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Parental Roles and Relationships in Immigrant Families

An International Approach

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To my Dad who makes me laugh every day and my beloved Mom who is with us in spirit.

Susan S. Chuang

To my parents and daughter, who have taught me so much about parenting, and to all the parents, by choice or by fate, who have courageously built a life in a new land.

Catherine L. Costigan

To all of the immigrant families who have welcomed us into their lives to better our understanding of parenting and parent–child relationships!

Susan S. Chuang and Catherine L. Costigan

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About the Authors

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Chapter 1
Current Perspectives on Family Dynamics and Relationships: The Intersection of Culture and Immigration

Susan S. Chuang and Catherine L. Costigan

Parenting and parent-child relationships have long been key areas of child and family research in North America. However, our global understanding of parenting among ethnic and racial minorities has received significantly less attention as compared to the research on families of European backgrounds (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013; Tomlinson, Bornstein, Marlow, & Swartz, 2014). As Arnett (2008) reported, most of our psychological research is based on families in the United States, with a primary focus on families of European backgrounds (also see Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Thus, the parenting and parent-child relationship literature has not reflected the reality of the rapid growth in international migration. According to the United Nations (2016), there are approximately 244 million people living outside of their country of birth, which represents an increase of 41% compared to 2000.

Parenting is a universal task that is necessary for children's development (Super & Harkness, 2002; Tamis-LeMonda, Way, Hughes, Yoskikawa, Kahana Kalman, & Niwa, 2007). The salience of parenting on children's adjustment is well-established (e.g., Liew, Kwok, Chang, Chang, & Yeh, 2014). For example, the nature of parenting and the quality of the parent-child relationship have a direct impact on child development, and they serve as proximal mediators of a host of broader risk factors (e.g., poverty, experiences with discrimination). Thus, it is essential to understand what motivates and sustains various forms of parenting.

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Parenting and parent-child relationships, like child development itself, are embedded in a broader cultural context and must be understood within that context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Cultural influences on parenting are varied. Each culture conveys messages about normative parenting, appropriate childrearing expectations, and effective childrearing techniques. Thus, cultural variation is often evident in parents' most desired child outcomes and in how they think about their own roles as parents. At its core, cultural beliefs and traditions shape the values, goals, and beliefs that parents bring to the parenting role (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Keller, 2003). Parental belief systems reflect larger cultural themes, motivate parenting practices, and influence the organization of daily life. Actual parenting behaviors, such as how parents demonstrate warmth and caring, how they establish and enforce rules, etc., are also shaped by broader cultural beliefs and values.

Two broad research traditions are valuable for uncovering the cultural basis of parenting and parent-child relationships: cross-cultural studies and studies of within-group variation among migrant populations. Cross-cultural studies compare and contrast parenting across two or more cultural groups; differences across cultures are believed to reflect broader cultural differences (e.g., Dimitrova, this volume). The international comparisons of parenting reveal both similarities and differences in the nature and impact of parenting behaviors across cultures (e.g., families from different native countries) (e.g., Merz, this volume). Within-group studies, in contrast, often focus on one acculturating group and examine the ways in which parenting changes as the cultural orientation of migrant parents changes over time (e.g., Raval, Walker, & Daga, this volume). As parents acculturate, their parenting may change due to exposure to new belief systems about appropriate childrearing expectations and effective childrearing techniques, due to changes in the parenting supports available to them, or in an effort to socialize children to be successful in a new multicultural context. Thus, exploring the similarities and differences among parents from the same cultural background but with different immigration experiences is another way of understanding the role of culture in shaping parenting. Both of these research traditions are reflected in different chapters in this book.

Many of the chapters in this book focus on international migrants living in the United States. Currently, almost one-fifth (19%) of the world's international migrants live in the United States alone (47 million). Germany and the Russian Federation are home to the second and third largest numbers of international migrants (12 million each). In the United States, one quarter of children live in immigrant families, with Asian and Latinx families growing rapidly (Hernandez & Napierala, 2012). For example, the population of Asian Americans in the United States increased by 46% from 2000 to 2010 (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012). Overall, over 13% of the US population (Zong & Batalova, 2017) and almost 22% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2013) are immigrants. Importantly, the majority (98%) of migrants to Northern America were born outside of Northern America. In comparison, 47% of migrants to Europe and 18% of migrants to Asia were born outside of those respective major areas (United Nations, 2016). Individuals who have migrated to another major area of the globe are

especially likely to experience differences between the parenting ideals of their heritage culture and that of their culture of settlement.

The authors of the following chapters have extended our knowledge of parenting and families in the immigrant contexts of Canada, China, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States. The ethnic backgrounds of migrating parents who are included in the chapters of this book are diverse. According to the United Nations, the top four sending countries in 2015 were India, Mexico, the Russian Federation, and China. In 2015, almost half (43%) of the total international migrant population were born in Asia, and migration from Asia has grown at a faster pace in the last 15 years than any other group (United Nations, 2016). The origins of the immigrant families represented in this book reflect these trends, representing a wide range of ethnicities, including Albanians, Antilleans, Chinese (from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan), Dominicans, Indians, Japanese, Latinx, Moroccans, Serbians, Russians, South Koreans, Slovenes, South Americans (from Argentina, Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, and Peru), Surinamese, and Turks.

In Part I, *Parental Involvement and Practices*, three chapters explore the behaviors of parents with their young children. First, the significant role that fathers play in their children's lives, especially in immigrant and ethnic minority families, has received less attention as compared to mainstream fathering research. Chuang and Zhu's study (Chap. 2), *Where Are You Daddy? An Exploration of Father Involvement in Chinese Families in Canada and Mainland China*, explored levels of father involvement in Chinese families with young children. In an attempt to portray contemporary Chinese fathers in Canada and Mainland China, fathers completed time diaries which accounted for two, 24-h accounts of their days (i.e., a work and non-work day). The findings revealed that regardless of country, Chinese fathers were actively involved in their preschooler children's lives from playing with them, engaging in daily care routines, and doing household chores. These fathering behaviors reflect a more egalitarian view of parenting, challenging Confucian assumptions of "strict father."

Chinese immigrant families with preschool children were also the focus of Cheah and her colleagues' chapter, *The Complexities of Parental Control Among Chinese American Mothers: The Role of Acculturation* (Chap. 3). These researchers found that immigrant Chinese mothers valued the importance of establishing boundaries and rules. Confrontive behavioral control was believed to promote social competence and appropriate behaviors in children, setting the foundation for future conduct and providing children with good morals and self-worth. For parenting practices, these mothers used both nonphysical punishment and coercive control, as well as reasoning and negotiation strategies. Importantly, the acculturation orientation of mothers was related to their views of parental control. Specifically, the extent to which mothers used the various control methods was influenced by their views of their heritage and mainstream cultures, highlighting how cultural change can relate to changes in parenting ideas.

Calzada, Hausmann-Stabile, Barajas-Gonzalez, Huang, and Hernandez's study also examined parenting practices, with a particular focus on authoritative and authoritarian practices (*Dominican Parenting and Early Childhood Functioning: A*

Comparison Study of Immigrant Families in the USA and Families in Their Country of Origin, Chap. 4). They compared the parenting of mothers in the Dominican Republic to those who had immigrated to the United States, exploring both the cultural context and socioeconomic context of parenting. The findings revealed that regardless of country, Dominican mothers endorsed authoritative parenting practices more than authoritarian practices. The authoritarian practices of Dominican immigrant mothers in the United States placed in between those of nonimmigrant mothers in the Dominican and their nonimmigrant American counterparts; higher levels of authoritarian parenting in the Dominican Republic were reflective of the cultural values of respecting authority. These researchers also found that the context of poverty heightened the use of authoritarian practices, due to the need to keep children safe in stressful and threatening environments. The use of authoritarian practices was linked to negative child outcomes.

In Part II, *Parenting and Children's Early Development and Academics*, three chapters discuss direct links between the ways in which immigrant parents engage with their children and their children's developmental outcomes in a variety of domains. Ravel, Walker, and Daga investigated Indian American parents' socialization of their children's emotional development in their chapter, *Parental Socialization of Emotion and Child Functioning Among Indian American Families: Consideration of Cultural Factors and Different Modes of Socialization* (Chap. 5). Their findings revealed that Indian American mothers' preferences for mainstream American culture were associated with greater expressions of positive feelings to family members and fewer non-supportive responses to their children's emotions. Their findings demonstrated associations between acculturation-related changes in worldviews (e.g., the extent to which parents endorse host versus heritage cultural worldviews) and their cultural scripts related to emotion expression (e.g., focus on positive rather than negative emotions). In addition to maternal influences on emotion regulation, these investigators also found that the children's own interdependent self-construals (e.g., the extent to which parents were included in children's self-concepts) were related to their emotion regulation abilities.

In *Specialization, Coordination, and Developmental Sequelae of Mother-Infant Person- and Object-Directed Interactions in American Immigrant Families* (Chap. 6), Cote and Bornstein reported both universal and culture-specific interaction patterns. The researchers compared mother-infant interactions among immigrant Japanese, South Korean, and South American families. The interactions focused on person-directed behaviors (e.g., maternal encouragement of infants to interact with others) and object-directed behaviors (e.g., maternal encouragement of infants to interact with the world such as toys and objects). Both similarities and differences were observed. Interestingly, regardless of ethnicity, mothers' responsiveness to infants' person- and objected-directed behaviors was similar across person- and object-directed behaviors. Infants' responsiveness was similar across groups for person-directed behaviors, but not for object-directed behaviors. Mother-infant coordinations of person-directed interactions were universal across cultural groups at age five months, but not for object-directed interactions. Associations between infants' responsiveness at five months and maternal socioemotional behavior (e.g., showing

their infants physical affection) at 20 months were evident for Japanese dyads only. Links to less infant hostility at 48 months were also only evident among the Japanese families. The findings in this study illustrate ways in which variations in mother-infant dyads are reflective of cultural nuances in social interactions.

Sonnenschien, Galindo, Simons, Metzger, Thompson, and Chung's study, *How Do Children Learn Mathematics?: Chinese and Latina Immigrant Perspectives* (Chap. 7), explored the strategies and approaches that mothers used to promote their children's learning in mathematics. Specifically, both Chinese and Latina mothers believed that it was important to provide their children with a math-enriched environment. However, cultural differences were also identified. For example, most of the Chinese mothers were active participants in their children's math learning by providing various ways of teaching their children math. In contrast, about half of the Latina mothers were active participants in their children's learning. Latina mothers reported enjoying math more than did Chinese mothers, and Chinese mothers were more likely to have systematic action plans for their children's learning.

In Part III, *Acculturation Factors, Processes, and Family Dynamics*, six chapters explore the interrelations among various forms of stress, acculturation processes, and parent-child relationship dynamics. Many chapters in this section of the book examine immigrant parenting in contexts outside of the United States (e.g., Hong Kong, Italy, the Netherlands). This section begins with a theoretical paper by Hou and Kim, *Acculturation-Related Stressors and Individual Adjustment in Asian American Families* (Chap. 8). In this chapter, Hou and Kim provided a critical review of current theoretical and methodological approaches to exploring acculturative stressors and child adjustment in the United States. The chapter highlights how parents' acculturation stressors and experiences affect their own adjustment and marital relationships, as well as parent-child relationship processes. Further, they examined how parent-child relationship quality and children's own acculturation stressors influence the adjustment of children. Indirect effects were also discussed (e.g., financial strain), exploring how factors such as demographics, personal attributes, and social resources can exacerbate or otherwise influence the effects of acculturative stress on adjustment. The models and methodological issues presented in this chapter offer a broad framework for exploring how and why parenting and parent-child relationships might be affected by immigration-related factors.

