribute to children's literacy development. Thus, schools and educators need to know about the children and their families who are being served in the communities.

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_1

In the United States, children from Asian/Asian American and Latino immigrant backgrounds represent the largest two groups among emergent bilinguals in the schools. While educational and developmental scientists have invested significant attention to the roles of parenting and the home literacy environment (HLE) on children's literacy development, relatively few investigations have focused research and evidence-based literacy practices on Asian or Latino immigrant families. To address this gap in the field, this volume focuses on parents and children from Asian/Asian American and Latino heritage backgrounds. Through this volume, we aim to increase visibility and amplify the voices of Asian/Asian American and Latino children, youth, and families who may have often felt ignored or silenced in our communities and in our research.

Changing Demographics and Education Needs of Communities

One major theme in this volume is the need to make visible or salient the diversity of Asian American/Pacific Islander and Hispanic/Latino families. Given the diversity among Asian American/Pacific Islander and Latino families, there is an urgent need to address cultural and linguistic diversity of young children in our communities and schools. As noted by Curtis, Carales, Zou, and Farmer (this volume), Asian American Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders (AANHPI or AAPI) and Latinos are among the fastest-growing groups in the United States. Nearly 70% of Asian Americans are first-generation immigrants and nearly 25% of AAPI students come from families with limited English proficiency. Similarly, nearly 50% of Latinos are first-generation immigrants and nearly 80% of Latinos are native-born Spanish speakers. In the next chapter, Curtis, Carales, and Zou examine the diversity of students in U.S. schools, the efforts of Asian/Asian American and Latinos to advocate for equal rights in education, and current education issues confronting these to population groups. Given this, there is high demand and urgent need to prepare our educators and school practitioners with cultural and linguistic competencies to adequately meet the learning needs of AAPI and Latino students.

The demand and need for culturally and linguistically competent educators and school practitioners along with culturally responsive or culturally relevant curriculum and programs are evident, because there have been long-standing disparities in school readiness and academic

achievement documented among AAPI and Latino children (Pang et al., 2011; Reardon & Portilla, 2016). Racial/ethnic disparities in school readiness and academic achievement have narrowed over the first decade of the twenty-first century, largely due to narrowing racial/ethnic disparities in family income (Reardon & Portilla, 2016). However, although such disparities have narrowed, disparities in literacy levels and academic achievement persist for many children from immigrant and low-income families (see Duran, Chavez, Wackerle-Homman, & Zyskind, this volume).

Home Literacy Environments and Practices

Multiliteracies and situated or embodied and culturally relevant literacy pedagogy and practices have been proposed as ways to redress the racial/ethnic and income disparities in school readiness and academic achievement that are persistent nationwide. Multiliteracies are grounded in multimodal theory of learning where children construct meaning through multiplicity of modes, means, and materials (Anstey & Bull, 2018; Cope & Kalantzis, 2009). Situated and embodied learning "takes place at the intersection between learning activities and the social, physical, and virtual interactions or engagement with others in learning environments" (Liew et al., 2020, p. 645). Multiliteracies and situated or embodied learning approaches are compatible with culturally relevant literacy pedagogy and practices, because they emphasize the consideration of learners' sociocultural backgrounds, individuality, strengths, and vulnerabilities as well as the affordances available to learners in their social, physical, and virtual environments.

Multiliteracies and situated or embodied approaches can be applied to family literacy practices and the home learning environment. Research on home literacy environments (HLEs) historically has focused on literacy with print (i.e., the physical environment) where print exists and the social environment where children interact with parents or family members with print (Burgess et al., 2002; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002). However, in order for literacy development to be effective in the twenty-first century, we need to consider diverse learners and the diverse modalities with which literacy development can take place for them. For example, Lopez (this volume) examined traditional Latinx cultural values and the importance of leveraging the knowledge, histories, cultures, and languages that Latinx students and their families can bring to the literacy learning process at school. As the daughter of immigrants and mother of two young children,

Lopez (this volume) used the testimonio methodology to reflect critically on parenting practices and Latinx literacy practices or "pedagogies of the home" to affirm the rich cultural assets and knowledge that Latinx families contribute to children's literacy development.

Consistent with the view that culturally diverse families bring rich cultural assets to literacy learning and literacy development, Gonzalez and colleagues (this volume) examined the cultural values of Asian American and Latino families and how those cultural values could be reflected in the home literacy environment (HLE) and parenting practices that contribute to children's literacy development as well as to social emotional learning (SEL). In particular, Gonzalez et al. (this volume) discussed traditional Asian cultural values such as *filial piety*, *guǎn*, and *jiào xun* and traditional Latino cultural values such as *respeto*, *familismo*, and *bien educado*, including exploring the similarities as well as the differences between these cultures and the role of culture on parenting, family literacy practices, and SEL.

While there are differences across Asian American and Latino families and home literacy environments and practices, there are also differences within the Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander (AA & NHOPI) communities. The AA & NHOPI population is highly diverse, with over 49 ethnic groups and more than 100 languages represented. Among the AA & NHOPI group are Native Hawaiians (i.e., persons with native origins in the original peoples of Hawai'i). Xu and Hee (this volume) examined the multilingual and multicultural HLEs of Asian and Native Hawaiian families in Hawai'i. In particular, Xu and Hee were inspired and guided by Garcia-Coll et al. (1996)'s integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. Asian Americans represent the largest subgroup in Hawai'i, while Native Hawaiians represent a unique indigenous group that has been rarely studied and thus is poorly understood. Xu and Hee focused on Asian Americans and Native Hawaiians, because data on Native Hawaiians are often aggregated with other Pacific Islanders and/or with Asian Americans despite each group's distinct historical and cultural backgrounds. Xu and Hee illustrated why the language and literacy development of Asian American and Native Hawaiian children need to be understood in relation to their families' social position factors, including shared and non-shared experiences with racial/ethnic stereotypes, racism, discrimination, and oppression, that could lead to some common and some unique developmental trajectories and outcomes.

Parental and Family Involvement in Language and Literacy Development

Indeed, racial/ethnic disparities in family income can negatively impact minoritized children's learning and development in a variety of ways. Increased family income affords parents the ability to invest both money and time into their children's developmental and learning needs as well as their children's curiosities and interests. The amount of time that parents can afford to spend with their children is one of the major determining factors for the degree of parents' involvement in their children's literacy development. Furthermore, longitudinal research has documented the critical role of parental involvement in children's development of language and literacy skills (Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002). Using a cultural perspective (focused on Chinese educational values and practices) and segmented assimilation theory as frameworks, Chang and Shih (this volume) examined Chinese American parents' expectations for, as well as parents' involvement in, their children's literacy learning. According to the segmented assimilation theory, three acculturation pathways (integration, economic downward mobility, and economic upward mobility) are possible. Chang and Shih discussed the three acculturation pathways for Chinese immigrant children and the types of parenting practices and parental involvement that frequently accompany each of the pathways. Given these distinct acculturation pathways, Chang and Shi also cautioned schools from assuming that Chinese American children receive equal early literacy training in their home environment and that all Chinese American students arrive in the classrooms with sufficient school readiness skills.

Similarly, Usero and colleagues (this volume) discussed family literacy practices but focused on Latinx families and parental involvement in children's schooling as well as obstacles and barriers for Latinx parents to become involved in their children's language and literacy development. In particular, Usero et al. discussed how Latino families' cultural values, beliefs, and attitudes may differ from mainstream and school views of family involvement. Spanish-speaking Latino parents frequently struggle with acculturation, linguistic, and economic challenges that serve as barriers to their engagement with involvement in their children's education. And while Latino parents hold educación (education) in high regard, this cultural value may not directly translate into proactive parental involvement. Instead, some teachers may misinterpret Latino parents' acculturation challenges and unfamiliarity with school expectations as apathy or

negligence. To reduce these challenges for parents and to foster family-school partnerships, Usero et al. called for intercultural education to assist students and parents in building knowledge, reducing stereotypes, and creating a culture of inclusion in the schools.

While the home literacy environment and parental involvement undoubtedly play important roles in children's literacy development, relatively limited attention has focused on understanding factors and conditions that cultivate and sustain children's reading motivation. Regardless of whether a person is a novice or masterful reader, the act and processes of learning to read or reading to learn and reading for pleasure all require reading motivation. For parents with bi- or multilingual children such as for immigrant parents in the United States, one major struggle or dilemma is negotiating language and literacy development for their children in their heritage and English languages. Li and Liew (this volume) examined reading motivation through the lens of traditional Chinese culture and motivation theories to better understand the kinds of parenting practices and home literacy environments that may promote children's reading motivation. In addition, Li and Liew offered recommendations or suggestions for parents to support their children's reading motivation, engagement, and competence.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Ethnic Identity

Acculturation and ethnic identity development are natural processes that bi- and multilingual children with immigrant parents undergo. When parents engage their children in language and literacy development in their heritage and/or English languages, parents are also engaging their children in ethnic-racial socialization that have implications for their children's ethnic identity development. Pang and colleagues (this volume) presented an integrated conceptual model that extends the work of Bornstein's (2017) specificity principle and Benet-Martínez and Haritatos' (2005) Bicultural Identity Integration to explicate the immigration and acculturation, family, community, and school factors that contribute to children's ethnic identity development and the maintenance of heritage culture and language. In particular, Pang et al. discussed ways that parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and home literacy practices can support each other and support the development of children's ethic identity and literacy competencies in the context of Chinese immigrant families. parents can engage in practices that support both ethnic identity development and

language or literacy development, because they are interrelated. Pang et al. contended that parents who cultivate strong ethnic identity in their children would support children's language and literacy development in their heritage and/or English languages as part of a strong bi- or multicultural identity integration.

Pang et al.'s (this volume) view that parental ethnic-racial socialization is important for children's literacy development in the context of Chinese immigrant families is consistent with Lopez (this volume)'s view on the importance of appreciating and leveraging the heritage cultural assets of Latinx children and their families (i.e., "pedagogies of the home") to improve children's literacy development in the home and school contexts. Lopez called attention to the Latinx cultural value of *familismo* and for educators and practitioners to recognize that extended family members, not only parents, may be involved in child rearing and socialization processes. Therefore, it is important for school professionals to be aware of their students' cultural backgrounds and family-school partnerships may need to include extended family members beyond only students' parents. Furthermore, it is important for educators to work toward cultural competence in working with diverse students to avoid penalizing children for behaving in ways that are consistent with their heritage cultural values, including viewing children who are *bien educado* or *respeto* as less independent, less assertive, or less confident.

Summary: Communities and Families

There is an urgent need for culturally and linguistically competent educators and school practitioners if we are to redress the long-standing disparities in school readiness and academic achievement among Asian American Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders and Latino children. As part of this reparative and restorative process, genuine valuing and sincere efforts to understand the cultural values and backgrounds of diverse children and their families need to be the touchstone of eliminating ethnic and racial disparities in education. In Guajardo et al. (2015)'s work on *reframing community partnerships in education*, they emphasize that the people closest to the issues (e.g., children, parents, and extended family members) are best situated to discover answers to their local concerns. In addition, Guajardo et al. emphasized that hope and change are built on assets and dreams of the people closest to these issues and their communities. Guided by these principles, the chapters in this volume give glimpses into the cultural assets and dreams of Asian American Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders and Latino families.

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PART I

Asian and Latinx Families at the Intersection of Society, Policy, and Theory: A Framework

CHAPTER 2

The (Hidden/Invisible) Diversity of Asian American/Pacific Islander and Hispanic/Latino Families in America

Gayle A. Curtis, Vincent D. Carales, Yali Zou, and Matthew J. Farmer

Introduction

While this volume takes a comparative look at the literacy beliefs and practices of Asian/Asian American and Latino families in the United States (US), it is important to provide a brief contextual background for the book's focus and the rationale for providing comparative perspectives on these two particular population groups in American society.

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_2

The genesis of the book was a study into the home literacy practices of Asian/Asian American parents of young children situated in Houston (Harris County), Texas, the fourth largest city in the United States. Home literacy practices are of import because they play an integral role in preparing children for schooling. School readiness refers to "the state of child competencies at the time of school entry that are important for later success" (Snow, 2006, p. 9), including both social-emotional and preacademic competencies. As pointed out by Liew (2012), "school readiness may be especially important for children from disadvantaged backgrounds, as they often lag behind in school readiness skills" (p. 105). Furthermore, the interlaced development of both language and early literacy for preschool-aged children of first- or second-generation immigrant parents is "often of major concern for both parents and early childhood educators" (Gonzalez et al., 2021, p. 2).

The Houston area or Harris County was selected for examination in this chapter because its population is indicative of what the rest of the United States will look like in coming years. According to sociologist, Stephen Klineberg (2016),

> Texas is at the forefront of the ongoing transformation in the U.S. population, as an earlier generation, predominantly Anglo and now aging, is being replaced by a new generation of Americans, composed largely of immigrants and their children, who are a mix of all the world's ethnicities. (para. 1)

This demographic transformation is dramatically evidenced in the city of Houston, considered the nation's most diverse city in regard to socioeconomics, culture, economics, households, and religion (Klineberg, 2020). Situated in Harris County, Houston's 2020 demographic makeup serves as an exemplar of the national demographic shifts anticipated to occur over the next 30 years (Klineberg, 2020). In Houston, and indeed across the entire United States, the greatest growth in demographics has been evidenced among Asians and Latinos. As demographic designations and descriptors, however, the terms Asian and Latino, and even the more descriptive Asian American Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders

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Table 2.1 Growth of racial/ethnic groups, 1990 thru 2015–2019, US Census Bureau

	United States			*Harris County*		
	1990	*2019*	*% Growth*	*1990*	*2019*	*% Growth*
Total Population	248,709,873	324,697,795	30.6	2,818,199	4,646,630	64.9
Asian and NHPI	7,273,662	18,524,077	**154.7**	110,848	327,392	**195.4**
Hispanic	21,900,089	58,479,370	**167.0**	634,648	1,995,115	**214.4**
Black or African American	29,986,060	41,234,642	37.5	541,180	884,292	63.4
White	199,686,070	235,377,662	17.9	1,824,137	2,905,947	59.3
American Indian and Alaskan Native	1,959,234	2,750,143	40.4	8044	19,269	139.5
Other race	9,804,847	16,047,369	63.7	333,990	396,777	18.8
Two or more races	***	10,763,902	n/a	***	112,953	n/a

***Note: NHPI = Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander; Census respondents were not able to select more than one race until the 2000 US Census. Data Source: Manson et al., 2021; U.S. Census Bureau, 2020

(AANHPI) and Hispanic/Latino, give little insight into the numerous subgroups accounted for within these major US population groups.

This chapter examines the rich racial/ethnic multiplicity of both AANHPIs (what we will refer to as Asians) and Hispanics/Latinos (what we will refer to as Latinos) in the United States and Harris County, Texas. Analysis of the United States and the Harris County population trends (see Table 2.1) of these groups over the last 30 years highlight the rapid growth in Asian and Latino populations in recent years. An exploration into the related subgroups (see Tables 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4) illuminates the need for disaggregated data to better understand the nation's racial/ethnic composition and the corresponding diversity in American schools. To truly serve a population of diverse people, we must first know who we are. The following section examines the population trends of Asians and Latinos in the United States and in Harris County, revealing the complex diversity within these two population groups.

Table 2.2 Selected Asian groups as a proportion of the total Asian alone population, 1990 thru 2015–2019, US Census Bureau and American Community Survey

	United States		*Harris County, TX*	
	1990 Census (%)	*2015–2019 ACS (%)*	*1990 Census (%)*	*2015–2019 ACS (%)*
Asian Indian	11.8	22.3	19.3	20.7
Bangladeshi	0.2	1.0	0.2	0.7
Burmese	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.7
Cambodian	2.1	1.4	2.0	1.3
Chinese, except Taiwanese	22.8	22.9	20.6	17.1
Filipino	20.4	16.0	9.6	8.8
Hmong	1.3	1.6	0.0	0.0
Indonesian	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5
Japanese	12.3	4.3	3.1	1.4
Korean	11.6	8.1	6.0	3.5
Laotian	2.2	1.1	1.3	0.5
Malaysian	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2
Okinawan	<0.1	<0.1	<0.1	<0.1
Pakistani	1.2	2.6	3.5	7.1
Sri Lankan	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.5
Taiwanese	1.0	1.0	2.1	1.1
Thai	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.7
Vietnamese	8.9	10.1	28.3	31.1
Other Asian	2.1	4.5	2.2	3.9

Data Source: Manson et al., 2021; U.S. Census Bureau, 2020

Population Trends of Asians and Latinos in the United States

The US Census Bureau has made considerable strides in disaggregating census data to understand the diversity of the United States. Prior to 1990, disaggregated data for many racial and ethnic subgroups such as Asians and Latinos were not collected in the Census. Although the 2020 US Census has been collected, at the time of this publication the disaggregated subgroup data for 2020 was not available. For this reason, data from the 1990 Census and the 2015–2019 American Community Survey (ACS) are used to examine the population trends and to bring to light the multiple groups represented within the major demographic categories of Asian and Latino. The ACS is a collection of the US Census that estimates

Table 2.3 Selected native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Groups as a proportion of the total Asian alone population, 1990 thru 2015–2019, US Census Bureau and American Community Survey

	United States		*Harris County, TX*	
	1990 Census (%)	*2015–2019 ACS (%)*	*1990 Census (%)*	*2015–2019 ACS (%)*
Polynesian:				
Hawaiian	57.8	30.7	38.5	25.3
Samoan	17.2	19.2	12.5	17.8
Tongan	4.8	7.0	0.9	0.3
Other Polynesian	1.2	0.8	3.2	0.2
Micronesian:				
Guamanian	13.5	14.3	34.8	28.7
Other Micronesian	1.9	13.5	0.4	18.5
Melanesian:				
Fijian	1.9	6.0	0.7	0.8
Other Melanesian	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
Other Pacific Islander	1.5	8.4	8.9	8.3

Data Source: Manson et al. (2021); US Census Bureau (2020)

Note: Northern Mariana, Palauan and Tahitian are reported in the 1990 Census, but not estimated in the 2015–2019 American Community Survey. For this table, Northern Mariana and Palauan are aggregated to Other Micronesian and Tahitian is aggregated to Other Polynesian

local population characteristics outside of decennial years. The 2015–2019 is a five-year estimate which means it is an estimate of the average population characteristics over those years. The five-year estimates are the most precise estimates provided by the ACS. Table 2.1 provides an overview of the major demographic groups in the United States and in Harris County from 1990 to 2015–2019, showing Asians and Latinos to be the fastest growing population groups over the last three decades both nationally and in Harris County (U.S. Census, 2020; Manson et al., 2021).

Overview of Last 30 Years

Since 1990, the US population has grown from almost 249 million to nearly 325 million in 2015–2019 (see Table 2.1), a 31% growth in the national population. In contrast, Harris County, Texas reported a

Table 2.4 Hispanic origin as a proportion of the total Hispanic population, 1990 thru 2015–2019, US Census Bureau and the American Community Survey

	United States		*Harris County, TX*	
	1990 Census (%)	*2019 ACS[a] (%)*	*1990 Census (%)*	*2019 ACS (%)*
Mexican	61.2	62.4	81.2	73.6
Puerto Rican	12.1	9.6	1.4	1.6
Cuban	4.8	3.9	1.2	1.7
Dominican Republic	2.4	3.4	0.1	0.3
Central American:				
Guatemalan	1.2	2.5	0.9	2.5
Honduran	0.6	1.6	0.8	4.1
Nicaraguan	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.5
Panamanian	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2
Salvadoran	2.6	3.8	6.0	8.3
Other Central American	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
South American:				
Colombian	1.7	2.0	1.5	1.6
Ecuadorian	0.9	1.2	0.2	0.2
Peruvian	0.8	1.1	0.4	0.4
Other South American	1.3	1.9	1.0	1.6
Other Hispanic or Latino	8.8	5.1	4.4	3.3

Data Source: Manson et al. (2021); US Census Bureau (2020)

population increase of 65% over the past three decades (see Table 2.1). Examining the national and local Harris County population trends for the two population groups shows Asian and Latinos as the most rapidly increasing demographic groups—both in the United States and in Harris County. Nationally, the Asian/NHPI population increased 155% and the Latino population grew 167% (Fig. 2.1). In Harris County, the growth of these two groups is even greater, with Asian/NHPIs climbing 195% and Hispanics/Latinos shooting up 214% (Fig. 2.2). Figure 2.2 shows the growth of all US racial/ethnic groups from 1990 to 2019 in both the United States and Harris County.

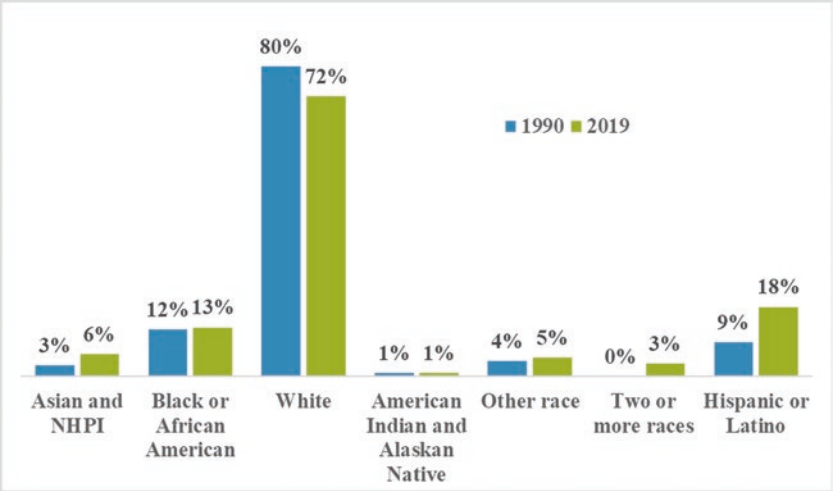

Fig. 2.1 Comparison of 1990 and 2015–2019 racial and ethnic groups as a percentage of the total US population, US Census Bureau, and American Community Survey. (Data Source: Manson et al., 2021; U.S. Census Bureau, 2020)

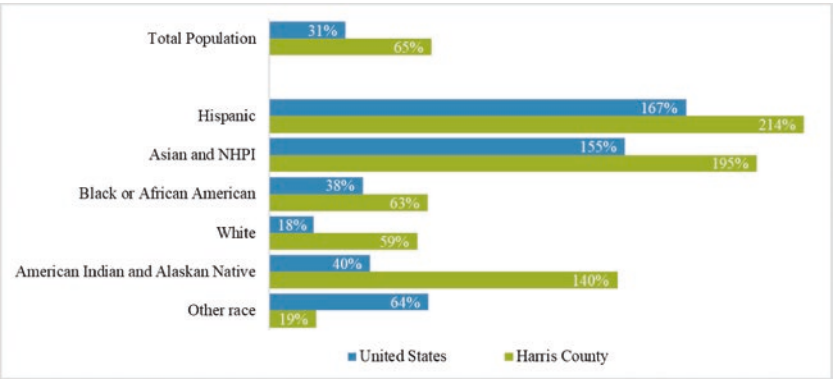

Fig. 2.2 Growth of racial/ethnic groups, 1990 to 2015–2019, US and Harris County, US Census Bureau and American Community Survey. (Data Source: Manson et al., 2021; US Census Bureau, 2020)

Asian Population Trends

Asian Americans/Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders (AANHPI) represent one of the most diverse, complex, and rapidly changing population groups in the country, according to the President's Advisory Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islanders (Teranishi et al., 2013). This diversity is particularly evident in consideration that AAPIs in the United States are representative of over 30 countries, numerous ethnic groups, and over 100 languages. The AANHPI population data is combined in the US Census, providing little insight into the many subgroups encompassed within this data category. As shown in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 this single census group represents over 19 Asian subgroups by country of origin and over 9 Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander subgroups. The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (NHPI) alone population grew from 540,013 people (0.2%) in 2010, to 689,966 people (0.2%) in 2020 (Jones et al., 2021). Coupled with those identifying as NHPI in combination with another race/ethnicity (e.g., Asian or White), the NHPI alone or in combination population totaled about 1.6 million people or 0.5% of the total population.

We turn now to the overall Asian population, reported as Asian alone or Asian in combination with other races/ethnicities in the US Census. This is the fastest growing ethnic community in the country (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Asians nearly doubled in numbers between 2000 and 2019 and are expected to surpass 46 million by 2060. Between 2010 and 2020, the Asian alone population increased by 35.5%, while the Asian in combination population grew by 55.5% (Jones et al., 2021). Six origin groups comprise 85% of Asian Americans in the United States: Chinese, Indian, Filipino, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Of these, Chinese Americans are the largest Asian origin group with 5.4 million people, making up 24% of the US Asian population. This is followed by Indian Americans with 21% (4.6 million), Filipinos with 19% (4.2 million), Vietnamese Americans with 10% (2.2 million), Korean Americans with 9% (1.9 million), and Japanese Americans with 7% (1.5 million).

Mirroring the national trend, Asians are also the fastest growing population group in the state of Texas and Harris County (You et al., 2019). Currently, Texas is among the top ten states with large AANHPI communities and significant numbers of Vietnamese (13.1%), Asian Indian (8.5%), Chinese (4.6%), Filipino (4.0%), Korean (5.0%), and Japanese (2.5%) among the largest Asian communities in the state (US Census 2019). In

Harris County, the Asian population grew to 392,435 in 2020, comprising 8.3% of the total county population with 7.4% reported as Asian alone and 0.9% as Asian in combination with other races/ethnicities (Manson et al., 2021). Table 2.2 shows the representation of the various AAPI subgroups that currently live in the United States and Harris County.

Of the 55.4 million individuals in the United States who speak a language other than English in their home, approximately 8.3 million (15%) use either an Asian or Pacific Island language as their primary language in the home. This means that "nearly one out of four AAPI students is Limited English Proficiency and/or lives in a linguistically isolated household where parents have limited English proficiency" (White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, 2014, p. 1).

Asian American (AANHPI) Characteristics

Asian Americans/Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders (AANHPIs) are a diverse population with a long history of immigration to the United States, and very distinct backgrounds, cultures, foods, and histories that impact their children's learning. One of the aspects that complicates the study of Asian Americans (and warrants disaggregation) is their variation across multiple identities and social contexts including ethnicity and national origin, citizenship, immigrant and socioeconomic status, gender, sexuality, religion, and language (Kurland et al., 2019). The majority (57%) of the US Asian Americans are born outside the United States (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021).

Hispanic/Latino Population Trends

The US Latino population surpassed 62 million in 2020 representing 18.5% of the country's population (US Census Bureau, 2020) and by 2050, will represent 30% of the US labor force (Carnevale & Smith, 2013). As the largest racial/ethnic group in the country, most Latinos are of Mexican (62.4%), Puerto Rican (9.6%), Cuban (3.9%), and Salvadoran (3.8%) origin (See Table 2.4). However, since 1990, the highest increase in Latinos in the United States include individuals from Central American countries such as Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador as well as the Dominican Republic (Author's calculations, see Table 2.4). Moreover, Krogstad & Noe-Bustamante (2021) found the largest increases in recent growth from 2010 to 2019 came from Venezuela (126%), Guatemala

(49%), and Honduras (47%). Scholars attributed this growth to increases in Latino high school graduation and immigration (Santos & Sáenz, 2014). In Texas, Hispanics will surpass non-Hispanic whites as the highest racial/ethnic group in the state by 2022 (Ura & Ahmed, 2018; You et al., 2019) followed by California and Florida in the near future (Malcom-Piqueux, 2018). Much of the population growth in Texas is projected to come from the large urban counties of Harris, Bexar, Dallas, and Tarrant (You et al., 2019).

Latino Characteristics

Latinos have distinct backgrounds, cultures, foods, and histories that impact their connections and feelings toward the United States. One of the aspects that complicates the study of Latinos (and warrants disaggregation) is their variation across multiple identities and social contexts including ethnicity and national origin, citizenship, immigrant and socioeconomic status, gender, sexuality, religion, and language (Antman, 2021; Núñez, 2014). The majority (80%) of Latinos are native born and speak Spanish at home (70%) and approximately one in three are immigrants (Krogstad & Noe-Bustamante, 2021).

Much of the prior research on Latinos has focused primarily on Mexican Americans. However, there is a recent growing body of work that has centered on Puerto Ricans (Garcia, 2019; Garcia et al., 2020), Cubans (Torres et al., 2021), and Central Americans (Coronado & Paredes, 2018; Linares & Maffini, 2020). With the exception of a few studies, very little research has disaggregated findings by the various Latino subgroups (e.g., Torres, 2004; Núñez & Crisp, 2012). For example, Núñez and Crisp (2012) found demographic, high school, and college enrollment differences among Mexican American and Puerto Rican college students. Given the limited knowledge regarding the differences in outcomes across Latino subgroups, more research is needed to gain a better understanding of how these various Latinos populations navigate postsecondary education. Scholarship in this area can inform institutional efforts to promote equitable educational outcomes for all Latinos (Núñez & Crisp, 2012).

Asian American and Latino Diversity Issues

In research, in the media, and generally speaking in society, Asian Americans and Latinos are often treated as monolithic groups. As we

noted above, little research has addressed the complexities of within-group differences of either Asian Americans or Latinos. Of the total Asian American population in the United States, individuals with Chinese heritage make up 23%. This is followed by Asian Indians at 22%, Filipinos at 16%, Vietnamese at 11%, and Koreans at 8% (see Table 2.4). While these subgroups have also demonstrated substantial growth in Harris County, Vietnamese represent 31% of the population, followed by Asian Indian at 21%, Chinese at 17%, Filipino at 9%, and Korean at 4% (see Table 2.4).

While Latinos of Mexican descent make up the largest Hispanic subgroup, it is important to note that Puerto Ricans and Cubans are the next largest groups. Moreover, there are 25 subgroups of Hispanic/Latinos that were recorded to be living in the United States as of the most recent US Census data (see Table 2.4). Despite the various subgroups identified in this chapter, limited research has examined racial/ethnic differences among Asian American and Latino subgroups. Where Latinos are concerned, researchers note that this may be due to sample size data limitations (Torres, 2004).

There are ongoing debates about the specific terms to be used in the United States to label Asian American and Latino subgroups in a way that sufficiently and effectively addresses the complexity of the population. Oftentimes, the term "American" is added to reflect an individual's heritage country and ethnic identity, as in Chinese American, Korean American, Mexican American, and so on. Another challenge to researching the diversity of Latinos is due to the various terms they use to identify themselves.

Latino Identity: From Hispanic to Latine

Hispanic, Chicano, Latin*, Latinx, Latine, and other terms have been the subject of contentious debate, particularly regarding its interpretation and usage among Latinos (see Salinas, 2020; Lopez et al., 2021). From a historical perspective, the term *Mexican* was used in the 1930 US Census and prior to Latinos were categorized as white (US Census Bureau, n.d.a). The use of Mexican as a US census category was subsequently removed from the survey until 1970 when the identifier *Hispanic* was added to collect data and count the number of Hispanics living in the United States. However, this approach was problematic and resulted in the undercounting of over one million Hispanics (Lopez et al., 2021). By 1997, the US Office of Management and Budget formally adopted the terms *Hispanic*

or Latino defining the ethnic category as "a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race" (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.a). *Spanish origin* was also added to *Hispanic or Latino* to create the ethnic label of *Spanish/Hispanic/Latino* for the 2000 US Census survey and eventually settled on the *Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin* ethnic category (US Census Bureau, n.d.). These US Census labels and other self-identifying terminology underscore the complexities of identities that exist within Latino communities and will most certainly continue to evolve.

Conclusion

To advance our understanding of the complex contexts of Asian and Latino racial/ethnic groups, we must push toward disaggregating data by the multiple identities and subgroups we have highlighted in this chapter. Doing so is beneficial for racial equality and equal educational opportunities. It will advance the development of a more detailed profile of the two largest and fastest growing population groups in the United States and provide us with insight on what the country will look like in the future. Developing a more prolific disaggregated profile aids in identifying the persistent educational gaps that exist among these various subgroups. Furthermore, by disaggregating data among subgroups, analysts and researchers can more specifically identify which factors might influence or hinder their access to education and their success in their future career. This information could also help policymakers and other stakeholders to distribute resources equitably to all American racial/ethnic groups, especially to support disadvantaged groups in achieving their dream. Lastly, practitioners can use these disaggregated data points to develop specialized and equity-minded practices that ensure they are serving the neediest of students (Franco & Hernández, 2018).

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CHAPTER 3

Asian and Latino Issues in Education: Complex and Contested Spaces

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Introduction

Early literacy skills development lays the foundation for a child's formal schooling and has been shown to be a significant predictor of future academic achievement (Baker et al., 2014; Foorman et al., 2016; Hanover Research, 2016). Among the key early literacy skills that promote reading and school success are "alphabet knowledge, phonological awareness, rapid automatic naming of letters or numbers, rapid automatic naming of objects or colors, writing and phonological memory" (Hanover Research, 2016, p. 4). Research suggests that non-academic factors such as a child's social competence and self-regulation also contribute to children's success in school. Furthermore, early literacy skill differences among children can vary depending on "gender, socioeconomic status, and English proficiency" (Hanover Research, 2016, p. 4).

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_3

The importance of a child's literacy development before entering kindergarten cannot be overstated. Nor can parental involvement, which has long been viewed by educators and supported by research to be instrumental in children's school success and academic achievement (Baker et al., 2014; Lau et al., 2011; Wilder, 2014). In general terms, parental involvement can be thought of as "the parents' or caregivers' investment in the education of their children" (Larocque et al., 2011, p. 116) or "the dedication of resources by the parent to the child within a given domain" (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994, p. 238) such as literacy. In more specific terms, parental involvement refers to "parents' behaviors in home and school settings meant to support their children's educational progress" (El Nokali et al., 2010, p. 989). In taking a comparative look at the literacy beliefs and practices of parents and young children from Asian American and Latino heritage backgrounds in the United States, however, it is important to also explore the American education system into which children will be immersed.

This chapter provides an overview of the U.S. education system, which, unlike many countries, is primarily state guided rather than nationally/federally directed. We then turn to a discussion of historical court cases that have shaped American education, focusing on those that had a particular impact on education within the Asian American and Latino communities. Asian American and Latino student enrollment trends in public education are presented and related education issues are explicated.

Historical Perspective of Education in the United States

Overview of the U.S. Education System

Education in the United States is considered primarily the responsibility of the state and local entities (e.g., towns, cities) (U.S. Department of Education, 2022c). Approximately 92% of funding for elementary and secondary (middle, high) schools comes from both state and local sources, with the greatest portion contributed through local property taxes. For example, the Harris County, Texas school property tax rate for residents and businesses residing within the boundaries of the county's largest school district is $1.0944 (Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts, 2022). In contrast, Federal funds contribute approximately 8% of school funding,

allocated to schools through various federal agencies and programs. Examples of these include the Department of Health and Human Services' Head Start program to promote school readiness of children aged infant to preschool from low-income families (Office of Head Start, 2022), the Department of Agriculture's School Lunch program (U.S. Department of Education, 2022b), and Title I which provides supplemental funding to schools serving high concentrations of students from low-income backgrounds (U.S. Department of Education, 2022a). As a result of education falling to the states, the United States, unlike many countries around the world, has no national curriculum nor national standards exam. Rather, each of the country's 50 states independently establishes schools, develops its own academic curriculum, and determines standards and measures of achievement.

Asian American and Latino Influences on Education Law and Policy

The schooling of racial, ethnic, and language minority groups, as well as children from low socioeconomic situations, have long been at the center of education concern and debate in the United States. As states carry the major responsibility for education, the administration of education is subject to state statutes and laws. However, this administration is also subject to federal laws and higher court rulings. In the mid-twentieth century, the efforts of minority groups in the enactment of landmark judicial cases dramatically changed education in the United States. The efforts of Asian Americans and Latinos have been instrumental in those changes, particularly where it pertains to English learners' equal access to education and to bilingual (native language and English) or English as a second language instruction. As will be highlighted in the following reviewed cases, federal court rulings in *Plessy v. Ferguson* and *Brown v. Board of Education* which centered on segregation and the rights of African American children to equal education, are strongly related to those cases which involved the education of Asian American and Latino students. It should be noted that while there were other segregation cases that strongly changed education in specific states, the cases discussed below were selected because of their national impact on education and the schooling of Asian American and Latino children.

Plessy v. Ferguson 1896

For many years, states justified racially segregated schools based on the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. This landmark case challenged Louisiana's state and local statutes (known as Jim Crow laws) that legalized racial segregation. The case came about in 1892 when Homer Plessy who described himself as "seven-eighths Caucasian and one-eighth African blood" (Woodward, 1964, para. 19) claimed his constitutional rights were violated when he was arrested on a train for refusing to vacate the seat he had purchased in the designated "white" coach. In its decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races" were allowed, upholding the constitutionality of racial segregation based on the doctrine of "separate but equal" (National Archives, n.d., para. 1). This case is important in the context of American education because it became the law of the land and the justification for racial segregation of schools for almost 60 years, until *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 (Woodward, 1964).