Focusing on the specific context of parental and acculturative stresses, Ng, Tamis-LeMonda, and Sze provide a unique exploration of how migrant mothers from Mainland China adjust to their new lives in Hong Kong (Chap. 9, *Parenting Among Mainland Chinese Immigrant Mothers in Hong Kong*). Even though Hong Kong is a part of China, Hong Kong's culture has its own unique social and historical changes that have resulted in the current "one country, two governments" approach. The chapter discussed in-depth the dynamics and challenges that may affect the experiences of Mainland Chinese immigrant mothers in Hong Kong. The findings revealed that immigrant mothers did not experience greater pressures than did native mothers in relation to children's behavior problems or marital distress. However, immigrant mothers expressed greater discrimination based on their immigrant and financial status than did native mothers. The two groups of mothers did not differ in their discussions

about their protective factors (e.g., sense of efficacy, sociocultural adaptation), but native mothers reported greater assistance from their extended families (e.g., childcare, household chores, finances). The two groups of mothers reported similar parenting practices. There were few group differences in the extent to which risk and protective factors predicted parenting behaviors.

Dimitrova's chapter, *Parenting Stress and Depressive Symptoms of Immigrant and Non-immigrant Families in Italy* (Chap. 10), explores the associations between parental stress and mental health among parents in Italy. Specifically, these researchers investigated the mental health of immigrant mothers and fathers in Italy from four countries (Albania, Serbia, Slovenia, and Russia), as well as native Italian parents. Overall, Albanian parents reported higher parenting stress levels and depressive symptoms than did the other groups. Comparing mothers with fathers, mothers generally had higher scores on their experiences of depressive symptoms and parenting distress, dysfunctional interactions, and difficulties with their children. However, children's reports of depressive symptoms did not differ by ethnic or gender group. Parenting distress, parental depressive symptoms, and children's depressive symptoms were interrelated. These findings provide much-needed insights into the mental health of families in Europe.

Merz's chapter, *Family Solidarity: The Generation Gap in Immigrants in the Netherlands* (Chap. 11), presents a comparison of family relationships among a diverse range of immigrant families in the Netherlands. Using a national data set, Merz examined the values of parents from the four largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands (i.e., Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Dutch Antilleans) and explored whether or not values differed based on the parents' generational status. The authors specifically looked at values of family solidarity to see if parents' endorsements would be reflective of a collectivistic culture (similar to their home country) or an individualistic culture (similar to the Dutch host country). Overall, first-generation immigrants placed greater importance on maintaining family solidarity than did second-generation immigrants, especially those who held on to strong religious beliefs. Immigrants from Turkey and Morocco, historically collectivistic cultures, held higher family solidarity values than those from the Republic of Suriname and the Antilles, who had greater experiences with the Dutch culture than did their counterparts.

In a Canadian context, Rasmi and Costigan compared the acculturation goals of mothers, fathers, and adolescents from immigrant Chinese families in Canada (*Comparing the Acculturation Goals of Parents and Adolescents in Chinese Canadian Families*, Chap. 12). Mothers, fathers, and adolescents from the same family reported on their own preferences for retaining aspects of Chinese culture and adopting aspects of Canadian culture, as well as their perceptions of the goals of their family members. Unexpectedly, parents reported a stronger desire to adopt the Canadian culture than retain their Chinese heritage. Parents and adolescents reported similar Canadian acculturation goals, and adolescents reported a stronger motivation than did parents to retain the Chinese culture. Interestingly, the adolescents misperceived their parents' wishes for them (e.g., overestimating the extent to which parents want them to retain Chinese culture). The findings have the potential to clarify when differences between parents and children in their acculturation

may hinder or challenge parent-child relationships and when differences may be inconsequential.

Oznobishin and Kurman further explore parent-child dynamics in immigrant families in their chapter, *Parenting Immigrant Parents: Role Reversal, Language Brokering, and Psychological Adjustment Among Immigrant Adolescents in Israel* (Chap. 13). These researchers examined the challenges that immigrant families to Israel faced as they adjusted to their new country, particularly those challenges related to language abilities. It is common in immigrant families for children to learn the host language more quickly than do parents, resulting in a potential reversal of roles when children are called on to assist their parents in the new country as "language brokers." Oznobishin and Kurman studied a theoretical model that captures the complexities of role reversal (i.e., child dominance and language brokering), as well as youths' perceptions of parents' support, emotional experiences of role reversal, and mental health. The sample included first- and second-generation Israeli children from the former Soviet Union, as well as native Israeli youth. Immigrant youth reported more dominant roles in the family and less parental support compared to native youth. Perceptions of parental support were more strongly related to psychological well-being than perceptions of dominance. Further, more frequent language brokering among the immigrant youth was associated with lower feelings of self-efficacy and self-esteem (study 1) and more negative emotions and psychological distress (study 2). The results of this study highlight the importance of understanding the emotional component to the parent-child relationship and the extent to which parents are supportive of their children.

The book concludes with Parke's chapter, *Parenting in Global Perspective: Progress and Prospects* (Chap. 14). This chapter provides great insights into our current understanding of parenting and parent-child relationships. Parke critically analyzed the current chapters, placing them in the broader literature context. He offers many suggestions and avenues for researchers to continue to explore parenting and family relationships. His insights are not only relevant to immigrant families but to families in general.

The field of immigrant parenting continues to lag behind research on parenting among families from nonimmigrant European backgrounds (Chuang, 2018). The chapters in this volume collectively address this limitation by investigating a variety of salient family issues, within a wide range of migrating populations, and utilizing a diverse array of research methods. In doing so, the chapters in this volume provide excellent examples of the insights to be gained about cultural influences on parenting and parent-child relationships. Importantly, they also illustrate the tremendous amount of work in this area that is yet to be done. Increased attention to this field will allow researchers to make meaningful contributions to the global, national, and local policies that affect immigration, as well as share knowledge with the service providers around the world to improve the lives of immigrant families.

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Part I
Parental Involvement and Practices

Chapter 2
Where Are You Daddy?: An Exploration of Father Involvement in Chinese Families in Canada and Mainland China

Susan S. Chuang and Meihua Zhu

Fatherhood scholars have acknowledged the importance of fathers in their children's lives (see Cabrera & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013; Lamb, 2010). From infancy, children form significant and important attachments to their fathers, and father involvement during early childhood has been instrumental to young children's development of basic skills and becoming active learners (Lamb, Chuang, & Cabrera, 2003; Pelletier & Brent, 2002). The importance of fathers had prompted scholars to further investigate the extent to which fathers are involved in the family, with a particular focus on fathering behaviors. Especially with the secular changes in mothers entering the workforce, fathers' previously limited parental role as economic provider has become more multidimensional such as increased responsibility for their children's day-to-day care (see Chuang & Su, 2008; Lamb, 2010). Thus, researchers need to place greater attention to the earlier years of father involvement with young children to gain greater insight into the social interactions among family members.

Although the fathering literature is limited in theoretical frameworks to guide researchers (Pleck, 2010), the most prominent fathering model that continues to be embraced is Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine's (1987) conceptualization of father involvement. There are three conceptually distinct types of involvement: (1) engagement, which comprises direct interaction with the child, including care-taking and play, (2) accessibility or availability to the child, and (3) the assumption of responsibility for the child by ensuring that the child is appropriately cared for and reared. This

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model is especially meaningful for parents with young children, allowing researchers to gain greater insights into the families' everyday lives.

To assess and operationalize their father involvement model, Lamb and his colleagues (1987) introduced the time diary methodology, which accounted for parental time, referring to the amount of time in hours and minutes. Time diaries were 24-h accounts of the parents' everyday activities for 2 days, a work- and non-workday (see Fig. 2.1). Time diaries provided valuable information about the total interaction time of the parents with their children and other family members as well as types of interactions (e.g., dyad, triad interactions). Also, respondents were less likely to know what the researcher was exploring, thus reducing potential social desirability (Pleck, 2010; Robinson & Bostrom, 1994).

Over the years, few studies utilized this 24-h time diary methodology due to some significant limitations. First, most time use studies were national surveys that focused on adults and on children in general (i.e., all children versus a targeted child). For example, using the Australian Bureau of Statistics Time Use Survey 1997, Craig (2006) explored parental involvement and the effects of parental education and paid work on time spent with children. Unfortunately, parental involvement by gender was not explored, and the range and number of children was unspecified (Craig, 2006) (also see Rapoport & Le Bourdais, 2008).

Parents' time spent with their children has been linked to children's healthy academic and psychosocial development (Bianchi, 2000; Zick, Bryant, & Osterbacka, 2001). Thus, how parents allocated their time, especially when it was devoted to and for their children has been an increased focus of many research agendas (see Monna & Gauthier, 2008). However, only a few studies (Chuang & Su, 2008; Lamb, Chuang, & Hwang, 2004; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2001; Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth, 2001) addressed the issue of father engagement of actual time spent with a particular child over full days. Although these studies have some differences in methodology such as their development of coding systems, it appeared that Mainland Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers' levels of engagement (playing

TIME BEGAN	TIME ENDED	WHAT DID YOU DO?	WHERE?	LIST OTHER PERSONS WITH YOU	DOING ANYTHING ELSE?
12 AM	6:30	Sleeping	Bedroom	Spouse	
6:30	7:00	Diaper changed	Bedroom	No	Played with child
7:00	7:20	Took a shower, got ready for work	Bathroom	No	

Fig. 2.1 An example of a time diary entry

with and caring for) with 1-year-olds were comparable to Swedish fathers (Chuang & Su, 2008; Lamb, Chuang, & Hwang, 2004) and higher than American fathers (Yeung et al., 2001). For example, on average, Mainland Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers spent almost 2 h engaging with their child on a workday and over three and a half hours on the weekend. In comparison, Swedish fathers spent on an average day almost 3 h with their children (Lamb et al., 2004). Our present study extends these findings by exploring father involvement with 3-year-olds to better understand the developmental goals of father-child interactions.

Although the time diary methodology is one of the best ways of measuring father involvement, Pleck (2010) pointed out that other measures emerged for pragmatic reasons. One reason is due to cost and informant burden in completing the time diary task. Moreover, the costs of coding the data were too high for routine research use. Thus, few studies on the full use of time diaries existed until the early 2000s, when a renewed interest in time allocation was evident, aimed at better understanding family dynamics and functioning.

Other methodologies were developed to capture parental time such as direct observations, questionnaires (e.g., asking respondents to estimate the frequency and duration of engaging in particular activities), and time diary reports (Monna & Gauthier, 2008). In Monna and Gauthier's (2008) review, there were various social and economic determinants that influenced parents' quality and quantity of time with and for their children (e.g., employment status, type of occupation, levels of income and education) as well as individual characteristics (e.g., gender of parent and child and ethnicity). However, few researchers focused on ethnic minority families, and when they did, the families were of African or Latinx descent (e.g., Bulcroft, Cyr Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1996; Delgado & Canabal, 2006; Hofferth, 2003).

It is important to understand the roles of culture and cultural change on family dynamics and relationships (Rasmi, Chuang, & Sadfar, 2012) especially since our current knowledge of families is based on Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic populations (WEIRD) (Arnett, 2008; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). These populations do not accurately represent the majority world (Kagitiçibasi, 2003). With China accounting for approximately 20% of the world's population (about 1.33 billion people) (World Bank, 2012), as well as millions of immigrants throughout the world (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2008), Chinese families cannot be overlooked. This is particularly important in North America where countries such as Canada and the United States have experienced a vast influx of Chinese immigrants. For example, in 2011, 10.5% of Canadian immigrants were from the People's Republic of China. Also, the visible minority population accounted for over 19% of the total Canadian population, and the Chinese (including Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong) accounted for over 21% of the visible minority group, the second largest group, after South Asians at 25% (Statistics Canada, 2013).

To address these issues and in an attempt to meaningfully portray Chinese families' everyday lives, our study further extends our cross-cultural study of fathers with 1-year-old children to fathers with 3-year-old children. We also explored how culture and immigration may have influenced fathering behaviors. Using an ecological framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1995), we first provide a brief historical overview

of fathering in Chinese society. Second, we discuss how some key social changes may contribute to contemporary Chinese families' lives. Third, we present findings from our recent research on complexities of father involvement with preschool children among Mainland Chinese and Chinese immigrant fathers in Canada. Finally, we will conclude with a discussion of social implications and future directions.

Contextualizing Parenting in Chinese Societies

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (1977, 1979) stressed the importance of placing families in context. The cultural and social factors are reflected in parents' beliefs and practices which are then transmitted to their children, providing them about the ways of thinking and acting, and how to interpret social relationships and structures (McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Sigel, 1995; Super & Harkness, 2002). A brief history of Chinese societies is thus needed to understand contemporary Chinese fathers in context.

Confucianism has dominated Chinese ethic for more than 2000 years, emphasizing interdependence, social harmony, and sacrificing individual needs for the sake of the group (Ho, 1987). With respect to the family, Confucius outlined a framework for appropriate familial interactions and values with specific rules on family hierarchy, intergenerational conduct, lines of authority, and respect for the status of others (Ho, 1981; Tang, 1992). Focusing on parental roles, mothers were the caregivers and fathers were the breadwinners. Thus, fathers were to assume the role of a stern disciplinarian, not engaging in emotional indulgence with their children (Fei, 1935; Ho, 1987; Wilson, 1974; Wolf, 1970). The traditional Chinese parenting practices are characterized by the adage, "strict father, kind mother" (Wilson, 1974). These distinct roles guided parental obligations and responsibilities in an effort to maintain social order within the family unit. However, with recent social changes, families have transformed to address the everyday challenges of balancing parental roles and other aspects of their lives such as the workforce.

Social Changes, Family Transformations

Over the last century, China has undergone numerous social and political changes. These broader sociocultural changes have altered the contextual climate in which families reside, and they have had great impact on family structure and functioning (e.g., Chen & Chen, 2010). Although there are many factors that have transformed China and its families, we will briefly discuss two that have directly impacted family functioning. Specifically, we will focus on gender equality (i.e., governmental policies, educational reform, and maternal employment) and the one-child policy.

China's communist revolution profoundly impacted family dynamics and functioning. With the goals to modernize China, the government facilitated cultural

changes by instituting specific policies to alter the "traditional" marriage and family relations. The establishment of gender equality and the legal interests of women and children became policy. Gender equality policies also included a reformation on marriage. Specifically, the Marriage Law of 1950 no longer legalized coerced or arranged marriages, and there were bans on polygamy and child marriages (Engle, 1984). Divorce was legalized and with a revision to simplify marriage and divorce procedures in 2003, 1.96 million couples filed for a divorce in 2010, which increased by almost 15% compared to the year before (The China Post, 2011).

Gender equality policies also enabled girls to attain formal education. In 2004, girls comprised almost half of the educational population (up to secondary vocational schools), and undergraduate and graduate students also had high numbers of female students (Lui & Carpenter, 2005). Education created great opportunities to enter the economic market. According to the United Nations (2000), China has one of the world's highest employment rates of women. This is partly due to China's governmental policies that promoted gender equality in the workplace. Especially in the late 1950s and 1960s, women were strongly encouraged to be a part of the socialist economy. The social climate of maternal employment also changed, as evidenced in governmental propaganda such as "women hold up half the sky" and "whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can do too" (Honig, 2000). Currently, the majority of women are in the workforce, including mothers of young children. For example, 90% of the urban Chinese women aged 25–44 years are working, with even higher working rates among rural women (Bauer, Feng, Riley, & Zhao, 1992).

China's "one-child policy" (officially the "family planning policy") was instituted in the late 1970s. The policy was introduced to alleviate social, economic, and environmental problems. Officially, the policy restricted married urban couples to one child. In addition to reducing the number of births, the policy changed the typical family structure. The common family composition in urban families is now a four-two-one structure (four grandparents, two parents, one child). Currently in urban areas, 95% of the children are "only children" (Chen & He, 2004). Unintentionally, the one-child policy may have created a "little Emperor" as family resources, including the attention of the father, became concentrated on one child. The child then holds a powerful position in the family as six adults (two parents, two sets of grandparents) cater to his/her every need. For example, Fong (2007) reported that only children received more parental attention and investment compared to multiple children. Parents of only children also placed greater emphasis on the importance of academics, as only children were seen as the parents' only source of future dependence (also see Fong, 2002; Lee, 2012).

Collectively, these changes have altered China's sociocultural context and reshaped marital and familial relationships. Father roles in particular have shifted from "master of the family" toward a pattern with more egalitarian relationships between mothers and fathers (Chuang, Moreno, & Su, 2012; Chuang & Su, 2008, 2009a, 2009b). However, few researchers have explicitly explored how these changes have altered father involvement (Chuang & Su, 2008). With the dynamic nature of parenting and the recent social changes, it becomes necessary for research-

ers to critically investigate family functioning within the families' sociocultural contexts. Moreover, many Chinese families immigrate to westernized countries; the added complexities of adjusting and adapting to the receiving countries' culture may also impact father involvement.

The Canadian Immigration Process

Canada has been receiving significant numbers of Chinese families, providing great opportunities for researchers to explore the pathways in which immigrants change and adapt to their host country. As new immigrants adjust and settle to their host country, they decide whether to hold on to their cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors from their country of origin. They also engage and negotiate in their new sociocultural terrain; a process called acculturation (see Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). However, our knowledge of the extent to which fathers negotiate their parental roles and behaviors in the new country is fairly limited. Before discussing the Chinese fathering literature, it is important to understand the context of the immigrants' new country and its policies.

The Canadian government has reassessed its immigration policies and its need for continued economic success, implementing new immigration policies that radically shifted the ethnic makeup of the population. Specifically, before the Immigration Act in the 1960s, Canada's immigrant population was primarily of European origin (81%). Since the policy, Canada has become a highly diversified nation, including about 200 ethnic minorities. Another policy, the Multiculturalism policy, was also created to acknowledge that diversity is fundamental to Canada's identity. According to the revised Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988), the first policy objective for Canada was to recognize and promote each individual's cultural and racial diversity and to promote the freedom of all members of the Canadian society (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2006). These policies "set the tone" for the country's culture which, in turn, may influence parenting practices and beliefs. With an inclusive environment, immigrants may be more open to accepting the host culture's values and beliefs while retaining their native culture. Thus, comparing immigrant Canadian Chinese to their Mainland Chinese counterparts may provide some insight into potential family changes due to their respective cultural contexts.

Patterns of Father Involvement in Chinese Families

Although researchers have explored fathering in Chinese societies, the field has unfortunately advanced very slowly (Capps, Bronte-Tinkew, & Horowitz, 2010; Chuang & Moreno, 2008; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009, 2013). As many scholars have pointed out, researchers continue to focus on more "stereotypic" and overgeneralized portrayals of Chinese families (and Asians in general), which limits our

understanding of these families (see Chuang, Glozman, Green, & Rasmi, 2018). For example, there has been a prominent focus on control and restrictiveness in Chinese parenting, using Baumrind's (1971) typologies of authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles (e.g., Chan, Bowes, & Wyver, 2009; Cheung & McBride-Chang, 2008; Liu & Guo, 2010). Others focused on traditional characterizations of Chinese families to further promote the view that Chinese families are still highly influenced by Confucianism (see Capps et al., 2010; Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song, 2013). Moreover, studies either do not distinguish parents by gender (e.g., Fung, Gerstein, Chan, & Hurley, 2013) or they rely on only mothers as informants (Chan et al., 2009; Chen, 2012). Also, when researchers explored father involvement, there was a tendency to focus on the relationships among other factors (e.g., marital satisfaction, fathers' age), and thus, correlates of father involvement were addressed rather than the nature of father involvement such as what fathers are doing and for how long (e.g., see Hung, 2005; Kwok & Li, 2015; Kwok, Ling, Leung, & Li, 2013). Consequently, research on father involvement with young children in Chinese families remains limited (Chen, 2013).

Of the few studies that focus on father involvement, researchers have found that Chinese fathers are involved in their children's lives. For example, Chen (2013) found that Taiwanese fathers with 8–11-year-old children were involved in a variety of activities, including caregiving, socialization, physical play and exploration, outdoor games and sports, and leisure activities, and engaged in positive communication with their children. Thus, father involvement was multifaceted. Lau (2016) reported that Hong Kong fathers believed that father involvement facilitated positive father-child relationships, which enhanced their young children's motivation to learn. However, although these fathers were involved, the quantity of time spent with their children was significantly less than that of mothers. Although these studies are informative of what and how Chinese fathers were involved in their children's lives, the fathers were from Taiwan and Hong Kong. These regions have different governments than Mainland China, and thus, there may be cultural nuances of family dynamics and functions. Moreover, there has been minimal focus on Chinese fathering of very young children (up to 3 years of age) when infants need significant parental time.

To date, our collective studies are the only studies that have explicitly focused on fathering and father involvement in young Chinese and immigrant Chinese families. Focusing on fathering roles, we found that culture and acculturation influenced their parenting practices and beliefs. Specifically, regardless of country (China, Canada), Chinese fathers with 1-year-old children described their parenting roles as multifaceted, including roles of economic provider, caregiver, playmate, and being responsible for household chores (Chuang & Su, 2008). However, Chinese Canadian fathers were more likely to consider their children's interest when making childcare decisions and were less authoritarian (e.g., controlling, restrictive) and more authoritative (e.g., promoting independence) than were fathers in China (Chuang & Su, 2009a). In addition, we found that these fathers were actively involved in making childcare decisions. However, there were some differences due to acculturation. Specifically, Chinese Canadian mothers were more likely to include their spouses' input on childcare issues than were mothers in China (Chuang & Su, 2009b). Thus,

current research suggests that conceptions of family roles change as a function of being in contact and integrating with the host culture; this reinforces the need to understand fathering within the sociocultural context.

For fathering behaviors, Mainland Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers with 1-year-olds spent greater amounts of time being accessible to their children than taking care of and playing with their children and doing household chores. Regardless of country, these Chinese fathers were actively engaged in a variety of childcare duties, including feeding, bathing, and putting the infant to sleep, which contradicts past work on Chinese fathers from Urban China (Jankowiak, 1992) and Taiwan (Sun & Roopnarine, 1996). For example, Chinese Canadian and Chinese fathers spent an average of 45 min during the workdays taking care of their children; Swedish fathers spent an average of 56 min (Lamb et al., 2004). According to Yeung et al. (2001), American fathers generally spent 32 min with their young children.

Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers also played with their children throughout the week, engaging in more playtime with their children than doing household chores. In contrast to Sun and Roopnarine's (1996) conclusions that Chinese fathers do not engage in "rough" play, these fathers reported greater engagement in active play with their children than any other forms of play (e.g., watching a video, going shopping). Interestingly, these fathers, regardless of country, spent more time playing with their daughters than their sons (Chuang & Su, 2008) which challenges the assumptions of preferential treatment toward sons than daughters (see Ho, 1987, for review). This differential gender treatment may be the consequence of the one-child policy for fathers in China. However, many Chinese Canadian families had more than one child, and thus, further exploration on young Chinese families is needed (Chuang & Su, 2008).

The Current Study

In the current study, we explored the pathways of father involvement, using our two-country (Canada and China) investigation of Chinese fathers with 3-year-old children. Based on the Lamb and colleagues' (1987) father involvement model, we examined various dimensions of father involvement, with a particular focus on engagement (i.e., playing with and caring for their children) and accessibility. This model provides a unique way at examining the everyday activities and the levels of father involvement.