Mendez v. Westminister, 1946

Over the years, Latinos have played a significant role in the history of legal struggles for school desegregation in the United States. In 1946, eight years before the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Mendez v. Westminister* was a "class action lawsuit filed on behalf of more than 5000 Mexican American [Latino] students in Orange County, California" (Valencia, 2005, p. 389). For many years before the *Mendez* case, California School Code allowed districts to "establish separate schools for Indian children…and for children of Chinese, Japanese or Mongolian parentage" (Wollenberg, 1974, p. 318), but there were no such codes that applied to African American or Latino children (Valencia, 2005). In the 1920s, however, California initiated de facto segregation of Latinos in response to the influx of Mexican migrants, establishing what were known as "Mexican" schools for Latino children. Based on culturally biased IQ tests, California argued that Latino students needed specialized instruction to promote their acquisition of English and that separate school facilities would help students to "Americanize" and learn English more quickly. In the "1930s, the educational template for [Latino] students–one of forced, widespread segregation, and inferior schooling–was formed" (Valencia, 2005, p. 395). By the 1940s, over 80% of the state's Latino students were enrolled in the so-called "Mexican" schools.

Mendez v. Westminister was the first segregation case to introduce into evidence testimony from social science experts on the harmful effects of segregation on minority children. In the Federal District Court's ruling in favor of *Mendez*, Federal District Court Judge Paul J. McCormick asserted that the school districts' "methods of segregation…foster antagonism [between] the [Latino and white] children and suggest inferiority among them where none exists"(*Mendez v. Westminister* 64 F. Supp. at 549). Furthermore, the Federal District Court stated that the school districts' segregation practices and policies "invaded the personal right which every public school pupil has to the equal protection provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to obtain the means of education" (p. 404). The use of social science expert testimony and the court ruling that segregation violated students' Fourteenth Amendment rights made *Mendez v. Westminister* a benchmark case, laying the groundwork for *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Brown v. Board of Education 1954

In 1954, "the Supreme Court at last renounced [racial segregation] in the school segregation cases of *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, et al.*" (Woodward, 1964, para. 50). In *Brown*, the U.S. Supreme Court consolidated five court cases, all of which were filed on behalf of African American children enrolled in public schools segregated by law, and all claiming violations to the students' Fourteenth Amendment rights (United States Courts, 2022). In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously in *Brown v. Board of Education* that racial segregation of students in public schools was a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and unconstitutional, stating that "separate-but-equal" education was inherently not equal. Chief Justice Earl Warren further stated that segregating African American students from white students "of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone" (Brown et al. *v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 1954, p. 494). The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown* that states are responsible for providing all students with equal educational opportunities made bilingual instruction feasible for language minority students.

Aspira v. New York 1974

Puerto Ricans are a distinct subgroup of Latinos in the United States, however, their experiences related to education echo those of other

Latinos (Santiago, 1986). Following the Spanish American War in 1989, Puerto Rico became an unincorporated territory of the U.S. In 1917, Puerto Ricans became U.S. citizens. Throughout the twentieth century, great numbers of Puerto Ricans migrated to the continental United States, with many settling in the New York City area which reports the largest Puerto Rican population in the county (Pew Research Center, 2019). Because Spanish is the native language in Puerto Rico, many Puerto Rican migrant children came to the mainland U.S. with limited English proficiency. In New York City, Puerto Rican students were placed in English as a second language class or in all-English instruction rather than in bilingual classes that would support students' transition to all-English. The *Aspira v. New York*, case was brought against the largest school district in the country (City of New York Board of Education) and on behalf of over 80,000 Puerto Rican students of limited English proficiency, claiming that the district's policies denied equal educational opportunities for English language learners (Santiago, 1986). The court ruled that the school district must provide bilingual education programs for children of limited English proficiency, making *Aspira v. New York* a landmark case in pursuit of equal educational opportunities for language minorities and bilingual education in the United States.

Lau v. Nichols 1974

In establishing the background for *Lau v. Nichols*, it is important to discuss the 1968 Bilingual Education Act. In 1967, Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas introduced a bill to provide school districts with federal funding to assist in establishing instructional programs for English language learners, including English as a second language instructional programs, Spanish language instruction in bilingual (Spanish-English) and two-way immersion programs, and "programs designed to give Spanish-speaking students an appreciation of ancestral language and culture" (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 1). This and 37 related bills were consolidated into the 1968 Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) or the Bilingual Education Act. This federal Act was the "first official federal recognition of the needs of students with limited English speaking ability" (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 1) and the first to support student instruction in a language other than English and to encourage cultural awareness.

The case of *Lau v. Nichols* was brought before the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of 1800 non-English speaking students of Chinese heritage in San Francisco who were placed in all-English instruction classes regardless

of their lack of English proficiency (U.S. Department of Education, 2022b), leaving them to "sink or swim." The San Francisco school district's argument that students of Chinese heritage received equal treatment to that of other students failed. In the Court's 1974 decision in favor a *Lau*, Justice William Douglass wrote:

> Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education…We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. (Wright, 2010, p. 74)

Furthermore, the Court determined that "The failure of the San Francisco school system to provide English language instruction…or to provide [these students] with other adequate instructional procedures, denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program and thus violates…the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based 'on the ground of race, color, or nationalorigin,' in 'any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance'" (U.S. Department of Education, 2022b, para. 1).

As a result of the *Lau* ruling, the U.S. Department of Education developed federal policy guidelines for the education of English language learners, which became known as the Lau Remedies. Significantly, the federal guidelines included procedures from the Office of Civil Rights and were not limited to federally funded education programs as was previously the case, but rather applied to all education programs.

This historical presentation of U.S. education demonstrates the ways in which the efforts of minority population groups, especially Asian Americans and Latinos, have shaped education policy in the U.S. and increased student access to equitable public education. However, the court rulings, laws, and policy changes described here did not bring about immediate change for these student populations (Orfield, 1983). For example, in the early 1970s the Houston Independent School District attempted to circumvent the court's ruling in *Brown* and a subsequent court order to desegregate schools by classifying Latino students as "white" and integrating them in schools with African American students while allowing white students to attend specially created "magnet" schools that were segregated (San Miguel, 2005; see also Wilson, 2003). The local Latino

community (at the time composed primarily of families of Mexican descent) took action through rallies, school walkouts, strikes, and litigation until such time that the school district changed its policies, reclassified Latino students, and began dismantling segregated schools. In more recent years, bilingual education in the United States has come under fire by the English-only movement which claims that the academic underperformance of language minority students compared with their white counterparts is due to inadequacies of bilingual programs (Gándara, 2012; Lhamon & Gupta, 2015). Furthermore, racial/ethnic residential patterns have led to de facto segregation and many students attending mostly segregated schools (Schaeffer, 2021). These situations and others demonstrate how U.S. education remains a contested space for racial and language minority students.

Current Perspectives of Education in the United States

Asian and Latinos Population Trends in Education

Asian and Latino racial/ethnic groups are the most rapidly growing population groups in the United States (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021), demonstrating 81% and 70% increases, respectively, between 2000 and 2019. Where public school enrollment is concerned, the rapid growth is evidenced in dramatic increases in Latino student enrollment over the last ten years while the Asian student enrollment has remained stable.

In its most recent analysis of racial and ethnic student enrollment in US schools, the National Center for Education Statistics (2021b) reported that in 2018, 50.7 million students were enrolled in U.S. public elementary and secondary schools. Of those, 23.8 million were white, 13.8 million Latino, 7.7 million African American, 2.7 million Asian, 2.1 million two or more races, 0.5 million American Indian/Alaska Native, and 186,000 Pacific Islander. Between 2009 and 2018, U.S. schools reported decreases in the percentages of white (54% to 47%) and African American (17% to 15%) student enrollment and a significant increase in Latino (from 22% to 27%) student enrollment. Asian American and American Indian/Alaska Native enrollment remained stable during this period (5% and 1%, respectively), with Pacific Islanders comprising less than 1% and students of two or more races accounting for 4%.

U.S. classrooms are anticipated to become increasingly more diverse based on population projections that show Asian surpassing 38 million (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021) and Latino increasing to 111 million (U.S. Census, 2018) by 2060. Over this same time period, only a slight increase is projected for African Americans and a decrease anticipated for whites (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). The diversity of students in U.S. public schools is also evidenced in the number of students identified as limited English proficient or English language learners (ELLs). ELL students are those "individuals who have sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language to be unable to learn successfully in classrooms" (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019b). Children from Asian and Latino immigrant backgrounds represent the largest two groups among English language learners in U.S. public schools (see Table 3.1). For fall 2019, the National Center for Education Statistics (2021a) reported approximately 3.9 million Latino English learners in U.S. public schools, which is 76.8% of the total English language learners in schools. Asian English learners were reported as the next largest student group, with 523,400 students or 10.2% of the total English learners.

Table 3.1 Number and percentage distribution of English language learner students in public schools and number of ELL students as a percentage of total public school enrollment, by the ten most commonly reported home languages of ELL students

Home language	*Number of ELL students*	*Percentage distribution of ELL students*	*Percentage of total enrollment*
Spanish, Castilian	3,777,926	75.2	7.7
Arabic	135,870	2.7	0.3
Chinese	102,834	2.0	0.2
English2	99,521	2.0	0.2
Vietnamese	76,517	1.5	0.2
Somali	40,115	0.8	0.1
Russian	38,227	0.8	0.1
Portuguese	37,535	0.7	0.1
Haitian, Haitian Creole	32,833	0.7	0.1
Hmong	31,335	0.6	0.1

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, EDFacts file 141, Data Group 678, extracted September 18, 2020; and Common Core of Data (CCD), "State Nonfiscal Survey of Public Elementary and Secondary Education," 2018–2019. See Digest of Education Statistics 2020, table 204.27

Asian and Latino Academic Success

Asian College Access and Success

Despite the issues and misperceptions that exist regarding the academic success and degree attainment of AANHPI students who are often stereotyped as high-achieving students "taking over" STEM fields (National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education, 2013). Research by the National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education (2013) and the Asian and Pacific Islander American Scholarship Fund (APIASF) reported:

> While more than four out of five East Asians (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) and South Asians (Asian Indian and Pakistani) who entered college earned at least a bachelor's degree, 35 to 50% of Southeast Asian and 50 to 60% of Pacific Islander adults (25 years or older) reported having attended college, but not earning a degree. Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders were also more likely to report an associate's degree as their highest level of education. (p. 7)

Asian six-year graduation rate at four-year institutions is 74%, followed by and white students at 64% (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019c). A 2013 report by the National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education (CARE) and the Asian and Pacific Islander American Scholarship Fund (APIASF) indicated that "by 2050, AAPIs, together, are expected to number approximately 40.6 million people, or one in 10 persons in the U.S." (p. 4). Although college enrollment for AAPI students "grew five-fold between 1979 and 2009… [and] college enrollment is projected to increase for all racial groups, AAPIs will experience a particularly high proportional increase of 35% over the next decade" (p. 7). Given this expected increase in AAPI students needing to be served in higher education, there is a significant need for institutions to understand how to better serve AAPI students in order to increase their graduation rates and the number of years to graduation.

Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions (AANAPISI)

In an effort to promote equitable student outcomes, AANAPISIs were created in 2007 "in response to a history of invisibility among Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) students in higher education"

(Kurland et al., 2019, p. 1). To be designated as an AANAPISI, institutions of higher education must have an enrollment of 10% undergraduate AAPI students, with at least 50% of the institution's total student population receiving financial aid (U.S. Department of Education, 2021).

Over half of AANAPISIs are located in the Western region of the U.S. (e.g., Arizona, California, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington) (Postsecondary National Policy 2020). Next is the Eastern region (e.g., New York, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Virginia), followed by the Pacific region (e.g., Hawaii, American Samoa, Guam, Palau, Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Northern Marianas, and Federated States of Micronesia) which "has the highest total number of eligible AANAPISIs per capita as a result of their high population of low-income, Pacific Islander students" (Kurland et al., 2019, p. 6). Smaller numbers of AANAPISIs are situated in the Midwest region (e.g., Michigan and Illinois) and the South (e.g., Texas). These institutions play a critical role in increasing Asian students' access to higher education and to accomodating the different needs of the diverse Asian subgroups.

Latino College Access and Success

Latino youth are less likely to attend pre-school, have taken advanced math in high school, and be enrolled in advanced placement courses (Contreras, 2011). In addition, Latino college students are likely to come from poverty, single-parent households and grow up in racially segregated communities and schools compared to other racial groups (Contreras, 2011). Despite these inequities, research has demonstrated the resiliency of Latinos by highlighting how parents, other family members, and peers play a significant role in facilitating their educational success (e.g., Contreras, 2011; Gonzalez et al., 2020).

Increasing Latino educational attainment must be a priority of the country to maintain a strong and competitive global economy (Núñez et al., 2013; Oseguera et al., 2009). Given their current and estimated population growth, particularly in postsecondary and K-12 sectors, the nation will need to increase Latino educational attainment to reach its national college completion goals. Some progress has been made indicating that the share of Hispanics with at least a bachelor's degree increased from 13% to 18% and those who currently attend college increased from 14% to 19% from 2010 to 2019 (Krogstad and Noe-Bustamante, 2021). However, the persistent gaps in educational attainment among Latino communities compared to other racial/ethnic groups underscores how

college access and completion rates have failed to keep pace relative to their overall growth in the U.S. population (Núñez et al., 2013; Oseguera et al., 2009; Santos & Sáenz, 2014; Solorzano et al., 2005). Scholars have noted that the fault of these gaps exists due to the inequitable opportunities experienced by Latinos in primary and secondary educational contexts (Contreras, 2011; Gándara & Contreras, 2009).

In terms of college completion, the Latino six-year graduation rate at four-year institutions is 54%, which is significantly lower than Asian (74%) and white students (64%) (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019c). Despite these gaps, there is evidence to suggest Latino student postsecondary access has increased. For example, almost 40% of Latinos ages 25 and older had gone to college in 2015, up from 30% in 2000 (Flores, 2017). This increase can also be attributed to the rise in Latino representation in community colleges where they are also most likely to begin postsecondary enrollment (Nora et al., 2018). More notably is the increased presence of students enrolled in Hispanic-serving institutions and the overall growth of these institutions in American postsecondary education.

Hispanic-Serving Institutions

The majority of Latino college students (67%) attend Hispanic-serving institutions (HSIs) (Hispanic Association of Colleges and University, 2020). HSIs are degree-granting postsecondary (public and private non-profit) institutions that have at least 25% undergraduate Hispanic full-time equivalent (FTE) student enrollment, and at least 50% of the institution's total enrolled students receiving financial aid. In 2018, 539 institutions met the enrollment criteria. Given that HSIs enroll the majority of Latino students, they are at the forefront of increasing Latino educational attainment and much has been written about the contribution of HSIs in serving Latinos (Garcia, 2020; Garcia et al., 2019). Garcia et al. (2019) explored how HSI research has appeared in academic literature and found that scholars have written about HSIs from various contexts including outcomes, experiences, internal organizational dimensions, and external influences. Moreover, HSIs produce the most Hispanic engineers and scientists in the country (Mendoza Diaz et al., 2021) and Latino males are more likely to be enrolled in Hispanic-Serving community colleges than in non-Hispanic-Serving community colleges (Núñez & Bowers, 2011). Lastly, recent analysis of National Student Clearinghouse enrollment data indicated Latino students completed their degrees at HSIs at a rate of 74.1% compared to the federal graduation rate of 42.7% (Espinosa et al., 2017). Given their noted

significance to increasing Latino student success, the HSI context warrants further attention that is necessary to advance our understanding of the diversity within Latino college student populations.

Issues Impacting the Education of Asian American and Latino Students

English and Heritage Language Development

Most of the research on Asian American students has focused on students with Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Eastern Indian heritage. Very few studies have discussed the challenges of subgroups within the Asian community and the need to disaggregate information accordingly. This can have a tremendous impact on student success in school, particularly as students progress to higher educational levels in which instruction and learning are most often conducted in English, but the course work is both language-heavy and language-dependent. For example, similar to the nation at large, over 100 languages are represented in public schools in Texas. However, only a few languages other than English are supported through instructional programs such as two-way immersion (dual language) or bilingual programs. In Texas, for example, Spanish is the primary native language of students in most two-way immersion/bilingual programs. While a very few Texas public schools offer Chinese immersion programs, many students from Asian subgroups have not had the opportunity to take advantage of a public bilingual education program. However, community centers in Houston and other cities in Texas have developed a variety of language and culture learning activities to help some children develop their bilingual abilities. The lack and/or decline in qualified/certified bilingual teachers further exacerbates the situation. The recruitment and training of qualified bilingual teachers is a critical factor in providing students the language support needed for academic success.

Child Poverty

Across the United States, poverty is a critical issue for student learning, and negatively impacts parents' abilities to allocate home resources to support children's learning and children's school readiness (Reardon & Portilla, 2016). The 2016 American Community Survey showed that 19% of children under the age of 18 in the United States are living in poverty (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019a). Analysis of the survey by population groups revealed the following percentages of children living

in poverty: African American 34%, American Indian/Alaska Native 34%, Latino 28%, Pacific Islander 23%, two or more races 19%, Asian 11%, white 11%. Disaggregated data revealed that poverty levels among Asians ranged from 6% for children of Japanese and Asian Indian descent, 15% for Vietnamese children, to 37% for Bangladeshi children. For Latino subgroups, the percentages of Guatemalan (38%) and Honduran (36%) children living in poverty far exceeded the overall percentage of Latinos living in poverty.

Stereotypes and Misconerceptions

Both Asian and Latino students have been subject to misconceptions or myths concerning their likelihood of academic success. Since the term "Model Minority" was introduced in public in 1966 by William Petersen, public discourse, perceptions, and stories have been developed around the Asian American students' achievement and their families' economic advancement regardless of their extremely diverse communities with different ethnic, cultures, languages, education, socioeconomic, historical, and immigration characteristics (California School Board Association, 2019). These perceptions and stereotypes are diverting attention from the problems and challenges faced by AAPI, and pitting Asian against other groups of color (Osajima, 1988). Much of the discussion surrounding education policy overlooks the diversity between and within these communities, as well as their specific needs. (Chatterji & Yin, 2022). The hidden reality of the two groups' problems and issues has been neglected and prevents the subgroup students from receiving the support from the government and schools, negatively impacting their learning outcomes.

Concluding Thoughts

Federal government, local educational agencies, and many policy sectors continue to describe AAPIs and Latinos as monolithic racial-ethnic groups. Public perceptions continue to influence educational policies. Even the recent 2020 U.S. Census does not reveal the reality of the two groups' incredibly complex makeup and situation. The hidden information on student populations is not reflected in public records; therefore, these invisible students cannot receive the attention, support, or equitable access to education. It is crucially important that the US education system has policies in place that reflect the diversity among students and importantly, support practices that will assure that all students receive educational

equality and social justice. It is a public responsibility for a democratic society to take action by critically examining the policy issues for the minority student education.

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PART II

Beliefs, Values, Attitudes; and Identity

CHAPTER 4

Family Literacy Practices and the Home Learning Environment of Asian and Latino Americans: Path to Literacy and Social-Emotional Learning

Jorge E. Gonzalez, Jeffrey Liew, Samantha D. Aguilar, Amanda D. Sainz, Rebecca Sanchez, and Rosie Bumgardner

Introduction

The home literacy environment (HLE) generally consists of the multifaceted formal and informal shared literacy, language and socioemotional related resources, experiences, interactions, and activities in a home learning environment (Gonzalez et al., 2017, 2019). The home literacy environment as a construct is often characterized by specific dimensions within the home shown to contribute to literacy and language acquisition, such

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_4

as the number of books in the home, enriching materials and activities (e.g., shared reading, story telling, and vocabulary usage), and of particular interest to this chapter, the parent or family's values, attitudes and beliefs driving the process of literacy development (Booth & Dunn, 2013; Roberts et al., 2005; Sénéchal, 2006). These literacy values, experiences, and activities facilitated in the home environment are essential to young children's attainment of literacy skills and often go on to shape their early education experiences, both academically and socially (Brandt & Deborah, 2001; Sénéchal et al., 2002).

The importance of the HLE rests on its concurrent and longitudinal predictive associations with children's linguistic and socioemotional competencies. For children from culturally and/or ethnically diverse backgrounds the composition of the family literacy environment (i.e., practices, roles, and interactions) and socialization of children's literacy acquisition is often guided by their cultural values and goals. Because early childhood is a sensitive period for development of linguistic and socioemotional milestones and that children's early linguistic abilities are predictive of children's socioemotional competencies, understanding the HLEs of Latino and Chinese American families—both understudied groups—warrants attention from both research and policy perspectives (Yeomans-Maldonado & Mesa, 2021). Although the relationship between the HLE and linguistic and socioemotional competencies is well understood, research on the HLEs of Latino and Chinese American families specifically is absent. This chapter explores the family literacy practices and the home learning environments of both Latino and Chinese American families as precursors of children's social-emotional learning and lays the groundwork for subsequent chapters in this book.

Home Literacy Environment Theoretical Frameworks

Parents socialize children through everyday interactions and routines in ways that promote cultural expectations, beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions related to a child's socioemotional and language development.

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A family's socialization practices are deeply rooted in cultural values, norms, and beliefs to form ecological niches realized in HLEs through routines, dynamics, and resources. Bronfenbrenner's (2005) ecological systems theory and ecocultural theory (Weisner, 2002) both posit that the proximal processes in a child's microsystem are most impactful for development. Key to development, the HLE specifically functions to direct parent-child interactions via a caregiver's dispositional characteristics and culturally normative relational processes to shape development across several biological, cognitive, and social aspects (Goodrich et al., 2021).

Bronfenbrenner's (2005) ecological systems theory, the microsystem specifically, posits that it is the interactions between the child and their environment including caregivers that is most salient in influencing early development. Thus, the home literacy environment plays a key role in development of early language and literacy skills. The more enriched the HLE is (e.g., greater exposure to adult speech, parental reading, books in the home), the more positive the influence on language and other literacy skills. While much is known about the HLE and which aspects relate to dominant cultural populations (i.e., white), much less is known about the impact of the HLE on Latino or Chinese American children (Goodrich et al., 2021). Weisner's (2002) ecocultural theory elaborates on Bronfenbrenner's theory by positing that families, caregivers specifically, organize their children's environments as a balance between culturally transmitted beliefs, values, and ways of knowing within the ecological context in which families live (e.g., host country). Accordingly, parents create learning routines for children that reflect not only culturally specific values (e.g., *respeto/respect*) but also incorporate the local expectations and economic demands of the context (Aldoni & Cabrera, 2016).

Social capital theory also provides a useful framework from which to examine the HLE in terms of understanding the resources (e.g., material possessions, information, supports, norms, relationships) available to families as they raise young children (Barrett et al., 2014). Social capital is a complex, yet naturally occurring process that accrues to an individual's or a group's ability to secure resources by virtue of membership or access to networks of institutionalized relationships. These relationships emerge as levels of trust, mutual expectations, and shared values facilitate social belongingness and social exchanges through mechanisms including connectivity between individuals and institutions (e.g., schools) available to individuals (Shoji et al., 2014).

Sociodemographics

Among ethnic minority groups in the United States, Latinos are by far the largest groups, yet, Asian Americans, including Chinese, are the fastest growing. In 2020 the Latino population reached 62.1 million, an increase of 19% or 52.5 million in 2010 with people of Mexican origin making up nearly 62% of the country's overall Latino population as of 2019 (Krogstad & Noe-Bustamante, 2021). Among Asian origins, Chinese now make up the largest group in the US, making up 24% of the Asian population. By the middle of the century, Asian Americans are projected to be the largest immigrant group in the country with over a quarter of Asians—like Latino-Americans—living in multigenerational family households (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021; Cohn & Passel, 2018).

Chinese and Latino's share many common immigrant experiences including cultural values with both groups being cultural minorities in the United States. Among the shared cultural values is a family orientation with evidence suggesting that Asian and Latino Americans are more like one another especially when compared to European-Americans on dimensions such as interdependence. Despite the similarities, each ethnic group broadly has different immigration histories and experiences that could be reflected in different parenting approaches (Kiang et al., 2017; Rodriguez et al., 2006). These parenting differences likely reflect differences in cultural values, expectations, attitudes, and dispositions and most likely are reflected in how they interact with children and the provision of home literacy environments and activities provided to children (Sonnenschein & Sun, 2016). Understanding similarities and differences of the HLE of both Chinese and Latino Americans and the values that predict construction of the HLE invariably relies on understanding Asian and Latino cultural values.

Asian Americans

Parenting in traditional Asian cultures has often been characterized as authoritarian or extremely strict and controlling. Authoritarian parenting refers to the combination of parents holding high expectations with strict limits or boundaries for their children but without expressing much warmth or affection toward their children. Authoritarian style of parenting has been observed and documented within multiple Asian countries, such as China, Japan, and India (Chao & Tseng, 2002). One reason that Asian

parenting has often been characterized as authoritarian may be rooted in Confucianism and its influence on child rearing or parenting practices. Confucianism is a philosophy that originated, and was the dominant philosophy for many dynasties, in China. Beyond China, Confucianism has influenced the thinking and practices of people in many Asian, particularly East Asian, countries. For example, Confucianism was adopted as the official philosophy in Korea during the Yi dynasty for approximately 500 years and in Japan during the Tokugawa or the Edo period for approximately 250 years.

Traditional Asian Cultural Values and Parenting Practices

Confucian Familism and Filial Piety

Familism is central to Confucian philosophy, and those influenced by Confucianism are taught in childhood about the importance of family bonds. The family is conceptualized as analogous to the human body, with each family member representing a distinct part of the human body but all family members are essential for constituting the whole being or whole body. Among family members, the Confucian concept of *filial piety* is a lifelong moral obligation and virtue calling for the children to show respect, deference, and care toward their parents and elders in the family.

Consistent with Confucian familism and filial piety, many Asian parents have internalized that it is their moral obligation and parental duty to guide or "train" their children to learn and practice the core values and ethics of respect, deference, and care for children's parents and elders. In traditional Chinese culture, the indigenous concepts of *guǎn* (管) and *jiào xun* (教訓) represent the way that parents socialize their children. *Guǎn* means "to govern," "to look after," and "to care about" (Tobin et al., 1989), while *jiào xun* means "to train" or discipline and guide children in the appropriate or expected or correct behaviors (Chao, 1994). Traditional Chinese philosophy also emphasizes human malleability and the importance of training in self-improvement. Thus, it is parents' responsibility to be their children's first teachers in the home before the children ever enter formal schooling to actively shape their children's moral and social competence that will contribute to their children's school readiness and future academic success.

For Asian American families, the home literacy environment (i.e., practices, materials, attitudes) not only reflects their desire for their children to attain the necessary literary skill needed to succeed academically but also incorporates the social-emotional competencies valued within their culture. The concept of familism and its associated attitudes is a driving influence for the processes parents utilize to socialize their children and support their academic abilities. The parental desire to guide their children's academics may motivate more parent-child reading experiences, parent-directed teachings, and parent-guided literacy activities as they feel the obligation to take on an active role in their children's early literacy development within the home. Through these parent-child interactions, there is opportunity for children to gain literacy skills while social-emotional learning is taking place.

Parental Duties: Guăn and Jiào Xun

Using parenting practices that are aligned with the philosophy of *guăn* and *jiào xun*, parents prepare their children to enter formal schooling so their children will show respect to the elders at school, such as the teachers and school administrators. Many parents see this as important, because children's manners and social behaviors in public are viewed as a reflection of how well the parents are meeting their parental duty and moral obligation to guide and "train" their children. These Asian values calling for respect toward the parents and elders and for good manners and social behaviors in public that reflect positively on the parents and family are very similar to the indigenous Hispanic and Latino cultural values of *respeto* (i.e., respect and deference to adults) and *bien educado* (i.e., moral and social competence).

Face-saving is an important aspect of Asian cultural values, which is closely tied to familism and the view that children are viewed as a reflection of their family and how well the parents are fulfilling their parental duty and moral obligation to "train" their children. "Face" or *mianzi* (面子) refers to reputation or prestige achieved in one's social group (Wang et al., 2022). In traditional Asian culture, academics is a top priority of parents for their children. For example, this was evident from interviews with Chinese American adolescents with first-generation immigrant parents who revealed that their parents view doing well in school and demonstrating academic excellence as a top priority for them (Qin, 2009). *Face or mianzi* (面子) is important for Asian parents, because they are held

responsible for their children's academic success. Children learn early about *face or mianzi* (面子) and "the importance of not bringing shame to the family by avoiding occupational or educational failures and by achieving academically" (Kim et al., 2001, p. 346). Thus, many children often feel intense academic pressures knowing that their parents' reputation and the family's prestige or honor are at stake.

The pressure and importance placed upon these children is often given a negative connotation. However, parents who use strict parenting practices and place high value on education and academic achievement may facilitate their children's literacy development. For example, Saracho (2002) found that value placed on education, push toward achievement, and opportunities for verbal interaction were key influences within the family that contributed to children's literacy acquisition. In addition, a study using a mixed methods approach with Chinese American parents with preschool-age children found that language and literacy development is one of the top priorities that parents have for their children (Gonzalez et al., 2021). While the push from parents for language and literacy learning and academic achievement is evident, research on Chinese American immigrant families indicates that a combination of parental strictness-supervision and parental autonomy support, or yin-yang (阴阳) parenting promotes not only academic achievement, but also social-emotional development and adaptive skills that are important for whole-child success (Liew et al., 2014).

The Model Minority Stereotype

In addition to pressures associated with maintaining face *or mianzi* (面子) for themselves and for their parents and the family, many children of Asian parents experience societal pressures and expectations to uphold the *model minority stereotype*. The model minority stereotype is predicated on filial piety and on parents' emphasis on educational or occupational achievements for their children. However, the model minority stereotype (sometimes referred to as the model minority myth) is highly problematic because studies have shown that such racial/ethnic stereotypes are not only inaccurate but also harmful to Asian Americans (e.g., Kiang et al., 2016). In fact, Hill et al. (2021) advanced the argument that internalization model minority stereotype is a form of internalized racism that harms Asian Americans by constraining and limiting the expectations and goals for an entire racial or ethnic group. Furthermore, scholars have noted that

the model minority stereotype was designed to perpetuate sociopolitical racism to maintain the status quo in power relations among ethnic groups (e.g., Chou & Feagin, 2015). Specifically, the model minority stereotype is used to justify discrimination and racism within the Asian communities as well as against other ethnic minorities, particularly Black Americans, by selling the narrative that Asian Americans can achieve educational and occupational or financial success in the United States (Poon et al., 2016). Studies have shown that students who internalize the model minority stereotype suffer from intense pressures to succeed that can lead to psychological distress (Gupta et al., 2011; Kiang et al., 2016).

In our view, the model minority stereotype does not represent the true essence or intentions of familism, filial piety, *guǎn* (管), and *jiào xun* (教訓). Instead, the model minority stereotype is a misappropriation of Asian cultural values. Importantly, it is not parents' duty and moral obligation to train and support their children to achieve excellence only to serve as pawns and in service of sociopolitical agendas. Unfortunately, racial/ethnic stereotypes remain pervasive in the popular press and media. In a study that used a dyadic and prospective research design, data showed an intergenerational correlation in internalized racial/ethnic or model minority stereotypes in Chinese American immigrant families (Hill et al., 2021). Furthermore, study results suggest that "internalized racism may restrict parents' expectations and goals for their children and, in tandem, serve as a barrier for youths' self-determination or sense of autonomy in their selection of college majors and career development" (Hill et al., p. 9). Academically the model minority stereotype perpetuates the assumption that all Asian American children have the same academic trajectories despite significant within group variations in ability, possibly inhibiting individual identification as at-risk or in need of additional academic support (Han & Huang, 2010).

Traditional Latino Cultural Values and Parenting Practices

Like many parents, Latino-Americans place a high value in the education of their children, emphasize academic success, and highly value participating in the children's day-to-day schooling in meeting school expectations. When deemed important, Latino parents will adapt their beliefs to accommodate the schooling of their children (Gonzalez et al., 2019) and daily ethnic socialization practices in which they transmit traditions, beliefs,

behavioral norms, and values (Calzada et al., 2010). The research is clear, Latino families possess rich home literacy traditions often overlooked by more one-size-fits-all models of the home literacy environment (Gonzalez et al., 2017) and misunderstood by teachers (Bridges et al., 2012). These literacy traditions are often driven by cultural values actualized in the daily cultural socialization routines around teachable moments in the home environment. Three prevailing Latino values that relate to parenting and the home literacy environment are *"respeto/respect," "familismo/familism,"* and *"bien educado/well educated."* These values function as cultural scripts that families adhere to and influence the behaviors and interactions of members in the Latino family (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008).

Respeto (Respect)

Latino cultural values are at the center of child-rearing practices to ensure social relationships and connectedness among members of a Latino family. Parent values influence corresponding parenting practices to shape children's behaviors. A child's socialization is advanced through intentional and deliberate parenting practices in day-to-day routines to promote normative behaviors (Bridges et al., 2012). Among the most "pan-Latino" cultural values is "*respeto*" or respect (Calzada et al., 2010). *Respeto* in Latino families is actualized most saliently through the developmental and cultural niches in family microsystems around child-rearing practices (Tami-LeMonda et al. 2020). These cultural niches reflect connections across beliefs, values, practices, and settings around proximal day-to-day socialization processes and interactions between caregivers and children to transmit culture (Chen et al., 2020; Super & Harkness, 2002).

Respeto is a key cultural value of Latinos. It emphasizes deference, decorum, obedience, and outward manifestations of behavior (i.e., public) across situations and settings. It functions to establish expectations of behavior both with familiar people as well as strangers. As such, *respeto*-parenting is core to Latino parenting ultimately through its impact on highly prescribed interactions and other proximal influences to determine the behavior Latino children and youth (Calzada et al., 2010; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2019). As a core cultural value among Latino populations, *respeto* is a cornerstone that underlies and supports *familismo*—a strong sense of familial obligation (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008).

Familismo (Familism)

Also considered a core value similar to but distinct from Confusion familism is the Latino of *Familismo* or familism. Functioning as a source of strength in Latino families and central to understanding Latino families, familism has both tangible and intangible dimensions and is captured in the inclination to hold the needs and wants of the family at higher importance than one's own (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008; Toyokawa & Toyokawa, 2019). Familism is demonstrated in reciprocity, empathy, trust, sacrifice, solidarity, and loyalty to create a mutual sense of obligation or interdependence among family members (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008). While the evidence is somewhat mixed, both male and female family members appear to be equally influenced by familism although the gendered expectations may be different (e.g., male versus female caregiving (Martinez, 2013).

Familism, by promoting interdependence especially in extended families, provides a stable availability of emotional support for children in the home and is associated with positive academic outcomes (Toyokawa & Toyokawa, 2019). A strong sense of *familismo* has been shown to relate to greater academic motivation and effort in children and youth especially as related to beliefs about family obligations and likely functions as a source of social capital for families (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008). Familism has been associated with positive advantages in terms of social-emotional outcomes for young children (Bridges et al., 2015) as well as shown to be related to prosocial reasoning and behaviors among Latino youth especially altruistic perspective taking in meeting the needs of others and appears to work through moral reasoning (Knight et al., 2014).

Bien Educado (Well-educated)

The *bien educado* value is a broad-ranging construct transmitted by caregivers to promote desired social behaviors and strong moral character in Latino children. *Bien educado* generally consists of comportment (e.g., proper demeanor), obedience (e.g., complying), respect (e.g., respect elders), and cooperation (e.g., reciprocity) (Bridges et al., 2012).

The Immigrant Paradox

Known as a population-level phenomenon, the immigrant paradox has been studied for decades. The immigrant paradox in childhood and adolescents posits that most first-generation immigrants (youth who were

born outside of the United States) will fare better academically than second-generation youth (youth born in the United States with one or both parents born outside of the United States) or third-generation youth (youth born in the United States and whose parents were also born in the United States) (May & Witherspoon, 2019).

Studies have shown that over time, and generations, as immigrant children and adolescents acculturate themselves to life in America, outcomes (e.g., academic, socioemotional) are less optimal (Marks et al., 2014). In other words, children who were born to immigrant parents and living in the United States longer than newcomer immigrant children will have less positive developmental outcomes (Marks et al., 2014). Buriel (2012) states that immigrant paradoxes related to education among Mexican Americans can be explained in large part through the lens of the cultural integration hypothesis. According to the cultural integration hypothesis, educational success and occupational success are the driving forces motivating first-generation Mexican Americans to immigrate to the United States; they choose to immigrate to America. These first-generation Mexican Americans often leave most everything behind in their homeland when making the journey to the United States, but with them, comes a psychological strength that fuels the determination and the perseverance to succeed in the new country. "However, these positive attributes and motivational forces are lost in subsequent generations" (Marks et al., 2014, p. 61).

As with much research, operationally defining the paradox is challenging. Many variables can impact developmental outcomes of immigrant youth, what researchers call mediators. The mediators typically operate in the microsystems—child and youth contexts—that facilitate or serve as barriers to optimal and healthy development (Marks et al., 2014). Consequently, the decline in achievement by immigrant youth who have lived in the United States longer when compared to more recent immigrants remains perplexing (Hill & Torres, 2010).

Similarities and Differences Between Asian and Latino Families' Values: Implications for Home Literacy Practices and Social-Emotional Learning

Though Asian and Latino family practices reflect many similar values such as respect, family bonds, and community connections, each group is unique and within groups are inter heterogeneous with unique identities and sociopolitical histories (e.g., Chinese American vs. Indian American or

Mexican American vs. Brazilian American). As such the present chapter has intentionally focused on the unique cultural constructs that have been consistently recorded within the research literature for each of these broader populations. However, there are various cultural similarities between Asian and Latino parenting styles as they share many child-rearing practices that emphasize respect and obligation to one's self, family, and community. Asian and Latino parents both provide their children with an enriching home environment that supports the acquisition of skills through modeling literacy and language-related behaviors that reflect their expectation for their children's academic and cultural scripts. According to Hughes et al. (2006), parents transmit cultural values, beliefs, and traditions to their children through ethnic socialization. For example, Latino parents emphasize the importance of the family or *familismo,* and they value solidarity amongst family members. Asian parents raise their children with similar values through Confucian familism and filial piety which emphasize the importance of teaching children the value of family bonds, being respectful, and showing deference at a young age.