Methods

Participants

The current study included 72 first-generation immigrant Chinese Canadian fathers (born in Mainland China) and 52 Chinese fathers from Beijing, China. All fathers were married. For the immigrant fathers, the mean age was 39.66 years of age ($SD = 4.71$), and their children were an average age of 3.31 years ($SD = 0.53$) (36

girls). Fathers and their children from China averaged 41.64 and 3.16 years of age (SD's = 6.23, 0.83, respectively) (27 boys). An ANOVA for fathers and their children's ages by country revealed that on average, fathers in China were older, $F (1, 123) = 62.10$, $p < 0.001$, but the age of the children did not significantly differ. The fathers' levels of education were generally high across the two countries, with most fathers having attained a university degree.

For employment, most of the Chinese Canadian and Chinese fathers were employed full-time, except for ten immigrant Chinese and three Chinese fathers who did not answer the question (for income and/or employment) on the questionnaire. The mean household yearly income for the immigrant Chinese families was $40,000–$60,000 CDN/year and $72,000–$96,000 YN for the families in China. Thus, families were classified as middle class.

Procedures and Measures

Chinese Canadian fathers were recruited from churches, Chinese local organizations, local daycare centers, and word of mouth in and around the Toronto metropolitan area. The fathers in China were recruited through local communities and word of mouth.

This study was part of a larger study in which either mothers or fathers completed background information questionnaires which included information about their date of birth, country of origin, length of residency in Canada (for immigrants), levels of maternal and paternal education and incomes, and age and sex of the targeted child. This form, along with the signed consent form, was given to the trained research assistants (bilingual in English and Mandarin if conducted in Canada) on the day of the home visit.

The time diary activity was conducted in the families' homes. This activity was a pen-and-paper task; it required fathers to first identify their last workday and nonworkday (weekend day). They were instructed to focus on all of their social interactions at home. Each day started and ended at midnight, a 24-h account of a full day. The activities were listed in chart form with columns to make it easier for fathers to recall their two days (see Fig. 2.1). Fathers were asked to include what they were doing and with whom, room location, and if they were engaged in any other activity (Robinson, 1977).

Analytic Strategies

The absolute number of minutes that fathers spent with their children was calculated from fathers' reports of their weekday and weekend day activities (referred to as absolute time). For accessibility (within earshot distance of the child), fathers' activities such as doing household chores, having family meals together, and engaging in activities without the child were also coded. Engagement was divided into

two subdimensions: play and care. The third dimension, responsibility (the child was left alone with the father who was the only adult in the home), was not included since this dimension was rarely coded for these two samples. Other aspects of the days were also coded, including work, going outside with the family which may include doing errands or going to a park, going outside without the child, and other (missing data). All data was coded by a team of trained researchers in Canada, and inter-rater reliabilities for all coding systems were high (kappa's > 0.80).

Fathers' absolute amounts of times (minutes) on these various activities were analyzed (repeated-measures ANOVAs, ANOVAs). Post hoc t-tests and ANOVAs were conducted to further examine the significant main and interaction effects. When mean scores were created for an average day, the mean score was calculated by weighting the scores by the number of days a week. For example, fathers' average day of playing with their children was calculated by (workday play × 5) + (weekend day play × 2)/7.

A second series of analyses were conducted to explore fathers' proportionate time. The goals of these analyses were to take into consideration the variability of fathers' amounts of time spent sleeping and working, allowing us to accurately analyze their actual available time. For example, fathers may have spent 10% of their available time taking care of their children. Thus, proportionate scores for fathers (percentage of time) were calculated by activity time/1440 min − (work time + sleep time).

Results

Fathers engaged in a variety of activities during the workdays and non-workdays. We explored country differences as well as difference among various types of father involvement. We first analyzed the dimensions of father involvement: (1) engagement, and (2) accessibility. Next, we explored the fathers' activities outside of the home.

Engagement

Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers spent time playing with and caring for their children. The 2 (Country) × 2 (Day) × 2 (Engagement: play, care) repeated-measures ANOVA, with Engagement treated as the repeated measure, revealed main effects for Engagement, Day, and Country, F's (1, 121) = 133.83, 30.59, 9.21, p's < 0.000, 0.000, 0.01, respectively, and significant interaction effects for Engagement × x Day and Engagement × Country, F's (2, 242) = 70.94, 7.29, p's < 0.000, 0.01.

As seen in Table 2.1, post hoc t-tests revealed that, on an average day, both Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers spent significantly more time playing with their children than taking care of them (1 h and 30 min, 41 min, respectively).

Childcare activities included fathers helping their children to get up and ready in the mornings, helping them brush their teeth, bathing, and getting ready for bed. Also, fathers spent more than twice the amount of time directly engaging with their children on the weekend days than workdays (3:42, 1:43, respectively). However, the amount of time spent playing with their children on the workday was similar to their time spent in childcare activities on the weekend days (see Table 2.1).

Examining country differences, Chinese fathers spent significantly more time with their children in engagement activities than did their Chinese Canadian counterparts (2:38, 1:49, respectively). More specifically, post hoc ANOVAs revealed that Chinese fathers spent greater amounts of time playing with their children than did Chinese Canadians (1:54, 1:11, respectively). However, they spent similar amounts of time doing childcare activities (:44, :39, respectively) (see Table 2.2).

When reexamining fathers' proportionate amounts of time in engagement activities, some of the significant group differences were not supported. Specifically, only the main effects were supported but not the interactions effects (Engagement, Day, Country, F's $(1, 121) = 53.15, 4.66, 12.13, p$'s $< 0.000, 0.05, 0.001$, respectively). The fathers generally spent more than twice the proportionate amount of their time playing with their children than caring for them (0.16, 0.07, respectively) (see Table 2.3). These engagement activities occurred more often during the weekend days than workdays (0.26, 0.22, respectively). Moreover, fathers in China allocated a greater proportionate amount of their awake time directly engaged with their children than did Chinese fathers in Canada (0.27, 0.20, respectively).

Table 2.1 Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers' levels of involvement by type of day (awake time)

Behavior	Type of day		
	Workday	Non-workday	Average day[a]
	Time[b]	Time	Time
Accessibility	3:42	6:02	:41
Chores	:24	:50	:32
Meals	1:09	2:11	1:27
Other activities	2:02	2:56	2:17
Daycare	:08	:02	:06
Engagement	1:43	3:42	2:11
Care	:33	:59	:41
Play	1:01	2:43	1:30
Outside	:18	2:53	1:03
Outside—no child	1:04	:58	1:02
Other	:45	:36	:42
Available time[c]	7:22	14:10	9:19

Note
[a]Average day was calculated by (workday × 5) + (non-workday × 2)/7
[b]Time refers to number of hours and minutes (e.g., 4:08 refers to 4 h and 8 min)
[c]Available time refers to awake time, not including sleep or work

Table 2.2 Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers' levels of involvement by country by type of day (awake time)

Behavior	Country/type of day/amount of time						Overall
	Canada			China			
	Workday	Non-workday	Average day	[a]Workday	Non-workday	Average day	
	Time[b]	Time	Time	Time	Time	Time	Time
Accessibility	4:08	6:34	4:50	3:31	6:22	3:48	4:41
Chores	:39	1:21	:51	:06	:14	:09	:32
Meals	1:14	2:15	1:31	1:04	2:06	1:22	1:27
Other activities	2:01	2:52	2:16	2:04	3:01	2:21	2:17
Daycare	:10	:03	:08	:06	:01	:05	:06
Engagement	1:22	2:55	1:49	1:48	4:44	2:38	2:11
Care	:38	:37	:39	:29	1:23	:44	:41
Play	:44	2:18	1:11	1:19	3:21	1:54	1:30
Outside	:22	3:18	1:13	:12	2:19	:48	1:02
Outside—no child	:44	1:18	:54	1:29	:40	1:15	1:02
Other	:36	:20	:31	:55	:53	:54	:42
Available time[c]	7:04	14:19	9:08	7:37	13:58	9:26	

Note
[a]Average day was calculated by (workday × 5) + (non-workday × 2)/7
[b]Time refers to number of hours and minutes (e.g., 4:08 refers to 4 h and 8 min)
[c]Available time refers to awake time, not including sleep or work

Accessibility

When fathers spent time at home, they engaged in a variety of household activities and were accessible to their children. We specifically focused on three activities: (1) household chores such as vacuuming and cooking, (2) having family meals, and (3) engaged in activities without the child, with or without their spouses (e.g., using the computer). To explore whether these accessibility activities differed between Mainland Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers, we conducted a 2 (Country: Canada, China) × 2 (Day: workday, non-workday) × 3 (Accessibility: chores, meals, without child activities) repeated-measures ANOVA, with Accessibility treated as the repeated measure. The analysis revealed main effects for Accessibility and Country, F's $(2, 120) = 98.07, 6.22, p$'s $< 0.000, 0.05$, and significant interaction effects for Accessibility × Day and Accessibility × Day × Country, F's $(2, 120) = 40.08, 5.73, p$'s $< 0.000, 0.01$.

Specifically, regardless of country, post hoc t-tests revealed that fathers were more likely to spend time in activities not involving the children (e.g., surfing the net, reading) than having meals with their families and doing household chores (2:17, 1:27, :32, respectively). Unsurprisingly, fathers reported that they spent more time on these accessibility activities during the non-workdays than workdays (see Table 2.1).

Comparing fathers from these two countries, a series of ANOVAs revealed that Chinese Canadian fathers were significantly more involved in chores, meals, and other activities in the home than were Chinese fathers (4:50, 3:48, respectively), thus being more available to their children if needed. Moreover, Chinese Canadian fathers reported spending significantly more time doing household chores than their Chinese counterparts, especially on the weekend days. However, Chinese fathers' time spent on chores did not differ by type of day (see Table 2.2).

Taking into consideration that fathers' amount of available time is dependent on their work schedules and their sleep time, fathers' activities were calculated as proportionate time. The analyses revealed similar main and interaction effects, except for one finding. There was a main effect for Day $F(1, 120) = 5.36$, $p < 0.05$. Fathers spent almost half of their available time on chores, meals, and other activities during the workdays and significantly less time on the weekend days (see Table 2.3).

Outside of the House Activities

Fathers also recalled spending time in activities outside of the house. There were three types of external activities: (1) outings with child such as going to a restaurant or a playground, (2) without child outings, and (3) work. A 2 (Country) × 2 (Day) × 2 (Outings: with child, without child) repeated-measures ANOVA, with Outings treated as the repeated measure, was conducted. For the outings, there was no main effect but a significant Day × Country interaction effect, $F(1, 121) = 7.86$, $p < 0.02$.

Table 2.3 Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers' proportionate levels of involvement by country by type of day (awake time)

Behavior	Country/types of day/percentage of day[a]						Overall
	Canada			China			
	Workday	Non-workday	Average day[b]	Workday	Non-workday	Average day	
Accessibility	60.00	46.04	56.01	41.00	36.98	39.63	0.48
Chores	9.66	9.62	9.65	1.17	1.76	1.34	0.06
Meals	18.30	15.89	17.61	15.01	15.38	15.12	16.47
Other activities	28.81	19.58	26.17	25.22	19.76	21.75	25.03
Daycare	1.89	0.38	1.46	1.04	0.01	0.77	1.15
Engagement	19.84	20.58	20.05	24.84	33.40	27.29	23.35
Care	8.13	4.21	7.01	6.27	10.27	7.41	7.19
Play	11.71	16.37	13.04	18.58	23.13	19.88	16.16
Outside	5.91	22.99	10.79	2.14	16.44	6.23	8.72
Outside—no child	7.61	8.01	7.72	19.63	4.33	15.26	11.44
Other	6.21	2.38	5.12	12.70	8.85	11.60	8.04

Note
[a]Percentage refers to the proportionate amounts of time spent in a particular activity
[b]Average day was calculated by (workday × 5) + (non-workday × 2)/7

Post hoc t-tests revealed that for only Chinese fathers, they were more likely to be outside without their child during the workdays than the weekend days (1:27, :41, respectively). For fathers' work, the ANOVA revealed no significant main and interaction effects (see Table 2.2).