SEL and literary skills are instilled within the home literacy environment parents create for their children and regulated through parental expectations, the parents' salient roles in all aspects of their children's learning process, and the bi-directional parent-child interactions that occur within the home. Both Asian and Latino-based cultures have been characterized as having authoritarian parenting styles (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Pong et al., 2005). This parenting style has been shown to negatively affect school performance in white students (Pong et al., 2005; Tiller et al., 2003). However, studies with Asian and Latino students yielded different outcomes (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Hillstrom, 2009; Moon et al., 2009; Steinberg et al., 1992). The authoritarian parenting style seemed to have no negative impact on academic performance, especially among Asian students. Though such parenting practices are often regarded as highly restrictive within the North Americans dominant sociocultural norms (i.e., white), however, for Asian and Latino American families we frame such parenting choices as a conscious effort to protect their children and support their development based on the goals reflected in their culture, not inhibit them.

Parent Involvement in Children's Literacy and Socioemotional Development

This chapter illustrates that cultural values drive Asian and Latino parenting beliefs and parenting practices. They are an asset these families rely on to raise well-adapted children. Indeed, longitudinal research on ethnically diverse low-income families that followed children from preschool to 5th grade, results showed that parenting beliefs predicted parenting practices during the toddlerhood years, which then predicted children's social-emotional development during the preschool years, and eventually predicting academic (including literacy or reading) achievement in middle and late childhood (Liew et al., 2018). Thus, cultural values play an integral role in shaping parents' beliefs and parental involvement in the language, literacy, and socioemotional development of Asian and Latino children. Asian American parents believe in preparing their children for formal schooling. For example, Asian parenting styles align with philosophies such as guǎn and jiào xun; parents teach their children to live in harmony with others by prioritizing collectivistic values over personal desire or comfort. The ability for children to reflect these values is a measure of social competence within the culture and is often seen as an indication that the parents have raised a well-socialized child. These children are expected to carry on these learned social-emotional skills by respecting their school administrators, showing manners, and having and maintaining quality interpersonal relationships.

Similar to Asian American parents, Latino American parents socialize their children to be bicultural. Latino American parents aim to teach their children American and Latino values to benefit from both cultures (Gonzalez et al., 2017, 2019). Latino American children are often taught to be respectful of those around them and expected to become well-educated individuals (Gamble et al. 2008). A study by Aldoni and Cabrera (2016) aimed to investigate how Latin American parents identify cultural values to pass onto their children. Investigators found that participants valued unity amongst the family, but they still expected their children to be independent and self-sufficient. Participants also discussed incorporating literacy activities into their daily routines by designating reading times and participating in family literacy courses. Parents reported that being good role models and leading by example was necessary for teaching children moral values. Ultimately, maintaining structure and providing

routine for their families is how Latin American parents attribute to their children's literacy and socioemotional development.

Asian and Latino American parents introduce language and literacy concepts to their children as early as toddlerhood (Aldoni & Cabrera, 2016; Gonzalez et al., 2021). For Asian American families, the cultural values that drive socialization may also drive children's literacy development. Familial expectations such as face-saving can be seen as an asset because they implicitly and explicitly motivate parents to create opportunities that improve their child's academic progress. For example, parents may bring their children to local libraries or community events that support social and emotional literacy and development (face and guanxi). These enrichment experiences allow children to build and strengthen their literacy and social-emotional skills through shared reading opportunities.

Findings from a study on Chinese immigrant parents emphasized that parents took their children's education seriously and invested significant time and resources to facilitate their children's language and literacy development (Gonzalez et al., 2021). Furthermore, in addition to English language learning, parents in the study expressed that they expect their children to maintain their heritage (Chinese) language. Thus, being bilingual would be the minimum expectation for many Chinese immigrant parents. Some parents prefer their children to be trilingual and learn a language such as Spanish to be more prepared for a diverse and competitive world. In the study, Chinese American parents also shared parenting practices and involvement in their children's language and literacy learning in the home. Specifically, parents shared that they established home libraries and provided print materials to engage and stimulate their children's interest in language learning and literacy. Parents also utilized learning tools and resources such as extracurricular programs, YouTube, subscription services, and digital devices to enhance the home literacy environment (see Gonzalez et al., 2021). Overall, Chinese American parents held high expectations for their children's education and learning, including language and literacy development.

Latinx or Latin American parents invest in their children's language and literacy development. However, these practices vary depending on socioeconomic status and parents' ethnic identity (McWayne et al., 2016; Quiroz et al., 2010; Schick & Melzi, 2016; Schüller, 2015). Children of Latinx descent often enter grade school with lower levels of emergent literacy skills than white children (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Reardon & Galindo, 2009; Sullivan et al., 2016); but several factors may explain these

outcomes. Firstly, children from low-income households are statistically shown to have lower emergent literacy skills than those from more financially stable families (Kuhl, 2011; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). Second, languages spoken within Hispanic households vary, with some speaking only Spanish, only English, or both English and Spanish (Hammer et al., 2008; Lonigan et al., 2018; Quiroz et al., 2010). More specifically, children primarily exposed to Spanish at home tend to have higher Spanish emergent literacy skills but lower English emergent literacy skills (Hammer et al., 2008). Lastly, Parents' ethnic identity has been shown to predict children's academic achievement (McWayne et al., 2016; Nekby et al., 2009; Schüller, 2015). These findings indicate that the home literacy environment of Latino American families is specific to the culture and ethnicity that parents identify with.

Investigators from New York University (Schick & Melzi, 2016) examined literacy practices in the homes of 127 low-income Latino preschoolers. The majority of these households were Spanish-speaking (60%), and the remaining were either bilingual (25%) or English-speaking (15%) households. A bilingual research assistant visited these homes to distribute a questionnaire and observe a parent-child book-sharing activity. There was an average of 20 books available per household, with lower-income families having fewer books available. Low-income families also reported not visiting the library due to limited availability or access. Participants from higher-income neighborhoods stated that they did visit the library with their children and actively provided books for their children in the home. However, parents did report reading to their children daily or weekly, either in English, in Spanish, or both. These outcomes were predictive of children's language, literacy, and social-emotional school readiness skills at the end of the preschool year.

Quiroz et al. (2010) further investigated the relationships between family language use, parent-child interactions during book sharing, and children's vocabulary skills in English and Spanish. Researchers conducted home visits with 49 Latino American families to facilitate interviews, observations, and vocabulary screenings on parents and their children. Parents read to their children and participated in book-sharing activities by asking questions and discussing in Spanish. The overall results of this study indicate that parental assimilation to American culture was a strong predictor of children's English vocabulary skills. For example, factors such as parental English proficiency, maternal work, family income, and English literacy practice at home positively correlated with children's vocabulary

skills when completing the Woodcock-Johnson Language Proficiency Battery–Revised (WLPB–R) Picture Vocabulary Test in English (Woodcock, 1991). In sum, researchers concluded that frequently being read to, regardless of the language, positively affected vocabulary skills in both English and Spanish.

Conclusions

For Asian and Latino families, the cultural values instilled in their children through literacy practices and SEL allow their children to succeed in their home as well as community environments. However, challenges often arise when these home cultural values differ from that of the dominant socio-cultural norms which these culturally diverse children will likely encounter within the public education system. Not only do minoritized and first-generation American students face heavy societal expectations, but they also face strenuous academic expectations. For Asian American students, societal pressures such as the model minority stereotype impose narrow and confining expectations on students that can limit their self-determination and autonomy in their academic and personal pursuits and frequently suffer from internalized racism and psychological distress from either internalizing or going against model minority stereotypes (Gupta et al., 2011; Hill et al., 2021). First-generation Latino students face similar academic pressures to be successful, and evidence of this "Immigrant Paradox" was reported as recently as 2019 (May & Witherspoon, 2019).

Both Latino and Asian parents place high expectations on their children's education, thus regard the education system, the school, and their child's teachers as essential components to their children's, and by extension their families', success within American systems. The transition from home to school context may be made easier through the conscious continuance and incorporation of the values, attitude, beliefs, of the academic and social-emotional skills children have gained in the home to the early education setting. Focusing on family literacy as a multidimensional and culturally reflective concept gives attention to the translation process of literary practices, activities, and development from the home to the school environment. It is essential that educators who work with culturally diverse children are aware and sensitive to children's literacy and social-emotional assets and vulnerabilities as to accurately gage needs and competence within each domain. Thus, not letting the whole child's development and lived realities be lost when context shifts. However, the obstacle often

observed is whether the mainstream teacher and school system hold the same or similar values as the parent or home environment. Particularly, will teachers question whether the children exhibiting actions reflecting their cultural values are socially competent, engaged, too shy and quiet, passive, and so on.

We recommend a focus on increasing culturally reflective practices within the classroom through culturally guided literacy practices, parental engagement and involvement within the school, and building authentic community-based relationships to bridge the context of the home and the school environment (see Hayashi et al., 2022). If fostered and adapted, teachers can apply children's cultural commitments, values, and processes in their teaching practices so that children's learned literacy and SEL skills will translate and thrive within the classroom environment.

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CHAPTER 5

Examining Latinx Familial Literacies Through a Testimonio of Pedagogies of the Home

Ruth M. López

Introduction

The education of Latinx children, who make up 27% of public school students nationwide and 50% in Texas (Schaeffer, 2021), is subject to scrutiny even before they start school. For example, we often hear about education gaps that affect nondominant children, such as the deficit associations between the number of words that higher income children know, the so-called "30-million-word gap," and the lower amount that children coming from poverty arrive at school knowing. However, this narrative about nondominant children has been challenged (Bahena, 2016; Kamenetz, 2018). This false intelligence marker then frames nondominant children as behind before they even enter school, and if they speak a language other than English, it also fails to recognize their linguistic

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_5

capital they come to school with (N. Flores & Rosa, 2015; Yosso, 2005). Deficit framing is also evident in how children learning English are labeled—at-risk, limited English proficient, English language learners, English learners, monolingual—and as a response scholars and education advocates have called for the use of the asset-framed term of "Emergent Bilingual Students" who make up 5 million students in US schools (A. García, 2021).

The English language knowledge (presumed or actual) of Latinx children and how it relates to their unequal treatment in schools is not new. Civil rights cases dating back to the mid-1900s document the disparate and racialized treatment of Mexican-American schoolchildren in the Southwest (Donato, 1997; Donato & Hanson, 2012; Valencia, 2005; Valencia & Black, 2002). For example, in 1947 the California *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947) federal lawsuit was brought forth by families due to the segregation of Mexican-American schoolchildren. The children were segregated on the basis of language, where defendants claimed they should learn English in separate schools. However, these children were bilingual, and attorneys were able to prove the discrimination taking place through arguments similar to those used in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 (Donato & Hanson, 2012; Valencia, 2005). This unequal treatment has a long-lasting impact. In a 2013 documentary, *Stolen Education*, education scholar Enrique Alemán Jr. interviewed those who testified in the *Hernandez v. Driscoll* 1957 federal suit in Texas as young children. The Driscoll school district segregated Mexican-American children into separate classrooms by creating three levels of first grade where the Mexican-American children were placed into the lower levels—causing them to eventually graduate at older ages than their white peers. The defendants argued that the children were not separated on the basis of their race, but instead because they needed to learn English. These children were also bilingual, and decades later as they were interviewed as now elders, the negative impact this educational practice had on them was evident. These are only two examples of unequal treatment affecting the educational experiences of Mexican-American children, and something common to both of these cases and many others is the role that the Mexican-American parents took in defending the rights of their children's education. Through parental activism and advocacy, dominant narratives of Mexican-American children were challenged. That is, the false idea Latinx families do not value education (Valencia & Black, 2002). But even today, decades later, this deficit notion continues and the need to challenge it remains critical.

I argue that these historic events are important to consider when examining the current educational experiences of Latinx students and families. When learning about these legal cases in graduate school and as a faculty member, I could not help but think about my own mother's advocacy in my early education for reasons that seem related to the deficit schooling practices that have been happening to Latinx families for a long time. These practices push dominant narratives of assimilation and acculturation that erase or silence the rich cultural and linguistic capital that Latinx children and their families hold. In this chapter, I share my testimonio both as the daughter of immigrants and as a mother of two young children to describe what I see as the weaving together of my own educational experiences (both formal and at home) in this country to my children's—who are Mexican-American (my husband is fourth-generation Tejano/Chicano) and Salvadoran. First I will discuss the critical race feminista parenting and pedagogies of the home (Bernal, 2001, 2018) frameworks that I was guided by, and then I will explain the testimonio methodology I used. I bring in my testimonio, where I weave in writing I have shared in different publications (López, 2015, 2019), as well as add my experience now as a mother constantly reflecting about my approach to parenting as not only a personal but also a political practice that I enact as resistance to systems of oppression (Bernal, 2001). This form of critical reflection influences my work as a community-engaged scholar and shapes how I engage as an education faculty member with my teacher and education leader students, as well as with my children's educators with the goal of educational justice for nondominant families. In other words, the testimonio I offer in this piece is a reflection of sociopolitical issues that have implications for the educational experiences many of the students I described in the beginning of this section may have.

Critical Race Feminista Parenting and Pedagogies of the Home

Critical race theorists (CRT) have reflected on their parenting practices from a CRT lens (DePouw & Matias, 2016; Jocson, 2021; Matias, 2016), and also joined this perspective with Chicana/Latina feminist epistemology and Women of Color feminism (Bernal, 2018). These perspectives allowed me to view my experiences as a child and as a mother through the racial and sociopolitical realities critical moments represented. Something

sacred about the stories I share is that they took place in the home and my community (as a child and as a mother). In a way this chapter about Latinx literacy practices is about "pedagogies of the home," where Bernal (2001) offered this framework acknowledging the learning that takes place outside of formal schooling. She said the following, which guided the moments I will share through testimonio:

> The pedagogies of the home extend the existing discourse on critical pedagogies by putting cultural knowledge and language at the forefront to better understand lessons from the home space and local communities. For example, because power and politics are at the center of all teaching and learning, the application of household knowledge to situations outside of the home becomes a creative process that interrupts the transmission of "official knowledge" and dominant ideologies. (p. 624)

This framework in many ways disrupts the banking model of education (Freire, 1970) that assumes schools and formal educators are there to transmit knowledge to empty vessels (students). Instead, by considering pedagogies of the home not only is there an acknowledgment of the rich cultural knowledge occurring in homes of nondominant families, but also offers the idea that the home is a space of resistance to dominant and deficit paradigms.

Testimonio

Pérez Huber (2009) documented the academic tradition of testimonio, situated it with Latino critical race theory (LatCrit) and Chicana feminist epistemology and shared the following about it:

> …testimonio is often told by a witness, motivated by a social and/or political urgency to voice injustice and raise awareness of oppression. Testimonios are usually guided by the will of the narrator to tell events as she sees significant, and is often an expression of a collective experience, rather than the individual. (p. 644)

Although I will share my own story and that of my family, I am aware that my story is also about many collective experiences. Years ago, I shared part of my testimonio in an introduction to a special issue publication (López, 2015), and to this day I have received multiple emails from a school administrator in South Texas who thanked me for what I shared because

it has helped him understand his emergent bilingual students better. In terms of critical race feminista parenting, Bernal (2018) saw, "testimonio as both a methodological and pedagogical tool to share parenting experiences" (Bernal, 2018, p. 7). In sharing her own testimonio growing up and as a mother, Bernal (2018) mentions that her testimonio was also that of her family's. Said differently, this testimonio is not only my own, but also that of my mother, father, elders, children, and the parenting their Chicano father and I engage in together. Lastly, using testimonio through these critical race frames, there is a commitment to social justice and action. I will touch on issues of urgency, such as the separation of immigrant families at the Southern U.S. border. In other spaces I have engaged in this topic from a policy perspective (López, 2021), but this testimonio demonstrates how I engaged immigration issues as a child and as a mother.

Hija de Inmigrantes and Mothering Mexican-American/Mexican/Salvadoran Children

Early Educational Experiences of an Emergent Bilingual Student

I am the daughter of immigrants from El Salvador and México. When I was born, about five years after they each came to the United States (Dallas, Texas), my parents spoke to me in Spanish. Eventually, my mother would more regularly engage in translanguaging (O. García & Kleifgen, 2020) and to this day we speak to each other in Spanglish or we code-switch depending on the context we are in. My Spanish language was not framed as a "problem" until I was enrolled in kindergarten at a small private Catholic school in the late 1980s. The earliest and most vivid educational memory I have is of my young recently-documented mother advocating on my behalf that my fluency in Spanish did not imply low intelligence and did not justify my being held back in school. I remember her taking me to several other parochial schools where I had to take what I can only refer to as entrance exams. This was stressful, and I still remember feeling the weight of my performance at the young age of six. Eventually, she found a predominantly Latinx Catholic school in our neighborhood that would place me in first grade and provide a bilingual English tutor who would pull me out for individual lessons, but from a young age I was sent the message in school that my Spanish needed to be kept in the home. As other scholars have noted, these experiences can be

stigmatizing for students who have been labeled as "English learners" (Rodríguez & de los Ríos, 2021). This is also a story of my mother's advocacy and the motivation for my professional path and for my deep commitment to education justice.

First grade was also where I memorized the looks of disappointment from fellow Latinx classmates who were asked by the white teacher to help translate for me. These negative experiences were in stark contrast to the community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) I was exposed to in my home, family, and even in the same parochial community. At home, my mother would save up points from the grocery store to eventually earn us an encyclopedia—we only acquired the table of contents and a few of the first issues, but eventually found a full paperback set at a thrift store. She would also make requests from family in El Salvador, and I would get so excited when the package from my tías who were teachers in El Salvador included Spanish workbooks like the ones she used when she attended school in her hometown of San Miguel. Literacy practices of the home were also passed down from my Mexican abuelito, a former bracero, or guest worker, who had a passion for reading and reciting poetry. Before passing away when I was in first grade, he recorded a cassette tape of his favorite poem and songs. He had no formal schooling, but such a passion for learning that he taught himself to read. In recent years I inherited his favorite book of poetry and in it my tía wrote a childhood memory about how every year he would select a poem for his children to memorize and recite to my abuelita on Mother's Day. Years later as an ode to him, when one of my Spanish college professors held a poetry recital, I selected the poem from his cassette tape, *El Brindis del Bohemio* by Guillermo Aguirre y Fierro. As a young child I was also in the Spanish choir with my dad, and on weekends would help him compile song sheets. On Sundays, I would proudly join him on the first row of the choir during Spanish Mass. My parents, uncles and aunts, and extended community had advocated for the Catholic church in Dallas to offer more to the immigrant Spanish-speaking community, and having Spanish-language Mass and prayer groups was a source of pride I often heard stories about. After my parents applied for and earned their permanent residency in 1986 with the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), we began to travel regularly to my father's hometown of Guadalupe, Nuevon León, Mexico. My parents would often pick us up from school on Friday with the family van packed up with encargos for my abuelita and tías, we would arrive in Guadalupe 12 hours later Saturday morning (depending on wait times at

the border), and by Monday I would be back in my seat at school. I think now about how little, if anything, my teachers knew about my international experiences where I had the opportunity to in a way traverse multiple worlds in only a short time. Finally, similar to many other children of immigrants, once I was started learning more English, I served as a cultural and linguistic broker for my family and community—and opposite to the sentiment I felt from some of my classmates, I welcomed the opportunity to provide my newfound translating skills whenever possible (Orellana, 2001).

Along with the silencing of my first language in schools, my multicultural heritage was rarely reflected in the curriculum I was learning—so rarely that I easily recollect the experiences I most value in my K–12 education: the time in fifth grade when we created a booklet highlighting natural resources from different countries, and I glued coffee beans to construction paper, drew coconut trees, and proudly drew the map of my mother's country; and the time in high school when I read *Bless Me, Última* by Rudolfo Anaya (1994), the first book I read by a Mexican-American author, leading to my wanting to read any book by an author with a Spanish surname. A whole new world opened up for me.

Once I was exposed to these ways of learning that reflected my multicultural identity, I became passionate about learning more about Latinx culture and history and pursuing my education beyond high school, eventually earning my Ph.D. in educational foundations where I was able to leverage my undergraduate degree in Mexican-American Studies. Along with my family, numerous local and national Latinx organizations I was exposed to in high school supported this educational process for me that not many in my community achieve. However, I think now about how different my early educational experience would have been with more exposure to a culturally responsive curriculum, and an acknowledgment of the rich learning experiences I was experiencing at home, in my community, and even across borders. Once I became a mother I knew the kinds of affirming experiences I wanted my children to have based on my own memories of my education and childhood.

Critical Race Feminista Mothering: Fostering Social and Racial Justice Literacies at Home and in Community

Being a critical race feminista mother (Bernal, 2018) for me means carrying the wisdom of my elders, as well as the knowledge and experience I

have gained in life and through my education—including the racialized experiences. My scholarly work on the intersection of immigration and education is informed by my own family history as the daughter of former undocumented immigrants from El Salvador y México. I knew from a young age what it meant to apply for papeles as I witnessed loved ones in my community strive to adjust their status. When reflecting on my family's migration stories, such as that of my abuelito being a Mexican bracero and my Salvadoran family having to come to the United States beginning in the late 1970s to the present, I cannot untangle their arrival from the sociopolitical context, which includes U.S. intervention that directly influenced their necessity to migrate.

Given my family story and scholarly focus on immigration and education, I feel comfortable talking about this topic to various audiences, such as other scholars, K-12 educators and administrators, and higher education professionals. In my work I aim to bring a humanizing perspective and pedagogy (Fránquiz & del Carmen Salazar, 2004) as I am able to draw upon my own narrative as a member of a formerly mixed-status family. As a mother, I think about how I will share my family's undocumented immigration stories and our intergenerational stories of struggle and survival with my children when the pressure is there from dominant mainstream society to not talk about these "political" issues. These discussions seem especially urgent given the anti-immigrant climate, which I have the opportunity to disrupt in my home through counter-stories (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

In the summer of 2018, when the media covered the separation of parents and children at the border, I discovered that a child detention center was being proposed in my neighborhood. This "baby jail" as they have been pegged, would be within steps of downtown Houston (Cheyne, 2018). I decided to attend a protest at the site and together with my friend N, we took our two soon-to-be 1st graders to be in solidarity with those affected. My son shared little; but I explained what was happening and why we were there. I wanted to show him that when there is injustice, none of us should be alone in fighting it. I was unsure how or when my son would be ready to ask questions about this situation.

In March 2019, I returned from the American Association for Hispanics in Higher Education (AAHHE) Annual Conference, with a new book in hand. *Diary of a Reluctant Dreamer: Undocumented Vignettes from a Pre-American Life* by Alberto Ledesma (2017), was selected to receive a book award and all conference attendees received a copy. My son glanced at the

graphic novel on our kitchen table and found an image of a woman being separated from her family, including her child, at the hands of a border enforcement official. This image froze him, and he asked me why that man was taking this woman. This moment made me quickly think about how I translate all these concepts I know from a scholarly and professional perspective, to an honest and accessible version appropriate for a six-year-old. I decided to approach this by talking about our own family, so I asked him: "Do you remember that grandma and grandpa came here from other countries? When they came, they didn't have the correct documents to come, but they needed to come here to help their families. A lot of families come for the same reason." At this prompting, he asked question after question. I worked to avoid the question about the man taking away the woman because I wanted to think further before explaining, but he pushed: "But why are they taking her away?" I told him there are a number of reasons that people are being taken away from their families, that this is not right, and that no families should be separated. We talked for a few more minutes and I told him I would be buying some children's books that help him understand what is going on in our society. My son's questioning of "why?" and not accepting my incomplete response pointed to a "transformative rupture" happening in our home. Bernal and Alemán Jr. (2017) shared that transformative ruptures are, "incidents, interactions, experiences, and moments that expose and interrupt pervasive coloniality and structural inequities" (p. 5) and they can "multiply and offer opportunities for change and possibility" (p. 5). Bernal (2018) also points out the "healing possibilities" (p. 26) of transformative ruptures. This rupture and opportunity for generational healing at that moment would not have occurred without that book and other social justice texts available in our home (Jocson, 2021).

I immediately purchased a few books. Having read Osorio's (2015) article about discussing immigration issues with children, I ordered a book she shares in that piece, *Del Norte al Sur (From North to South)* by René Laínez (2013). Shopping online inspired me to buy others, so I added *Dreamers* by Yuyi Morales (2018) and *La Frontera: El viaje con papá ~ My Journey with Papa*, by Deborah Mills et al. (2018). Two of the books were about the journey families make up north, and one was about the separation of families via deportation—the journey south in this case.

When the books arrived, I did not immediately open them. My son nudged me and asked when we would read the books about the mom getting taken away by the man. The night came, and I worried about what

might result from the difficult conversation that lay ahead. I sat him and my two-year-old daughter down to read before bed. We first talked about why people migrate, so I started with Morales' book. It was beautifully illustrated and demonstrated the beauty I see in people's immigration stories that are often obscured by the dominant discourse in the media (López, 2020). We had time for one more book that night, and so I selected Mills and Alva next, to stay on the theme of journeying north to the United States. I knew we would not read the deportation book given the lack of time and I was in a way relieved the difficult conversation would wait.

Everything seemed to go well while reading the book which documented the story of a young boy who is preparing to migrate north with his father, but when I reached the page where he says goodbye to his mother I could not finish reading the page without crying. It seemed to come out of nowhere. Both of my children witnessed my vulnerability and my son stared up at me, his eyes asking many questions. I explained that I was sad because my parents had to say goodbye to their parents in the same way when they left their countries as teenagers. Until I reached that page, I did not realize I was carrying this particular emotional and intergenerational trauma of separation. I did not realize that I myself was also experiencing a transformational rupture through my parenting, which was now allowing me to heal with my children as witnesses. In my mind the book on deportation and separation of families was for a later night, but I realized at that moment that given the sociocultural and political issues that drove my family to migrate, family separation has always been a part of our story.

A few days later we read the book by Colato Laínez and I think it provided a cursory but not comprehensive explanation for my son given that the mother in the story is taken away during a work raid and not while she was with her child. I also explained to him that he may have friends at school who are dealing with something similar—at 98% Latinx, I know this may be the reality for some families. My son still wondered about the man who took the mom from her children. For a while he requested "from north to south" as a book we re-read. I know there are many more critical discussions I will have with my children and I am resolved to provide a counter-narrative to them to what they encounter in dominant discourses, but also in the silence that exists around undocumented migration.

Conclusion and Implications for Practice

On an evening in February 2020, less than a month before so much of the world shut down due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I took my son (at that time 7 years old) to listen to labor rights leader Dolores Huerta speak at the Houston Holocaust Museum. His little sister was still too young to stay out too late, or I would have brought her too. He witnessed indigenous Danza Azteca and a group perform a Teatro Campesino play. I took pride knowing that my son was witnessing a living social justice legend. At the end of the night, we stood in a long line to meet her and he received the biggest hug from Dolores Huerta. I hope he remembers that moment forever. He proudly took his new book about her and Cesar Chavez to share with his second-grade class the next day. His Spanish dual language teacher read the book to the class and shared with me a photo of the group with my son at the front of the group proudly holding the book. When I think about pedagogies of the home, and specifically literacy practices of the home, I think about the affirming experiences I had as a child as well as the ones my husband (a multi-generational Mexican-American/Chicano) and I are trying to foster in our home. But I do not want it to end there. As an education justice-focused scholar, my hope is that these culturally sustaining pedagogies (Paris, 2012) occur in my children's classrooms as well (T. T. Flores & Springer, 2021), just as my son's teacher demonstrated, and that schools and educators acknowledge the multilingual and multiracial identities of children in their schools (Rodríguez & de los Ríos, 2021). I hope that through this testimonio, educators see some of the power that can occur when pedagogies of the home are connected to formal school settings. Although I also acknowledge the difficulty in doing this amid the passage of policies that aim to censure discussions of race, identity, and privilege. Despite these political challenges, there are also areas of hope that create conditions for more affirming educational experiences for nondominant students.

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CHAPTER 6

Familismo, Respeto, and Bien Educado: Traditional/Cultural Models and Values in Latinos

Cristal Lopez, Mariana Vazquez, and Anita Sohn McCormick

Introduction

It is critical to shed light on the increasing population of Latinx school-aged children and families, in order to understand the unique ethnic-racial socialization components that unites them as a group. Ethnic-racial socialization provides a closer look into how different variables (e.g., beliefs, traditions, norms, and behaviors) intersect and impact the development of youth in a given culture. Specifically, ethnic-racial socialization is the process through which parents transmit cultural values, norms, beliefs, behaviors, and traditions to their children and is a key component to the development of school-aged children and how they view themselves in the

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_6

perspective of their group (Park et al., 2020). For diverse school-aged children it is crucial they feel affirmed in the various systems in which they have involvement in (e.g., school, home, friendships, etc.). As such, the development of a strong ethnic-racial identity, in particular for children of color, can facilitate positive academic motivation and achievement, social relationships, and mental health outcomes (Huguley et al., 2019).

As alluded to above, school-aged children begin to developmentally understand their ethnic-racial identity through the values that their parents transmit (Huguley et al., 2019). This is especially interesting for bicultural groups such as Latinx families, given that cultural values, beliefs, and norms merge from two different cultural groups (e.g., Mexican and American values/norms). Although it is clearly understood that values and beliefs vary from nation to nation, and even among cultures in a nation, there are common values that transcend unique groups and help create larger cultural societies such as the Latinx culture, that although built from very distinct national and regional peoples (e.g., Mexican American, Cuban American, Puerto Rican, etc.) all have some core beliefs and values that unite them as a culture.

In the United States (US) racism is pervasive, thus parents may feel pressure to engage in the process of ethnic-racial socialization early in a child's development as it "equips" children to face bias and/or discrimination in their societal contexts (Park et al., 2020). Specifically, there are three important practices that parents may use to guide the ethnic-racial socialization process including cultural socialization, preparation of bias, and promotion of mistrust (Park et al., 2020).

Cultural socialization refers to the culturally promoting practice in which parents share history and values with their children. These cultural socialization practices prepare the child to participate successfully in the familial and communal culture. Preparation of bias is the process when a parent makes a child aware of the discrimination and/or bias that may occur in the societal context due to their ethnicity or race. Both practices described above have been associated with positive health-promoting outcomes such as lowering internalizing disorders (e.g., depression) and developing a stronger racial identity (Park et al., 2020). Lastly, promotion of mistrust refers to a practice in which parents advise/teach their children to be cautious of individuals from different groups. Parents play a significant role in the manner in which this socialization takes place,

and, for less acculturated parents, school-aged children may find themselves uncertain in the host society. Thus, Latinx school-aged children with less explicit cultural socialization may find themselves having difficulty adjusting to both their familial and the host cultures. Importantly, all school-age children vary in developmental speed such that for some their ethnic-racial identity and socialization may be more developed than for others.

There are a number of factors that unite and divide Latinx parents and families such as generation, immigration, and socioeconomic status. Due to Latinx families generally operating through a "close knit" collectivistic manner, the behavior and functioning of a child reflects and represents the family unit. Thus, oftentimes the parenting and socialization of Latinx children is implemented with the whole family in mind. In an attempt to connect with their home country's culture, less acculturated parents may find themselves instilling the home country's cultural values to their children earlier. This process is seen as protective and adaptive, as the intention may be to positively influence their children's development in host cultures that may call for different values or norms (Huguley et al., 2019). However, when the home country's values clash with the host country's values, the developing Latinx school-aged child may be left confused and in need of support or guidance. For example, in the school classroom, a Latinx child may exhibit signs of anxiety (e.g., nervousness, restlessness, stomach complaints) due to the uncertainty of American classroom norms. Therefore, professionals that work directly with Latinx school-aged children (e.g., educators, researchers, mental health clinicians, practitioners, policy makers, etc.) will benefit from understanding the unique values that play a role in the socialization of these children.

Celebrating the unique diversity of school-aged children of color calls for first understanding the societal and cultural values that formed the unique identities of these children. The following information provides a closer look at the unique sociocultural variables that contribute to the identity development for Latinx school-aged children. Understanding and incorporating the following into working with Latinx school-aged children can assist professionals in positively promoting their development and functioning in different environments, helping them develop a healthy ethnic identity (e.g., school, relationships, home, etc.), as well as collaborating successfully with their parents and families.

Values in Latinx Families

Familismo

A central and important value known within the Latinx culture is *familismo* (familism) which emphasizes the importance of family cohesiveness, bonding, and well-being (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002). *Familismo* is further characterized as a strong family orientation and the commitment that each member has toward the family as a unit which fosters a strong sense of familial support (Barroso et al., 2020; Chen et al., 2021). Further, *familismo* is a cultural value that involves prioritizing family needs over individual needs (Losada et al., 2010), which may require sacrificing individual needs or/and interests to contribute and sustain family unity (Steidel & Contreras, 2003).

Given that families who prioritize this value also display an increase in social and emotional support to family members (Calzada et al., 2010), it can have positive implications for the members of the family. It is especially important in the context of school-aged Latinx children as it has been shown to impact parenting through guiding parental decisions, rules, routines, and even familial decision making (Barroso et al., 2020; Lindsey, 2018). For example, research shows a positive association between mothers' and fathers' *familismo* beliefs and supportive coparenting behavior (Lindsey, 2018). Even more, Lindsey (2018) suggests that when mothers and fathers value *familismo*, they may be motivated to maintain unity in the process of child rearing and to implement a collective parenting agenda.

It is not uncommon for Latinx extended families that identify strongly with the cultural value of *familismo* to choose to live together or in close proximity (Hurtado, 1995). This is especially important in the development of Latinx children as it is common that extended family members may be involved in the child-rearing process, including nurturing and disciplining children (Falicov, 2005). These collective child-rearing practices are also common across generations in families that indicate high *familismo* values.

Latinx families in the US are diverse, and thus cultural variations are expected. However, it is important to note that the relationship between *familismo* and parenting practices among Latinx families may vary depending on individual differences and acculturation factors among others. Thus, those that hold *familismo* as highly important, may primarily rely on information obtained from within the family and may not prioritize expert consultation or input from external sources such as schools, or mental

health professionals (López et al., 2020). This is relevant for the school professional as it may alter how families interact with and prioritize professional consultation.

For school professionals, *familismo* is important to understand as it has been linked to children's academic motivation and effort (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008; Fuligni et al., 1999; La Roche & Shriberg, 2004; Sánchez et al., 2010) and a greater sense of school belonging (Stein et al., 2013). In addition, mothers' *familismo* endorsement relates to children's behavioral adjustment in the school setting (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008). Moreover, *familismo* has also been associated with Latino youth's, particularly adolescents', improved psychosocial functioning (Stein et al., 2013, 2014), including more prosocial behavior tendencies (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011) and development of maturity and social competence (Kuperminc et al., 2009). Finally, *familismo* may also promote adaptive social behavior among Latinx youth in general (Stein et al., 2013, 2014).

Research suggests that school professionals need to be mindful of how parent and child *familismo* influences the development, relationships (with peers and teachers), and behaviors of Latinx youth in the school context. In the classroom, *familismo* may be expressed as Latinx children being obedient, quiet, and showing respect to adults at all times. Furthermore, Latinx children who grow up in a familistic household may engage in higher levels of behavioral compliance. It is important to be aware and informed of potential behavioral manifestations of *familismo* among Latinx children in the school context to respond to such behaviors in a culturally sensitive and responsible manner. For example, a teacher may view a Latinx child as less assertive and may encourage the child to speak up and express his needs and interests, however, this trait (being assertive) may not align with the child's familistic values. Furthermore, due to the value of *familismo* and the associated high levels of family cohesion, Latinx children may demonstrate higher levels of attachment to parents, siblings, and extended family members, which may be expressed as having more difficulty separating from family members when arriving at school. In addition, Latinx children may internalize the role of responsibility of providing support for others, which may be reflected in the school classroom as engagement in higher levels of prosocial behaviors. Lastly, among Latinx families that endorse *familismo*, children's behaviors at school and academic success are a reflection of the family. Thus, Latinx parents may place a higher emphasis on behavioral and academic expectations and discipline on children given it is often considered a reflection of the family.

Thus, best practice is for school professionals to maintain curiosity and hold *familismo* beliefs in mind when working with Latinx families, and to use that information to include all involved family members in communication as well as in intervention practices. For example, in terms of involvement initiatives, school professionals may extend invitations to attend school functions and/or volunteer in class activities to extended family members (e.g., grandparents). Also, for outreach efforts, school professionals may consider obtaining contact information of extended family members (e.g., address, phone number, emails) to include them in communication practices when appropriate.

When working with Latinx students, it is recommended that school professionals not assume that only a student's parents are to be involved in discussion about the student's academic, social-emotional, and behavioral progress but instead inquire if other family members are to be included (López et al., 2020). For example, a student's parents might want to have extended family members present during the student's Admission, Review and Dismissal (ARD) meetings (annual review of a student's special education program including the student's progress, a review of the current Individualized Education Plan [IEP], and development of a new IEP). Also, as previously noted, the cultural value of *familismo* emphasizes the importance of collective decision making within the family structure. Thus, school professionals can show respect for Latinx's collective decision making by providing a long enough time period for family members to consult with each other and make a decision regarding a student's education. For example, during educational meetings, parents might have the option to accept services at the moment or take a period of time to consider information and make a decision. Culturally aware school professionals may emphasize to Latinx family members the opportunity they have to take time to consult as a family and communicate clearly that they are not expected to make a decision at the moment. Overall, school professionals should inquire about who is involved in the decision-making process and ultimately who will make the final decision (López et al., 2020).