Examining fathers' proportionate scores, there was also a Day main effect, F (1, 121) = 13.86, $p < 0.000$. Fathers spent about 13% of their available time involved in activities outside of the house and without their children as compared to 6% of their time during the workdays.

For the outings with the child, there was a significant main effect for Day, F (1, 121) = 108.69, $p < 0.000$. Fathers generally spend significant amounts of time with their children outside of the house on the weekends as compared to the workdays such as going to the playground and shopping (2:53, :18, respectively). The analysis on the proportionate scores confirmed the Day effect but also revealed a Country main effect, F (1, 121) = 5.91, $p < 0.05$. Specifically, Chinese Canadian fathers allocated twice the amount of time toward outings with their children than did Chinese fathers (0.11, 0.06, respectively) (see Table 2.3).

For fathers' amount of time working, the analysis revealed no country differences. There was, however, an expected Day effect, F (1, 121) = 613.80, $p < 0.000$. Generally, fathers spent significantly more time working during the workday than on the weekend days (8:10, :33, respectively).

Discussion

The current study extends our knowledge on Chinese fathers with young children in two sociocultural contexts, Canada and China. It is one of the first studies to explore father involvement in Chinese families with young children and, also more broadly, the only study to date that employs a full 24-h account time diary recall to capture the everyday activities and events of fathers with specific children.

As scholars challenge current ways of thinking about family dynamics and functioning, greater attention has focused on ethnic minority families (see Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013). Especially in the last several decades, fathers have gained prominence in research agendas which has provided more in-depth knowledge about the complexities of families and how parents may directly and indirectly impact child outcomes (Cabrera & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013; Lamb, 2010). Unfortunately, and similar to other ethnic groups, many researchers have tended to focus on more "stereotypic" and overgeneralized portrayals of Chinese families (and Asians in general) which then limits our understanding of these families. Of the few studies on Chinese father involvement, most of the researchers explored how fathers' involvement was linked to their children's academic achievement, with greater focus on middle childhood and adolescence (e.g., Lau, 2016; Newland, Coyl, & Chen, 2013).

Chinese fathers have been found to be more child-centered and may not be influenced by Chinese traditional parenting roles. Our findings revealed a more comprehensive exploration of what Mainland Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers do

with their available time. It is through these accounts of fathers' everyday activities that we are able to better capture the cultural nuances and family variations. Specifically, our present findings revealed that regardless of country, Chinese fathers were actively engaged with their 3-year-old children. Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers spent significantly more time playing with their young children than engage in childcare activities. Fathers' proportionate time for engagement (i.e., percentage of their available time allocated to engagement behaviors) revealed similar results. This is not surprising as researchers have contended that play is an especially salient aspect of fathers' relationships with their children (see Lamb, 2010; Tamis-LeMonda, 2004) and is consistent with past findings of fathers' levels of play in various ethnic groups (e.g., see Jain, Belskey, & Crnic, 1996; Lamb et al., 2004; Tamis-LeMonda, 2004; Yeung et al., 2001).

Chinese fathers reported spending significantly more time playing with their children than did Chinese Canadian fathers, but the amount of time spent caring for their children was similar between countries. This finding was only significant for fathers' absolute times but not for fathers' proportionate times. This emphasizes the importance of taking context into consideration, as some fathers may work longer hours than others. Also, Chinese Canadian fathers may be spending less time playing with their children perhaps due to limited time as their social resources (e.g., extended families, communities) may not be as accessible as their Chinese counterparts. Many Chinese families immigrate to Canada without their extended families as immigration policies as well as economic strains may hinder these family structures. These immigrant fathers may also have less social support as they need to create new social networks in their new country, which may provide greater challenges to their involvement with their children. Regardless, significant portions of fathers' workdays and especially weekend days were spent in direct social interactions with their young children.

As evidenced in their reports of accessibility, Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers spent a considerable amount of their time at home. For household chores, Chinese Canadian fathers did more chores such as cooking and cleaning the house than did Chinese fathers. Perhaps Chinese fathers have extended families to assist in the chores as many families are multigenerational households, especially with one child. In Canada, Chinese Canadian families may have limited extended family and thus, must rely on each other to share the household responsibilities. These country discrepancies were similar to our study of Chinese Canadian and Mainland Chinese fathers with one-year-olds and Mainland Chinese families. However, as seen in Table 2.1, Mainland Chinese fathers' limited amounts of time spent in doing household chores is similar to Yeung et al.'s (2001) findings that fathers with children less than two years of age spent an average of 9 min doing household chores.

Perhaps a reflection of the Confucian influence of the importance of families (interdependent relationships) is the significant amount of time Chinese and Chinese Canadian fathers spent in eating meals with their families on weekday and weekend days. As researchers have found, there are numerous benefits for children when they eat with their parents such as children directly observing patterns of communication which, in turn, is associated with mental and physical health (e.g., depression, anxiety

symptoms, lung functioning) and other child outcomes (for review, see Quick, Fiese, Anderson, Koeter, & Marlin, 2007). Thus, researchers need to further explore how mealtimes in Chinese families may promote positive child development as well as family well-being.

The advantages of the time diary activity also provides insight into families' extracurricular activities (outside of the home) as father involvement tends to primarily focus on activities in the homes. Both groups of Chinese fathers reported venturing out with their children, especially on the weekend days, such as going shopping, spending time with family friends, and going to the park. Surprisingly, Chinese fathers allocated more time engaged in activities (with or without the spouse) outside of the house without the child, especially on workdays, as compared to Chinese Canadian fathers. This more nuanced distinction between countries was based on fathers' proportionate scores, perhaps indicating the importance of standardizing time by context. Also, these activities may need further exploration, especially in China, as perhaps it may be reflective of societal demands and challenges that vie for fathers' time, such as the difficulties of running errands and fulfilling extended family obligations. Further research is needed to explore the everyday life events for Chinese families.

Overall, the present study provides a current portrayal of Chinese fathers' everyday lives. These findings support the claims that Chinese fathers are holding more egalitarian attitudes toward parenting and parental involvement, with fathers spending significant amounts of time in caring for and playing with their children, and doing household chores (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009, 2013; Lamb, 2010). Thus, our understanding of fathers' conceptual framework of fatherhood has shifted from traditional notions of Chinese fathering to actively involved and available fathers. Further exploration of father involvement in different subethnic (e.g., Hong Kong, Taiwan) and socioeconomic groups would be a meaningful way of advancing the scholarship on fathering.

Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations of the study that need to be taken into consideration. First, the study was exploratory and, thus, a relatively small sample of fathers was recruited. All of the fathers were of middle-class standing from two major metropolitan cities in Canada and China. Thus, these findings are limited in their generalizability to other socioeconomic or other Asian groups. Second, the time diary approach is a recall activity of the last workday and one non-workday. However, one or both of these days may have been "unusual" and not representative of their everyday activities. If the day was a unique day, perhaps fathers could have been asked to provide an account of another day. Also, these recalls are by memory, and thus, remembering exactly how long each activity/event took place may not be precise. However, compared to other father involvement methods, this method of assessing father involvement in everyday activities provides a more in-depth account of fathering behaviors and family functioning.

Future Directions

Contemporary families are complex with various sociocultural contexts that directly and indirectly impact fathering and more broadly, parenting. Thus, it is imperative of researchers to continually refine theoretical and methodological frameworks that will capture these families (Chuang, 2013; Chuang et al., 2018). Future research on ethnic minority families should use more innovative methodologies such as the utilization of both qualitative and quantitative methods, a multi-informant approach, to tap into the dynamics and ever-changing social relationships among family members. These strategies will assist researchers to better theorize about fathering in a richer and more comprehensive fashion, nesting our understanding within family and cultural processes.

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Chapter 3
The Complexities of Parental Control Among Chinese American Mothers: The Role of Acculturation

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Individuals of Chinese descent comprise the largest Asian American subgroup (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012) and may be represented by people from different geographic origins, including Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, and Vietnam (Cheah & Li, 2009). In order to promote the positive parenting and healthy development of Chinese American children from an early age, more developmental research on this population is greatly needed.

Parental control is characterized as parental attempts to regulate child behaviors using power assertion (Baumrind, 2012) and centers on the fundamental duality of autonomy and control in parent-child interactions (Barber & Xia, 2013; Pomerantz & Wang, 2009). Parental control and strictness is a particularly salient and debated theme in Chinese parenting due to the traditionally hierarchical Chinese family structure (Chao & Tseng, 2002). The restrictiveness and harshness of Chinese parental control was highlighted in some early and comparative research with Western families. However, other researchers have attempted to provide a more indepth understanding of the cultural meaning of parenting control in the Chinese and Chinese American context (see Chao & Tseng, 2002). Chinese immigrant parents in the United States face additional challenges introduced by immigration-related cultural changes. These parents have been socialized in a more traditionally hierarchical family context but are socializing their children in a more autonomy-promoting

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society. The process of acculturation may motivate immigrant parents to modify their parenting in order to achieve parenting effectiveness. For instance, greater acculturation toward the mainstream culture among Chinese immigrant parents was positively associated with greater parenting efficacy, which in turn was associated with more positive parenting practices (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). Thus, this current chapter aimed to provide a better understanding of *why* and *how* Chinese American mothers exert control over their young children through interviews and how acculturation plays a role in their use of control.

Conceptualization of Parental Control and Associated Outcomes

Parental control is a fundamental construct in both dimensional and typological approaches to parenting (Barber & Xia, 2013). Barber (1996) distinguished two forms of parental control, behavioral control and psychological control, according to the locus or source of parents' attempts at control. Interestingly, different patterns of associations between these two forms of control and developmental outcomes have been found across independent- and interdependent-focused cultures.

Behavioral Control

Behavioral control refers to parental behaviors that are used to achieve child compliance and emphasizes regulating children's behavior and activity through guidance (Barber, 1996; Baumrind, Larzelere, & Owens, 2010; Li, Zhang, & Wang, 2013). Behavioral control is further differentiated into confrontive versus coercive behavioral control (Baumrind, 2013). Confrontive control is characterized as reasoned, negotiable, outcome-oriented, and concerned with regulating behaviors (Baumrind, 2012). Baumrind (2012) operationally defined confrontive behavioral control by the following strategies: confronts when child disobeys, cannot be coerced by the child, successfully exerts force or influence, enforces rules after initial noncompliance, exercises power decisively, uses negative sanctions freely, discourages defiant stance, and demands child's attention. Parents who engage in confrontive behavioral control have more competent, well-adjusted, and academically successful children (Barber & Xia, 2013; Steinberg, 1990). In contrast, coercive behavioral control is considered arbitrary, peremptory, domineering, and concerned with making status distinctions (Baumrind, 2012). Strategies of coercive behavioral control include verbal hostility, arbitrary discipline, and severe physical punishment (Baumrind, 2013; Morris, Cui, & Steinberg, 2013). The absence of sufficient regulation and guidance or supervision in family environments place children at risk for aggression and delinquent behaviors (Hoeve et al., 2009).

Even though the effectiveness of confrontive behavioral control and the detrimental effects of coercive behavioral control have been found in different cultures, parents endorse the various strategies of behavioral control to different degrees across cultural contexts (e.g., Nelson et al., 2006; Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007). For example, European American parents employ withholding privileges, time-outs, and modeling more than Chinese American parents, whereas Chinese American parents exert closer monitoring and more physical coercion than European American parents (e.g., Cheah & Rubin, 2003; Jose, Huntsinger, Huntsinger, & Liaw, 2000). Researchers have argued that the traditionally defined meanings of different strategies of behavioral control are based on European American perspectives, and it is thus imperative to consider indigenous concepts of parental control practiced in other sociocultural contexts (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Psychological Control

Psychological control refers to intrusive and manipulative attempts to control children's psychological and emotional world (Barber, 1996; Baumrind, 2013; Baumrind et al., 2010; Li et al., 2013). Psychologically controlling strategies comprise of guilt induction, shaming, love withdrawal, invalidating feelings, expressing disappointment, negative criticism, suppression of emotions, and constraining of verbal expressions (Aunola, Tolvanen, Viljaranta, & Nurmi, 2013; Barber & Xia, 2013; Louie, Oh, & Lau, 2013). Parents who practice psychological control are more likely to be overinvolved and overprotective with their children (Nelson, Yang, Coyne, Olsen, & Hart, 2013).