Respeto

El *respeto* (respect) is another traditional Latinx value that emphasizes both respect and obedience to parents and other family members (Calzada et al., 2010). The cultural value of *respeto* consists of children being considerate of adults and treating them with the highest respect, which may

include not interrupting or arguing with them and following their directives immediately (Bougere, 2014; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). *Respeto* involves showing courtesy to elders, particularly grandparents (Calzada et al., 2010), because grandparents have a special status within Latinx culture. However, it is expected that children will show *respeto* to every individual, regardless of age and gender (e.g., parents, teachers, strangers).

The cultural value of *respeto* sets expectations for behavior in social interactions, which may include saying good morning and goodnight, greeting family members, saying please, and using good manners (Calzada et al., 2010). In Spanish, it also includes using the formal address style (usted) with adults. In addition, *respeto* imposes a set of behavioral benchmarks in public situations, which includes following the social norms and expectations and presenting well (well-groomed, prosocial behavior, etc.) to others at all times (Calzada et al., 2010). Calzada et al. (2010) suggest that the emphasis on behavioral expectations in public may be due to the idea that children and their behavior are a reflection of the whole family (Calzada et al., 2010). Higher endorsement of *respeto* among mothers is linked to higher use of directive commands, such as "do this" (Calzada et al., 2010; Kuhns & Cabrera, 2020). Thus, it is important for educators and school professionals to be aware of the practices that parents may implement to teach the cultural value of *respeto* to children.

Respeto may be manifested in various ways (Calzada et al., 2010). For example, *respeto* may be shown to parents by obeying and accepting disciplinary practices without questions or arguments. Calzada et al. (2020) suggest that even when there is limited rationale or explanation for a specific request or directive, youth who endorse higher levels of *respeto* may be more likely to accept parental directives without questioning. During interaction with elders, *respeto* may be demonstrated by paying special attention to their needs and desires and by using a formal address (usted) (Calzada et al., 2010). With peers, *respeto* may be displayed as expectations for collectivistic social behavior, which may involve asking for permission to use someone's toys or by sharing (Calzada et al., 2010). *Respeto* among peers can also be displayed by expecting collaborative decision making rather than taking the initiative.

As previously noted, *respeto* is also shown to children's educators. In fact, children demonstrating *respeto* in school settings are expected to follow rules and "behave well" (López et al., 2020). In addition to meeting academic expectations, Latinx parents may expect children to respect the teacher's authority and demonstrate obedience at all times. Furthermore,

any behavioral problem is believed to be a bad representation of the family and thus brings shame to all (López et al., 2020). Overall, study findings indicate that many Latinx youths, even adolescents, endorse higher levels of *respeto* than their non-Latinx peers, which has been associated with increased family cohesion, decreased family conflict, lower youth depression, less externalizing behaviors, and less engagement in risky behaviors (Calzada et al., 2020; Escobedo et al., 2018; Knight et al., 2014; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2013; Soto et al., 2011).

Interestingly, the child's parents may also demonstrate the value of *respeto* toward the teacher which may influence parents' involvement in schools (López et al., 2020). For example, to show the utmost respect, parents may choose to not question or disagree with a teacher, and may not engage in conversations as "equals" (López et al., 2020). Furthermore, *respeto* toward educators may also be manifested as parents not advocating for their children and deferring to the authority's decision whether to the child's well-being or detriment. López et al. (2020) state that it is important for school professionals to take the necessary time, pay attention, and be intentional about communicating to Latinx parents that they are welcomed in their children's school as equal decision-making partners. In addition, it is important that school professionals be aware that Latinx parents and families may benefit from explicit invitations and guidance to be involved in their children's education and schooling (López et al., 2020).

Bien Educado

Over the past decades, research has documented that Latinx parents teach social behaviors to their children with the intention that they become *bien educado* (well-educated) (Valdés, 1996). While the literal translation of *bien educado* is "well educated," this key cultural value within Latinx culture does not solely emphasize academic education. Rather, the value of being *bien educado* reflects a variety of highly valued social behaviors and moral character traits; as it reflects less of an emphasis on academic knowledge and more on appropriate behavior within the family and community (Harwood et al., 2002; Valenzuela, 1999). The acquisition of this value is primarily the responsibility of parents and other family members, rather than the educational environment.

Some of the specific social behaviors that are characteristic of the broad construct of *bien educado* include affection, communication, comportment, composure, cooperation, meeting role obligations, obedience,

respect, and self-reliance (Bridges et al., 2012) all within the context of age-appropriate development. Research documents the importance of affection, which is often displayed as parents teaching children to be caring toward family members and peers (Gonzalez-Ramos et al., 1998; Harwood et al., 2000). This specific social behavior or affection may be displayed by Latinx children in school settings as engaging in emotionally warm and accepting behavior when interacting with others.

Clear and mature communication is another key social behavior and component of the construct of *bien educado* (Bridges et al., 2012). In the context of social behaviors, communication skills that convey respect and good manners are crucial (Bridges et al., 2012). Many parents teach children how to be *bien educad*o, which involves demonstrating good manners and communicating respectfully, through *consejos* (behavioral advice communicated with warmth) (Valdés, 1996). For many children, communication skills expectations may involve fluency in Spanish and English and the ability to use the appropriate language given the context and the involved individuals (Bridges et al., 2012). It is also expected that they will know when to use the formal address style (usted) versus the more colloquial style (tu). Thus, children's specific use of different languages and address style at home and school may be influenced by the value of *bien educado*. For instance, children may be expected to speak Spanish at home when they are around Spanish-speaking family members and address adults formally, and speak English at school when they are around their English-speaking teachers and peers.

Comportment or proper demeanor generally involves demonstrating good manners and being polite, such as being agreeable, greeting others, and making polite conversation in social settings (Bridges et al., 2012; Valdés, 1996). Latinx children may be taught or encouraged by their parents to greet teachers and school professionals to show good manners. In addition, Latinx children may be more socially agreeable and may seem less assertive in comparison to children from other ethnic backgrounds, given that this is an element of social behavior that is linked to the value of *bien educado*. In the school context, Latinx children who appear to be more socially agreeable and less assertive may be encouraged by educators to be more independent and more assertive; however, these responses may not align with the children's values, which can then create conflict between their cultural values and expected behavior in school. Thus, it is important to be aware of how the value of *bien educado* may be manifested in the classroom in order to develop and implement culturally sensitive and

responsive practices that create a safe environment in which children feel respected and can thrive at school.

Children who are *bien educados* also show cooperation and an emphasis on collective well-being. Cooperation is displayed as attention to the interests of the group during social interactions with peers and siblings (García Coll & Magnuson, 2000; Harwood, 1992; Holloway et al., 1997; Reese et al., 2000; Valdés, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999). Cooperation is also closely associated with the value of *familismo*, which refers to children's contribution to the family's well-being (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002). However, as previously noted, cooperation may also be displayed by children in social interactions and sharing behavior with peers. Overall, the expected social behavior of cooperation reflects a collectivistic value that emphasizes paying attention to and considering others' social needs. In school settings, both parents and children may display cooperation by prioritizing the group's interest rather than their own or even their child's needs. It is important for teachers and school professionals to be knowledgeable and aware of the value of cooperation among Latinx families to effectively use a cultural strengths approach to explain their collectivistic behavior in educational settings and not ignore the individual child's need.

Another component of the value of *bien educado* is meeting role obligations, which is linked to cooperation and may be displayed as each family member having responsibilities and obligations to fulfill, which may include caring for younger siblings or completing chores in the house (Bridges et al., 2012; Fuligni et al., 1999). For instance, in addition to their academic responsibilities (e.g., homework, studying), many Latinx children may be expected to fulfill role obligations at home. Thus, the after-school routine of Latinx children may be different from the routine and practices of children from other ethnic backgrounds. Educators and school professionals should be aware of the possible role obligations children may be expected to fulfill at home, and thus seek information if needed to have a better understanding of their home life and responsibilities when considering academic achievement.

Obedience is also an expected social behavior characteristic of the cultural value of *bien educado* (Bridges et al., 2012). Obedience in the context of being *bien educado* may be displayed as children understanding who is in charge of giving orders (*quien manda*) and following instructions in a respectful manner (Valdés, 1996). For example, children should know the family or school expectations and comply with them without question. Thus, a mother should not have to request, implore, or argue

with her children to complete responsibilities or to behave appropriately in social situations (e.g., when they have visitors at home) (Valdés, 1996). Similarly, in school, obedience within the context of the value of *bien educado* may involve knowing teachers' expectations, complying with them, and following instructions and completing tasks without having to petition the child to do so.

Teaching children to be *bien educado* also involves teaching them who to respect (e.g., themselves, others, elders) and how to express respect (Bridges et al., 2012; Halgunseth et al., 2006). Based on the social behavior of respect, Latinx parents may engage in more direct, physical prompting and develop strict rules/expectations in comparison to parents of other ethnic backgrounds (Fuligni et al., 1999; Gannotti & Handwerker, 2002; Garcia Coll et al., 1997; Halgunseth et al., 2006). Given that *respeto* is highly valued among Latinx families, educators and school professionals must be aware of how this value influences parenting style and practices. Furthermore, children learn about a teacher's authority from an early age (Goldenberg & Gallimore, 1995; Valdés, 1996). Thus, Latinx children may view teachers as authority figures that should be treated with the greatest respect, and Latinx parents may teach and set expectations on how to express respect toward teachers.

Lastly, self-reliance in the context of *bien educado* may involve children performing chores to support the balanced functioning of the family (Bridges et al., 2012). Self-reliance may involve children learning to complete a task on their own (e.g., helping with a chore, getting a snack) in the case that parents are not available to meet the child's needs (Valdés, 1996). Generally, self-reliance is encouraged in a community context. That is, children are expected to be self-reliant to help or support others in the family, rather than being self-reliant uniquely to meet their own needs. Thus, it has been noted that Latinx children, including young children, have high levels of self-reliance and responsibility especially within the familial context (Rogoff, 2003). Thus, Latinx children may be more independent in some areas of functioning in comparison to their non-Latinx peers due to the emphasis on and practice of self-reliance. In a school setting, this self-reliance might not equate to the independence seen in children of other ethnic backgrounds, since it often is associated with lowering the burden for adults or other peers. For example, a young child might attempt to complete work independently on a task even without instructions, so that the teacher doesn't have to "worry" about them.

Incorporating Values into Educational and Mental Health Services

Although Latinx families are unique in their functioning, make-up, and acculturation level, they share cultural values and mores that unite them into the Latinx culture. The socialization of Latinx children impacts, not only their functioning within the family system, but also in their school community. *Familismo*, *respecto*, and being *bien educado* are only three of the many values that are intrinsic to the Latinx culture. As was evident in the description of each one, these values form an interconnected web that guides the socialization of Latinx children. This web unites parents, children, and families, and builds a network that facilitates the maintenance and subsistence of cultural mores across generations even through acculturation processes. As described by Christophe et al. (2020), Latinx children who live in more bicultural or less enculturated families are more likely to receive frequent *familismo* socialization messages and have these messages be part of their everyday lives. Also, these children are less likely to receive promotion of mistrust messages which promotes healthier and more successful adaptation to the school environment (Christophe et al., 2020). Therefore, as the level of acculturation affects the manifestation of Latinx cultural values, being aware of acculturative factors such as language use, generational status, length of stay in the host country, and so on is essential to create an educational environment that promotes the cultural identity of every Latinx child and that fosters their academic and social growth and development.

In conclusion, educators and health care professionals who work with children of Latinx families have the responsibility of gaining an understanding on how these sociocultural values can manifest in their classrooms or offices. For example, a child who is *bien educado* is not necessarily less independent or assertive; however, she/he might manifest it in different ways. A child who is *respetuoso* is not necessarily less interested in high academic achievement; she/he may just be more hesitant to address the teacher. Thus, it falls on the adult (i.e., the school or health care professional) to show curiosity and willingness; to recognize and value the intrinsic beliefs behind Latinx children's behaviors and to work with parents and families to encourage them to become equal decision-making partners on behalf of their children.

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CHAPTER 7

Chinese American Parents' Expectations for and Involvement in Children's Literacy Learning and Achievement: Impacts of Cultural Values and Acculturation

Tzu-Fen Chang and Kristy Y. Shih

Introduction

Chinese Americans are the largest Asian American group, accounting for approximately one-fourth of the Asian American population (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). In 2019, there were 5.4 million Chinese Americans, most of whom concentrate in metropolitan areas, such as New York City, Los

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_7

Angeles, and San Francisco (Budiman, 2021). The large size of Chinese Americans has drawn both public and scholarly attention to family context and children's educational experiences of this ethnic group. As a subgroup of Asian Americans, Chinese Americans are also labeled as the model minority as they are perceived to be academically successful beginning at an early age (see the discussion of Chang & Shih, 2021). The myth also portrays their success as attributed to their family environment given that Chinese American parents value the importance of education and take a directive approach in educational involvement, such as mentoring children in completing homework or assigning them supplementary assignments (Chao, 1996). The publication of Chua's (2011) *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* has reinforced these myths in the public perception of Chinese Americans. Such a monolithic view masks variations within this population, with some Chinese American children being high achieving in school, while others struggle with learning (Shih et al., 2019). Likewise, the diversity of Chinese American parental involvement is also overlooked (Chang & Shih, 2021).

To unpack variations within Chinese American children's educational experiences and family environment, this chapter systematically reviews past research on Chinese American parents' expectations for and involvement in their children's literacy learning as well as parental influence on children's literacy skills in early childhood (i.e., from birth to eight years old). We focus on the family literacy environment in this stage because early literacy skills (e.g., reading) play an important role in shaping children's future educational achievement (e.g., test scores in math and reading) (Masten, 2014). Both English and Chinese literacy expectation and involvement are discussed because preservation of the heritage language is an important issue for immigrant families, such as Chinese American families (Shi, 2013). This article is grounded in two theoretical frameworks: Chinese educational values and practices (cultural perspective) and segmented assimilation theory. In the following sections, we begin with a brief overview of the theories. Next, we present our review of Chinese American parents' early literacy expectations and involvement as well as their impacts on children's literacy skills. We also connect the findings with the theories. Finally, we discuss implications for promoting Chinese American children's early literacy development.

Chinese Educational Values and Practices

Traditional Chinese educational values have been highly influenced by Confucianism (Luo et al., 2013). One Confucian developmental goal is to foster individuals' virtue of knowledge (*Zhi*; 知), which means that individuals learn knowledge via diligence (Li, 2005). Through persistent efforts, individuals can continue improving their learning performance and exceed their past level (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). Another set of education-related virtues Confucianism values are modesty (*Qian*; 謙) and shame (Chi; 恥), which emphasize that individuals should acknowledge their shortcomings and limitations and not be satisfied with the current performance (Luo et al., 2013). Influenced by this value, the traditional Chinese educational goal is more oriented toward self-improvement (Ng et al., 2007). Based on this goal, learners should not feel proud of their achievement when they are successful but should identify which part of their performance can be improved. In a similar vein, when learners face failure, they also need to recognize their learning problems and consistently make efforts to correct them. Such a goal contrasts with the Western mainstream educational goal that is more oriented toward self-enhancement, meaning that learners do not have to feel distressed with their limitations, but enjoy their success and maximize advantages (Ng et al., 2007). In Confucianism, the third education-related virtue is filial piety (*Xiao*; 孝), which stresses that children are expected to be obedient and show respect toward their parents as well as demonstrate achievement to honor their parents and whole family (Ho, 1996). To fulfill this virtue in education, children should comply with parental expectations for and practices in education and be academically successful in school in order to attain occupational achievement in the future.

In addition to Confucianism, the civil-service examination system in ancient China has impacted traditional Chinese educational values, starting from the Sui Dynasty (581–618 AD) and ending by the close of the Qing Dynasty (the early twentieth century) (Xu, 1999). This system was utilized to select excellent civilians for serving as officials in the government (Xu, 1999). Prior to the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 AD), only ruling class and scholars were allowed to take the examinations (Ho, 1959). In the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368–1911 AD), the examinations were opened to various classes of civilians (e.g., peasants, artisans, and merchants). Because non-ruling-class civilians perceived this reform as a chance to gain a higher social status and increase wealth for their families,

many diligently studied and prepared for the examinations. Such a system has reinforced some Confucius educational goals that individuals should persistently acquire knowledge (i.e., knowledge [*Zhi*]) and pursue educational achievement to honor their parents and entire family (i.e., filial piety [*Xiao*]) (see the discussion of Qin et al., 2017).

In traditional Chinese families, training (*Jiao xun*) is used as a means to achieve the previously-mentioned educational goals valued by Confucianism and the civil-service examination system (i.e., knowledge [*Zhi*], modesty [*Qian*], shame [*Chi*], and filial piety [*Xiao*]). Training parenting means that parents continuously monitor and control their children's behavior (e.g., learning) so children can be academically successful (Chao, 1994). In early childhood, one practical approach to exercise training parenting in educational involvement is through taking a directive role to structure children's learning environment. For example, parents serve as mentors to guide their children to complete schoolwork and provide additional assignments. If children need more educational support, parents hire tutors or send them to after-school academic programs. Another practical approach is through providing children with a formal, work-oriented learning environment since early childhood (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009). For example, parents systematically teach children new vocabulary. Both approaches contrast with the Western mainstream educational practices for young children in which parents provide children with freedom to learn things that they are interested in and engage in informal learning activities (e.g., game-based learning activities) (Huntsinger et al., 2011). Such educational practices are rooted in the Western mainstream educational goal that aims to foster children's independence and autonomy (Luo et al., 2013).

Contemporary Chinese Society

In contemporary Chinese society, Confucian developmental goals and the civil-service examination system in ancient China remain influential to Chinese families' educational values and practices. For example, research indicates that previously mentioned training-parenting practices are still regularly performed in order to foster children's diligent learning, sense of self-improvement, and obedience toward parental arrangements in learning in early childhood (e.g., Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Huntsinger et al., 2000, 2011; Jose et al., 2000). Additionally, Chinese parents tend to place a great emphasis on children's academic achievement since early childhood,

such as enrolling children into preschool academic programs (Jose et al., 2000; Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003).

Policy context has also impacted educational values and practices in contemporary Chinese society. One salient policy influence is the one-child population control policy in effect between 1979 and 2015 in mainland China. Due to this policy, the single child is viewed as Chinese parents' only hope for the future (Fong, 2007). Thus, parents tend to highly value the importance of education and thus invest a great deal of educational resources (e.g., hiring tutors or sending children to after-school academic programs) to foster children's academic achievement, which reinforces traditional Chinese educational goals (e.g., knowledge [*Zhi*]; Falbo, 2012). Yet, some traditional Chinese educational values may decline along with the implementation of this policy. For example, parents may overindulge and spoil their singletons so that their children's filial piety (*Xiao*) towards parents may weaken (Luo et al., 2013).

Globalization is another contextual factor that influences educational values and practices in contemporary Chinese society. Due to the influx of Western culture, there is a fusion of Western mainstream and traditional Chinese educational values and practices, which may be simultaneously displayed in Chinese parents' educational involvement. For example, research indicates that Chinese parents in Hong Kong provided preschool children with intensive reading activities because they believe that early literacy skills benefit children's academic performance (Li & Rao, 2000). On the other hand, these parents also used reading as a means of entertainment, which corresponds to one Western mainstream educational practice and its respective goal, that is, offering children informal learning activities in order to develop their autonomous learning.

Segmented Assimilation Theory

Classical assimilation theory puts forth the idea that "there is a natural process by which diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture and to gain equal access to the opportunity structure of society" (Zhou, 1997 p. 976). It further argues that individuals gradually give up their old cultural and behavioral patterns as they acquire new values and behaviors. To challenge the linear and unidimensional assumption of classical assimilation, Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that different patterns of adaptation emerge in the process because access to opportunities is unequal for different ethnic and immigrant groups. In addition, assimilation becomes

segmented for many new second-generation youths because of different socioeconomic factors and modes of incorporation. Portes and Zhou proposed three pathways of adaptation: (1) the straight-line pattern that suggests immigrants will eventually assimilate into the White middle-class majority, (2) the downward mobility pattern that suggests immigrants will assimilate into the inner-city underclass, and (3) the upward mobility pattern that suggests that immigrants will deliberately preserve ethnic values and immigrant community solidarity while they adapt to the mainstream society.

Portes and Zhou (1993) further incorporate family socioeconomic class and race variables, as well as social and structural constraints, as influential factors that affect immigrants' adaptation. They suggest that a family's socioeconomic status is the most influential variable as it "determines the type of neighborhoods in which children live, the quality of school which they attend, and the group of peers with whom they associate" (Zhou, 1997, p. 987). In addition, the receiving contexts (e.g., social, economic, and political) in which immigrants find themselves upon arrival in the new country play an important role in determining the trajectories their children will eventually adapt. According to this perspective, the way in which these immigrants and their children are incorporated into the host society and with whom they associate also contribute to which segment of the host society they assimilate into. The United States, as a class-based and racialized society, is where class division often occurs along racial lines. Ongoing institutional discrimination and segregation have worsened the social and economic advancement of minorities by concentrating some in low-income communities with few opportunities for upward mobility (Massey & Denton, 1993; Moore & Vigil, 1993). Residing in these low-income neighborhoods can have negative social and economic consequences for its residents, especially the youths who form their expectations through observation of the world around them. For example, the theory suggests a downward mobility pattern of assimilation for immigrants who settle in the inner city (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that such downward economic mobility is not only because of a lack of resources in the area they reside, but also due to proximity with native-born low-skilled minorities who tend to be concentrated in these urban areas. Scholars who utilize this framework (e.g., Portes & Zhou, 1993) argue that marginalized native minority youths develop an "adversarial subculture" (Portes & Zhou, 1993, p. 83) that helps them cope with difficult situations. Those who

possess the "adversarial outlook" (Fordham, 1996; Wilson, 1996; Zhou, 1997) develop the ability to reject the mainstream norms and values (e.g., education leads to upward social mobility). Because of the close contact that new second-generation youths in inner cities have with this "adversarial subculture," they are thought to internalize this belief and thus reject the values they (or their parents) may have possessed before arrival.

Chinese American Parents' Early Literacy Expectation and Involvement

In this section, we present our review of Chinese American parents' expectations for and involvement in early literacy as well as impacts of their literacy practices on their children's literacy skills. We identified 18 articles that were published between 1995 and 2019 by using the keywords of Chinese American, Chinese Canadian, child, parent, literacy, practice, expectation, involvement, achievement, and skills. Included articles met the following criteria: (a) empirical studies being published in a peer-reviewed journal in English; and (b) studying Chinese American or Chinese Canadian parents' English/Chinese literacy expectation and/or involvement in early childhood (i.e., from birth to eight years old) and/or their impacts on children's English/Chinese literacy skills. Chinese Canadians were selected because they live in the North American region and experience similar educational contexts as Chinese Americans. The reviewed articles consisted of nine quantitative studies, seven qualitative studies, and two mixed-method studies. Chinese American parents were first generation in all the studies. Regarding child participant's generational status, one study had an even distribution of first and second generation, six studies had the majority as second generation, three studies had all as second generation, and eight studies did not report the children's generational status. As for parental socioeconomic status (SES), two studies included all low SES, three studies had an even distribution of low versus middle or upper SES, four studies included the majority in middle or upper SES, and nine studies had all in middle or upper SES.

According to our previous discussion, the segmented assimilation theory (cite) indicates three possible acculturation pathways for the second-generation immigrants. Extending the theory, our review identified three pathways for first-generation Chinese American parents' early English literacy involvement. The first pathway is integration into white middle class in which middle- or upper-SES parents adopt the white middle class'

English literacy practices to facilitate children's success in early English literacy. In the second pathway, economic downward mobility, although expecting children to succeed in early English literacy, low-SES parents fail to provide effective English literacy environments to foster children's early English literacy due to having limited literacy-related resources and knowledge. Lastly, in the economic upward mobility pathway which is accompanied by preserving the heritage culture, middle-SES parents have sufficient literacy-related resources and knowledge and adopt traditional Chinese literacy practices to foster children's early English literacy achievement. Another extension of the theory is that there are variations within the economic upward mobility pathway, with some Chinese American parents who only implement traditional Chinese literacy practices, while others exercise both traditional Chinese and American mainstream literacy practices. In addition, within this pathway, some Chinese American parents' preservation of the heritage culture does not only focus on applying traditional Chinese approaches to fostering children's early English literacy, but also emphasizes children's literacy development in Chinese (the heritage language). Below we review previous research findings relevant with Chinese American parents' early English or Chinese literacy expectation and involvement in the three pathways.

Integration into White Middle Class

Some middle- or upper-SES first-generation Chinese American parents favor the American mainstream (i.e., White middle class') culture, which can benefit their children's early English literacy skills (Anicama et al., 2018; Chen et al., 2015). One reason is that because these parents tend to have English proficiency they are able to provide children with sufficient exposure to English at home (e.g., reading English books with their children). Second, due to a greater understanding of the American mainstream culture (e.g., the American educational system) and English proficiency, these parents tend to have higher school-based parental involvement, which is displayed in terms of regular communication with teachers, attending parent-teacher conference, serving as a school volunteer, and participating in school events. These parental involvement practices help Chinese American parents become familiar with their children's literacy learning in school and generate strategies for guiding children to develop good English literacy skills. Given that these studies did not examine these parents' levels of preference for the American mainstream culture

prior to immigration, their preference may be due to the impact of globalization, acculturation, or both. Future research will benefit from comparing their preference for the American mainstream culture prior to versus after immigration.

Economic Downward Mobility

Unlike their middle- or upper-SES Chinese American counterparts, low-SES first-generation Chinese American parents tend to have the following risk factors that hinder them from performing school-based parental involvement and offering their children adequate early English literacy environments. Even though low-SES parents generally hold high expectations for their children to succeed in early literacy development, these children are more likely to develop inadequate early English literacy skills than middle- or upper-SES children (Anicama et al., 2018; Li, 2003). The first risk factor is a lack of familiarity with the American educational system. Li (2003) found that low-SES Chinese American parents advocate traditional Chinese educational practices, including that teachers should provide children with formal learning activities (e.g., doing assignments) to learn early literacy. Li suggests that low-SES Chinese American parents maintain the traditional perspective that children can improve their literacy skills through recognizing their limitations and continuously studying (i.e., virtues of knowledge [*Zhi*], modesty [*Qian*], and shame [Chi] in Confucian development goals). By contrast, school teachers' pedagogies are different from these parents' educational values but in line with Western mainstream educational goals, such as using informal learning activities (e.g., reading picture books) and believing in self-enhancement (i.e., if children do not have talent in literacy, teachers should not force children to learn advanced literacy skills). Such parent-teacher discrepancy in educational values impedes these parents from being involved in children's early literacy learning in school, which aggravates their children's early English literacy development.

In low-SES Chinese American families, taxing work schedules and limited English skills are also risk factors that hamper school-based parental involvement (Anicama et al., 2018; Ji & Koblinsky, 2009; Li, 2003). When these parents have heavy work schedules, they do not have time to communicate with school teachers (e.g., attending parent-teacher conferences) and overlook their children's English literacy learning needs in school. For low-SES Chinese American parents, lack of English proficiency

makes parent-teacher communication more difficult because they are not able to effectively communicate with teachers to understand their children's English literacy learning and what support parents can provide to help children succeed in English literacy development. Limited English skills do not only hinder low-SES Chinese American parents' school-based involvement in children's early English literacy learning, but also limit their capacity to provide children with English literacy learning environments at home (Ji & Koblinsky, 2009; Li, 2003). For example, these parents tend not to have sufficient knowledge in English to guide children to complete literacy school assignments. Such home environments are not beneficial for Chinese American children's early English literacy learning. Acknowledging the negative effects of their limited English skills on children's English literacy learning, some low-income Chinese American parents want to improve English skills through government support (e.g., attending government-sponsored ESL classes), but many do not receive it (Li, 2003).

Economic Upward Mobility Accompanied by Preserving the Heritage Culture

Different from those middle- or upper-SES first-generation Chinese American parents who only favor the American mainstream culture, other middle- or upper-SES first-generation Chinese American parents want to preserve traditional Chinese educational values and practices in early English literacy involvement. Among these parents, some only implement the traditional Chinese literacy practices, that is, employing the training parenting approach (i.e., taking a directive role and providing formal learning environments) (Chao, 1996; Du, 2015; Li, 2007; Yang, 2007; Zhang et al., 1998). Examples of taking a directive role in literacy involvement include teaching children how to read and write, supervising children to do homework, and limiting TV watching time in order to have enough learning time. To provide a formal learning environment, these parents emphasize formal academic activities (e.g., practice on reading and writing), hire tutors, and send children to academic programs from early childhood. In addition, most of these parents are not highly involved in school activities (e.g., volunteering in school) unless they are invited (Zhong & Zhou, 2011). These parents also tend to hold traditional Chinese educational values (Yang, 2007). For example, they highly value the importance of education and believe that making an effort is more

important than being talented in literacy learning. They believe that through continuous practice, children can improve their literacy performance even though they do not perform well at the beginning. Such belief is in line with the virtues of knowledge [*Zhi*], modesty [*Qian*], and shame [Chi] in Confucian development goals. Huntsinger et al. (2000) indicate that preservation of traditional Chinese educational practices is beneficial for children's early English literacy performance in middle- or upper-SES Chinese American families. By contrast, our previous discussion suggests that similar educational practices can be detrimental to early English literacy development in low-SES Chinese American families. One possible explanation is that middle- or upper-SES Chinese American parents have more English-literacy-related resources and knowledge than their low-SES counterparts. Research suggests that middle- or upper-SES Chinese American parents may have better English proficiency to enable them to teach children reading and writing in English (Du, 2015; Huntsinger et al., 2000; Zhang et al., 1998). They also have enough financial resources to hire tutors and enroll their children in academic programs to foster their early English literacy skills.

Some middle- or upper-SES Chinese American parents foster children's English literacy skills by implementing both traditional Chinese (i.e., the previously mentioned methods) and American mainstream practices (e.g., providing children with freedom to choose books that they are interested in reading and informal learning activities, such as using drawing and coloring to learn new words and watching educational TV shows) (Flores, 2019; Xu, 1999). Another way of integrating the traditional Chinese with the American mainstream education in early English literacy involvement is maintaining attitudes from the former and adopting practices from the latter. Li (2006a) found that some middle- or upper-SES Chinese American parents place great emphasis on education and advocate formal approaches to early English literacy education, such as systematically learning grammar and letter-sound correspondence. On the other hand, these parents exercise the American mainstream literacy practices, such as reading with their children and letting children read various types of English books for pleasure. When parents adopt some American mainstream approaches to English literacy education, they tend to feel more at ease when communicating and collaborating with teachers where their children's English literacy learning is concerned. Moreover, children can experience continuity in home and school learning environments. These consequences may benefit children's early English literacy performance. These studies did not

examine the effects of integrating traditional Chinese and American mainstream literacy education on children's early English literacy skills. Future research will benefit from doing so.

For some middle- or upper-SES Chinese American parents, preserving the heritage educational values and practices does not only mean implementing them in English literacy involvement, but also aims to foster children's Chinese (the heritage language) literacy skills. These parents expect their children to have bilingual (English and Chinese) proficiency for two reasons. The first is an identity reason that children with Chinese fluency can easily communicate with friends and relatives in their homelands (Du, 2015; Zhang et al., 1998). Second, given that China's economy is quickly growing, Chinese may become an important communication tool in the future workplace. Thus, children with bilingual proficiency are more likely to succeed in their future career (Li, 2006b). To achieve these goals, these parents tend to exercise previously mentioned traditional Chinese literacy practices, including providing formal learning environments (e.g., sending children to weekend Chinese schools) and taking a directive role (e.g., helping children do school assignments, teaching children reading and writing) (Du, 2015; Li, 2006b; Lu & Koda, 2011; Wan, 2000; Xu, 1999; Zhang & Koda, 2011). When Chinese American parents emphasize the importance of both English and Chinese and speak in Chinese with their children at home, children tend to develop good Chinese literacy skills (Li, 2006b). Additionally, their Chinese proficiency does not hamper their English literacy skills (Lu & Koda, 2011). By contrast, Li found that Chinese American children's development in Chinese literacy skills is limited when their parents value English more than Chinese and do not speak in Chinese at home. These parents' greater emphasis on English is sometimes due to their personal experiences in which the lack of English proficiency may lead to being discriminated against and problems in living and working in the US or Canada.

Implications and Conclusion

Our review of literature illustrates that there are multiple pathways in which first-generation Chinese American parents are involved in their children's early literacy learning. Parents' expectations of and involvement in children's early literacy learning are significantly influenced by parental socioeconomic status as well as their access to educational resources and knowledge.

One implication is for teachers and educators who work with Chinese American children to not assume that all children have received equal early literacy training in their home environment. Teachers and educators should evaluate students individually to assess their literacy skills in order to provide remedial education for those who fall behind. Teachers and educators should also develop an awareness of the discrepancy in Chinese and Western educational values and practices. For children who come from a lower-SES background, teachers and educators should encourage parents to stay involved in their children's learning by engaging parents in parent-teacher conferences or educational workshops to gain knowledge related to their children's education. In areas where a particular ethnic group predominates, developing and distributing educational brochures in that language could also be beneficial for parents with limited English proficiency. In addition, since some low-income Chinese American parents have difficulty gaining access to government-sponsored ESL classes, schools and communities could partner to provide such services to parents so that they may acquire English language skills.

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CHAPTER 8

Parenting Practices and Home Learning Environments that Promote Reading Motivation, Engagement, and Competence in Chinese Immigrant Families: A Cultural and Self-Determination Perspective to Literacy Development in Early Childhood

Danni Li and Jeffrey Liew

Introduction

Parental involvement in their children's reading activities and their beliefs about reading have significant impacts on the development and continuation of children's reading motivation (Sénéchal & Young, 2006). In traditional Chinese culture, language is viewed as not only a tool for communication but also a way to educate children about principles and

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_8

virtues (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010). For Chinese immigrant parents, retaining heritage language/literacy and acquiring English are both important for their young children, even in the preschool years (Gonzalez et al., 2021; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). While heritage language skills are important for maintaining children's Chinese cultural ties and identity, acquiring English is critical for enabling children to achieve academic success and participate fully in American society. Many Chinese immigrant parents in the United States find themselves in a difficult juggling or balancing act, trying to ensure that their children maintain their cultural heritage while also preparing them for literacy skills in English. On the other hand, Chinese immigrant children may immediately see value in learning literacy skills in English, but may feel that their parents are pressuring them to learn Chinese without understanding how Chinese reading or language skills are necessary or important in their daily lives in American society (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Thus, understanding reading motivation and promoting literacy engagement is crucial for the development of children's reading competences in Chinese immigrant families. In this chapter, we will discuss 1) theories and models of reading motivation; 2) self-determination theory and Chinese immigrant children's reading motivation; 3) reading motivation via the lens of Chinese culture; and 4) parenting practices that promote reading motivation, engagement, and competence.

Theories and Models of Reading Motivation

While cognitive abilities are essential for literacy acquisition and reading competency, social-emotional and affective factors like motivation, as well as attitude and interest, are also crucial for the development of reading competencies (Wigfield et al., 2016). Without reading motivation, someone with the skills or abilities to read will not engage in reading or exert the effort and persistence needed to accomplish long-term reading goals (Morgan & Fuchs, 2007). Reading motivation is defined as an individual's reading competence and efficacy beliefs, intrinsic and extrinsic reasons for reading, and social purpose for reading (Wigfield, 1997). Understanding reading motivations could help inform the work of educators, researchers, and parents to improve children's reading engagement and achievement. In the following sections, we will discuss three theoretical models that apply for reading motivation: McKenna's model of reading attitude acquisition (McKenna, 1994; McKenna et al., 1995), Guthrie and Wigfield's

engagement model of reading development (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000), and Liew and colleagues' contextual-developmental model of reading competence (Liew et al., 2020), with an emphasis on the factors that are related to family literacy practices and home learning environment.

McKenna's Model of Reading Attitude Acquisition

McKenna (1994)'s model of reading attitudes development is based on Mathewson's model of attitude-influence on reading (Mathewson, 1994). Whereas Mathewson's model focused on a positive home literacy environment as promoting a positive attitude (consisting of cognitive, affective, and cognitive components) and intent to read, McKenna's model focused on reading attitude as largely effective in nature and beliefs about reading as directly related to reading attitude. According to McKenna (1994), an individual's attitude toward reading is contingent on three factors: beliefs about the outcomes of reading, beliefs about others' expectations on reading, and previous reading experiences. Regarding beliefs about the outcomes of reading, children could believe that reading is associated with positive affect and outcomes, such as pleasure and rewards or frustration and boredom. Children's beliefs about the outcome of reading can change over time as they grow older and experience different activities. If they find reading is interesting and rewarding, their attitude toward reading will improve over time. On the contrary, if they find more pleasure in other leisure activities, their attitudes toward reading will worsen over time. Regarding beliefs about others' expectations on reading, children's normative beliefs about how important or valuable reading is could come from the reading attitude of those who are close to the child. For young children, such beliefs often come from parents, and are closely related to parents' own reading motivation. Children's beliefs about others' expectations on reading can also change as they grow older and start to understand the value and usefulness of reading through socialization. Regarding previous reading experiences, children's experiences with reading can lead them to hold different beliefs about reading that can be positive and approach-oriented or negative and avoidance-oriented. According to McKenna (1994), the impact of reading experience on positive or negative attitude and beliefs toward reading is direct and immediate without the mediation of cognitive processes.