Psychological control has been consistently associated with lower levels of parental acceptance and maladaptive developmental outcomes in European American families (e.g., Barber & Harmon, 2002; Rudy & Halgunseth, 2005). However, certain subtypes of psychological control (e.g., relational induction through guilt induction, shaming, reciprocity, social comparison) have been differentially linked to developmental outcomes among more interdependent cultures (e.g., Chao & Aque, 2009; Olsen et al., 2002), perhaps due to parents' socialization goals of promoting desirable characteristics in children within these cultures (Fung & Lau, 2012).

Nevertheless, the associations between psychological control and negative developmental outcomes through the violation of autonomous psychological and emotional functioning have been generally supported even in interdependent cultures (e.g., Palestinian, South Korean, and Chinese cultures; Barber, Maughan, & Olsen, 2005; Camras, Sun, Li, & Wright, 2012; Kim & Dembo, 2000; Wang et al., 2007). Importantly, the use of such practices may also change following immigration due to the influence of the new sociocultural context. For example, Chinese American mothers with preschoolers in the United States reflected that Chinese parents were more likely to use social comparison (i.e., shaming) to correct their children's behaviors than European American parents, but reported decreasing their use of such practices after moving to the United States (Cheah, Leung, & Zhou, 2013).

Family Interactional Patterns and Control: A Focus on Chinese and Chinese American Families

In order to further understand the role of culture in parental control within the familial context, we considered Kağitçibaşi's (2005, 2007) family change model, which proposes three prototypical family interactional patterns: the independence, interdependence, and psychological/emotional interdependence patterns. These patterns guide and help integrate how parents manage the socialization of children's autonomy and relatedness while adapting to sociocultural changes globally. The *independence pattern* describes families living in the industrialized Western style, where material independence, individual achievement, and autonomy-promoting values are endorsed. European American family interactions, in which parents are encouraged to provide a loving and supportive family atmosphere to foster children's self-esteem, independence, and personal accomplishments, are consistent with the independence family pattern (Louie et al., 2013). In this context, excessive parental control is considered intrusive and is associated with negative child outcomes.

In contrast, the *interdependence* pattern describes family socialization that values both material and emotional interdependence. This pattern prevails in rural/agrarian societies and contexts where the economic value of the child is important through his or her contributions to the family income and well-being (Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood, 2009). In the interdependence family pattern, the child's autonomy may be viewed as a threat to the family whereas obedience in children is desirable. Traditional Chinese culture highly values the family unit, group harmony, protecting the reputation of the family, and being self-conscious about the perceptions of others, which endorses interdependent family relationships. Thus, Chinese parents are traditionally expected to provide a controlled and disciplined environment for their children to foster respect, compliance, and educational diligence.

Finally, the *psychological/emotional interdependence pattern* describes families living an industrial or urban lifestyle that have retained some traditional collectivist values. In these families, material independence and psychological/emotional interdependence are both supported. Material interdependence in the family weakens as affluence levels increases, but psychological interdependence and close family ties often remain (Durgel et al., 2009). Immigrant families who come from cultures that emphasize the interdependence pattern to ones which value the independence pattern are proposed to adopt this psychological/emotional interdependence pattern. Specific to our study, Chinese immigrant parents in North America, particularly those of higher socioeconomic status, may expect less financial and material support from their children than Chinese parents in their countries of origin (Cheah et al., 2013; Chen, Chen, & Zheng, 2012) and are further influenced by the mainstream Western cultural context (Chuang & Su, 2009). Although there is recognition of the need for autonomy in childrearing within the psychological/emotional interdependence pattern, strong parental control, particularly "order setting" rather than domineering control, remains important (Chen et al., 2012). Therefore, parental

control within this family pattern allows for autonomy, rather than being mainly oriented toward obedience.

The differences in the meaning and function of parental control across different family interactional patterns indicate the importance of understanding the indigenous meaning of parental control within various sociocultural contexts. Importantly, further examination on how Chinese American mothers conceptualize control, specifically *why* and *how* they exercise control, can shed light on the stability and flexibility of parenting for immigrant families during the course of global migration. Mothers from different cultures may similarly value and express control or strictness, but the motivations behind parental control and the specific ways they attempt to exercise control may vary highly and are infused with meanings derived from the specific cultural setting. These culturally derived meanings are best revealed through an emic approach and the use of qualitative interviews.

Parental Control and Acculturation Among Chinese American Families

One key issue for immigrant parents is the need to accommodate the socialization goals and practices of their culture of origin and the mainstream host culture. This process of *acculturation* involves the reconciling of discrepant values and behaviors as a result of contact and interaction with another distinct culture (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Acculturation toward the mainstream culture and maintenance of the heritage culture has been found to be uniquely associated with parenting (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). These processes also unfold in two domains, behavioral acculturation and psychological acculturation. Behavioral acculturation refers to immigrants' participation in the observable aspects of a culture, whereas psychological acculturation refers to immigrants' identification with the values of a culture (Berry, 1992). Behavioral and psychological acculturation have been shown to be distinct processes and associated with different aspects of parenting among Asian immigrants (Birman, 2006; Tahseen & Cheah, 2012).

Chinese American mothers in the United States with preschool-aged children learn how to adapt to the mainstream culture with increasing exposure to daycare, school, and their larger community settings (Cheah et al., 2013). These parents reported paying more attention to the socialization of both autonomy and relatedness in their children after immigration to the United States and were influenced by both mainstream and heritage cultures. Thus, Chinese immigrant mothers with preschoolers indicated decreasing their use of coercive parenting and increasing their use of regulatory reasoning after moving to the United States (Cheah et al., 2013). Nevertheless, even middle-class Chinese American parents in the United States continue to use greater amounts of control compared to European American parents (Jose et al., 2000), perhaps because of a greater focus on psychological and emotional interdependence with their children than European American families.

The patterns of associations between acculturation and parenting in Chinese American families are inconclusive. Some studies reported that greater acculturation toward the mainstream culture is associated with more parenting practices endorsed by the host culture (e.g., Liu, Lau, Chen, Dinh, & Kim, 2009), but other studies found no associations with parenting practices (Hulei, Zevenbergen, & Jacobs, 2006) and beliefs (Costigan & Su, 2008). Moreover, little attention has been paid to the associations between cultural maintenance and parenting among Chinese American families. Chinese American parents' ideologies about childrearing may change after immigration only when core heritage cultural values are modified (Costigan & Su, 2008). Thus, the role of acculturation in parental control may depend on the dimensions and domains of acculturation (e.g., behavioral acculturation toward mainstream culture or psychological maintenance of heritage culture) and specific aspects of parental control (e.g., rationales or strategies) being examined. Furthermore, these patterns of associations between different aspects of acculturation and parental control among Chinese American families with preschoolers are understudied. Such information can be used to promote effective and positive parenting for Chinese Americans in the United States.

The Present Study: A Cultural Examination of Parental Control in Chinese American Mothers

To fully understand the meaning of parental control in Chinese American families, a deeper exploration of parental ethnotheories regarding control is warranted utilizing a mixed-method approach. We explored first-generation Chinese American mothers' conceptualizations of *why* and *how* they utilized control using qualitative interviews. In addition, we examined the associations between mothers' psychological and behavioral acculturation toward their heritage and the mainstream cultures and their reasons for and strategies of control. We expected that Chinese American mothers' greater maintenance of their heritage culture would be associated with higher levels of relatedness-based reasons for control and traditionally coercive practices. Also, greater acculturation toward the mainstream U.S. culture was expected to be associated with fewer coercive practices.

Participants

Our sample consisted of 80 Chinese American mothers ($M = 37.37$ years of age, $SD = 4.51$) with children between the age of 3 and 6 years old. All the mothers participated in a larger longitudinal study examining the adaptation of Chinese immigrant families residing in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. On average, the mothers had been in the United States for about 10 years ($M = 9.41$, $SD = 5.91$),

had at least college degrees (95%), and were middle-class status (Hollingshead scores ranged from 40.5 to 66, $M = 60.78$, $SD = 4.87$; Bornstein, Hahn, Suwalsky, & Haynes, 2003). All but one mother was in a two-parent household. Half of the mothers reported being Christian, one third reported no religious affiliation, and a small number reported being Buddhist. Half of the families had more than one child. All the mothers in our sample were first-generation immigrants from Mainland China ($n = 60$), Taiwan ($n = 15$), and Hong Kong ($n = 5$) and were married to Chinese immigrants. Most of the children (91.3%) were born in the United States.

Procedures

Participants were recruited from schools, grocery stores, churches, and community organizations. Mothers who expressed interest in participating were contacted by a research assistant who provided them with additional information regarding the study over the phone. At that time, the research assistant also verified that the mothers were the primary caregivers of healthy children within the ages of 3–6 years old, and both parents were ethnically Chinese.

The mothers signed an informed consent form and were then interviewed for an average of 20–30 min regarding parental control. The interviews were conducted in the language/dialect of their preference (i.e., English, Mandarin, or Cantonese). They also completed questionnaires assessing their psychological and behavioral acculturation toward the mainstream Western culture and their heritage culture. Almost all the mothers chose to conduct the interviews and respond to the questionnaires in Chinese.

Measures

Demographic information. A modified version of the *Family Demographic Measures* (FDM; Bornstein, 1991) was used to obtain detailed demographic information, including maternal age, education level, years in the United States, country/place of origin, religion, child gender, child age, and child place of birth.

Behavioral acculturation: Mainstream and heritage dimensions. The *Chinese Parent Acculturation Scale* (CPAS; Chen & Lee, 1996) containing 27 items was administered to assess mothers' behavioral acculturation toward the mainstream culture and their maintenance of behavioral aspects of their heritage culture, including language proficiency, social activities, and lifestyle preferences (e.g., "How often do you watch American/Chinese T.V.?"). Mothers were asked to rate each statement on a five-point Likert scale (e.g., from 1 (Almost Never) to 5 (More than Once a Week) or 1 (Extremely Poor) to 5 (Extremely Well)). The Cronbach's α for behavioral acculturation toward the mainstream and heritage cultures were 0.79 and 0.64, respectively.

Psychological acculturation: Heritage dimension. The *Asian-American Values Scale-Revised* (AAVS-R; Kim & Hong, 2004) containing 25 items was administered to assess mothers' maintenance of their heritage cultural values (e.g., "One should be humble and modest."). Mothers were asked to rate their agreement with each item on a four-point Likert scale, from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 4 (Strongly Agree). The AAVS-R has been found to have acceptable psychometric properties for Asian Americans. The Cronbach's α was 0.72.

Psychological acculturation: Mainstream dimension. The *European-American Values Scale for Asian-Americans-Revised* (EAVS-AA-R; Hong, Kim, & Wolfe, 2005) containing 25 items was administered to the mothers to assess their endorsement of the cultural values of the mainstream culture (e.g., "The world would be a better place if each individual could maximize his or her development."). Mothers were asked to rate their agreement with each statement using a four-point Likert scale, from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 4 (Strongly Agree). The Cronbach's α was 0.68.

Parental control. A modified version of an open-ended interview (Koh & Chang, 2004) was administered to elicit mothers' conceptualizations of control toward their preschool-aged children. Mothers were asked, "Why is it important (or not important) for you to control, regulate, or be strict with their child?" (reasons), and "What do you do when you are controlling, regulating, or being strict with your child?" (strategies). Mothers were asked to answer the open-ended questions and to provide specific reasons and examples during the interview. The interviewers were trained to avoid giving positive, negative, or leading reactions to the mothers' responses during the interviews; they provided prompts and probes when mothers did not elaborate on the examples.