McKenna's model of reading attitude acquisition emphasized the importance of social and interpersonal or relational factors in the process

of children's acquisition of reading attitude. For young children, parent-child relationships are one of their first and closest bonds. Thus, parents can foster their young children's reading attitude by influencing their beliefs about reading and providing them with positive reading experiences. Beliefs about the outcomes of reading largely rely on whether reading is associated with pleasure and value in the specific social context. Similarly, beliefs about others' expectations on reading are directly related to parents' attitude toward reading. Likewise, previous reading experiences of young children rely on the home literacy environment structured or created by their parents.

Guthrie and Wigfield's Engagement Model of Reading Development

According to Guthrie and Wigfield (2000), engaged readers "coordinate their strategies and knowledge (cognition) within a community of literacy (social) in order to fulfill their personal goals, desires, and intentions (motivation)" (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000, p. 209). There are four essential processes and contexts in reading engagement and development: motivations, social interactions, conceptual knowledge, and strategy use (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000). The social interaction aspect involves interaction with family members, teachers, and peers in reading activities. For example, shared reading experiences between parents and children provide a foundation for language development, future reading success, and a lifelong love of reading. The conceptual knowledge and strategy use refers to the knowledge and cognitive skills acquired during reading processes. Finally, the motivation facet drives children to engage in reading activities. Although the cognitive, motivational, and social elements of engagement are distinct in this model, all three are required for complete reading engagement (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000).

Liew et al.'s Contextual-Developmental Model of Reading Competence

In the contextual-developmental model of reading competence (see Fig. 8.1), reading is defined as a neurobiological, social, and contextualized practice, including the interactions between the child and the child's literacy context on reading motivation and engagement, as well as how these interactions represent dynamical cognitive-emotional-motivational

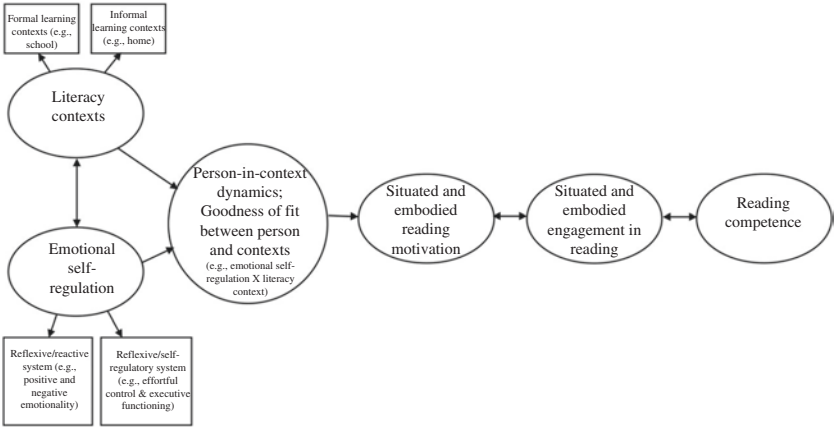

Fig. 8.1 Contextual-developmental model of reading competence

through time and across contexts (Liew et al., 2020). The major elements of this model include emotional self-regulation process in reading, children's literacy contexts, goodness of fit between children and literacy contexts—the person-in-context dynamics in reading, and situated and embodied reading motivation and engagement. Despite the fact that children learn to read in a variety of informal and formal learning environments, family literacy environment is one of the most significant contexts to learn from literacy activities, especially for young children (Dickinson & Tabors, 2001). In the contextual-developmental model of reading competence (Liew et al., 2020), situated reading motivation is not only a cognitive phenomenon, but centered in the learners' social and cultural practices and embodied in their literacy activities that take place in authentic reading environments and contexts. When literacy-rich environments are continually afforded to children, situated reading motivation will likely become internalized and become long-term and intrinsic motivation (Wigfield et al., 2016).

Self-determination Theory and Chinese Immigrant Children's Reading Motivation

For children to develop a curiosity and love for reading, it is important for children to develop and internalize a self-concept of themselves as lifelong readers and develop intrinsic motivation and self-agency for reading. Self-determination theory (SDT) (Ryan & Deci, 2000) has been highly influential in research on intrinsic motivation and self-agency in academic goals and achievement. According to a conceptual review of 92 empirical studies involving reading motivation terminologies published from 2003 to 2013 (Conradi et al., 2014), SDT was the most frequently cited (24%) as the theoretical framework. SDT suggests that individuals are more likely to be intrinsically motivated when their behavior is self-determined, or when they perceive that they are freely choosing to engage in the behavior and that it meets their needs. In SDT, intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, and amotivation are listed on the self-determination continuum from high to low levels of autonomy (Gagné & Deci, 2005). Specifically, intrinsic motivation is a type of motivation that comes from within an individual, and is driven by a desire to do something simply because it is interesting or enjoyable. On the other hand, extrinsic motivation comes from external factors, and is driven by a desire to do something because it leads to some other external goal, such as pursuing rewards or avoiding punishments. Lastly, amotivation refers to a state of lacking motivation and no sense of purpose or expectation. Ryan and Deci (2017) proposed the autonomy-control continuum on the basis of intrinsic-extrinsic spectrum. In this continuum, autonomous motivation is the intrinsic desire to do something for its own sake. On the contrary, controlled motivation is doing something because they feel pressure to do so. It is worth noting that while intrinsic motivation would fall under the category of autonomous motivation, different types of extrinsic motivation can be either autonomous motivation (integrated regulation and identified regulation) or controlled motivation (introjected regulation and external regulation).

According to SDT, individuals are inherently motivated to behave in ways that fulfill their basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Autonomy refers to the need to be self-directed and in control of one's life. Individuals who feel autonomous are more likely to take initiative and be creative in their work. They are also more likely to be self-reliant and independent. Competence refers to the need to feel capable and effective in one's life. Individuals who feel

competent are more likely to set challenging goals for themselves and persist in the face of setbacks. Relatedness means that individuals need to have a sense of warmth, security, belonging, and connectedness with others in order to be motivated. To facilitate children's intrinsic motivation, parents can increase their involvement in shared reading activities and modeling a habit of reading (Guthrie & Davis, 2003).

SDT has been used to examine the reading motivation of Chinese immigrant children and youths, especially in studies focusing on heritage language learning (i.e., Chinese) (Chow, 2001; Li, 2006; Comanaru & Noels, 2009). Among the three basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, the fulfillment of relatedness can lead to increased reading motivation in heritage language learning for Chinese immigrant children and youths. For example, Li (2006) found that when home, school, and community environments encouraged Chinese Canadian children to be proud of and belong to their heritage culture, they were more likely to view their heritage language as useful and prestigious. Similarly, Chow (2001) found that greater ethnic pride, exposure to Chinese media, and practice of Chinese customs were correlated with Chinese Canadian adolescents' positive experiences in Chinese language schools. Both studies emphasized the importance of the feelings of pride, belonging, and connection to the language community in encouraging Chinese immigrant children and youths to learn their heritage language. Indeed, relatedness was found to be the most consistent predictor of a self-determined reading orientation among the university-level heritage learners of Chinese (Comanaru & Noels, 2009).

Researchers have also explored the specific types of reading motivation in Chinese immigrant children and youths. For example, Comanaru and Noels (2009) used both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine the motivation of 145 university-level Chinese language learners in Canada. The quantitative survey results indicated that heritage learners of Chinese exhibited significantly higher levels of autonomous motivation (intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, and identified regulation) than controlled motivation (introjected regulation and external regulation). However, based on the qualitative data, extrinsic motivation is the most frequently endorsed by participants. For example, a participant wrote:

> All my life I have used English, even though I am of Chinese background. I feel lost when my relatives who don't speak English talk to me in Chinese and I cannot communicate with them. I feel guilty and embarrassed that I

> don't know my own language. Also, I travel to China a lot and communication is a HUGE obstacle. I need to learn it! (Comanaru & Noels, 2009, p. 148)

On the contrary, less than half of the participants mentioned intrinsic motivation to learn Chinese.

Interestingly, Chinese immigrant children sometimes shift between different forms of motivation to learn Chinese as they grow up. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) did a qualitative study to investigate attitudes toward heritage language maintenance among Chinese immigrant parents and their second-generation children. Through observation, they found that young Chinese immigrant children in lower grades usually regarded learning Chinese as fun and enjoyable, as they learned it mostly through games and activities. During the transition from second to third grade, most Chinese immigrant children were driven by intrinsic motivation to learn Chinese. However, children in third grade or higher generally expressed more extrinsic motivation and amotivation than intrinsic motivation toward learning Chinese since they failed to see the relevance or importance of learning their heritage language (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). This tendency changes again in early or young adulthood as many Chinese immigrant youths shift from a less self-determined form of motivation to a more self-determined one. For example, a participant in Comanaru and Noels' (2009) study wrote: "I am learning Chinese because I like the language and hope to use it in my future. I was forced to take it when I was young and grew to love the language" (p. 150).

Reading Motivation via the Lens of Chinese Culture

The motivation to read can be impacted by a variety of factors. Given that traditional Chinese culture emphasizes the role or duty of parents to set high expectations for children's academic success (Luo et al., 2013), one important factor that can affect Chinese immigrant children's reading motivation is their cultural background. In Chinese culture, the act of reading is considered a highly virtuous and beneficial activity. It is believed that through reading, one can gain knowledge, improve one's understanding of the world, and cultivate one's mind and character (Curdt-Christiansen, 2008). Indeed, New Literacy scholars also consider literacy practice as a collection of social and cultural practices anchored in certain worldviews that reflect values in various social situations (Gee, 2015;

Purcell-Gates et al., 2011). Thus, reading is often viewed as the most important part of an individual's education and is highly encouraged by Chinese parents and educators.

Confucianism is the most prominent philosophy in ancient China and still has a significant impact on modern Chinese culture, including parenting beliefs and practices, due to its focus on the importance of parents' role in the child development process (Shenghong & Dan, 2004). Among the principles of Confucian philosophy, filial piety (孝) and guan/training (管) are the two beliefs that describe the duty and responsibility of children and parents with each other. Filial piety refers to the expectation that children should obey and respect their parents, as well as bring honor to their family through academic and career achievement (Ho, 1996). In Chinese culture, filial piety is considered as a fundamental virtue and the foundation of all good conduct that children are taught from a very young age. On the other hand, parents are responsible to guan their children, which means "teaching or educating children in appropriate or expected behaviors" (Chao, 1994). In order to maintain the stability and harmony of the family unit, filial piety and guan/training are considered as important lifelong rules of agreement and engagement between parents and their children in Chinese families. Although guan/training can be sometimes strict, a combination of parental strictness-supervision and parental autonomy support, or yin-yang (阴阳) parenting where strictness-supervision is counterbalanced by autonomy support, can promote children's academic success without harming their social-emotional well-being (Liew et al., 2014).

When looking at literacy development and reading motivation through the lens of traditional Chinese culture, we can gain a better understanding of the unique needs of Chinese immigrant children and youths. Furthermore, recall that the contextual-developmental model of reading competence (Liew et al., 2020) emphasizes the importance of literacy experiences and activities that are centered in the learners' everyday lives and their social and cultural practices so that learners will develop intrinsic reading motivation for sustained reading engagement. For bilingual and bicultural (L2/C2) children in the United States this could include reading motivation for learning to read in their heritage language and in English. As we discussed earlier, intrinsic motivation for reading requires meeting the basic psychological needs of competence, autonomy, and relatedness according to SDT.

However, the importance of the three psychological needs may vary across cultures. For example, previous studies have shown that while developing autonomy is important, it can come into conflict with the value of harmony in collectivistic societies, where relational needs are often prioritized over individual needs (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Zhou & Salili, 2008). While autonomy is highly valued in individualist cultures, relatedness is more emphasized or prioritized in collectivistic culture values. Indeed, relatedness is in line with the virtue of filial piety, which expects children to repay their parents by honoring the family through academic achievement. Empirical studies have also proved that relatedness is a stronger predictor of reading or general academic motivation than autonomy in Chinese Canadian students (Comanaru & Noels, 2009) and Hong Kong students (Hui et al., 2011). Similarly, attitudes toward family obligation and filial piety were found to be positively correlated with academic motivation of Mainland Chinese students (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004) and Hong Kong students (Chow & Chu, 2007).

In SDT, intrinsic motivation and autonomous motivation are considered as desirable forms of motivation, while extrinsic motivation and controlled motivation are considered as less desirable forms of motivation. On the motivation continuum, intrinsic motivation and autonomous motivation are more self-determined than extrinsic motivation and controlled motivation (Gagné & Deci, 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Despite the duty of parents to set high expectations for children's academic success (guan) and the expectation of children to bring honor to their family through academic and career achievement (filial piety), Chinese immigrant youths showed higher levels of intrinsic motivation than extrinsic motivation toward learning Chinese (Comanaru & Noels, 2009). Similarly, Tang et al. (2018) found that mothers' authoritative parenting styles (i.e., high levels of demandingness as well as responsiveness) akin to yin-yang (阴阳) parenting (i.e., strictness-supervision counterbalanced by autonomy support; Liew et al., 2014) were related to enhanced intrinsic motivation and identified regulation, as well as decreased introjected regulation and external regulation in a sample composed of 226 Chinese tenth-grade students.

Parenting Practices that Promote Reading Motivation, Engagement, and Competence

By examining the reading motivation of Chinese immigrant children and youth through the lens of traditional Chinese culture and SDT, we can have a better understanding of what kind of parenting practices and family literacy environment can promote children's reading motivation. We offer three recommendations or suggestions for parents and families to support children's reading motivation, engagement, and competence.

First, fostering Chinese immigrant children's sense of relatedness and belonging would enhance their motivation to learn to read and write in English as well as their heritage language (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Hui et al., 2011). In order to promote relatedness, parents can connect children with the Chinese community, get them involved in traditional Chinese cultural events, and engage them in personal stories of migration and settlement (Kagan, 2005). For families that are not situated in communities without many opportunities to engage in heritage cultural events and activities, we recommend that parents explore high-quality, trustworthy, and evidence-based online or virtual resources such as virtual museums, multimedia technology, and social media as well as virtual reality games and platforms that afford children and families with learning and affirmation of heritage cultural identity as well as cultural values and practices. A growing body of research has shown the effectiveness of participation in virtual and online learning tools and games in children's cultural heritage education and sustainability (Haddad, 2016). When bicultural and bilingual children internalize a sense of their heritage cultural values and identity, they are more likely to develop intrinsic or autonomous motivation to learn to read and write in both English and their heritage language.

Second, an authoritative parenting style (i.e., high levels of demandingness as well as responsiveness) would facilitate children's autonomous motivation and undermine their controlled motivation (Tang et al., 2018). Parents can establish a supportive, structured family environment in which children develop academic self-efficacy and feel empowered to learn. Academic self-efficacy contributes to children's motivation and persistence for learning (McTigue & Liew, 2011). Thus, we recommend that parents scaffold their children with choice and autonomy to make decisions about the type or format of the reading materials. In addition, consistent with authoritative parenting practices, we recommend that parents provide

their children with prompt feedback (i.e., high levels of responsiveness) and help their children set expectations at appropriate levels of challenge (i.e., high but reasonable levels of demandingness) so their children will gain reading skills while gaining experiences with progress and success. It is important to note that studies have shown that bilingualism is associated with cognitive benefits or advantages, although such cognitive and executive functioning benefits may be primarily found among children who exhibit balanced bilingualism (i.e., equivalent proficiency in both the heritage language and English) rather than partial bilingualism (Weber et al., 2016).

Third, we recommend that parents intentionally or deliberately structure the home literacy environment and engage in storytelling and parent-child joint reading in ways that foster their children's reading motivation for both their heritage language and for English (Zhou & Salili, 2008), particularly because research has found that immigrant parents read less often to their children than non-immigrant parents in the United States (Dixon & Wu, 2014). Parent literacy involvement such as parent-child joint reading can take place in both traditional (e.g., books) and electronic formats (e.g., computers, e-readers, tablets, and smartphones). Of interest is that research has shown that parents tend to engage their children in more talk during reading with electronic or digital than with traditional reading formats (Krcmar & Cingle, 2014). However, Krcmar and Cingle (2014) found that children learned or comprehended significantly more in the traditional than in the electronic reading format. It was speculated that the increased talk by parents about the book format and the environment may have increased children's cognitive load or distracted children from focusing on and processing the information or content. In addition to parent literacy involvement, parent literacy habit also contributes to children's reading motivation, engagement, and competence. When parents engage in literacy-related activities themselves in the presence of their children, parents serve as models of literacy-related behaviors for their children and convey to their children that reading is a valued and leisurely activity (Xu et al., 2017).

In conclusion, both cultural background and qualities of autonomous or controlled motivation for reading are important factors in Chinese immigrant children's literacy development. Their Chinese cultural background provides them with systemic support and high expectations from family and community that are essential for literacy development. Meanwhile, their sense of self-determination allows them to develop

self-efficacy and autonomous motivation to diligently learn and improve their literacy skills. By fostering children's sense of relatedness and belonging, promoting academic self-efficacy, and intentionally structuring the home literacy environment, parents can help their children to develop a curiosity and love for reading and to flourish as lifelong learners.

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CHAPTER 9

An Integrated Conceptual Model of Ethnic and Racial Identity Development: Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Home Literacy Practices that Promote Ethnic Identity Development in Chinese Immigrant Families

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Introduction

The Chinese American community is the largest single ethnic origin group amongst Asian Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), and Asian Americans are the fastest-growing racial group in the US (López et al., 2017). Notably, the Chinese American population is still primarily composed of immigrants with nearly two-thirds of Chinese Americans born

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_9

outside of the US. Given this, acculturation and ethnic identity development are natural developmental processes for Chinese Americans. While the terms acculturation and ethnic identity are often used interchangeably in the literature (Phinney, 1990; Sue et al., 1998), they are separate constructs with distinct conceptual and methodological characteristics (Lieber et al., 2001; Farver et al., 2002). Acculturation focuses on the process of adapting to the new culture and the changes that result from interacting with the new culture and its members, whereas ethnic identity is more self-reflective and pertains to how a person regards and identifies oneself with references to one's social and psychological experiences associated with identifying with an ethnic or racial group (Lieber et al., 2001).

Acculturation and ethnic identity processes are consequential for immigrant children, youth, and families in that these processes can impact language learning and literacy development. According to Ferdman (1990), ethnic or cultural identity and literacy influence each other: on the one hand, literacy is culturally framed and defined; on the other hand, reading and writing competencies can change individuals' cultural identity. For example, when children begin acquiring the requisite reading competencies for their age, they are able to engage in community activities that require reading abilities and others in the community will begin perceiving and treating them as literate persons (de Castell & Luke, 1983; Ferdman, 1990). In addition, studies have shown the reciprocal relation between heritage language and ethnic identity (see Mu, 2015). While heritage language use promotes the construction and maintenance of ethnic identity (Cho et al., 1997), the frequent use of heritage language can also promote the development of a strong ethnic identity (Bankston III & Zhou, 1995). Ethnic identity is also linked to interest in maintaining the heritage language (Tse, 2000). Specifically, multiple studies have shown that heritage language and ethnic identity are linked in Chinese American youth (Kiang, 2008; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Yu, 2015).

While ethnic identity may serve as a protective factor against adjustment problems for Chinese American children and youth (Costigan et al., 2010), discrepancies between parents and their children in cultural values and rates of acculturation could contribute to parent-child conflicts. Chinese culture has been described as collectivistic and Confucianism has been influential in shaping Chinese child rearing and parenting practices with a strong emphasis on familism and filial piety which calls for every person to respect and listen to or obey their parents and their elders (see Liew & Zhou, 2022). In contrast, mainstream American culture is known for upholding

individualism, autonomy, boldness to challenge authority, and overt emotional expression (Russell & Yik, 1996; Triandis, 1996). Despite the fact that there is a growing number of studies that show successful ethnic identity development entails the formation of a bicultural identity and pride in the heritage and host cultures (Phinney, 1992; Sam, 2000), relatively little is known about the processes that promote ethnic identity development of Chinese immigrants. Therefore, we present theoretical frameworks that are helpful in the study of ethnic identity development and heritage language and culture maintenance of Chinese immigrants.

Theoretical Frameworks on Ethnic Identity Development

Ethnic identity is generally viewed as a multidimensional construct that refers to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group as well as a process of learning about and committing to one's ethnic group (Phinney & Ong, 2007). According to Erikson (1968), successful identity formation will lead to a strong sense of self and that will remain throughout subsequent life stages. By contrast, identity confusion will likely lead to self-doubt and uncertainty of what one wants in life personally and professionally. James Marcia (1991) refined and extended Erik Erikson's (1968) work and proposed the identity status theory, which emphasizes the degree to which one has explored roles and identities, resolved identity crises, and committed to an identity in a variety of life domains, such as ethnicity.

Building on Erikson's (1968) and Marcia's (1966) work, Phinney's (1990) three-stage model of ethnic identity development has emerged as a highly influential model in the research literature on ethnic identity development (see Table 9.1). Phinney's theory concerns one's exploration and commitment to one's ethnic identity and considers ethnic identity as an identity dimension of enculturation (Kim & Abreu, 2001; Yoon, 2011). At the initial stage, individuals have "unexamined ethnic identities" because they have primarily absorbed parents' identities or derived their ethnic identity from others rather than engaging in personal exploration in the stage of unexamined ethnic identities. Preceding the second stage, individuals would either experience an identity crisis or a realization of one's ethnic identity. In the third stage, individuals will attain "ethnic identity achievement," which is characterized by the clarity of one's ethnic identity while experiencing a state of security, confidence, and stable sense of self.

Table 9.1 Phinney's (1992) ethnic identity development theory

Stage	*Description/Characteristics*
1. Unexamined ethnic identities	Primarily absorbed parents' identities or derived their ethnic identity from others rather than engaging in personal exploration
2. Ethnic identity search	Explore, experiment, or adapt to behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes of an ethnic group
3. Ethnic identity achievement	Has a clear ethnic identity with a state of security, confidence, and stable sense of self. Engage in continuous cultural activities and commit to one's ethnic groups

Notably, Phinney (1992) emphasized an individual's continuous cultural engagement and effort in committing to one's ethnic groups, rather than an individual's identity status. This has implications for Chinese or Asian immigrant children and youth who may need to take on adult roles and responsibilities within their families, such as language brokering for their parents, while also negotiating and constructing their identity. Therefore, Chinese immigrant children and youth may begin dealing with identity exploration earlier than the non-immigrant peers of their age, as their acculturation experiences may have prompted them to begin "ethnic identity search" sooner than some of their peers from other ethnic or racial groups.

Another influential perspective in the study of ethnic identity development is Bornstein's (2017) specificity principle in acculturation science, which asserts that individuals' psychological acculturation or ethnic identity development is "sensitive to specific setting conditions of specific people at specific times moderate specific domains in acculturation by specific processes" (Bornstein, 2017, p. 3). According to Bornstein (2017)'s specificity principle, individual's acculturation processes transpire at both individual and societal levels, as they are influenced by a collection of individual experiences and interactions with communal or societal factors. Therefore, individual and contextual factors may have unique or independent, as well as additive or interactive, contributions on ethnic identity development of Chinese immigrants.

Differing from the above models that concern the formation or transformation of ethnic identity, Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) refers to how an individual perceives and regards the relationship between one's ethnic and national identities. BII

has two independent components: cultural harmony (i.e., how much one's ethnic and host cultures harmonize) and cultural blendedness (i.e., how much one tends to combine their cultures). Using a sample of Chinese Americans who were born in a Chinese-speaking country and considered themselves to be bicultural, Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) found that Chinese immigrants who rated to be less exposed to American culture reported greater cultural distance perceived between their ethnic and national identities.

No matter which theoretical orientation researchers use, there is wide consensus that ethnic identity is an important component of self-concept and social identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that group membership is an essential part of one's self-concept, which can provide a sense of psychological comfort, status security, and self-enhancement through communal and communicative activities among members of a social group. Thus, ethnic identity refers to "a feeling of belonging to one's ethnic group, a clear understanding of the meaning of one's membership, positive attitudes toward the group, familiarity with its history and culture, and involvement in its practices" (Phinney et al., 1994, p. 169). Overall, the various theoretical frameworks and approaches are all consistent with the view that, for ethnic minorities and for immigrants, the development and negotiation of ethnic identity are closely linked to the acculturation process (Guardia & Evans, 2008).

Identity Development of Asian Americans

There have been attempts in the literature to document the complexities of ethnicity, culture, and relational factors as well as their relevance to ethnic identity development of Asian Americans. One such model is Jean Kim's (1981) pioneering work on Asian American identity development and her five-stage model for understanding how Asian Americans reconcile the differences between the American dominant culture and their home cultures (see Table 9.2). The *Ethnic Awareness* stage begins in early childhood when Asian American children are three or four years old during which their family members serve as significant influencers who contribute to the children's ethnic exposure toward their own ethnic origin. When children are preschoolers, Chinese American parents often use entertaining games and activities to teach their children Chinese language at home. As a result, Chinese American young children are usually eager to learn Chinese (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). When Asian American

Table 9.2 Kim's (1981) Asian American identity development model

Stage	*Description/Characteristics*
1. Ethnic Awareness Stage	During preschool years, family members serve as the significant influencers contributing to Asian American children's ethnic exposure toward their own ethnic origins.
2. White Identification Stage	Once reaching the school age, Asian Americans realize the "differentness" and racial prejudice from interacting with peers at school. This leads to negative impacts on Asian American children's self-esteem and contributes to self-blame and a desire to escape their own racial heritage by identifying with the White society.
3. Awakening to Social Political Consciousness Stage	When Asian Americans adopt a new perspective to abandon their identification with the White society with a consequent increase in the understanding of oppressed groups.
4. Redirection Stage	Individuals reconnect with Asian American heritage and culture. They realize the impact of White oppression on negative youth experiences. Specifically, individuals' discontent toward White racism may be on the rise while their sense of Asian American self and group pride grows.
5. Incorporation Stage	Individuals achieve a positive and comfortable identity as Asian American and consequently develop respect for other racial or cultural heritages.

children are in school age, they will reach the *White Identification* stage due to realizing the "differentness" and racial prejudice from interacting with peers at school. This leads to negative impacts on Asian American children's self-esteem and contributes to self-blame and a desire to escape their own racial heritage by identifying with the White society. The *Awakening to Social Political Consciousness* stage begins when individuals adopt a new perspective to abandon their identification with the White society with a consequent increase in the understanding of oppressed groups. At the *Redirection* stage, individuals reconnect with Asian American heritage and culture. They realize the impact of White oppression on negative youth experiences (e.g., Hill et al., 2021). For example, Asian American youth or young adults may increasingly become aware of their experiences with discrimination and racism but counteract this with growth in their Asian American identities and group pride during the Redirection stage. In the last stage, *Incorporation*, Kim (1981) posits that individuals are characterized by a positive and comfortable identity as Asian American and consequently develop respect for other racial or cultural heritage.

Kim's (1981) model contributed to the research on ethnic identity development among Asian Americans by recognizing the interactions between an individual and the environment, including interactions with parents, peers, school, and the neighborhood or community. It is noted that this model was developed by analyzing the acculturation experiences of primarily Japanese Americans. Thus, there is a need for further research on first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants to better understand factors that contribute to similarities or differences in their ethnic identity development.

Based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model, Mistry et al. (2016) developed an integrated framework for understanding the development of Asian American children and youth. Mistry et al. theorized culture as a meaning-making process that contributes to the ethnic identity development in different contexts, such as emigration, immigration and settlement, and social stratification. Taking a sociocultural perspective, Mistry et al. determined that interactions in microsystem settings (e.g., family, peers, school) exert influence on other Asian immigrant's exosystems, subsequently constituting the macrosystem ideologies encompassing the culture in which Asian Americans live. Through the meaning-making process, Asian Americans interpret these macrosystem ideologies and subsequently affect how they function and behave in their microsystem settings. Specifically, Mistry et al. (2016) perceived family socialization, school settings, local communities and neighborhoods following immigration settlement, and media as important pathways to impact ethnic identity development of Asian Americans and immigrants.

In contrast to Kim's (1981) Asian American identity development model, Mistry et al.'s (2016) model does not provide a clear line of progression but primarily focuses on assessing different spheres of influence on an individual's ethnic identity development. Another distinction between these two models is that Mistry et al.'s (2016) model underscores the meaning-making process of one's interactions in different levels of external systems, whereas Kim's model is concerned more about one's internal struggles across the process of ethnic identity development. However, neither Kim's (1981) model nor Mistry et al.'s (2016) model has explicitly acknowledged the meaning and impact of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1990) nor their relevance to ethnic identity development of Asian Americans. Therefore, future researchers should consider investigating how Asian Americans orient to Asian and American cultures as well as how one perceives and regards the relation between one's ethnic identity (i.e., being Chinese) and national identity (i.e., being American).

An Integrated Conceptual Model to Synthesize Extant Work

To help consolidate and synthesize the body of research on individual and contextual factors in the development of Chinese immigrants' ethnic identity and the maintenance of heritage culture and language, we present an integrated conceptual model (see Fig. 9.1) which adapts from and extends the work of Bornstein's (2017) specificity principle. Taking an ecological perspective, our conceptual model is intended to be broadly inclusive of the interconnections among the individual and contextual factors. Also, our conceptual model is consistent with Berry's (1990) bidimensional model which posits that strengthening one's orientation to one culture will not necessarily affect or weaken one's tie to another. Notably, this model does not posit a reciprocal relationship between Chinese immigrants' ethnic identity (i.e., being Chinese) and national identity (i.e., being American) because Chinese immigrants' ethnic and national identities may not necessarily be on the same continuum, which tend to depend on one's generation status (Tsai et al., 2000). Furthermore, our conceptual model integrates Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) to gain a fuller and deeper understanding of the dynamics among individual and contextual influences on ethnic identity development of Chinese immigrants. In the following section, we review the extant research on individual and contextual factors that influence ethnic identity development and heritage language and maintenance among Chinese immigrants.

Family Factors Associated with Ethnic Identity Development

Multiple family factors have been identified as influential in shaping the ethnic identity development of Chinese immigrant children. We review the research literature and discuss the most influential and prominent of these factors.

Birthplaces and Generational Patterns

The role of birthplaces or generational patterns of Chinese immigrants and their children in the US has been investigated more than other factors. In a study on ethnic identity of Chinese American young adults, Tsai et al. (2000) concluded that there are differences in the meaning of "being Chinese" and "being American" between those born in the US (American-born Chinese)

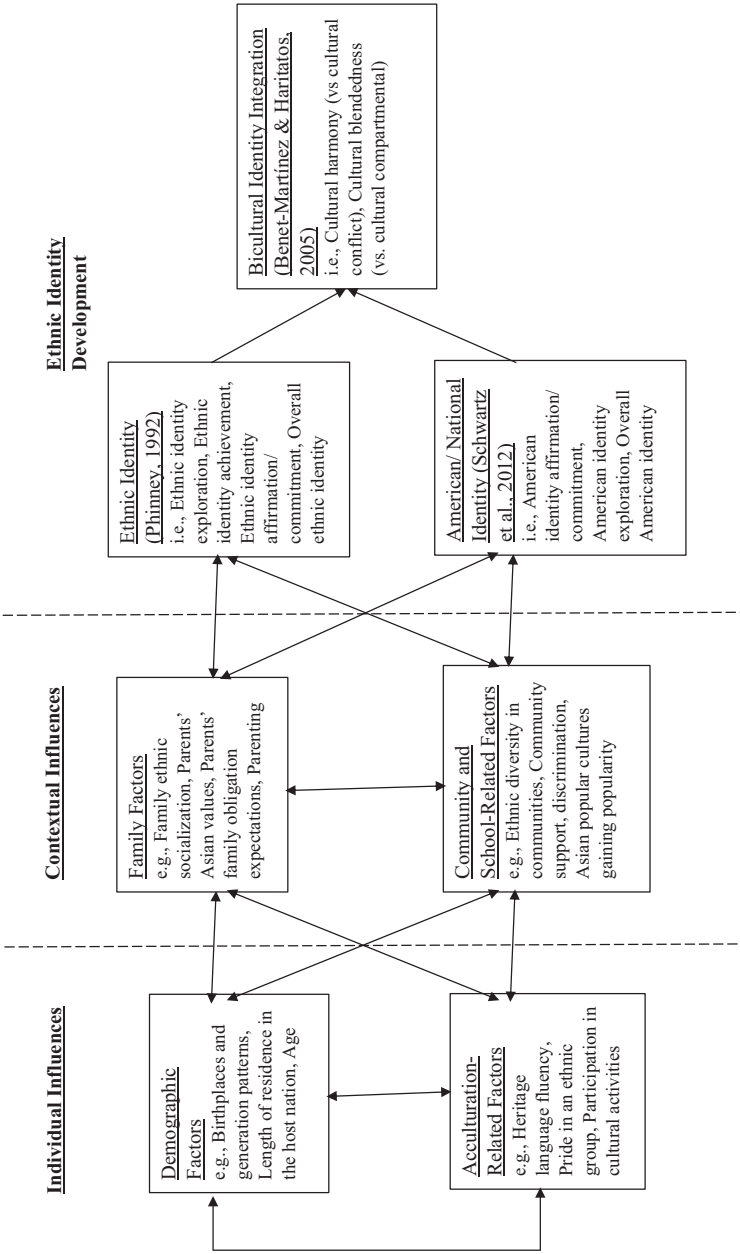

Fig. 9.1 An integrated conceptual model of individual and contextual influences on Chinese immigrants' ethnic identity development. (Adapted and expanded from Bornstein's [2017] specificity principle and Benet-Martínez and Haritatos' [2005] BII)

and those born outside of the US (Chinese immigrants). Tsai et al. (2000) found that American-born Chinese reported being more "American" than Chinese Americans from immigrant families. They also found that American-born Chinese perceived "being American" and "being Chinese" to be two separate dimensions of ethnic identity, which depend on their level of engagement in Chinese and American cultural activities.

In contrast, "being American" and "being Chinese" were found to be on the same continuum and were negatively correlated to one another for Chinese immigrants. Tsai et al. (2000) explained that Chinese immigrants view themselves as solely Chinese prior to immigration, which has become internalized as part of their self-concept. As they engage in American culture to adapt to living in the US, Chinese immigrants likely experience an increase of their identification with the American identity at the cost of diminishing their identity of "being Chinese." Therefore, Tsai et al.'s (2000) results show that ethnic identity development may be different for American-born Chinese and Chinese immigrants to the US, with the former perceiving their Chinese and American identities as bidimensional and the latter as unidimensional.

In a different study on Chinese immigrants in Canada, Schimmele and Wu (2015) found that generation status provides a unique contribution to the preferred ethnic identities of Chinese immigrants and their children. They found that first-generation Chinese immigrants tend to prefer national-origin identities (e.g., Chinese) while second-generation Chinese immigrants tend to adopt hyphenated identities (e.g., Chinese Canadian). Schimmele and Wu concluded that ethnic identity remains important for first- and second-generation immigrants, and their preferences over different identity labels may reflect their varying rates of acculturation as well as readiness and willingness to integrate Chinese and North American cultures. Moreover, although first-generation Chinese immigrant parents support their children's heritage language development at home to enhance their ethnic identity and family cohesion, second-generation Chinese immigrant children shift from Chinese to English when they enter preschool (Kuo, 1974; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Length of Residence in the Host Nation

Tsai et al. (2000) found that the length of living in the US of Chinese immigrants is associated with their ethnic identity. They found that early immigrants who came before 12-years-old indicated that they were more American than the late immigrant group who came after 12-years-old.

Also, Tsai et al. (2000) found that the less time Chinese immigrants had spent in the US, the more oriented they were to Chinese culture. Thus, Tsai et al.'s (2000) study showed that the length of residence in the host country and amount of exposure to the host culture are associated with higher levels of acculturation of ethnic minority members. For parents who are Chinese immigrants, they will likely orient toward traditional Chinese culture relative to their children. This may also be reflected in Chinese immigrant parents' parenting as well as language and home literacy practices, including parents' preferences for their children to learn to speak and read in Chinese as well as in English (Gonzalez et al., 2021).

Age

Adolescence is a critical time for cognitive, physical, and pubertal maturation as well as psychosocial development like identity formation and social relationship development (Erikson, 1968). Cognitively, adolescents transition from concrete thinking to more abstract thinking and begin to explore and evolve a sense of self. Socially, adolescents desire to be accepted by their peers and have a sense of belonging to the social groups that they value. Given increasing independence from their parents, adolescents may have more opportunities to experience cultural or intercultural encounters that help them reflect on their ethnic identity. According to Phinney's (1992) ethnic identity development model, an individual will attain ethnic identity achievement following processes of exploration and commitment to ethnic identity. Therefore, as a Chinese immigrant child grows up, there will be more opportunities for exploring and committing to their ethnic identity, and their ethnic identity will become more concrete. Accordingly, individuals who report diffused identities would decline with age (Erikson, 1968).

In a study on Asian American emerging adults, Chan (2011) examined their civic participation and found that Asian American college students would participate in an ethnic student organization to explore their ethnic identity instead of affirming their sense of membership. These results suggest that an individual's self-concept can be influenced by social contexts and their interactions and relationships with others. Therefore, how one feels about oneself, including one's sense of membership in an ethnic group, may change when one has more connections with others who are interested in exploring their ethnic identity. However, Chan's (2011) study did not distinguish if the desire of exploring one's ethnic identity was awakened by age or the self-expressive culture at universities. Although past research has shown that Chinese Americans acculturate their values

and attitudes at a slower rate than their behaviors toward that of the dominant culture (Kim et al., 1999), there was insufficient evidence to conclude whether Chinese American emerging adults' efforts to explore their ethnic identities could be attributed to chronological maturity or other contextual factors. Regarding language and literacy development, Chinese Americans often fail to recognize the benefits of maintaining their heritage language and prefer to use English instead when they are young, and many of them choose to re-learn Chinese when they are in college (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Acculturation-Related Factors

Research on acculturation has evolved over the years. Traditionally, acculturation was conceived as a single continuum in that an individual's adaptations to the dominant culture are fulfilled at the expense of weakening one's ties to the original culture (Nguyen et al., 1999). However, early studies using the unidimensional categorization of acculturation have been criticized for omitting bicultural individuals who are both highly acculturated to the dominant culture and enculturated to their native culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993).

Improving on past work that conceptualized and measured acculturation as unidimensional, Berry's (1990) bidimensional model of acculturation assumes that an individual's orientation toward one's native culture and dominant culture is regarded as independent of each other (Berry, 1990; LaFromboise et al., 1993). According to Berry's (1990) model, there are four acculturation strategies for individuals to associate with the dominant culture: (a) integration, (b) assimilation, (c) separation, and (d) marginalization. The integration strategy is used to represent biculturalism, suggesting an individual who retains the native culture and accepts the dominant culture. The assimilation strategy occurs when an individual loses their culture and accepts the values, attitudes, and behavior of the new culture. The separation strategy is the process by which an individual avoids the dominant culture while wishing to maintain their own cultural values. The marginalization strategy indicates an individual does not connect with either their native or dominant culture.

In sum, Berry's (1990) bidimensional model posits that strengthening one's orientation to one culture will not necessarily affect or weaken the tie to another. To examine one's acculturation and cultural orientation, researchers typically measure how oriented an individual is to a particular

culture in various life domains, such as language preferences, heritage language proficiency, and pride in a particular culture. Given that Phinney (2003) suggested acculturation can influence an individual's ethnic identity, and vice versa, it is important to understand the interplay of acculturation and ethnic identity development among Chinese immigrants.

Heritage Language Fluency

Many researchers consider heritage language fluency as playing a critical role in the ethnic identity development of immigrant youths (De Vos, 1995; Isajiw, 1990). Indeed, heritage language is among the most significant factors in the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity (Fishman & García, 2010; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990). It is a symbol of the ethnic identity and helps communication with family members and heritage communities. Chinese immigrant parents often view Chinese language as the key distinguishing characteristic of their ethnic group and believe that ethnic identity is established and maintained through heritage language use (Gonzalez et al., 2021; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). In family practices, Chinese parents actively maintain Chinese language at home to emphasize their children's sense of belonging with their heritage language and culture (Gonzalez et al., 2021; Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010).

Moreover, the use of heritage language serves as not only an important form of communication mediums to connect with parents and extended families but also a method of transmitting cultural heritage (Giles et al., 1977). Since Chinese immigrant parents often have a strong sense of ethnic identity and pride in Chinese culture, they consider heritage language a cultural tool and mediator for their children to access traditional culture like Confucian philosophy (Riches & Curdt-Christiansen, 2010). For example, immigrant parents often use the heritage language to teach their children about the cultural values and traditional customs of their heritage culture (Imbens-Bailey, 1997) because they sometimes have difficulty or are unable to find the words in the host language to capture the essence of a cultural concept in their heritage culture.

Although various studies evidenced the correlation between ethnic identity and heritage language, the strength and the significance level of the correlation are different across different ethnic groups (Mu, 2015). Also, the relationship can be different at different ages for Chinese Americans. While most Chinese American children speak Chinese at home when they are very young, they often shift to English as they enter school (Kuo, 1974;

Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). At school age, peer influence can be the most important factor in Chinese American children's ethnic language retention (Luo & Wiseman, 2000). However, compared to non-heritage language learners, Chinese Americans were found to be more self-determined to learn Chinese through formal learning, and indicated that Chinese language was an integral aspect of their self-concept (Comanaru & Noels, 2009). This is affirmed by the voices from Chinese American parents with young preschool-aged children. In a mixed method study of Chinese American parents with young children, a participant shared that,

> We're of Chinese descent … so we expect our kids to be at least bilingual … So when we go home [we expect our children] to at least speak Mandarin or another dialect of Chinese. And then, outside of speaking English…the problem is most A-B-C (American-born Chinese) … when they grow older, they're going to forget about their mother tongue, which is Chinese. So that's why we're strong[ly] pushing them to learn Chinese. That's why a lot of kids, when they grow older, they go to regular school, also attending the weekend Chinese school too, you know, enforcing the language." (p. 6, Gonzalez et al., 2021)

Previous research also found generational differences in the heritage language fluency of Chinese American immigrants. In a study of self-identified first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants, Kim and Chao (2009) found that heritage language fluency was positively associated with three measures of ethnic identity (i.e., effort seeking out and learning about the role of ethnicity in one's life, pride and positive regard to Chinese group, participation in Chinese cultural activities) among first-generation, but not for second-generation Chinese. Kim and Chao (2009) explained that heritage language fluency may serve as a way of distinguishing "how Chinese" the first-generation Chinese immigrants are from the second-generation Chinese. Indeed, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found that Chinese immigrant parents valued and took positive actions to maintain their heritage language in their first-generation children. However, by the second generation, children failed to see the relevance or importance of learning the heritage language and were often unmotivated to learn it or to maintain it into adolescence or adulthood. Subsequently, second-generation Chinese youths may not necessarily associate their ethnic identity based on their heritage language proficiency as much as the first-generation Chinese immigrants.

Pride in an Ethnic Group and Participation in Cultural Activities
Tsai et al. (2000) investigated the predictive factors of first- and second-generation Chinese immigrants. They found that when individuals have limited contact with their culture of origin, their ethnic identity development tends to be based on pride (or a positive attitude) in an ethnic group. Conversely, if individuals are immersed in a culture, their cultural identity development is influenced by engagement in cultural activities, such as engaging in Chinese recreational activities or listening to Chinese radio. Tsai et al. (2000) concluded that ethnic pride in Chinese culture only predicts the development of Chinese identity among American-born Chinese but not for Chinese immigrants who came to the US before the age of 12 years. As for predicting American identity, this study found that pride in American culture was a more significant predictor of being American for Chinese youth who moved to the US after, than those who moved to the US before, the age of 12 years. However, it is noted that the above findings were collected from a cross-sectional study, which was limited to a specific moment in time during their acculturation processes and ethnic identity development. Thus, further investigation with longitudinal designs are needed to understand the contextual effects on Chinese immigrants' ethnic identity development.

Contextual Factors and Ethnic Identity Development Among Chinese Immigrants

Previous research on immigrants in the US suggested that their acculturation and ethnic identity are influenced by situational contexts, social settings, and interactions with others (Deaux & Ethier, 1998; Helms, 1995). Notwithstanding the influence of experiences in contexts such as schools and communities, many studies have pointed to the critical role of the family and particularly the parents in children's ethnic identity development (Booth et al., 2002). Considering family as the first and one of the most important socialization contexts in a person's life, it is unsurprising that the family plays an essential role in affecting an individual's acculturation and ethnic identity development. Indeed, the family has been found to be a key place where an individual's ethnic identity develops (Knight et al., 1993). Parents are often considered as the primary source of knowledge about the ethnic origin group for their children (Hughes et al., 2006). Lu (2001) found that Chinese immigrant parents reported a strong desire for cultural preservation as well as the motivation for fostering the

development of the bicultural identity for their children and themselves. Thus, it is important to review parenting and familial influences on ethnic identity development among Chinese immigrants.

Family Ethnic Socialization

Family ethnic socialization refers to parents' and other family members' efforts to help youth learn about and make meaning out of one's ethnic beliefs, ethnic practices, and ethnic heritage (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009) as well as reinforce their children's ethnic identity. Hughes and colleagues (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006) identified three main categories of ethnic socialization practices, including cultural socialization (i.e., teaching children about the culture and heritage of their ethnic group to promote children's pride), preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Given ethnic socialization practices underscores the experiences of ethnic minority status and desire to transfer one's ethnic heritage to the younger generation, these practices may expose youth to the traditions and history of their ethnic group and potentially foster their children's ethnic identity exploration and commitment.

Huynh and Fuligni (2008) found that Chinese American families engaged in more cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust compared with White families. Similarly, Else-Quest and Morse (2015) determined that Asian American parents engaged in a significantly higher level of promotion of mistrust compared to parents of African American and Latino American families. Else-Quest and Morse's (2015) study was the first to document the predictive role of Asian American parents' ethnic socialization on children's ethnic identity development. Specifically, this study found that parents' cultural socialization predicted youth's ethnic identity exploration and commitment one year later. However, neither parents' preparation of their children for encountering racial/ethnic bias nor promotion of mistrust predicted ethnic identity exploration or commitment of Asian American youth.

Parents' Asian Values, Family Obligation Expectations, and Parenting

Traditional Chinese values emphasize filial piety and family loyalty. Following parental or elders' opinion is often considered as an expression of respect for parents and filial piety. Therefore, Chinese parents may encourage their children to model their orientation to Chinese culture, affirm their ethnic identity, and teach their children explicitly to understand what it means to be Chinese, which may include Chinese language

and/or literacy learning (Bond, 1996). Su and Costigan (2009) conducted a study with Chinese families in Canada and found that mothers' family obligation expectations were positively associated with children's Chinese ethnic identity in areas of ethnic affirmation, sense of belonging, and ethnic identity achievement. In the same study, Su and Costigan (2009) found that such relations between mothers' family obligation expectations and children ethnic identity were mediated by children's ability to estimate parents' expectations. Although no studies to our knowledge have examined whether the association between Chinese immigrant parents' Asian values and family obligation expectations varies as a function of their parental control and their children's ethnic identity, it is possible that Chinese parent's parental control could moderate these associations that may affect their children's exploration and commitment.

Community and School-Related Factors

Ethnic stratification in community and school settings can shape ethnic identity development among youths from Chinese immigrant families due to the distinct differences found in the ethnic practices, behavior, and values between Chinese and American (western) cultures. Considering Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological system model, the status of being an ethnic minority in immediate social settings (e.g., peer groups, schools, neighborhoods) tends to increase the salience of the experience and identity of minority status.

Ethnic Diversity in Communities

Ethnic/racial socialization (i.e., identity enculturation) experiences may differ according to the ethnic diversity in the surrounding environments (e.g., urban or metropolitan vs. suburban or rural communities). Although early Chinese immigrants tended to cluster around Chinatowns in different cities in the US, many post-1965 Chinese immigrants tended to reside in middle-class suburbs. Overall, residential patterns suggest that Asian immigrants in the US were more geographically scattered compared to other racial minority groups such as African Americans or Latino/as (Danico, 2014). In a study that examined how Chinese American youths negotiate conflicting cultural orientations and establish bicultural orientation, Huynh et al. (2011) found that Chinese American youths who were from culturally diverse areas generally perceived that the multiple cultural orientations they had were compatible with one another. However, the studies on

ethnic identity development among Chinese immigrants tended to have small samples and participants tended to be from similar demographic backgrounds. Thus, further research is needed to examine between-group effects on ethnic identity development among Chinese immigrants with varying ethnic/racial socialization (i.e., identity enculturation) experiences.

Community Support

For many early Chinese immigrants in the US, Chinatowns served as ethnic enclaves that insulated them from daily exposure to racism or discrimination as well as offered community support. Community organizations such as Chinese churches, Chinese community centers, and Chinese language schools often function as social hubs for Chinese immigrants to connect with fellow Chinese immigrants and play a significant role for immigrants' adjustment to American society. For example, Lu's (2001) qualitative study on bicultural identity development of Chinese immigrant parents found that Chinese immigrant parents viewed Chinese language schools as a way for their children to learn or maintain their Chinese rituals, cultural practices, and heritage language. Chinese immigrant parents also reported that the Chinese language schools helped parents to transition to American society and helped their children not to feel excluded from American society. However, there has been relatively limited research on understanding how youths from Chinese immigrant families make meaning of their experiences with community support in relation to their ethnic group. Contextual factors, such as higher socioeconomic status, parents' educational background, and families' behavioral acculturation, need to be considered in future studies to identify what types of community support and how such supports are linked to Chinese immigrants' ethnic identity development.

Discrimination

Numerous studies show that, like many other ethnic minorities in the US, Asian Americans experience racism on a daily basis, ranging from racial microaggressions to overt discrimination to anti-Asian hate speech and hate crimes (e.g., Boeckmann & Liew, 2002; Hill et al., 2021). However, relatively less attention has been given to investigating the influence of racism-related factors on the acculturation experiences and ethnic identity status of ethnic minority members. In an experiment on Asian American emerging adults' exposure of racist hate speech, Boeckmann and Liew (2002) found that racism caused extreme emotional distress and depressed

the collective self-esteem or damaged the ethnic identity of Asian Americans. In the first-ever nationally representative study on the mental health impacts of racial discrimination among Asians living in the US, Yip et al. (2008) found that ethnic identity served as a protective or buffering factor for the impacts of exposure to discrimination on the mental health of Asians in the US. In another study on Asian Americans' exposure to racism, Concepcion et al. (2013) found that those who devalued White standards and embraced their ethnic group were prone to experiencing racism. Interestingly, Concepcion et al. (2013) also found that individuals who were highly oriented to Asian cultures reported fewer experiences with racism and racism-related stress. Although it appears that individuals with high orientation to Asian cultural values and a high collectivistic self-esteem might be buffered from exposure to racism, it is unclear whether such individuals simply had limited interactions with people outside of their respective ethnic groups and subsequently had limited exposure to racism. Thus, understanding the causal relations between orientation to heritage cultural values or collectivistic self-esteem and exposure and reactions to discrimination and racism warrant greater attention.

Future Directions for Research on Parenting and Home Literacy Practices for Ethnic/Racial Identity Development and Maintenance of Heritage Culture and Language

The extant models and research that have been reviewed in this chapter show the foundation and the promise for the study of ethnic/racial identity development across immigrant generations. Furthermore, our conceptual model (Fig. 9.1) helps consolidate these prior works to highlight important individual and contextual factors that contribute to, and to guide future research on, ethnical/racial identity development and maintenance of heritage culture, as well as language and literacy learning and development. The field is ripe for conceptual and methodological innovation and advancements, and we suggest several directions that are needed and appear promising.

As we have discussed earlier, parents can engage in practices that support both ethnic identity development and language or literacy development, because they are interrelated. Not only will cultural identity mediate the acquisition of literacy, but literacy education will also influence the

individual's cultural identity (Ferdman, 1990; Gómez-Estern et al., 2010). For youth with immigrant parents, family ethnic socialization in childhood is positively associated with ethnic identity exploration and resolution in emerging adulthood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013).

One implication of this is that parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and home literacy practices can support each other and support the development of children's ethnic identity and literacy competencies. Parental ethnic-racial socialization refers to parenting practices and strategies that include cultural socialization, preparation of children for bias in society, and cautions or warnings to children about other racial groups and barriers to their success (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). For example, immigrant parents can encourage their children to read books about their own racial/ethnic groups and talk about important people or events in the history of their own racial/ethnic group to promote their cultural socialization. Also, parents may talk to their children about racial/ethnic stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination against people of the same racial/ethnic group to prepare them for the bias they may encounter (Tran & Lee, 2010).

In conclusion, the extant literature on ethnic identity development among Chinese immigrants offers a solid base to build conceptual and empirical work from, but this area of study is in its nascent stage and is a research area that is prime for advancement and growth. Because ethnic identity appears to be a product of an individual's cultural interactions with the environment and interpretation of acculturation experiences, disentangling and identifying the roles of the individual and contextual factors during the process of ethnic identity development among Chinese immigrants is critical for promoting psychosocial health, minimizing acculturation-related difficulties, and developing interventions to support Chinese immigrants in thriving on the development of a congruent self-concept and a concerted ethnic identity.

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PART III

Home Literacy Perspectives

CHAPTER 10

The Education Status and Sociocultural Perspectives of Latinos

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Introduction

Literacy is considered a fundamental human right and increasing global literacy rates is a priority of the United Nations (UNESCO, 2014). Although the US enjoys relatively high literacy rates compared with many nations around the world, the reality is that there are great disparities in literacy levels and academic outcomes between middle-class white populations and people of color. In particular Latino populations have scored below proficient on the National Assessment of Educational Progress in

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_10

the area of reading at disproportionate rates compared to White, non-Hispanic children over the last 30 years (Hussar et al., 2020).

Social, cultural, religious, educational, and economic factors that affect literacy rates vary considerably; however, there is evidence that, across contexts, literacy begins with language development that is shaped in the home (Dickinson & Tabors, 2001; Hammer et al., 2011). Home literacy environments (HLEs)—a wide-ranging term which often includes children's access to literacy materials, the frequency with which they read or are read to, the quantity and quality of language interactions, and their caregivers' beliefs about literacy—have long been shown to influence the language and literacy development of children (Bitetti & Hammer, 2016; Farver et al., 2006). However, the ways in which families support language and literacy development may vary due to cultural differences (Davis et al., 2016; Farver et al., 2006; Trainin et al., 2017). Therefore, it is important to learn about Latino families' practices and beliefs, as this can enhance the ability of professionals to honor family traditions, cultural values, and linguistic patterns in the home while delivering effective early education services (Roberts, 2008; Trainin et al., 2017).

Definitions of Home Literacy Environments

HLEs directly influence language and early literacy development, thus serving as the foundation for later reading achievement (Gonzalez & Uhing, 2008; Reese et al., 2000; Scheele et al., 2010). HLE is a construct that often includes families' practices, beliefs, attitudes, and resources available in the home that provide the primary context in which children begin to acquire the foundational skills and attitudes that will likely influence their long-term reading achievement (Whitehurst & Lonigan, 2001). Although there is no universally agreed upon definition of HLE, it generally includes literacy activities such as shared storybook reading and/or storytelling, focusing on the form of the printed word, directly teaching letter names and sounds, modeling reading, having materials available that support early reading and writing, and a family's attitudes about reading themselves and reading with their children (Sénéchal, 2011).

Home Literacy Environments of Latinos in the US

Latinos in the US represent a diverse group of individuals from Spanish-speaking countries and territories. Mexicans are the largest group of Latinos in the US followed by Puerto Ricans and Central Americans (Noe-Bustamante, 2019; Office of Minority Health, 2021). Among these Latinos, there is also a large subgroup that were born in the US and their families may have been here for generations (Griswold del Castillo, 1992; Noe-Bustamante, 2019). In this chapter when referring to Latinos as a group we recognize that there are cultural and linguistic differences between different populations of Latinos and in no way are we attempting to characterize the home literacy practices or beliefs of *ALL* Latinos (López et al., 2020). Rather, our intent is to summarize what is known from research to highlight ways in which practitioners, researchers, and administrators may work more effectively with Latino families to implement culturally and linguistically responsive practices when developing approaches to supporting family literacy.

Latino HLEs may have significant heterogeneity given the variation in cultures and dialects represented by Spanish speakers in the US, but they are almost all affected by the educational attainment and economic security of the family. There are long-standing social and economic inequities in the US that lead to Latinos continuing to experience higher rates of poverty and lower educational attainment than white, non-Hispanic English-speaking populations (Macartney et al., 2013). They are also more likely to have children younger in life and more children over their lifespan than most other groups in the US (Finer & Zolna, 2016). Both poverty and low maternal education have a negative impact on families being able to engage in activities and have the resources available to provide rich and varied home literacy experiences to their children (Marcella et al., 2014). Research also suggests that Latinos who are recent immigrants engage in fewer home literacy activities with their children than other populations and this may be due to the limited educational opportunities they've experienced themselves (National Task Force on Early Childhood Education for Hispanics, 2007; Raikes et al., 2006). We also know that Spanish-speaking preschoolers demonstrate lower levels of language and literacy development in both Spanish and English than their English-speaking monolingual peers (Hoff et al., 2012; Páez et al., 2007). Therefore, there is a national imperative to develop programs and home-based services that can address the inequities and challenges faced by

Latino families and their children due to marginalization by social and political structures that reinforce discrimination based on skin color and speaking a language other than English (Lopez et al., 2018).

Despite the many challenges faced by Latino families, research indicates they engage in meaningful home language and literacy activities with their children (Hammer et al., 2003; Gonzalez et al., 2017; López et al., 2020). Across these studies, Latino caregivers read to their children, told stories, engaged in teaching their children about letters names and sounds, and provided materials for emergent writing and drawing. Some Latino families also reported having a "press for achievement" for their children, wanting them to be prepared to be academically successful in school (Hammer et al., 2003). A large proportion of Latino families value education and many have risked their lives to immigrate to the US to provide more educational opportunities for their children (Martinez, 2003). In contrast to this commitment to education, Latino children have also historically enrolled in early education programs at lower rates than white and black children. This could be due to a lack of awareness of program options or limited program availability in their communities rather than a statement of their disinterest in preschool experiences for their children as their rates of participation have increased in areas where universal preschool is available (Guzman et al., 2016).

Many early intervention programs that serve large populations of Latino children, such as Head Start, include a family home literacy component to educate families about language and literacy practices that are known to improve children's school readiness and ultimately academic outcomes (Marcella et al., 2014; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). Culturally, Latinos may be more likely to engage in language and literacy activities that are embedded into natural routines and that are more authentically related to the family and their inherent patterns of interaction (Boyce et al., 2010; Gonzalez et al., 2017).

Integral to the goal of improving HLEs is understanding the background knowledge and cultural assets of Latino families regarding early literacy and language development and the role of the family. Many Latino families may not have attended school in the US and may be unfamiliar with the academic expectations of children in preschool throughout the early elementary grades (Cycyk & Iglesias, 2015; Reese & Gallimore, 2000). Direct involvement in their child's education is less common across Latin America and families may need coaching and support to understand new expectations in the US (Cycyk & Iglesias, 2015). Knowing families'

cultural understandings of early literacy and practices in their home country may serve to inform family literacy programs in the US serving recent immigrants from Latin America.

There are at least three cultural values that can influence family approaches to supporting language and literacy development in the Latino community. The three values: familismo, respeto, and educación each influence the ways in which families talk with their children, the role they see themselves playing in their child's education, and the behaviors they may prioritize and reinforce in their child (Cycyk & Iglesias, 2015). *Familismo* refers to the interconnectedness emphasized in many Latino families and the central importance of extended family in the development of a child rather than a focus only on the nuclear family (Fracasso et al., 1997; Calzada et al., 2012; Stein et al., 2014). Given this value it is important for programs to include more than the nuclear family in approaches to supporting home literacy. Grandparents, cousins, aunts, uncles, and siblings may all play critical roles in the daily lives of Latino children and are a common part of the language and early literacy experiences in this community (Bridges et al., 2012; Reese & Gallimore, 2000). *Respeto* refers to an emphasis on obedience and conforming to community norms to support harmony rather than an emphasis on child autonomy, assertiveness, and decision-making. This value could lead to more adult-directed conversation and adult-led activities versus child-initiated early literacy activities in the home. Families may also emphasize compliance and adherence to rules over exploration and flexibility. Researchers studying Latino families have noted that education is valued, but that the perception of being well-educated or "bien educado" includes not only academic knowledge, but also more holistic social characteristics including being well-mannered, agreeable, affectionate, and socially accepted (Bridges et al., 2012). In terms of how this may impact language patterns in the home, children may be taught to have deference to adults and elders and to wait to speak until they are spoken to. They may be taught to avoid interrupting adults in conversations and to engage in more adult initiated and led activities. They are also expected to play harmoniously with siblings and cousins and to exhibit affection and warmth toward family (Cycyk & Iglesias, 2015). Some researchers have found that Latino children have stronger social skills at kindergarten entrance than other black and white non-Hispanic children and this may be in part due to these cultural norms and expectations (Chang et al., 2007).

Purpose of this Research

The purpose of this chapter is to better understand the HLE practices of Latino families with their preschool-aged children to gather information that can be used to design programs that will both capitalize on their strengths and support families in maintaining their cultural values and language use patterns in the home. There is a growing body of literature about the HLEs of Latino families, but there continues to be a need to document practices across the diverse group that identifies as Latino in the US to better understand the range of practices and the language use patterns that these families may engage in.

Research questions addressed in this chapter included:

1. How often do families read to their children?
2. How much Spanish and English are used in the home?
3. How often are families engaging in literacy activities in the home?
4. What are parental attitudes toward reading with their child?

Method

Participants

The data for this study came from a larger analysis of 766 Latino children, between the ages of 4–5 (mean age = 4.5) that focused on the development and children's performance on the Individual Growth and Development Indicators (IGDIs)-Español (Wackerle-Hollman et al., 2015). The subsample included 679 families who completed the measures (e.g., Home Literacy Environment [HLE] survey) reported in this chapter: 343 families in the 2017–2018 academic year and 336 families in the 2018–2019 academic year, from California, Oregon, Montana, New Mexico, and Utah. Because we did not have data on ethnicity and race at the child level across both years of this study, we examined family countries of origin to illustrate the heterogeneity in Latino identity. Across the two years of data, 281 families reported on the mother's country of origin, and 250 families reported on the father's country of origin. Mothers reported their countries of origin as 67% from Mexico, 11% from the United States, 6% from El Salvador, 5% from Ecuador, 5% from Guatemala, 2% from Venezuela, and approximately 1% each for Colombia, the

Dominican Republic, Honduras, Peru, and Puerto Rico. Fathers reported their countries of origin as 72% from Mexico, 7% from the United States, 6% from El Salvador, 5% from Ecuador, 3% from Guatemala, 3% from Venezuela, 2% from Colombia, and approximately 1% each from the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Peru, and Puerto Rico.

Surveys were completed primarily by mothers (71%), followed by fathers (7%) and other caregivers (2%). The majority of respondents reported achieving less than a high school graduation certificate; 19% completed less than a sixth grade education and 34% completed between a sixth grade and a twelfth grade education. About one quarter of participants (24%) completed a high school graduation diploma or equivalent (GED). Eleven percent of respondents held an advanced degree at the associates, bachelor's, or doctorate/professional level.

Ninety-four respondents said they spoke only Spanish to their child at home, 33 respondents said they spoke both English and Spanish to their child at home, and one respondent said they only spoke English to their child at home. Seventy-seven respondents said their child spoke only Spanish at home, 44 said their child spoke English and Spanish at home, and six respondents said their child only spoke English at home.

Measures

The Language Exposure Evaluation Report (LEER) is a 28-question survey that families completed to provide information about how much English and Spanish were spoken in the home and the types and frequency of the early literacy activities they engage in (Durán & Wackerle-Hollman, 2016). The LEER was provided in Spanish and was sent out to families once each year of the study with a corresponding child consent form. Families were allowed to return the survey at any point throughout the school year. The survey was divided into three sections including demographics and language use and exposure, the frequency of home literacy practices, and caregiver attitudes toward home literacy practices. The demographics and language use and exposure section included questions about family, and others in the home; parents' highest level of education; caregiver's country of origin; number of years guardians have resided in the US; income level; and a matrix of child language exposure and use by time blocks during the weekdays and weekends.

The home literacy activities questions were matrix blocks with five subquestions per question. For example, the activity block used in this analysis

included: (1) number of books in the home and (2) how often people in the home read to the child, (3) how frequently parents talked to their child about the alphabet including letter names and sounds, (4) how frequently they helped their child write, and (5) how often they read to their child. The survey included a four-point rating scale with the following response options: (4) "Most days (4–7 days a week)," (3) "Sometimes (1–3 days a week)," (2) "Rarely (Less than once a week)," (1) "Almost never," and (0) "Does not apply."

Caregiver attitudes were a matrix block with 13 sub-questions. Reading attitudes were categorized to represent opportunities for reading and barriers for reading. Questions that represented the former include: my child likes to read, I feel close to my child when I read to him/her, I want my child to value books, and when I read, I try to sound enthusiastic to keep my child's interest. Questions that represented barriers for reading include: I can't read to my child because he/she will not sit quietly, it is difficult to read to my child, even though I want to I am too busy to read to my child, I don't read to my children because I have nothing to read to them, I don't read to my child because there is no quiet place in my house, I don't read to my child because I have more important things to do as their parents, and I don't read to my child because I have difficulty reading.

Analysis

To answer our research questions we examined descriptive statistics of the data to look at the frequency, mean, and standard deviations of responses for each family. In order to estimate the descriptive statistics for each measure, we summed each score for a matrix set of items. To find the percentage of languages heard and spoken at home, we compiled the total frequency of how often a family marked that the child heard or spoke English, Spanish, or both languages throughout the week. These data were then banded into three categories. To calculate categories, we summed the number of times a family reported that Spanish, English, or both languages were used in the home. Families that reported using English or Spanish one to three times a week, were categorized as using the language less than 50% of the time throughout the week, four to five times a week was categorized as 50–74% of the time, and six to eight times a week was categorized as 75% or more of the time.

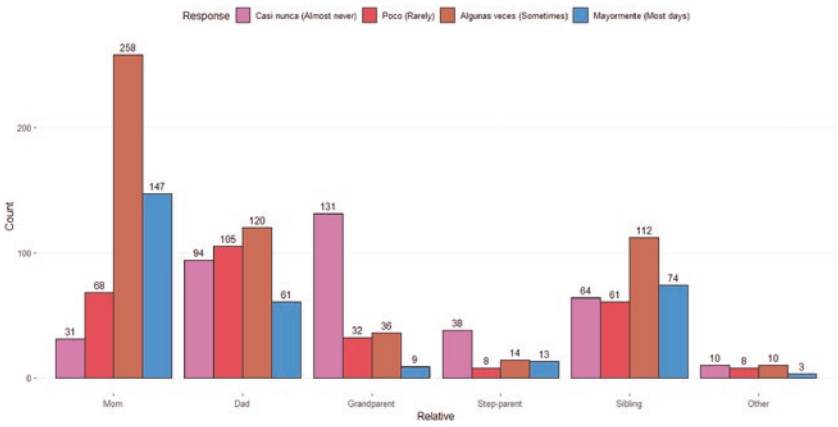

Fig. 10.1 Reading frequency in the home

Results

Our first research question asked how often Spanish-speaking families are reading to their children. As a proxy for reading frequency, we examined data from one matrix question: how frequently does the mother, father, stepparent, sibling(s), grandparent(s), or other caregiver(s) read to the child? Figure 10.1 shows how families responded to who is reading to their child. Mothers had the highest response rate for sometimes ($n = 258$) or most days of the week ($n = 147$). Mothers ($n = 258$), fathers ($n = 120$), and siblings ($n = 112$) most often responded that they sometimes, quantified as one two three times a week, read to their child. The most common response for how often grandparents ($n = 131$) and stepparents ($n = 38$) read to their child was almost never. For other caregivers in the family, responses were fairly evenly distributed across reading to the child almost never to one to three times a week.

Our second research question asked how much English and Spanish are spoken in the home. Table 10.1 shows the number of times English, Spanish, or both languages are spoken and heard throughout an average week. Two-hundred twenty-six families reported speaking Spanish 75% or more of the time on an average week. Similarly, 213 families reported using both English and Spanish 75% or more of the time throughout the average week. It was less common for families to report speaking English with only 23 families reporting that English was primarily spoken

Table 10.1 Language use in the home

	Speak			*Hear*		
	Spanish	*English*	*Both*	*Spanish*	*English*	*Both*
Less than 50% of the time	98	105	121	124	130	180
50–74% of the time	63	21	73	90	2	11
75% or more of the time	226	23	213	230	9	9

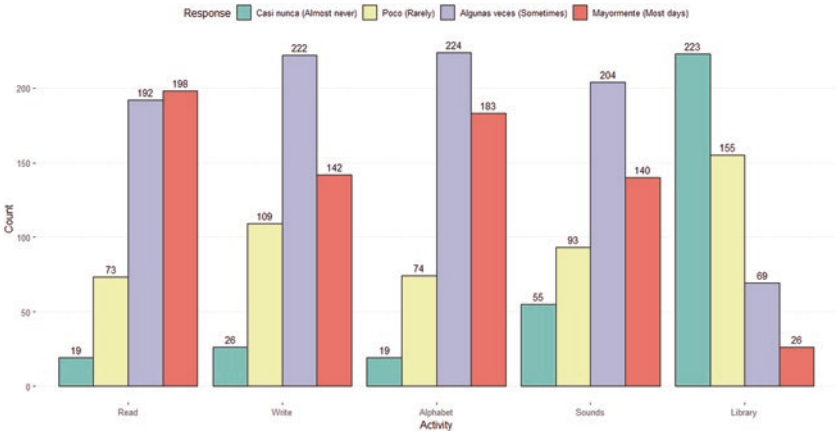

Fig. 10.2 Frequency of literacy activities

throughout the house 75% or more of the time throughout an average week. Families also mostly reported that their child hears Spanish 75% or more of the time for an average week at home. In contrast, families reported that their child hears either English or both languages less than 50% of the time throughout the average week at home.

For our third research question we investigated how often families are engaging in literacy activities. Figure 10.2 shows the distribution of response rates by activity. The majority of families (n = 198) reported reading to their child most of the time (four to seven days a week). Most families reported that they help their child write (n = 222), talk to their child about the alphabet (n = 224), and talk to their child about letter sounds (n = 204) sometimes (one to three days a week). In contrast to other literacy activities, the majority of families (n = 223) reported that

they almost never take their child to the library throughout an average week.

Finally, in our fourth research question, we investigated parental attitudes toward reading with their child. We divided parental attitudes into opportunities regarding reading with their child and barriers that they have experienced in trying to read with their child. Overwhelmingly, families reported that they are engaging in opportunities to read with their children and that they hold positive attitudes toward reading. The distribution of responses to each question regarding reading opportunities is shown in Fig. 10.3. A majority of families agree that their child likes to read (n = 372), that they feel close to their child when they read to them (n = 388), that they want their child to value books (n = 446), that parents or caregivers try to sound enthusiastic to keep their child's interest when reading (n = 312), and that they are able to read to their child (n = 191). In contrast, a large portion of families responded that they disagree that they are not able to read to their child (n = 119).

Parents also reported on barriers to reading. Responses to these statements are displayed in Fig. 10.4. Most families reported that they did not experience significant barriers to reading with their child. Most families disagreed that they could not read to their child because they will not sit quietly (n = 277) or that they find it difficult to read to their child (n = 297). Parents also most often disagreed with the statement that they

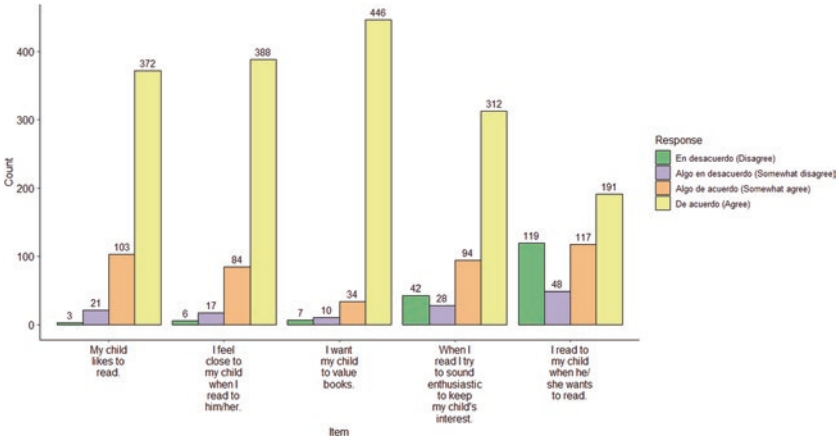

Fig. 10.3 Parental attitudes toward reading

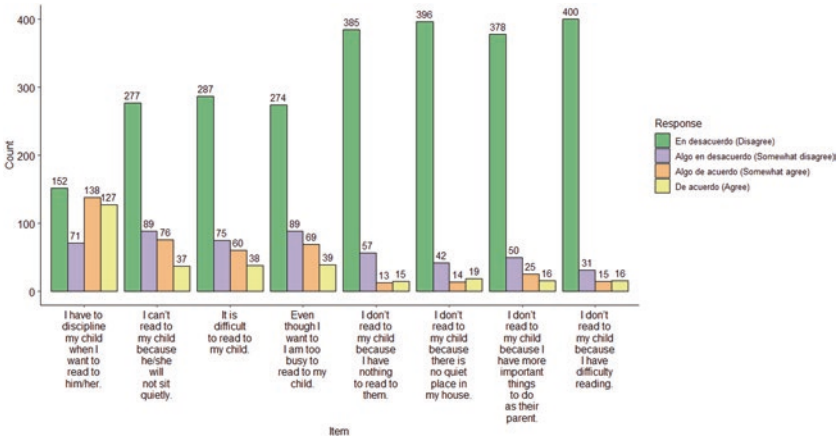

Fig. 10.4 Barriers to reading

are too busy to read to their child (n = 274) or that they have no quiet place in their house (n = 396). Parents also indicated that they did not feel like they have more important things to do as a parent than read to their child (n = 378). Only a small number of families agreed or somewhat agreed that they have difficulty reading themselves (n=31) or that they have nothing to read to their child (n = 28). One challenge identified by families was the need to discipline their child while reading to them. Over half of the families reported that they have to discipline their child when they read to them (n = 265) and the responses to this question were more evenly distributed across the range.