Interview Coding

Mothers' spontaneous responses to the interview were coded by native Chinese-speaking researchers following the procedures developed by Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, and O'Connor (1987), which have been refined and used by Li (2002, 2003). First, coders met several times to establish codes based on the guidelines for content analysis. Each coder independently identified distinct ideas from the interview and the coding team together created conceptual groupings based on similarities in meaning of the distinct ideas. Potential themes of reasons included moral development and child safety and potential themes of strategies included coercive control and corrective guidance. The themes which mothers mentioned were quantified by a frequency count that was used in the analyses. To assess the reliability of the coding, the coders coded 20% of data independently, which were selected randomly (Shaver et al., 1987; Yamamoto & Li, 2012). The Cohen's Kappas was 0.91 for reasons and 0.77 for strategies. All discrepancies were resolved through discussion until a consensus was reached. Due to the open-ended nature of these two questions, proportion scores were created for the reasons (five categories) and strategies (eight categories) and used in all analyses to control for variability in the number of responses that mothers provided.

Results

Chinese American mothers provided five reasons for implementing control with their young children (see Table 3.1). The five reasons were ranked by the percentages of mothers who cited the corresponding reasons. Mothers rationalized implementing control in order to: (1) aid the child in following behavioral standards and norms by establishing behavioral boundaries and rules (66.2%); (2) aid the child in distinguishing right from wrong by promoting their moral development (38.7%); (3) begin training and disciplining the child at a young age through guidance (26.2%); (4) ensure both the physical and mental safety and security of the child (2.5%); and (5) teach the child how to respect and treat others within their social relationships (1.2%). The five reasons did not differ based on mothers' country of origin and child gender, and country and gender were not examined further.

A repeated measures one-way ANOVA demonstrated significant differences between the means of the five reasons, Wilks' lambda = 0.08, $F(4, 76) = 216.89$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.92$. Post hoc comparisons applying Bonferroni correction revealed that establishing behavioral boundaries and rules ($M = 0.52$, $SD = 0.43$) was significantly more frequent than the other four reasons. Also, promoting the child's moral development ($M = 0.25$, $SD = 0.36$) and providing guidance due to the child's young age ($M = 0.18$, $SD = 0.33$) were cited at similar frequencies, but significantly more frequently than ensuring the safety ($M = 0.01$, $SD = 0.06$) and security of the child and teaching the child how to respect and treat others within their social relationships ($M = 0.01$, $SD = 0.06$).

Moreover, mothers reported using eight control strategies when regulating or being strict with their children (see Table 3.2). The eight strategies were ranked by the percentages of mothers who cited the corresponding strategy. Mothers imple-

Table 3.1 Coding categories, percentages of mothers' responses, and examples of direct quotes for the importance of being strict

Ranking	Code category	Percentage (%)	Direct quote
1	Behavioral norms/standards	66.2	Parents need to set boundaries for their children; [children] need to know boundaries and limits to follow rules
2	Moral development	38.7	Young children lack the ability to differentiate between right and wrong; [the child who] lacks discipline will be spoiled
3	Providing guidance	26.2	Children do not know how to self-discipline; appropriate strictness at a young age will ease disciplinary efforts at older ages
4	Child safety	2.5	To prevent dangerous behaviors, such as electrical shocks or playing with fire; setting firm boundaries helps her feel secure
5	Respecting others	1.2	Respect and appreciate other people; how to get along with people

Table 3.2 Coding category, percentage of mothers' responses, and direct quotes of specific ways of being strict

Ranking	Code category	Percentage (%)	Direct quote
1	Nonphysical punishment	67.1	A privilege or toy is taken away; give a time-out if necessary
2	Coercive control	60.8	Physically move him in the right direction; spank his palm
3	Correction	44.3	Tell her when she is breaking a rule; require an apology
4	Show parents' serious/stern attitude	45.6	Speak in a firm tone of voice; look directly into his eyes with a stern look
5	Reasoning/ negotiation	43	Explain what will happen if she does not stop the behavior; create an environment and one-on-one time to solve the problem
6	Setting and maintaining rules	26.6	Set expectations for her and make sure that she is aware of them; remind him or her first
7	Psychological control	21.5	Silent treatment; sometimes if I do not look at him and ignore him, then he will know he should not behave like this
8	Consistency	13.9	Try to be consistent when enforcing rules; follow through with consequences

mented control by: (1) using nonphysical punishment or discipline (67.1%); (2) using coercive or physical control (60.8%); (3) pointing out mistakes through correction of behavior (44.3%); (4) expressing and showing parent's serious or stern attitude (45.6%); (5) explaining parental punishment or behaviors and reasoning and negotiation with child (43%); (6) setting and maintaining rules and boundaries (26.6%); (7) engaging in psychological control through love withdrawal, shaming and guilt induction (21.5%); and (8) enforcing consistency by following through with rules and punishments (13.9%). The eight strategies did not differ based on mothers' country of origin and child gender, and so country of origin and gender were not explored further. A repeated measure one-way ANOVA demonstrated significant differences between the means of the eight strategies, Wilks' lambda = 0.33, $F(7, 72) = 21.03$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.67$. Post hoc comparisons applying Bonferroni correction confirmed that nonphysical punishment ($M = 0.24$, $SD = 0.23$) and coercive control ($M = 0.22$, $SD = 0.25$) were cited significantly more frequently than the other six strategies. Correction ($M = 0.14$, $SD = 0.18$), showing parents' serious/ stern attitude ($M = 0.13$, $SD = 0.17$), and reasoning and negotiation ($M = 0.12$, $SD = 0.17$) were cited at similar frequencies, but significantly more frequently than setting and maintaining rules ($M = 0.06$, $SD = 0.11$), psychological control ($M = 0.05$, $SD = 0.12$), and enforcing consistency ($M = 0.03$, $SD = 0.09$).

Next, we examined the associations between various indices of mothers' level of acculturation (mothers' psychological and behavioral acculturation with regard to both their heritage culture and the mainstream culture) and their conceptualizations of *why* and *how* they utilized control. Preliminary zero-order correlation analyses showed that Chinese immigrant mothers' length of stay in the United States was

negatively associated with their use of correction, $r = -.34$, $p < 0.01$, and psychological control, $r = -.23$, $p < 0.05$. Thus, multiple regression analyses were conducted to test the role of mothers' level of maintenance of their heritage culture and acculturation toward the mainstream culture in relation to their reasons for and strategies of using regulation and strictness with their child, controlling for their length of stay in the United States.

Results showed that mothers' maintenance of the cultural values of their heritage culture was positively associated with their reasoning of ensuring the safety and security of the child, $\beta = 0.33$, $t(76) = 2.98$, $p < 0.01$. In addition, mothers' psychological acculturation toward the mainstream culture was negatively associated with their reasoning of promoting their child's moral development, $\beta = -0.23$, $t(76) = -2.04$, $p < 0.05$.

Mothers' maintenance of behavioral aspects of their heritage culture was positively associated with their reported use of reasoning and negotiation, $\beta = 0.32$, $t(76) = 2.72$, $p < 0.01$; showing parent's serious/stern attitude, $\beta = 0.25$, $t(76) = 2.26$, $p < 0.05$; and coercive control, $\beta = 0.30$, $t(76) = 2.67$, $p < 0.01$. Mothers' behavioral acculturation toward the mainstream culture was negatively associated with their use of enforcing rules consistency, $\beta = -0.24$, $t(76) = -2.05$, $p < 0.05$; coercive control, $\beta = -0.29$, $t(76) = -2.31$, $p < 0.05$; and setting and maintaining rules, $\beta = -0.29$, $t(76) = -2.57$, $p < 0.05$.

Discussion

Overall, the qualitative approach used in our study revealed cultural priorities in mothers' rationale for and method of exerting control over their young children. *Establishing behavioral boundaries and rules* was the most frequently-cited reason for being strict or controlling among Chinese American mothers. Training children in the appropriate behaviors has a positive connotation for Chinese parents, and the establishment of behavioral regulation and control is also emphasized in independence-oriented cultures (Steinberg, 1990; Wu, 2013). Thus, Chinese American mothers appeared to value confrontive behavioral control and continued to prioritize the establishment of behavioral boundaries and rules for their children to promote their social competence and appropriate behaviors. Chinese American mothers also emphasized the *internalization of morality and providing early guidance* for lifelong conduct as important reasons for exerting control, reflecting their valuing of self-cultivation as a socialization goal (Ho, 2009). Mothers in interdependent cultures tend to endorse socialization goals promoting proper demeanor and good morals, and their own self-worth is also contingent on their children's performance (Chao, 1995; Harwood, Schoelmerich, Ventura-Cook, Schulze, & Wilson, 1996; Ng, Pomerantz, & Deng, 2014).

With regard to their controlling practices, Chinese American mothers relied on *nonphysical punishment* and *coercive control* strategies equally. Strategies of confrontive behavioral control, involving removal of privileges, time-outs, and exercising nonphysical punishments or consequences when the child misbehaves

(Baumrind, 2012), are often employed by European American parents (Cheah & Rubin, 2003). Chinese American mothers also frequently cited using coercive control when being strict. Teaching children to be attentive, calm, and well-behaved in interdependent cultures requires considerably more physical prompting and control than teaching children to be assertive and self-confident in independent culture (Carlson & Harwood, 2003). Thus, these normative physical disciplinary techniques may have been emphasized when relatedness is valued as a socialization goal. In our previous research, Chinese American mothers indicated that while they believed that exerting certain restraints on children to obtain compliance was necessary, they decreased their use of coercive controlling strategies after moving to the United States (Cheah et al., 2013). Thus, mothers' focus on both nonphysical punishment and coercive controlled supports the idea that Chinese American mothers are incorporating the practices of both cultures, reflecting the family model of psychological/emotional interdependence.

Chinese American mothers' second set of most frequently cited strategies included the *correction of unwanted behaviors and provision of guidance* for appropriate behaviors, *showing a serious/stern attitude* to make sure that children pay attention, and *explaining the reason for rules and negotiating* with the child. Such practices reflect the Chinese training ideology with young children, which stresses the importance of guiding the child towards the internalization of parental expectations for appropriate behaviors through firm governance and continual guidance (Chao, 1994). Although mothers' use of reasoning and negotiating with children seems incongruent with traditional Chinese parenting values, research on Chinese and Chinese American parents with young children finds that the use of reasoning and provision of explanations to young children regarding their misdeed is common (Cheah et al., 2013; Cheah & Rubin, 2003). Young Chinese children (under 6 years old) are considered to be incapable of understanding things and parents should provide guidance and explanations (Ho, 2009). The use of negotiations with young children is a way to indulge them while inculcating behavioral control (Chao, 1995; Cheah & Rubin, 2003). Chinese American mothers have reported to prefer guiding their children rather than imposing absolute control (Chao, 1995; Gorman, 1998). These mothers had behavioral expectations but also explained the reasons for their requests and allowed their children to decide (Gorman, 1998).

In addition, Chinese American mothers tend to socialize their children to be aware of others to promote their sense of interdependence (Chen et al., 2012). The purpose of using psychologically controlling practices, such as shaming, love withdrawal, and guilt induction, is to teach their children right from wrong by using their relationships with parents to motivate the child to behave in a socially acceptable manner (Fung & Lau, 2009; Wu et al., 2002). It was interesting, however, that such practices were not reported more frequently than parents' setting and maintaining of rules and enforcing rules consistently.