Discussion

The resilience and strength of Latinos across the US in light of the many social, economic, and political barriers they face is notable (Owens & Lynch, 2012). Too often, Latino families continue to face negative stereotypes in educational settings that characterize them as disinterested in their child's education and incapable of providing high-quality home language and literacy environments that support strong academic outcomes (Schneider et al., 2006). In contrast to these erroneous and damaging beliefs, research findings have repeatedly demonstrated that Latino families value education and they do engage in meaningful home language

literacy practices with their children (e.g., Gonzalez et al., 2017; Hammer et al., 2003; Marcella et al., 2014). In this study we provide further evidence that Latino families read with their children, discuss letter names and letter sounds, and provide materials for writing. These findings are important to consider when designing strength-based home literacy programs that recognize the contributions Latino families are making to their child's education.

Families were found to read to their children frequently. Mothers had the highest response rate with 147 reporting that they read to their child most days and 258 reporting that they read to their child once or twice a week. Only 99 of the 504 mothers reported that they rarely or almost never read to their child. Although they read less frequently with their children, fathers (n=120) were also reported to read to their children two or three times a week with 61 of the 380 fathers indicating that they read to their child most days. Grandparents overall were found to rarely or almost never read to their grandchildren, and this could reflect generational differences in being accustomed to reading to small children. Siblings were reported to read to their younger brothers and sisters with 186 of the surveys indicating that siblings read to the child most days or at least one or two times a week. These findings support the inclusion of storybook reading in home-based programs designed for Latinos with the involvement of mothers, fathers, and siblings (Collins, 2014; Roberts, 2008). It is an overgeneralization to characterize storybook reading as being culturally inappropriate or an unfamiliar activity to Latino families. Our data collected across five states with a fairly large sample size provides evidence that families are engaging in reading with their young children as part of their routines.

Language use patterns in the homes were nearly evenly split between families who reported speaking Spanish 75% or more of the time to those who reported using both English and Spanish 75% or more of the time throughout the average week. A small number of families reported using only English. These differences in language use in the home will result in different levels of children's proficiency in English and Spanish. Programs should carefully consider how their home-based services support natural language use and communication patterns in the home. Services should be provided in Spanish, especially in those homes where Spanish is the primary language. Families should be encouraged to continue speaking Spanish with their children and engaging in early literacy activities in Spanish. Researchers have found that children make significant gains in

Spanish vocabulary acquisition when parents engage in storybook reading with their children in Spanish without cost to their English language development (Huennekens & Xu, 2010; Roberts, 2008).

Families reported having books in the home, writing materials and talking about letter names and sounds with their child(ren). Three hundred and forty-four of the 493 respondents indicated the most days or at least sometimes they discussed letter sounds with their child and 364 engaged in writing activities with their children. Overall, our results provide evidence that families are providing important opportunities for their children to learn about the alphabet and practice writing. However, only 94 of the over 400 families reported accessing the library. This could be because there is limited outreach to Latino families making public libraries inaccessible. Most public libraries may not have adequate reading materials in Spanish or bilingual staff that can communicate to make families feel welcome and help them locate resources. This finding could indicate that libraries need to conduct more outreach to Latino communities, purchase more Spanish language materials, and hire bilingual personnel to increase their access and use of public library systems. Accessing more books through public libraries could serve as an important resource to support the early literacy development of Spanish-speaking children.

Overall, families also had positive attitudes toward reading with their child(ren). Families reported that they were not too busy to read to their children and that they did not think they had more important things to do as a parent. They indicated that there was a quiet place in the house to read books. Families did, however, indicate that they needed to discipline their child while reading and some reported that their child did not sit quietly while reading. One hypothesis for this finding may be due to variability in family definitions of discipline. We cannot be certain how families interpreted this word and in some cultures discipline can reference teaching, or dedication to a task. Another hypothesis for this finding could relate to the cultural value of being “bien educado” or compliant and following rules. In accordance with these family values practitioners might support families in learning more about child development and average attention spans of young children to help them understand why children might need more flexibility during book reading. Parents might benefit from learning reading behaviors that will better engage their young children in the book reading experience such as dialogic reading and using props or movement to enhance the story.

Future Directions

Exploration of Latino HLEs can enrich our understanding of Spanish-speaking children's early literacy and language skills. Future descriptive studies should explore specific Spanish-speaking subgroups or ethnicities, such as the practices specifically of Puerto Rican families. In addition, future studies can benefit from including questions that provide additional information about the assets and behaviors related to HLEs including parents' beliefs and values about skills and abilities children can develop when engaging in literacy-based activities (e.g., To what degree do you believe your child learns new vocabulary when you read to them?). We could also provide more opportunities for families to describe activities they engage in that they see as supporting early language and literacy development. By eliciting this information, we can expand our awareness of the practices in the home beyond the practices that are most often targeted on home literacy surveys. By providing these additional contexts and information, we can continue to refine how to support Latino families to ensure their children are able to leverage their cultural and linguistic assets while learning new language and literacy skills.

Conclusion

Latino families in the US are supporting their young children's language and literacy development by engaging in a range of early language and literacy activities with their children. Families are the primary context for young children's development and a family's language and culture should be valued and honored as we design programs to enhance their children's development. Asset-based programs should incorporate the practices already occurring in these families' homes and the use of their home language or languages should be supported. English-only approaches to supporting home literacy will not foster the rich language experiences these children need to build their foundational knowledge and to maintain strong connections with their family, community, and their cultural identity. Language and literacy are central to improving academic achievement to interrupt cycles of poverty by providing opportunities for young Latinos to realize their full potential.

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CHAPTER 11

Early Literacy Development in Asian and Indigenous Children of Hawai'i: A Theoretical Framework on Multiple Aspects of Home Literacy Environments

Yiyuan Xu and Puanani J. Hee

Introduction

Twenty-five years ago, in their seminar paper, "*An Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental Competencies in Minority Children*," Garcia Coll and her colleagues (1996) pointed out the critical roles of social position factors, such as gender, culture, race, ethnicity, immigrant or indigenous status, and social class, in shaping unique home and school experiences among children of color. Such "non-shared" experiences in turn construct

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_11

an adaptive culture in which alternative cognitive, social, emotional, and linguistic competencies develop among minority children. Inspired by Garcia Coll et al. (1996), the current chapter presents a theoretical framework of multilingual and multicultural home literacy environments (HLEs) that (1) highlights the importance of alternative language and linguistic competencies minority children develop to cope with their unique ecological circumstances; (2) integrates multilingual and multicultural experiences in conceptualizing various aspects of HLEs; and (3) contextualizes HLEs and early literacy development in relation to critical social position factors such as immigrant backgrounds and indigenous status. To illustrate this theoretical framework, we primarily focused on Asian and indigenous children of Hawai'i (i.e., Native Hawaiian children), both of which have been largely overlooked in the literature. Due to the scope of this chapter and the emphasis on early literacy development, we limit most of our discussion to HLEs of children before formal schooling.

Home Literacy Environments (HLEs) and Early Literacy Development

Early literacy development forms the foundation for how quickly and how well children will learn to read once they are exposed to formal school instruction. It consists primarily of three core independent yet related preliteracy skills (Lonigan et al., 2008): oral language (e.g., vocabulary, syntax/grammar, word knowledge), print knowledge (e.g., letter identification, print concepts), and phonological awareness (e.g., ability to detect and manipulate sounds in oral language independent of meaning).

The development of early literacy skills originates from the home where children first encounter the language and literacy experiences that could lead to development of reading ability and school success (Bowman et al., 2001; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Weigel et al., 2006). Numerous research has shown that families with promoting HLEs, including those with ample literacy resources, abundant learning opportunities, and strong language and literacy engagement, not only place children at an advantage of developing strong early literacy skills before formal schooling, but also help children build on this advantage through continued practices at home that support future development of literacy skills at school (Burgess et al., 2002; De Jong & Leseman, 2001; Dixon & Wu, 2014; Foster et al., 2005; Hart & Risley, 1992; Ryan et al., 2006).

Despite the lack of the consensus on what HLEs consist of, most researchers agree that HLEs are multidimensional, and various aspects of HLEs likely play different roles in young children's early literacy development. Some researchers focused on proximal aspects of HLEs that involve mostly face-to-face interactions. For instance, Britto and Brooks-Gunn (2001) proposed three domains of HLEs: language and verbal interactions, learning, and the social and emotional climate, each of which centers on parents' effort of engaging children in various literacy-promoting activities. Similarly, Umek et al. (2005) distinguished five components of HLEs that are related to adult-led learning: stimulation to use language, explanation; reading books to the child, visiting the library and the puppet theater; joint activities and conversation; interactive reading; and zone-of-proximal-development stimulation.

Others took into account indirect or observational learning via parents' own characteristics (e.g., parents' education) and parental modeling. Storch and Whitehurst (2002) identified three domains of HLEs that include not only literacy environment factors that consist of interactive and direct learning experiences, but also parental characteristics and parental expectations that may indirectly influence the way parents interact with children. Burgess et al. (2002) proposed a similar model that emphasizes both parent-child interactive activities such as shared book reading and engagement of children in literacy activities, and indirect parental influences via parents' own abilities and modeling of reading. Additionally Burgess et al. (2002) argued that different aspects of the HLE may be related to varying aspects of early literacy development.

One of the most influential models of HLEs was developed by Sénéchal and Lefevre (2002) who distinguished formal and informal home-based literacy interactions that seem to be differentially associated with the three aspects of pre-literacy skills mentioned above. Informal literacy interactions include a variety of parent-child interactive activities such as shared book reading or pointing to print in the environment, whereas formal literacy interactions refer to parents' teaching of phonological (e.g., letter sounds) or print-related skills (e.g., alphabets). As proposed by Sénéchal and her colleagues, informal literacy practices are expected to be more closely related to the development of oral language skills, particularly vocabulary knowledge before formal schooling (Martini & Sénéchal, 2012; Sénéchal, 2006; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002). In contrast, formal literacy interactions seem necessary for developing code-related pre-literacy skills, such as phonological awareness and print knowledge.

More recent studies have begun to recognize other family characteristics that help form the foundation for the structure of HLEs. For instance, Puglisi et al. (2017) and others (Martini & Sénéchal, 2012; Weigel et al., 2006) argued that HLE models should integrate factors such as home literacy resources and parental beliefs about literacy. Researchers have shown that parents' literacy-related beliefs may be related to their investment on literacy resources and are reflected in not only the frequency of home literacy activities, but also the way parents interact with children in daily routines and learning activities (DeBaryshe et al., 2000; Gonzalez et al., 2017; Weigel et al., 2006).

Extending HLE Models to Minority Children

Most HLE models were developed based on early literacy development among monolingual children from the majority group, such as White children in North America and Europe. Such models typically overlook complexities of multilingual and multicultural experiences and alternative literacy competencies that often characterize minority children and their families. To extend the current understanding of HLEs to early literacy development among minority children, it is essential to adapt a theoretical framework that integrates (1) alternative language and literacy competencies; (2) multilingual and multicultural HLEs; and (3) social position factors that may shape HLEs and early literacy development.

Alternative language and literacy competencies. According to Garcia Coll and her colleagues (1996), developmental competencies in minority children can only be fully understood within the context of unique family and ecological circumstances. Developmental competencies reflect both "…functional competencies of a child…," and "…developing/emerging skills that children bring to the multiple ecologies in which they exist…" (p. 1907). Thus, meaningful developmental competencies involve not only acquisition of general cognitive, social, emotional, and linguistic skills that are common to all children, but also competent adaptation to unique circumstances that are shaped by social position factors related to minority, immigrant, or indigenous status, as well as specific ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Garcia Coll et al. (1996, p. 1907) called for expansion of notions of competence to include "…a broader range of adaptive responses beyond the traditional areas of concern and to incorporate additional and alternative abilities, such as the child's ability to function in two or more

different cultures, to cope with racism, subtle and overt discrimination, and social and psychological segregation…"

Research has shown that minority children need to develop alternative competencies in their heritage language or dialect to function in two or more different cultures, to adapt to unique ecological circumstances, and to cope with challenges associated with stereotypes, discrimination, and oppression. LaFromboise et al. (1993) pointed out that most minority children need to learn to acquire skills that are adaptive in multiple cultures, and are thus required to develop both culture-specific and bicultural/multicultural competencies. Consistent with this view, Garcia Coll et al. (1995) showed that Hispanic children with bicultural skills were less likely to experience school and family conflicts or to become involved in illegal drug use, highlighting the importance of this alternative competency that is relatively unique to this particular group of minority children.

One interesting yet unanswered question is whether and when heritage language-speaking children reach a comparable level of competency in the dominant societal language in comparison to their monolingual peers who only speak the dominant societal language. Hoff and her colleagues (Hoff et al., 2012) found that bilingual infants and toddlers whose language input is split between the dominant societal and heritage languages seemed to lag behind their monolingual peers in vocabulary development in each language, but their combined vocabulary of the two languages was comparable to or even outperformed their monolingual peers (Hoff et al., 2012; Pearson et al., 1993). However, heritage language development often slows down once children enter preschool or kindergarten and begin primarily speaking the dominant societal language (Hoff et al., 2014; Jia & Aaronson, 2003; Kan & Kohnert, 2005), but could keep progressing if children enroll in high-quality bilingual preschools (Winsler et al., 1999). Golberg et al. (2008) found that Canadian children who spoke diverse heritage languages initially fell behind in kindergarten but caught up to their monolingual peers in receptive lexical skills when they were about seven or eight years old. Cobo-Lewis et al. (2002) showed that Spanish-speaking children lagged behind monolingual peers in English lexical skills in kindergarten and second grade, and that the gap did not disappear until the fifth grade.

Developing alternative language and literacy competencies may be particularly salient for minority children of immigrant backgrounds. Most of them face the dual developmental tasks of acquiring the dominant societal language and developing communication and literacy skills in their

heritage language that is shared by the ethnic and cultural community to which immigrant families belong (Lee & Gupta, 2020). Research conducted with school-age children and adolescents from immigrant families has shown that heritage language skills and heritage language use in interactions with other family members were positively associated with psychosocial adjustment, family cohesion, and cultural and ethnic identity (e.g., Oh & Fuligni, 2010). Furthermore, there is preliminary support for the cognitive benefits of bilingualism in both the dominant societal and heritage language, such as efficient decision making in the face of competing information (Bialystok, 2001; Bialystok et al., 2004) and better academic performance (Han, 2012). In contrast, loss of the heritage language is related to immigrant children's problematic relationships with family members, fear of rejection from their ethnic community, diminished cultural awareness and knowledge, and crisis in identity development (Budiyana, 2017; Law, 2015; Lee & Gupta, 2020; Sánchez-Muñoz, 2016).

Extending Garcia Coll et al. (1996)'s model to early literacy development among minority children, clearly it is imperative to understand early literacy development not only in traditional domains (e.g., pre-literacy skills in English), but also in alternative pre-literacy competencies in heritage language, and/or pragmatic use of language variations (e.g., Pidgin as oral language, see details below) that represent an important part of their adaptation to unique ecological circumstances. The exposure hypothesis suggests that the more a child is exposed to one language, the greater proficiency in that language he/she is likely to develop and the less the exposure, the lower the proficiency (Dixon & Wu, 2014). Support for this hypothesis has been found in studies of bilingual minority children in both the US (Quiroz et al., 2010; Zhang & Koda, 2011) and Europe (Silvén & Rubinov, 2010). However, this hypothesis focuses mostly on oral language, and does not distinguish indirect exposure to one language (e.g., frequency of speaking one language by family members) from active involvement in literacy-related activities in that language; the latter might be particularly important for development of code-related skills such as phonological awareness in some languages. For instance, minority parents may speak their heritage language on a daily basis, yet may or may not read with their children, or teach letters or characters in that language. In addition, the impact of exposure to multiple home languages on development of literacy competencies in each language is likely susceptible to factors such as family members' proficiency in primary (L1) and secondary

languages (L2 or L2s), and whether exposure to one language is supported and reinforced by home literacy resources in that language.

Exposure to different home languages and a need to develop alternative language and literacy competencies represents a unique challenge that many minority children face, but remains poorly understood (Driessen et al., 2002; Scheele et al., 2010). Nevertheless, there is preliminary evidence to show that many young Latino immigrant children develop both English (L2) and Spanish (L1) vocabulary and oral language skills at home (Gonzalez & Uhing, 2008; Quiroz et al., 2010), and acquire comparable levels of phonological awareness and print knowledge in L1 and L2 before formal schooling (Farver et al., 2013). Unfortunately, studies that have examined alternative language and literacy competencies remain rare. Even less is known about how the distance between L1 and L2 may impact early literacy development in both L1 and L2, with only evidence from sociolinguistic literature that demonstrates the potential benefit of transfer or interference between L1 and L2 that is contingent upon similarity in phonology and orthography between two languages (Bialystok, 2007; Goswami, 1999).

Multilingual and multicultural HLEs. The emphasis on alternative language and literacy competencies requires a reconceptualization of HLEs models to highlight the multilingual and multicultural experiences that characterize many minority families.

Research of monolingual children has shown that shared or collaborative book reading with parents, particularly mothers, was positively associated with early literacy development, particularly vocabulary development and oral language skills (Burgess et al., 2002; Dixon & Wu, 2014; Hood et al., 2008). However, shared book reading can occur in much more complex ways in minority families. Parents may read books in both L1 and L2, or in different variations of English that are not typically spoken at school. There is evidence to show that both Latino and Asian immigrant parents in the US read to their children in L1 (Spanish or Asian heritage language) and L2 English (Farver et al., 2006; Farver et al., 2013; Xu et al., 2017), and the frequency of shared reading in L1 Spanish and L2 English were associated with L1 Spanish and L2 English oral language skills respectively, before Latino immigrant children entered kindergarten (Farver et al., 2013). In addition, heritage language might be used to facilitate shared book reading in L2 English. For instance, Latino immigrant mothers often used labeling questions in L1 Spanish during shared book reading activities with their preschool-aged children, which tended

to yield positive results in their children's L2 English and L1 Spanish vocabulary (Quiroz et al., 2010). Unfortunately, even though shared book reading may occur in more than one language or language variation in minority families, with a few exceptions (e.g., Farver et al., 2013; Gonzalez & Uhing, 2008), the assessment of pre-literacy skills are often limited to the dominant societal language (e.g., English). It remains challenging to evaluate the impact of shared book reading in heritage language on the development of pre-literacy skills in that language, as well as possible cross-language relations.

Many minority parents of immigrant backgrounds lack proficiency in dominant societal L2 language and/or are overwhelmed by work or family chores. Studies conducted with immigrant parents in the US and Europe have shown that on average they tended to read less often to their children than parents from the mainstream host society (Raikes et al., 2006; Scheele et al., 2010). However, the lack of shared reading with parents is often compensated by shared reading with other family members. When other adults or older siblings in the immigrant family have better command of the dominant societal L2 language, they often step up and engage in shared book reading with young children in that language, which contributes significantly to young children's early literacy skills in both L2 English and the L1 heritage language (Hirst et al., 2010; Kenner, 2005; Markose et al., 2011; Stavans et al., 2009). For instance, Quiroz et al. (2010) showed that the amount of reading to the child by adult family members (e.g., grandparents) other than the parents was a significant predictor of Latino immigrant children's L1 Spanish and L2 English vocabulary. In a similar vein, Farver et al. (2013) found that the frequency of older sibling reading in English was related to oral language skills and print knowledge in English among Latino immigrant children. However, shared book reading with older siblings occurred less often in L1 Spanish, possibly due to older siblings' lack of proficiency and literacy skills in L1 Spanish themselves. It should be noted that most extant studies only focused on shared book reading in the dominant societal L2 language or did not differentiate language (dominant or heritage) used in shared book reading with other family members.

Parents and/or other family members not only read with young children, but also engage in other interactive literacy activities, such as playing rhyming games, pointing to or teaching the alphabet, and helping children to gain access to additional literacy resources by visiting the library with them (Dixon & Wu, 2014; Payne et al., 1994; Sénéchal et al., 1996).

Such interactive activities had been rarely studied independently, but when examined along with shared reading as part of parents' overall involvement in literacy activities, they were often associated with vocabulary development and oral language skills among preschool children of both monolingual and bilingual families (Farver et al., 2013; Gonzalez & Uhing, 2008; Mol et al., 2009). Unfortunately, little is known about whether these literacy-related activities were also multilingual in nature, and if so, whether they might be related to proficiency and literacy skills in the heritage language. Farver et al. (2013) examined Latino immigrant parents' literacy-related activities in both L1 Spanish and L2 English, in relation to their preschool children's pre-literacy skills in L1 Spanish and L2 English. The results demonstrated a positive relation between parents' literacy-related activities and children's oral language skills within the same language, but also showed a negative impact of parents' literacy-related activities in L1 Spanish on children's oral language skills in L2 English. Xu et al. (2017) found that while Asian immigrant parents' literacy activities in their native language (L1) were not related to their children's pre-literacy skills concurrently at kindergarten entry; they were associated with children's L2 English oral language skills a year later, demonstrating a positive cross-language relation prospectively.

The way family members and children engage in reading and other literacy-related activities may vary depending on different cultural goals and corresponding literacy-related beliefs and routines (Rogoff et al., 2015). Yet extant research has rarely taken into account these cultural and linguistic variations (Orellana & D'warte, 2010). Qualitative studies have shown that minority and immigrant parents often view their roles in home literacy activities differently. For instance, although European Canadian mothers value interactive storybook reading, Asian Indian mothers tended to endorse adult-led language teaching and literacy activities (Simmons & Johnston, 2007). Similarly, Riches and Curdt-Christiansen (2010) found that Chinese Canadian parents emphasized the importance of structured home tutoring that prepared their children to cope with "unchallenging" Canadian schools; some of them even resisted some school practices and preferred the "Chinese" way of learning and teaching at home (Li, 2010). Reese and Gallimore (2000) showed that Latino immigrant mothers tended to associate language and literacy development with formal schooling, rather than home learning. Consequently, those who placed less value on their roles in facilitative reading engaged less in parent-child literacy-related activities. These preliminary findings point out important cultural

variations in literacy-related beliefs that reflect unique adaptations of different minority and immigrant families in constructing their HLEs.

These varying cultural beliefs and practices may sometimes be at odds with predominant literacy-related beliefs that are valued in the mainstream schooling, and result in home-school dissonance. Billings (2009) showed that Latino immigrant families prefer integrating learning in various forms of family literacy activities such as oral storytelling, talking to the child, singing, and reciting poetry. They may appear to be less involved in their children's education compared to other groups (Perry et al., 2008), but indeed engage in home learning in distinct ways (Gonzalez et al., 2017). As pointed out by Gonzalez et al. (2017), middle-class white families in the US tend to engage in shared reading in ways that mirror school-like discourse formats, and often include question asking and answering. In contrast, many Latino parents in the US lack familiarity with expectations of American schools, and tend to focus on moral messages in stories, rather than treating shared reading as an opportunity to practice discrete pre-literacy skills (Gonzalez et al., 2017; McWayne et al., 2013; Perry et al., 2008). Therefore, there does not appear to be a one-size-fits-all HLE model for different cultural and minority groups (Gonzalez et al., 2017).

Parents' literacy-related cultural beliefs may also be associated with their involvement in dominant societal versus heritage language-related literacy activities. Stavans et al. (2009) showed that the nature of the home literacy activities tended to change from bilingual or multilingual to L2 (Hebrew) when Ethiopian Amharic-speaking children reached school age in Israel. At the same time, their mothers also became less involved in children's literacy activities, possibly due to their cultural belief that the teacher was now entirely responsible for the child's formal schooling. However, studies such as Stavans et al. (2009) are rare, and few studies have systematically examined how cultural beliefs among minority parents may be related to their multilingual literacy practices at home, as well as the development of heritage language and literacy competencies in their children.

Social position factors. Garcia Coll et al. (1996) proposed that social position factors such as social class, gender, race/ethnicity, immigrant/indigenous status, are used by societies to stratify or place individuals in the social hierarchy, and thus represent "social addresses" that influence or create developmental pathways to alternative competence in minority children. Instead of having direct impact on developmental competencies in

minority children, social position factors are often manifested as stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression, which in turn leads to the unique experiences of residential, economic, social, and psychological segregation. Such unique experiences create what Garcia Coll et al. (1996) referred to as promoting and inhibiting environments to which minority children and families must adapt.

Similar to the development of other alternative competencies in minority children, the emergence of competencies in more than one language or language variation in multilingual HLEs is also susceptible to the influence of social position factors that shape promoting and inhibiting environments for early literacy development. For instance, immigrant backgrounds may limit minority children's access to literacy resources, particularly in their heritage language, an inhibiting factor for early literacy development that could be further compounded by parents' limited educational backgrounds (Farver et al., 2013). These resource deficits create conditions that undermine the development of language and linguistic competencies in both dominant societal and heritage languages among minority children of immigrant backgrounds.

The social positions that are associated with minority, immigrant, and indigenous statuses also represent unique social categories that members of the mainstream society use to distinguish "us" from "them" (Fiske, 1998; Liberman et al., 2017). One of the most salient markers used in the process of social categorization is related to discrepancies in language, dialect, or accent (DeJesus et al., 2018). Thus, disadvantaged social positions may be afforded to minority group members who speak their heritage L1 language, or speak dominant societal L2 language with an accent or in a dialect, and are often used as a basis for stereotypes, discrimination, or even oppression against them. Research has demonstrated that even five to six year olds showed biases toward those who spoke a different language or accent than their own, and they preferred to play with or be friends with peers who spoke the same language or accent (DeJesus et al., 2018; Kinzler & DeJesus, 2013; Kinzler et al., 2007, 2009). Similarly, minority adolescents with foreign accents were viewed as less attractive than those without an accent (Cargile, 1997), and reported being harassed by peers at school (Chen & Tse, 2010; Qin et al., 2008).

The impact of social position factors on multilingual and multicultural HLEs and early literacy development may vary depending on the way minority families cope with stereotypes, discrimination, and oppression, as well as whether there is adequate support from extended families and

communities. Many minority children grew up in linguistically isolated households where no other family members over the age of 13 are fluent in the dominant societal L2 language (Hernandez et al., 2010). Concerned about children being disadvantaged with regard to learning the dominant societal language, some minority parents may limit the use of heritage language at home, or even forbid their children from speaking the heritage language, thus inhibiting development of heritage language and literacy competencies. Other minority families may strive to maintain multilingual and multicultural HLEs, especially when community resources are available to support development of competencies in both dominant societal and heritage languages. Research conducted with immigrant families has shown that some family members may read for fun or for religious purposes (Sneddon, 2000; Menard-Warwick, 2007), write for observance of a festival or family communication (Sneddon, 2000; Pahl, 2002; Reyes & Azuara, 2008), and explicitly taught their children L1 or L2 literacy skills using their own culture's traditional methods of teaching (Sneddon, 2000; Markose et al., 2011), especially when there are community-based family programs on heritage languages that hold classes focusing on developing alternative literacies (Dixon & Wu, 2014). Such programs could also help prepare minority children to deal with the societal demands imposed by prejudice or discrimination.

Multilingual and Multicultural HLEs and Early Literacy Development Among Asian and Indigenous Children of Hawai'i

Social position factors related to Asian and indigenous families in Hawai'i. We were interested in illustrating our theoretical framework using children from two distinct racial/ethnic groups, Asian and indigenous or Native Hawai'ian, due to their unique "social positions." Being portrayed as a model minority (Gewertz, 2004), Asian American children have been typically overlooked as a disadvantaged or at-risk group in the US, despite significant variations in their academic performance (Han & Huang, 2010; Qin et al., 2008; Sy, 2005). Nevertheless, similar to many other immigrant groups, Asian American families face challenges adjusting to American society (Hernandez et al., 2010). National statistics (Hammer et al., 2011; Hernandez et al., 2010) show that many Asian immigrant children were reared in crowded homes by parents with low education levels, and about 30% of Asian American children live in households

designated as "limited English proficient," which often inversely predicts children's early literacy skills.

The limited English proficiency or accented English may have contributed to a stereotype that is particularly salient for Asian Americans, the perpetual foreigner stereotype. According to Developmental Intergroup Theory (DIT) (Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007), speaking a different language or the language of the host culture with limited proficiency or an accent, represents salient cues of perceptual discriminability that signals a social category of "others," or "foreigners." Perpetual foreigner stereotype refers to a form of negative perception of members of immigrant or minority groups as foreigners and/or second-class citizens even though they might be born in the host country, or even have lived in the host country for many generations, and often results in social and psychological segregation (Kim et al., 2011). Research has shown that Asian Americans, particularly those with limited proficiency in English, and/or those who speak English with an Asian accent, are often perceived as "perpetual foreigners" regardless of whether they were born in the US or how long their families have lived in the US (Chan, 1991; Goto et al., 2002; Kim, 1999; Kim et al., 2011; Shah, 1994), which often leads to low self-esteem, internalizing problems, and discriminatory or victimization experiences (Do et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2011).

As the largest subgroup in Hawai'i (about 38%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019), Asian Americans represent a diverse group that consists of a large number of immigrants from varying cultural and ethnic backgrounds; many of whom have low education, and speak English with limited proficiency or with an accent. Despite being the numeric majority in Hawai'i, a recent study showed that some children in Hawai'i as young as five years old also classified those who spoke English with an accent as a distinct social category and preferred to play with peers who spoke English without an accent (Tai et al., 2019). Although no studies have systematically examined whether the perpetual foreigner stereotype of Asian Americans also exists in Hawai'i, at least some groups of Asian Americans who consist of a large number of recent immigrants to Hawai'i (e.g., Filipino Americans), face discriminatory experiences (Gee et al., 2006; Kim et al., 2008). It is currently unclear how stereotypes and discriminations related to social position factors, especially those based on English proficiency or foreign accent, may influence the construction of HLEs among Asian American families. For instance, experiences of the perpetual foreigner stereotype may deter Asian parents from engaging in literacy activities in their

heritage language, or even speaking their heritage languages at home, and thus negatively impact the development of proficiency and literacy skills in the heritage language in their children. Alternatively, stereotypical and discriminatory experiences may instead reinforce their cultural identity and motivate Asian parents to be more engaged in teaching their children in their heritage language, as part of their effort of cultural socialization and maintenance.

Native Hawaiian children, on the other hand, represent a unique indigenous group that has been rarely studied and thus is poorly understood. Native Hawaiians are descendants of the original people of Hawai'i (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006), and prior to colonization, they spoke Hawaiian, an oral language. *Mo'olelo* (stories and history), *mele* (songs), *oli* (chants), and even one's *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogy) was passed from generation to generation by spoken word (Kawakami, 1999). Contact with Europeans was devastating for Native Hawaiians. When Captain Cook came to Hawai'i in 1778, over 300,000 Hawaiians inhabited the islands but by 1850, only 80,000 Native Hawaiians remained (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2003) due to diseases introduced by the foreigners, for which Native Hawaiians did not have immunities. English literacy and an alphabet system, introduced to Native Hawaiians by Europeans, allowed for control of the way Native Hawaiians were represented to the outside world and reinforced the social, political, and economic oppression of Hawai'i's indigenous people (Au & Kaomea, 2009).

Despite continued attacks to their nation and well-being, literacy and the written language gave Native Hawaiians a system for preserving their culture and history and a way to express resistance against colonialism. Hawaiian-language schools taught reading and writing in Hawaiian and in 1840, Kamehameha III (born Kauikeaouli) signed general school laws initiating a system of government schools to provide education to children across the islands. By the late 1800s, Hawai'i's literacy rate compared favorably to nations worldwide, which was perceived as threatening to colonizers, as many of them were unable to understand the *kaona* (hidden meaning) of the language (Au & Kaomea, 2009). In 1880, the ministry of education began to eliminate Hawaiian-language schools, putting English-language schools in their place, and in 1883 Hawaiian language was banned from schools and government activities, coinciding with the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy (Au & Kaomea, 2009).

The Hawaiian monarchy was illegally overthrown in 1893 and three years later, in 1896, Act 57 mandated that English was the only language

to be taught and spoken in both public and private schools in the territory of Hawai'i (Ng-Osorio & Ledward, 2011). It was not until 1978 that 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, the Hawaiian language, was reestablished as an official language in Hawai'i; However, the ban on 'Ōlelo Hawai'i in schools was not removed until 1986. Currently, there are few individuals that speak the Hawaiian language.

While once being the most literate ethnic group in Hawai'i in the late 1800s (Nogelmeier, 2010), the decades of American colonization and segregation and the systematic ban of the native language in schools have had harmful consequences on both the HLEs and literacy development among Native Hawaiian children. In comparison to other ethnic groups in Hawai'i, Native Hawaiians are more likely to be undereducated, have poor living conditions, and have low-paying jobs (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006). Less than 50% of Native Hawaiians achieve a high school diploma or equivalent (Marsella et al., 1998) and less than 50% of kindergarten children in the state demonstrate key skills and characteristics deemed necessary for a successful learning experience in school (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2012).

We chose to illustrate our theoretical model using Asian American and Native Hawaiian children, because despite their unique historical and cultural backgrounds, data on Native Hawaiians are often collapsed or aggregated with other Pacific Islanders as "Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (NH/PI)," or even with Asian and Pacific Islander groups as "Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI)." This mislabel has resulted in an inaccurate portrayal of their social positions as well as associated experiences of stereotypes and mistreatment, the educational performance and adjustment challenges faced by Native Hawaiian children, and underestimation of discrepancy in learning and literacy resources available to Native Hawaiian families. Specifically, little attention has been paid to how unique social position factors may shape the multilingual and multicultural HLEs of Native Hawaiian children, including their learning of English and heritage language: Hawaiian, as well as their daily use of Pidgin, or Hawaii Creole English, as their primary oral languages, especially before they begin their formal schooling.

Alternative language and literacy competencies in Asian and indigenous children of Hawai'i. Being able to speak heritage language at home and with other family members represents an important competency many young Asian American children develop in their early years. Studies of older children and adolescents have demonstrated that heritage language

proficiency and heritage language use were both positively associated with strength of ethnic identity, and heritage language proficiency also contributed positively to parent-child relationships among Asian American adolescents (Oh & Fuligni, 2010). In addition, Asian American adolescents who mutually communicated in the heritage language with their parents reported high levels of cohesion and discussion (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). At the same time, Asian American parents often perceive acquisition and maintenance of heritage language as critical for both family communication and bilingual development of their children (Liang & Shin, 2021).

Developing language and literacy competencies in heritage language may also serve unique social functions for families that are considered "limited English proficient" (Hernandez et al., 2010). Asian American parents who speak limited English, often have to rely on their children as "language brokers," who interpret and translate between heritage language and English for them (Chao, 2006; Lee et al., 2011), thus representing a liaison between Asian American families and the school and mainstream society.

While there is an emerging interest in understanding L1 heritage language and literacy competencies among young Asian American children, the extant studies have only examined L2 English literacy and pre-literacy skills. Developing comparable standardized measures of early literacy skills in Asian heritage languages remains a formidable task given the number of diverse Asian languages. However, studies have begun to explore aspects of multilingual and multicultural HLEs that might be related to acquisition of heritage language, including pre-literacy skills before formal schooling. In an exploratory study of early literacy development in Asian immigrant children in Hawai'i, Xu et al. (2017) showed that all the children in the sample learned to speak their heritage language before kindergarten; and quite a few also learned to read and write in their heritage language. In qualitative interviews with a subgroup of parents, almost all recognized the importance of speaking and learning heritage language as a way of facilitating family communication and maintaining cultural identity, but they also shared the concern about accessing literacy resources in heritage language, and feared possible discrimination and exclusion of their children due to spoken heritage language and/or accented English, when their children were at school. These findings highlight an imperative need to examine pre-literacy skills in both English and heritage language, as well as their relations not only to future reading and literacy competencies, but also to their social adjustment and peer relationships with

monolingual schoolmates due to the possible stereotypes and discrimination associated with heritage language or accented English.

Despite the importance of heritage language competencies for Asian American children, most research has focused on social and psychological consequences of heritage language use, rather than cross-language relations between heritage language and English competencies, or antecedents of heritage language proficiency in early childhood. We know very little about the multilingual and multicultural HLEs where Asian American children acquire and develop their heritage language. In addition, few studies have examined linguistic outcomes other than oral language skills, and the attention has been paid almost exclusively to school-age children or adolescents.

Similar to Asian American children, Native Hawaiian children also develop alternative language and literacy competencies in complex multilingual and multicultural family settings. However, due to the systematic ban of the Hawaiian language historically, Native Hawaiian children often speak Pidgin rather than Hawaiian at home and in their communities. Pidgin is a Creole language that developed on the sugar plantations in Hawai'i during the latter part of the nineteenth century as immigrant workers used adapted English infused with languages from their home countries and Hawaiian to communicate with one another (Eades et al., 2006). There are some phoneme pairs pronounced differently by Hawaiian children in Pidgin and English (Smith et al., 1977), for example, the word "there" is pronounced "dare" in Pidgin).

Despite being viewed as a part of the culture and identity in Hawai'i, Pidgin is often portrayed as a form of "non-standard" or inaccurate English, and is thought to have a negative influence on the educational attainment of those who speak it (Eades et al., 2006), due to its possible linguistic interference with speaking and learning "standard" English and consequently resulting in reduced school participation in formal learning settings. Yet there has been very little empirical support for this claim, and research has shown that the influence of Pidgin use on reading instruction in English seems minor (Speidel et al., 1982).

In a recent study of Native Hawaiian children from a rural community in the island of Kaua'i, Xu and Hee (2019) examined the use of both Pidgin and Hawaiian language among four to five years old Native Hawaiian children. As expected, Native Hawaiian children only spoke Hawaiian occasionally at home, but frequently spoke Pidgin with their families and peers. However, they still spoke English much more often as

they prepared to enter formal schooling. Interestingly, while the frequency of Hawaiian use was not associated with any aspect of pre-literacy skills in English, the frequency of Pidgin use at kindergarten entry was positively related to definitional vocabulary in English, an important aspect of oral language skills, both concurrently and nine months later. At the same time, the frequency of Pidgin use was negatively associated with print knowledge in English but was unrelated to phonological awareness at kindergarten entry. These findings demonstrated that the roles of Pidgin use in early literacy development seem more complex than what was initially thought: while there might be potential Pidgin-English transfer in some domains of oral language skills, more use of Pidgin (and accordingly reduced use of English) may interfere with some code-related pre-literacy skills such as print knowledge. The complexities of language and linguistic experiences of Native Hawaiian children further highlight the importance of understanding the roles of multilingual and multicultural HLEs in their development of early literacy skills.

Multilingual and multicultural HLEs of Asian and Native Hawaiian families in Hawai'i. Studies of HLEs of Asian American families have mostly focused on school-age children and adolescents and their parents' effort of socializing children to become a competent heritage language learner, either by themselves, family members, or with the help of heritage language schools. With their limited exposure to other heritage language speakers and literacy resources (e.g., print materials), HLEs presumably play an even more important role in the development of pre-literacy and literacy competencies in Asian heritage language than English.

Shared book reading with parents or other family members did not seem to be of primary focus in prior research on HLEs of Asian American families, possibly due to the sampling of school-age children and adolescents in these studies. Instead, many studies relied on qualitative or mixed methods and focused on exploring culturally specific literacy-related activities in heritage language. For instance, ethnographic research showed that Chinese Canadian parents often have their children involved in a variety of home literacy activities such as creating bilingual wordlists, reciting Chinese traditional rhythms or poems, and writing letters in Chinese to other family members (Li, 2002). In another study, Ma (2009) found that some Chinese American parents engaged in a unique way of co-reading books in heritage language; they often first read a page to their children and then asked their children to alternate and read the next page in order to provide instant feedback and facilitate reading comprehension. In a case

study of a Chinese Canadian family, Moore (2010) showed that Chinese parents primarily use dinner-table conversations and other family routines as a way of communicating and practicing heritage language which often helps strengthen family cohesion among family members. Similarly, parents' purposeful use of heritage language in casual conversation and family routines was found among Korean American parents (Kang, 2013). Many Asian American families also established the use of a family language policy where they explicitly and implicitly plan language use in their home environments (King et al., 2008).

One interesting home literacy practice among Asian American families is the use of cultural media and artifacts. Lee and Gupta (2020) found that Korean American parents intentionally used media to increase their children's exposure to heritage language. Most Korean parents in this study frequently utilized media such as K-pop, comedies, or cartoons to increase their children's curiosity in learning Korean. Wan (2000) showed that Chinese American parents used Chinese calligraphy decorations, such as ink paintings, and illustrations of children's poems in Chinese to stimulate their children's interest in learning Chinese.

Additionally, many Asian parents compensated for the limited access to literacy materials in their heritage language by sharing books in their communities or bringing books and resources from their home countries. For instance, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found that Chinese American parents often brought storybooks from China for their children to read, as well as Chinese textbooks or other teaching materials so they could teach their children Chinese at home. Lee and Gupta (2020) reported that due to the lack of literacy materials in Korean in public and school libraries, many Korean American parents purchased books and learning materials during their trips to Korea or had their relatives bring them to the US. They then shared and rotated books with other Korean families in the community.

Not all Asian American parents are capable of teaching heritage languages or can afford the time to do so on a regular basis. Some parents choose to send their children to heritage language schools, mostly during weekends. Many Asian American parents believed that heritage language schools could help their children to not only develop heritage language skills, but also develop and strengthen their cultural identities (Kang, 2013; Kim, 2011; Lee & Gupta, 2020). However, there seem to be mixed findings with regard to the benefit of attending heritage language schools. For instance, many children reported speaking mostly English with peers

at heritage schools except during the class, and they only read or practiced their heritage language when completing the heritage school's homework (Zhang & Koda, 2011).

One integral part of HLEs of Asian American families is their beliefs in the role of heritage language in developing cultural identity and maintaining family cohesion. For instance, Korean American parents were found to place strong emphasis on understanding Korean culture and developing Korean cultural identities (Kang, 2013; Lee, 2013; Lee & Gupta, 2020). They often share the belief that children's heritage language proficiency plays a critical role in cultural maintenance and keeping a close relationship with both intergenerational family members and other cultural group members (Cho, 2000; Kang, 2013), and could lead to better educational and career opportunities than those available to their children's monolingual counterparts (Kwon, 2017; Lee, 2013). Tse (2001) argued that Asian American parents play important roles as heritage language gatekeepers for their children as they are the ones who decide whether and how frequently to speak the heritage language to their children, who hold commitment to the maintenance of heritage language and culture, who seek out resources and opportunities of learning heritage language, and who model the habitual use of heritage language and literacy materials.

Despite the accumulating evidence on the multilingual and multicultural HLEs of Asian American children, most research was descriptive and lacked a clear theoretical model. They also tended to rely on qualitative methods and case studies and focus on older children and adolescents. To address these limitations, Xu et al. (2017) examined the HLEs of Asian immigrant children who just entered kindergarten in Hawai'i. The results showed that these Asian immigrant parents reported reading to their children as early as 16 months of age, often in their heritage language. Parents' engagement in literacy activities in their heritage language was comparable to their reported literacy activities in English, highlighting the multilingual nature of their HLEs. In addition, although home literacy activities in the families' heritage language were not associated with children's English early literacy skills at kindergarten entry, it was positively related to children's English early literacy skills a year later. Although the time-on-task hypothesis (Rossell & Baker, 1996) would predict that more experience in one's heritage language means less time is available for learning English, the findings of Xu et al. (2017) indicated that the Asian immigrant families' literacy-related experiences in their heritage language did not seem to disrupt children's learning in English. In fact, the positive

relations between parents' engagement in literacy activities in their heritage language when children began kindergarten and children's oral language skills at the end of kindergarten provide additional support for the importance of spending time on literacy-related activities in heritage language, even for those who lack English proficiency. Furthermore, regardless of language, home literacy activities were positively related to children's interest in literacy at school, suggesting that despite their poor English skills, Asian immigrant parents who read to their children and taught vocabulary in their heritage language, were able to develop and maintain their children's interest in English literacy at school. These results counter the deficit perspective held by some educators who tend to view home heritage language and literacy practices of immigrant families negatively, or even consider them as barriers to academic success that may place children at risk of being "linguistically fixed or repaired" (García & Kleifgen, 2018, p. 137). Our findings raise the possibility that children may observe and subsequently imitate their parents' reading and teaching behavior regardless of language, and that home literacy activities in heritage language may foster and help transfer the enjoyment of learning heritage language at home to learning English at school.

There is a paucity of research devoted to understanding HLEs of Native Hawaiian families in relation to children's early literacy development. As mentioned above, HLEs of Native Hawaiian families often involve exposure to and practice of various languages such as English, Hawaiian, Pidgin, as well as other languages due to the high rate of inter-ethnic marriage in Hawai'i. However, there is evidence that suggests that language and literacy development is often embedded in participation in traditional Hawaiian cultural practices and integrated in fostering cultural values and beliefs (Oliveira et al., 2006).

Given the forced loss of the Hawaiian language during colonization and that Native Hawaiian students are at-risk for educational achievement, the majority of research efforts have focused on the development and educational success of Native Hawaiian learners, such as the Kamehameha Early Education Project (KEEP) (Tharp et al., 2007; Weisner et al., 1988; Werner, 1992). These pioneering efforts have resulted in important findings that could form the basis for future studies of HLEs of Native Hawaiian families. For instance, research has demonstrated that Native Hawaiian children often initiated language or literacy events in the home (Weisner et al., 1988) and that learning in Hawaiian homes occurred from modeling, by learning alongside other children and adults (sometimes

through information passed from adults to older children), and by error correction from others after making a mistake (Tharp et al., 2007). A well-known *ʻōlelo noʻeau*, or traditional Hawaiian proverb, lends support for the role of modeling and observation in Hawaiian children's learning. "*Nānā ka maka; hoʻolohe ka pepeiao; paʻa ka waha*," which means "Observe with the eyes; listen with the ears; shut the mouth; thus one learns" (Pukui, 1983, p. 248). Pukui et al. (1972) wrote:

> In the Hawaiian ʻohana, the extended family of the past, the young child began to watch, listen, and therefore, learn, long before parents or grandparents began any planned instruction. All young children learn from observation and imitation. For the Hawaiian child, the difference lay in the rich and constant opportunity to observe. (p. 49)

Contemporary investigations of Hawaiian ways of acquiring knowledge suggest modeling continues to play an important role in Hawaiian children's learning. Findings from KEEP indicated Hawaiian mothers of kindergarteners used significantly higher rates of modeling/demonstration along with task-oriented verbalizations on three different tasks in comparison to Midwestern mothers, who had higher rates of verbal-controlling techniques (Jordan, 1981a, 1981b). KEEP research also identified Hawaiian children often actively participated in the task they are learning to do (Jordan, 1981a, 1981b). The findings suggest important aspects of the HLEs such as parents' literacy habits may be part of the modeling influence highlighted in Hawaiian families.

To directly examine how HLEs of Native Hawaiian families might be related to children's early literacy development, Xu and Hee (2019) focused on multilingual aspects of HLEs and examined children's exposure to the use of English, Hawaiian, and Pidgin by various family members, including parents, grandparents, siblings, cousins, and aunties/uncles who are considered important models in Native Hawaiian children's development. The results indicated that both English and Pidgin were frequently used in family interaction whereas Hawaiian was only occasionally used in cultural practices and teaching. Not surprisingly, aggregated exposure to English, Hawaiian, and Pidgin spoken by various family members was positively associated with children's own use of these three languages, respectively. In addition, family exposure to Pidgin was negatively related to children's use of English and family exposure to English was negatively related to children's use of Pidgin. However, family

exposure to Pidgin did not seem to interfere with acquisition of pre-literacy skills, assessed using standardized measures of definitional vocabulary, print knowledge, and phonological awareness in English at the beginning and end of the kindergarten. Furthermore, parents' involvement in shared reading and other literacy activities, regardless of language (but mostly in English), was associated with children's early literacy skills at both the beginning and end of kindergarten. Finally, although Hawaiian children performed worse on standardized measures of pre-literacy skills in English when being compared to non-Hawaiian children that were matched in family socioeconomic backgrounds and from the same rural community, their differences in exposure to Pidgin or English use failed to explain this group difference. Instead, limited home literacy resources and lower school participation partly explained (mediated) the lower early literacy skills among Native Hawaiian children compared with non-Hawaiian children. These findings challenged popular misconception of Pidgin speakers as inferior "broken English" speakers that may have misled current educational policy against indigenous populations.

Summary and Future Directions

Drawing from Garcia Coll et al. (1996), we extended models of HLEs and early literacy development to ethnic minority children by integrating dominant societal and alternative/heritage language experiences and literacy competencies, as well as multilingual and multicultural HLEs that typically characterize minority, immigrant, and indigenous families. We argued that the development of various language and literacy competencies in the context of multilingual and multicultural HLEs needs to be understood in relation to social position factors, such as stereotypes, racism, discrimination, and oppression, that lead to non-shared experiences of physical, economic, social, and psychological segregation and that distinctly define alternative developmental pathways of minority children. We demonstrated this theoretical framework by reviewing social position factors, multilingual and multicultural HLEs, and alternative language experiences and literacy competencies related to Asian and indigenous children of Hawai'i, two cultural groups that had been largely overlooked in the literature.

It should be noted that the interrelations among social position factors, multilingual and multicultural HLEs, and alternative language experiences and literacy competencies have been rarely directly examined in prior

studies. We call for increased attention for research in this area. For instance, it would be helpful to examine how the perpetual foreigner stereotype, a unique experience that characterizes social position of Asian Americans, may shape HLEs of Asian families, and influence early literacy development of Asian American children. Similarly, the use of English, Hawaiian, and Pidgin by Native Hawaiian families in their literacy practices and activities and development of various language competencies in their children cannot be understood apart from their perceptions and cultural beliefs related to century-long experiences of language ban, discrimination, and oppression against Native Hawaiians. Clearly there is a need to integrate these factors in future inquiries of HLEs and early literacy development among minority children.

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CHAPTER 12

Latinx Family Involvement, Role Construction and Children's School Readiness

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Introduction

Communication and a positive relationship between families with school-aged children and the school are critical components of education, as instructors and families share responsibility for children's academic performance (Gadsden & Dixon-Roman, 2016). This shared responsibility is based on common goals for children's social and academic development,

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_12

and as such, it should be a collaborative effort: ensuring a child's academic success (Bartel, 2010). Academic success and emotional well-being go hand in hand in this type of partnership. Family involvement in children's education is a common type of family-school communication. Communication between families and schools is critical during a child's early years to promote academic achievement. However, little is known about the facilitators or challenges to family-school involvement, especially among linguistically and culturally diverse families. Examining these factors for this population of students is important because the absence of parental involvement is commonly linked to poor school results, including academic and behavioral issues (Whitaker & Dempsey, 2013).

However, in some situations, especially in urban areas, the expectation that teachers and parents will collaborate and help children is challenging because of factors such as lengthy distances and linguistic or cultural barriers as well as competing schedules, hesitant parents or teachers, unsupportive administrators all of which together or in combination hinder efforts at parent engagement in schools (Bartel, 2010). These obstacles may impede parent-teacher contact, reducing parental involvement or willingness to participate in their child's education.

Parent-teacher conferences are the most common way families and schools work together, but there are other ways to get involved as well. When it comes to increasing parent-teacher communication, family-school involvement can also include participation in activities and/or programs organized by a school board and/or parent-teacher association (PTO or PTA). Communication between parents and teachers should establish a climate of trust, encouragement, and support for their children's academic performance. Preparing parents for future involvement and setting expectations regarding school involvement in a child's academic, social, and emotional development is especially critical in early childhood (Gadsden & Dixon-Roman, 2016).

To be effective, family involvement involves two-way communication between the parent and the instructor. Teachers are extremely vital in establishing the tools for this type of communication. It is critical that parents feel welcome to participate in their child's education. Teachers can explain their desire to build a cooperative collaboration with parents and so maximize a child's educational and personal potential (Jeynes, 2011; Whitaker & Dempsey, 2013).

Schools and families are unquestionably vital. Concerns, knowledge, and opinions about a child's classroom goals, homework assignments, educational field excursions, among other school-based activities are

essential for a child's school success (Bartel, 2010). Because the home environment is so critical, especially in early life, one important communication between families and schools is discussing educational goals (Epstein & Sheldon, 2006). The family is involved in creating educational goals with the instructor and achieving them at home. To be successful, schools must combine formal (school) and non-formal (home) education to support children's education (Crosnoe et al., 2004).

Given the role of parent involvement in school success, understanding the barriers and facilitators to Latinx parent involvement in schools is crucial, especially in early childhood. Despite this, many families, particularly those from linguistically, socioeconomically, and culturally diverse backgrounds, find it difficult to interact with schools via phone, email, notes, or report cards. Language, culture, distance, child characteristics, and other barriers often prohibit parents and instructors from efficiently communicating about children. Exploring alternate methods of fostering parental involvement with schools is critical, especially for ethnically, linguistically, and socioeconomically diverse families.

Family Involvement

Research on the effects of parental involvement has revealed a reliable, positive relationship between parents' involvement in their children's education and student results (Epstein et al., 2002). Thus, whether or not parental involvement can help to improve the student outcomes is no longer in question. This research base offers a variety of ways parents can get engaged in their children's education (Epstein et al., 2002). Whatever the method, frequent communication about visions and expectations for teachers and families is critical for student academic achievement. Teachers should therefore plan significant initiatives to communicate with families about learning expectations with the hope to arrive at a shared vision (Brown et al., 2016). Strong, regular, and open communication between parents and teachers promotes parent involvement in schools. The more parents and instructors communicate about a child, the more likely the parent will be involved and learn about their child's academic, emotional, and behavioral performance (Bartel, 2010).

In this chapter, family involvement is used instead of parent involvement. Family involvement includes non-traditional adult caregivers who are not custodial parents but who connect with schools, participate in a child's home learning environment, or arbitrate between parents and schools (Harvard Family Research Project, 2014). Family or parent

engagement is also differentiated from parent or family involvement. Family interactions are part of both parental and family participation. With family participation, however, such experiences occur in continuing and reciprocal partnerships (Bakker & Denessen, 2007). In this study, the focus is on family involvement. Among other things, family involvement can include sharing information about home, student, and school (Epstein et al., 2002; Jeynes, 2011). There is widespread agreement that family involvement in education encompasses all activities families undertake at school in support of the implementation of the school curriculum in collaboration with schools and the community in order to improve children's and students' academic performance in general.

Family involvement in education can be described as the commitment or effort made by parents and/or caregivers to educate their children. Family involvement can be demonstrated by: a) volunteering in the school, b) assisting children with tasks, c) attending school events, d) visiting the children's classroom, e) presenting personal knowledge or skills to the class, f) leading by example in the classroom, or j) participating in the decision-making process. Family involvement is theoretically entrenched in different systems of education. Thus, Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) is useful in the study of family involvement because it positions a child's growth in a system of layers from immediate to distant. These interconnected layers include the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. Of particular relevance to the study of family involvement as defined here are the micro- and meso-systems. The micro-system encompasses the child's family, school, and other structures such as within and between the structures in a child's micro-system are interactions (e.g., family and school). The quality of the interaction between school and family typically impacts a child's academic achievement. Children and families are embedded in a range of structured and dynamically connected variables. The ecological framework thus is useful in the context of family involvement because it allows for examination of numerous influences between different levels of interactions while also taking into account an individual's internal and unique traits (McWayne et al., 2008).

Similarly, Epstein et al. (2002) developed a multi-layered parent engagement conceptual framework. From this perspective, parenting is described in relation to six dimensions. Epstein et al. argued that contact with the classroom involves procedures designed to preserve and exchange

knowledge with teachers and administrators to promote the child's success and the management of the classroom.

Epstein and Sheldon (2006) showed that school-family ties impact the school and directly impact children's learning and performance. Parents' involvement can be a source of positive reinforcement for their children. Positive feedback from parents, like praising their children for doing their homework, reinforces that behavior and increases the likelihood of them repeating that behavior (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001). Further, parents'/caregivers' (family) guidance, directing, and explanation on homework also influence students' outcomes (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001).

Factors and Conditions Influencing Family Involvement

Family and school participation is critical to a child's emotional, social, intellectual, educational, and physical development. Despite the value of joint partnership and cooperation between schools and families, several obstacles hinder home-school partnerships (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). For many families job schedules severely limit time available to attend teacher meetings and conferences. Many parents work long hours and have little time to dedicate to their child's education (Torres et al., 2016). Parental disapproval or discomfort with involvement is another major impediment. Parents' apprehensions about school involvement typically stem from their perceptions of instructors or administrators. These perceptions can develop when parents may receive information about a school topic that contradicts their values, or is difficult to comprehend, use, or execute (Ryan et al., 2010). Parents may also defer to schools the responsibility of educating their children, believing that they have no role to play or are unwilling to play such a role (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011).

Moreover, teacher- and school-related factors may influence family involvement. For example, instructors may feel overburdened by their duties and only make nominal efforts to involve parents, or they may feel that involving families is not their job and consequently do not reach out to them (Ryan et al., 2010). Overburdened teachers with these beliefs often view family engagement as extra work and this view fosters a negative attitude toward family engagement. This attitude perpetuates the idea that the school's primary purpose is to educate children while the parent's role is to care for the child. In this environment, parents are not

considered part of the expansion of education (Ryan et al., 2010). These attitudes coupled with a lack of interest results in a divide between teachers, students, and parents (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Torres et al., 2016). This division is further entrenched when there is a lack of resources to genuinely engage families in schools (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). To summarize, while family involvement is frequently documented, few studies have examined family participation in American schools across linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Investigating linguistically and culturally diverse families, particularly Latinx families, is critical because culture-specific values, attitudes, and/or beliefs may influence school involvement decisions that impact children's academic success. For example, many immigrant Latinx mothers believe the school is responsible for their children's education and consequently defer to the school (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008). So, immigrant Latinx parental engagement may be lower resulting in wrong assumptions about the interest on the part of the families. In particular, Latino families' values, beliefs, and attitudes regarding family involvement may differ from mainstream and school views of family involvement.

Family Involvement Barriers

Comer and Haynes (1991, as cited in Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997) found that parents reported that teachers do not genuinely encourage their involvement, and parents also expressed the need for specific advice on how to aid their children (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). In another study, school employees reported lack of time as a cause for not actively seeking parental support (Chen, 2008). Ballen and Moles (1994) also found that parents and teachers report barriers to parental involvement, such as a lack of parental education, a hostile environment toward visitors in schools and classrooms, negative or neutral school communication, and insufficient teacher training on how to reach both mothers and fathers. Other barriers include parents not grasping the areas of involvement that are helpful in enhancing achievement as well as disagreement on how parents should be involved in education.

Low-SES Latinx Families and Family Involvement

Early childhood is a critical era for strengthening family-school ties. To foster these ties, schools must adapt to shifting student populations. There is a growing population of immigrant families, particularly Spanish-speaking Latino households, whose child socialization techniques may or may not coincide with American schools. These values guide interactions with teachers and schools (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008).

In addition to economical and linguistic challenges, Latino families suffer significant societal impediments (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). To engage with teachers or their children on schoolwork they do not comprehend is often difficult for Latino families, especially immigrant ones. Other Latino families may feel unwelcome or unfamiliar with school standards such as advocating for their child with teachers. Understanding these cultural attitudes and practices is essential (Reese et al., 1995).

Latino parents place a high priority on education for their children and want them to succeed, despite the common misconception to the contrary. This Latino value is best represented as educación (Reese et al., 1995). The value of educación (education) generally refers to personal and moral attributes combined with lessons taught at home and in the classroom, both attributes of a well-educated person (Espino, 2016).

While educación is very important in Latino families, research suggests that this value may not always convert into actual Latino parental involvement, which teachers or others may interpret as a lack of interest for children's education rather than challenges faced by Latino parents (e.g., linguistic or unfamiliarity with school expectations, or fear of meeting with teachers). Teachers may misinterpret parents' lack of commitment as apathy, affecting Latino children's academic progress (Ryan et al., 2010). Understanding how Latino families connect with schools can help improve educational outcomes for Latino kids. As previously stated, contact between parents and teachers benefits children both at school and at home (McWayne et al., 2016).

Immigrant parents, like mainstream parents, appreciate the importance of education for their children's stability and social integration. Indeed, parents have high "academic aspirations," which is acceptable considering that major investment in education is required for social development (Espino, 2016). One goal is to ensure that all members of the educational community feel ownership, making it into a model of civic involvement and learning. The challenge for educational systems is to transform

parents' aspirations into direct action, such as positive feedback about homework and guidance on homework completions. Achieving this goal requires recognizing school as a learning community.

Contrary to some educational researchers' claims (Epstein, 2019), family involvement in the educational center enhances not only the school's formal image, but also the educational task itself (and this is what matters the most). Creating an environment where family involvement is centered results in less absenteeism, behavioral issues in the classroom, as well as increased devotion to duties set by their teachers. As part of intercultural education, it will assist students to build knowledge, reduce stereotypes, and create a culture of inclusion through student empowerment (Gonzales & Gabel, 2017). This fundamental principle is critical to developing strong family-school partnerships from early infancy to maturity.

The evidence suggests that Latinx parents value their children's education and high goals. This finest represents Latino educación (Gonzalez et al., 2019). Teachers and school officials may interpret it as a weak desire in education rather than a barrier to Latinx parents (e.g., language or fear of teachers' meeting). It is important to understand how Latinx populations communicate with educators. The importance of communication between parents and teachers has been highlighted previously, and it has numerous benefits for children both at school and at home, particularly in the ways parents interact with their children around critical school outcomes, as previously stated.

How Parents Can Get Involved in Children's Language and Literacy Development at Home

Parent involvement in their children's schooling can assist youngsters to learn. Parents who show interest in their child's literacy development teach an important lesson: learning is fun and worth the effort (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001). Parents can show they value education and literacy by participating in their children's literacy development in a variety of ways. For example, parents can arrange a regular homework hour, give a comfortable homework area, and collect papers, books, pencils, and other homework supplies. The second way is to talk to the school or teacher about homework. Parents may also initiate or respond to the school concerning their children's homework. Parental involvement might range

from just signing assignments to actively participating in programs aimed to enhance students' learning at home (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001).

Moreover, giving general monitoring of the homework process is another option for parents to get involved in their children's homework. Parents can also use praise, family standards, and extrinsic rewards to promote desirable behavior. The fifth option is to use meta-strategies to match task demands to child ability levels. Parents utilize specific tactics to match a child's skill level to work demands. To help the child learn the subject, these tactics may include breaking homework tasks into digestible chunks (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001).

Family's Role in Children's School Readiness

During their first years of life, children undergo significant developmental changes in various areas. Language development is especially significant in early life because it enables children to communicate with others and participate in previously inconceivable forms of cultural learning. Additionally, linguistic proficiency is a requirement for academic achievement and school preparedness. As a result, numerous research studies have been conducted to better understand the social context variables that influence how early infants learn. These publications will also be of interest to child development practitioners, educators, and policymakers. Language and learning differences between children from the same group and those from different groups have been examined extensively by developmental psychologists for decades. Adults and parents facilitate or "guide" young children's learning in order for them to reach a higher level of thinking and behavior. Children who spend their early years in a responsive and intellectually stimulating home environment are more likely to succeed in school.

Additional study is needed to close the achievement gap amongst children of diverse ethnic, linguistic, racial, and socioeconomic origins. Children do not all enter school with the same skills, and these differences frequently have an effect on their language, cognitive, reading, and writing development, as well as academic success. Late starters are more likely than others to repeat a grade, be placed in special education, and drop out of high school.

Delays are common among impoverished children. Children from low-income homes typically begin behind their peers in terms of home literacy

and linguistic abilities, and their vocabulary expands at a slower rate than their more affluent peers.

Aspects of Parenting that Impact Children's School Readiness

Three elements are essential for the language development and learning of young children: (1) the frequency with which a child engages in routine learning activities (e.g., reading aloud, telling a story); (2) the quality of parent-child interactions (e.g., cognitive stimulation by parents, sensitivity, and responsiveness to the child); and (3) providing the child with age-appropriate learning materials (e.g., books and toys).

Early involvement in learning activities such as reading with a parent, listening to stories, or learning the alphabet enables a child to develop the fundamental abilities necessary for early learning, such as school readiness language and basic reading and writing skills. Regular learning activities assist young children in analyzing the actions and words of others, forecasting future events, and inferring from new experiences. Participating in these activities also helps them expand their vocabulary and expertise. Reading aloud to a parent and hearing a narrative aids in the development of a child's phonemic ability, writing concepts, and a positive attitude toward reading and writing.

Numerous studies also demonstrate the importance of parent-child connection in the development and learning of early language. Indeed, the vocabulary that parents use with their toddlers is a good predictor of how their language will develop during the early years. The child will gain from the adults' understanding of the objects and situations in which he encounters himself. A child who receives verbal responses from their parents in response to their attempts to express themselves or explore has a stronger capacity for comprehension, speaking, phonological awareness, and storytelling.

Finally, providing educational materials (such as books and educational toys) assists young children in developing their verbal abilities. This form of material facilitates interaction between the child and the adult who looks after it, as when a parent and youngster pretend to cook. In some instances, the knowledge inspires discussion on a shared interest. Early language comprehension, intrinsic motivation, and a positive attitude toward learning have all been associated with access to toys that encourage symbolic play and fine motor skill development. Familiarity with stories

has also been linked to vocabulary comprehension and use, as well as early reading skills.

What Factors Contribute to Effective Parenting?

The scientific community recognizes that parenting abilities are influenced by both parental and child characteristics. Age, degree, education, financial resources, and racial or ethnic origin have all been associated with the three components of parental behavior listed above. Teenage mothers provide less linguistic and social stimulation than older mothers, are more controlling, and use less varied and nuanced vocabulary. Lack of schooling has an effect on the frequency and quality of mother-child verbal exchanges. Poverty is strongly associated with less stimulating family situations, and children whose parents are poor are at risk of developing cognitive, academic, and socioemotional difficulties. Finally, Latin American and African American mothers are less likely to read to their children than non-Hispanic white mothers, and Latin American Hispanic households have less children's books in their homes on average than other families. Minority status is often connected with unique sociodemographic risks, depending on the group.

Given the increased likelihood of developmental delays in children from minority or low-income homes, additional research is needed to identify why this is the case and how best to aid parents in maintaining a pleasant home environment for their children. Numerous components of the familial environments in which early learning occurs must be evaluated for their effect on the child's development. Studies on "school readiness" should also pay attention to the earliest stages of development when language and knowledge are formed. In this context, research on language acquisition in children from linguistic minorities should evaluate the influence of language experiences both inside and outside the house on both the society's (American English) and home language. Finally, the majority of research on how children acquire language and learn to communicate focuses on their relationships with their families. Given the complexity of early childhood children's social networks, future research should focus on the numerous chances for literacy-related activities that these various social networks provide (parents, siblings, extended family, and babysitter).

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CHAPTER 13

Concluding Thoughts

Gayle A. Curtis and Yali Zou

Introduction

The various chapters in this book have examined the literacy beliefs and practices of parents and children from Asian/Asian American and Latino heritage backgrounds who represent the two largest groups among dual language and/or English learners in the United States (US). This comparative look at the roles of culture and family literacy practices among Asian/Asian American and Latino families in the US furthers our understanding of the roles of culture, immigrant experiences, family environment, parent engagement in literacy-related activities in English, and the parents' native language on literacy development in young children.

The first section of the book examined the diversity among Asian/Asian Americans and Latinos in the US and the intersection of society, policy, and theory in US education of minorities, such as Asian/Asian Americans and Latinos. Turning to early literacy development among Asian/Asian American and Latino children, the next section explored family literacy

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J. E. Gonzalez et al. (eds.), *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families*, Critical Cultural Studies of Childhood,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14470-7_13

practices, the home learning environment, intersection of acculturation and cultural family values, and the role of identity development in the maintenance of heritage language and culture. The last section took an expansive look at the intersectionality of home literacy perspectives and sociocultural influences, underlying theoretical perspectives and culturally mediated parent involvement expectations, and parenting role construction. In this chapter, we synthesize the main themes and issues that emerged across the chapters of this book. We also highlight emerging areas and possible directions of high need for Asian/Asian American and Latino families for researchers, practitioners, and policy makers.

Emergent Themes

Hidden Diversity Among Asian/Asian Americans and Latinos

As shown in this book's chapters, Asians/Asian Americans and Latinos are the two most rapidly growing demographic groups in the US. The demographic designations and descriptors of Asians/Asian Americans and Latinos, however, conceal the numerous subgroups accounted for within the two groups. Asians/Asian Americans and Latinos are two extremely diverse groups, each consisting of numerous subgroups that are characterized not only by language and nation of origin differences, but also in significant influences of cultural, religion, and historical contexts. These subgroups are further distinguished by other factors such as immigrant status, socio-economic background, and household education. The demographic designations of Asian American and Latino are, therefore, misleading and do not fully represent the diversity of these population groups.

Influences on Parent Perspectives on Family Home Literacy Engagement

The examination of the beliefs, values, attitudes, and identities of Asian/Asian American and Latino parents across the previous chapters reveals the multi-factored influences shaping parental views on children's education and family engagement of these two groups. Among these are traditional philosophies, indigenous concepts, cultural values, ethnic identities, immigrant status, and family education achievement. While there are distinctions in how Asian/Asian American parents approach family engagement in their children's education compared to that of Latino parents, the

research shared in the previous chapters reveal a striking correlation between these groups.

Both the Asian/Asian American and the Latino parents examined in earlier chapters share similarities in that their approaches to parenting are greatly shaped by values of their traditional or native cultures. For Asian/Asian Americans of Chinese descent, for example, those values include *guǎn* (管) meaning to govern, look after, care about, and *jiào xun* (教訓) meaning to train or guide (Tobin et al., 1989); as well as *Zhi* (智) which emphasizes the importance of knowledge, *Qian xùn* (谦逊) emphasizing an individual's demonstration of modesty, *Chi* (耻) meaning shame, and *Xiao* (孝) meaning obedience and devotion to one's family (Chao, 1994). In the case of Latino parents, common values are *respeto* (respect) which stresses decorum in one's actions and respect and care of others, *familismo* (familism) which means the subordination of individual interests to the demands of the family, and being *bien educado* (well educated) which applies broadly to expectations regarding a child's behavior, composure, meeting role obligations, obedience, respect, and self-reliance expectations. While the languages are different, these ethnic-racial socialization concepts function as cultural scripts that influence the behaviors and interactions of family members (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008) and the ways in which parents socialize their children (Hughes et al., 2006).

These aspects of Asian/Asian American and Latino parents' approaches to their children's education reveal commonalities in their strong connections to the nuclear family, the respect for elders, and the central importance of family and collectivism in family life. Furthermore, the correlations between the two groups indicate the value placed on knowledge, and the assumptions that one's education is not limited to formal training or learning, but rather extends to all areas of a child's socialization.

Importance of Education in Asian/Asian American and Latino Families

Across the multiple studies of family literacy practices presented, a recurrent theme was the crucial importance placed on education in the Asian/Asian American and Latino families examined. This is evidenced in the commitment of family resources (physical and financial) and personal time given to support children's early literacy development. Parents are often referred to as a child's first teachers in that parents teach their children to walk, to talk, to dress, and to feed themselves, and so much more. Where

literacy is concerned, parents again are often a child's first teachers–reading aloud to an infant or toddler, teaching a child to count or recite the alphabet, then moving on to number and letter recognition, and eventually word recognition and perhaps the sounding out of words (phonics)–all before the child is of school age. The studies discussed here indicate the resourcefulness of parents in acquiring appropriate activities and resources to support their children's literacy development, as well as parents' investment of time in helping their children's literacy progress. As shown in the preceding chapters, the importance of education in Asian/Asian American and Latino families is evidenced in their active engagement in their children's learning from an early age.

Emerging Areas and Potential Directions

Understanding America's Diversity

A nation's response to the needs of its people requires an understanding of the various demographic groups within its population and specific needs of each. Asian/Asian American and Latino population groups are both richly composed of numerous subgroups which remain hidden under the current government practices in demographic data collection. This suggests that a deep understanding of the US population and its needs cannot be achieved without first understanding the subgroups that comprise the overall national population. There is a need therefore for the disaggregation of demographic data which would facilitate a deeper understanding of the nation's population and provide insights into lines of inquiry that would reveal needs specific to particular demographic subgroups.

Culturally Responsive Family, School, Community Partnerships, and Parent Support

As suggested in the previous chapters, children's literacy development is enhanced through parental engagement both in the home and in schools, particularly within authentic community-based relationships that bridge home and school environments (Hayashi et al., 2022). This requires that teachers, as well as school staff, receive professional development in culturally responsive pedagogy and strategies for working with today's diverse populations. Additionally, increased availability and access to resource materials and parent training focused on literacy development strategies

are needed to support children's literacy development. For schools with Asian/Asian American and/or Latino students, this may mean providing resource materials, school newsletters, and program information in multiple languages, such as Mandarin and English, or Spanish and English.

Call for Increased Research on Asian/Asian American and Latino Populations to Inform Related Education Policy

Where research on Asian/Asian American and Latino students and their families are concerned, the vast majority examines these population groups as a whole, rather than the subgroups within each. This approach gives little insights into the particular family home literacy practices or educational needs of individuals within the numerous subgroups of Asian/Asian American and Latino. Furthermore, it paints a misleading picture of the complexities and diversities within these two groups. Research focused on specific subgroups of Asians/Asian Americans and Latinos is critically needed in order to effectively inform teacher education in higher education, education practices in schools, and to further develop appropriate policy that will support, enhance, and strengthen the education of Asian/Asian American and Latino students in the US. Importantly, more research is needed to expand our knowledge and understanding of how best to support Asian/Asian American and Latino families in their efforts to improve their children's literacy development.

Concluding Thoughts

The significance of this volume lies in the connections made between theory and practice in the comparative examination of home literacy practices, home learning environments, and family beliefs, values, and expectations of Asian/Asian American and Latino families in the US—two increasingly influential groups in the country. Limited scholarly research in the area of parent engagement and child literacy development has focused on the similarities and differences of parent involvement of these two groups. This book shines a light on the hidden realities of these two complex and highly diverse groups, especially focusing on Asian/Asian American and Latino parent practices in supporting their children's literacy development. Furthermore, the volume helps to fill a theory-to-practice gap in the literature by providing insights into the roles of culture and immigrant experience on Asian/Asian American and Latino children's

literacy learning and development, the home learning environments of Asian/Asian American and Latino families, and their parents' engagement in children's informal learning at home and formal learning at school.

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