Associations between acculturation and control. We also examined the associations between mothers' rationale for and method of using control and their acculturation toward both their heritage and mainstream cultures. Chinese American

mothers who maintained more of the *cultural values* of their heritage culture tended to emphasize the safety and security of the childrearing environment. Traditionally, Chinese parents, especially mothers, are fully responsible of providing their young children with constant care, devotion, protection, and a safe environment (Wu et al., 2002). Chinese American mothers have reported that Chinese mothers are expected to be protective and take precautions to eliminate any chance of their children getting hurt (Cheah et al., 2013). Notably, the mothers in our study also indicated that it was important to be strict with their children because they believed that enforcing certain levels of control can help provide a secure base and protection for their children (e.g., "setting firm boundaries helps her feel secure").

In contrast, Chinese American mothers who were more *psychologically* acculturated toward the mainstream culture were less likely to consider using control to foster their children's morality. Traditionally, Chinese immigrant parents value absolute morality (as opposed to moral relativism) and children's adherence to these values through compliance (Rothbaum, Morelli, Pott, & Liu-Constant, 2000). Thus, as these mothers increasingly endorse the independent-oriented mainstream cultural values, they may favor and value children's autonomous decision-making rather than following rules of absolute morality (Durgel et al., 2009).

Chinese American mothers who maintained the *behavioral* aspects of their heritage culture were more likely to endorse using reasoning and negotiating with young children, more traditional practices of showing parents' serious/stern attitude, and coercive control. These mothers are more likely to socialize with their Chinese peers and may model their peers' use of these traditional practices. Also, when these mothers participate more in their heritage culture, they also tend to maintain more restrictive and coercive forms of control to stress the importance of child obedience and respect of parental authority (Chao, 1995; Nelson et al., 2006).

Moreover, Chinese American mothers who reported lower *participation* in the mainstream society were more likely to maintain the traditional Chinese parenting practices of coercive control and setting rules. These mothers may engage in these rule-based practices because they have fewer opportunities to observe and model the parenting practices of the mainstream cultural context. These findings are consistent with previous research, which found that Chinese immigrant mothers in the United Kingdom who were less acculturated to the mainstream independent culture tended to use more punitive parenting and coercive control (Huang & Lamb, 2015).

Chinese American mothers who have resided for longer periods of time in the United States also decreased their use of correction, and psychological control, perhaps to foster children's autonomy. Correction, as instructive means to teach and correct the child to meet parents' expectations, and the use of psychologically intrusive and manipulative practices to control children's psychological and emotional world are believed to undermine child autonomy in the mainstream culture (Baumrind et al., 2010; Chao, 1994; Wu et al., 2002).

Limitations of the Present Study and Future Directions on Parental Control

The findings and limitations of our present study inform three avenues of future research that may further our understanding of parental control within Chinese American families. First, our sample was middle class, and these beliefs and practices may differ considerably according to SES (Hoff, Laursen, & Tardif, 2002). Specifically, parents of lower SES have been found to engage in more controlling parenting than their higher SES counterparts of the same culture (Park & Lau, 2016). Thus, research that further disentangles the role of SES versus culture in Chinese American mothers' conceptualization of and engagement in control can explain the processes that underlie immigrant parents' maintenance and adoption of certain control practices.

Second, our study only focused on mothers. The parenting roles of mothers and fathers vary early in the children's lives (Lamb & Bougher, 2009). However, little attention has been given to the unique role that fathers play in Chinese families (Chuang & Su, 2008). Traditionally, the father's role is defined as "master of the family" (*yi jia zhi zhu*), so fathers often provide for the family financially, make important decisions about the family, and are the disciplinarians (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Chuang & Su, 2008). Importantly, recent research suggests that contemporary Chinese and Chinese immigrant fathers are actively involved in caregiving (Li & Lamb, 2012). For instance, fathers in Mainland China and Chinese immigrant fathers in Canada are no longer viewed as the disciplinarian, but as a caregiver, playmate, and educator/trainer for their child (Chuang & Su, 2008). Moreover, fathers' acculturation and adjustment in the host culture have been found to impact their relationships with their children and their children's psychological well-being (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011; Qin, 2009). Thus, future research examining Chinese immigrant fathers' conceptualizations of control, and the role of their acculturation in these beliefs and practices, is greatly needed.

Third, Chinese Americans with different countries or places of origin (e.g., Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan) may socialize differently due to the political and sociocultural structures in the respective source countries. For instance, the political context in Taiwan endorses more democratic involvement of its people than in Mainland China. Chuang (2006) also found that Taiwanese-Canadian mothers negotiated and compromised with their children on everyday issues to grant them personal freedom, regardless of mothers' level of acculturation. However, our preliminary analyses did not find differences in maternal conceptualizations by place of origin perhaps due to our relatively homogeneous (75% from Mainland China) and small sample. Thus, future exploration of the complexities of immigrant mothers' place of origin and acculturation in their beliefs and practices is needed.

Conclusions

To capture a culturally derived understanding of control guided by Kağitçibaşi's (2007) family change model, the current chapter examined first-generation Chinese American mothers' conceptualizations of control in the United States. Using a qualitative approach, we revealed cultural priorities in Chinese American mothers' rationale for and method of exerting control over their young children that reflected the psychological/emotional interdependence family pattern, similar to other immigrant families from interdependent cultures residing within a more independent cultural context (e.g., Durgel et al., 2009). Importantly, Chinese American mothers reported parenting values and practices of both their heritage Chinese and the host American cultures. Moreover, quantitative examinations of the associations between these beliefs and practices and mothers' acculturation also revealed unique patterns of relations for mothers' psychological versus behavioral acculturation to their heritage and host cultural dimensions.

Additionally, knowledge of mothers' culturally derived rationale for using parental control and the specific controlling strategies they believe to be most effective may help service providers develop programs to promote positive parenting and child adjustment among these immigrant families. For example, understanding mothers' goals for engaging in specific practices (e.g., coercive or punitive practices) can inform the development of parenting programs that work more effectively with Chinese American mothers to support their changing parenting within the larger mainstream context. At the same time, cultural strengths in parenting that are revealed can continue to be nurtured, towards achieving bicultural socialization and subsequent child competence in the multicultural American society.

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Chapter 4
Dominican Parenting and Early Childhood Functioning: A Comparison Study of Immigrant Families in the USA and Families in Their Country of Origin

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It is widely recognized that the ways in which parents raise their children, and the impact that these parenting practices have, depend in part on the ecological context within which development occurs (Bornstein, 1995). While ecology is by definition multifaceted, culture (e.g., cultural group norms, values, and behaviors within the home) and socioeconomic status (e.g., poverty) arguably define some of its core characteristics (García Coll et al., 1996). Research with poor and non-poor children in their country of origin relative to those living in immigrant families in the USA presents an opportunity to further understand the ecological context within which children develop (Bird et al., 2006). In the present study, we use this approach to examine parenting and its association with early childhood functioning among Dominican-origin families. As one of the largest Latino immigrant populations in the USA (Motel & Patten, 2012), and one whose children and youth are at high risk for behavior problems, depression, suicide, and academic problems largely due to social and economic inequities (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2008), a better understanding of parenting and its association with child functioning in families originating from the Dominican Republic (DR) is clearly warranted.

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Parenting Across Cultures

Much of what is known of parenting and child development is based on empirical studies from Westernized societies (Gershoff et al., 2010; Kagitcibasi, 2012). This literature emphasizes two primary dimensions: parental nurturance (i.e., responsiveness, acceptance, warmth) and demandingness (i.e., control, discipline; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). A recent meta-analysis that included studies from Westernized and non-Westernized countries confirmed the universal importance of parenting, and parental acceptance in particular, for children's optimal development (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012). Other researchers document the direct and considerable effects that discipline practices have on child development (Landry, Smith, & Swank, 2003; Pettit, Bates, & Dodge, 1997). Still, while parental acceptance appears to promote optimal development across cultures (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012), parental discipline and its effects on child development may be more likely to vary across cultures. Lansford and colleagues (2005) showed that parental discipline practices varied across nine countries (e.g., China, Italy, Kenya, Thailand). The use of threats and corporal punishment, for example, was highest in Kenyan families and lowest in Italian families, who endorsed the most frequent use of yelling/scolding. Moreover, those discipline practices that were perceived as normative had less robust associations with child functioning, supporting what is known as the *cultural normativeness hypothesis*, or the idea that when harsh parenting is viewed as normative, its impact on developmental outcomes is attenuated (Lansford et al., 2005).

In a parallel line of research, scholars of immigrant parenting in the USA consistently describe the parenting practices of minority families as distinct from those of middle-class White families. Specifically, *authoritarian* parenting (e.g., that combines low responsiveness with high demandingness) may be normative and in some cases optimal for development among ethnic minority families (Varela et al., 2004). The conceptualization of authoritarian parenting practices emerged from studies with White middle-class families (Baumrind, 1967) and in contrast to *authoritative* parenting (e.g., that combines high responsiveness with high demandingness) was long regarded as detrimental to healthy child development. Later studies challenged the universality of these conclusions, citing evidence that highly demanding parenting practices that often relied on harsh or physical discipline were not only consistent with cultural norms but also potentially adaptive for ethnic minority families (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996). In support of this notion, Luis, Varela, and Moore (2008) found that parental control, in the form of a high number of commands, was related to greater anxiety for the Mexican youth in Mexico but to lower anxiety for Mexican American youth in the USA. The researchers posited that for Mexican American children living in the USA, direct commands from parents may serve an adaptive function, enhancing deference to authority and making the family a more cohesive unit "facilitating unified responses to external challenges faced as ethnic minorities" (p. 1018). Thus, parents may endorse authoritarian practices that stress obedience among youth in poor neighborhoods in an attempt to protect children from high-risk environments marked by violence and poverty.

Although rates of poverty are high among immigrant and ethnic minority families living in the USA, immigrant parenting is shaped by a confluence of factors beyond socioeconomic disadvantage. For example, as parents acculturate, or adapt, to mainstream culture, parenting goals, values, and practices are expected to shift (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010; Fuller & García Coll, 2010). Some evidence suggests that these changes may occur for some immigrant groups but not for others. For example, Bornstein and Cote (2004) compared the parenting cognitions (attributions and self-perceptions) of middle-class Japanese and South American immigrant mothers in the USA to mothers from their countries of origin (Japan and Argentina), as well as to nonimmigrant White mothers. South American immigrant mothers' cognitions tended to resemble those of nonimmigrant White mothers in the USA, whereas Japanese immigrant mothers' cognitions tended to be similar to those of Japanese mothers in Japan. Consistent with Bornstein and Cote's (2004) findings, other studies with Latina mothers show that less acculturated (e.g., foreign-born, Spanish-speaking) mothers tend to use authoritarian practices more than acculturated mothers, who tend to use authoritative practices (Dumka, Roosa, & Jackson, 1997; Parke et al., 2004). Collectively, this literature suggests that an authoritarian approach to parenting may be consistent with pan-Latino cultural values of child rearing (Calzada et al., 2010).

Parenting in Dominican-Origin Families

Given the lack of research attention to Dominican-origin families, little is known about normative parenting practices among Dominicans, the extent to which they differ according to contextual characteristics such as poverty and migration (i.e., parenting in the USA as an immigrant vs. in one's country of origin) and how they are associated with child functioning. Based on a few studies to date, Dominican mothers in the USA appear to value interdependence (and more specifically, familism and respect for authority; Calzada et al., 2010; Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007) and to be highly responsive with their children (Calzada & Eyberg, 2002; Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007). During teaching interactions, Dominican American mothers have been shown to rely on physically directive and nonverbal strategies with their toddlers (Planos, Zayas, & Busch-Rossnagel, 1995, 1997). There is less consensus over the use of discipline strategies; Dominican American mothers report low levels of physical discipline on parenting questionnaires (Calzada & Eyberg, 2002), but qualitative studies suggest a culturally-sanctioned reliance on corporal punishment (Calzada et al., 2010; Calzada, Basil, & Fernandez, 2012). Finally, contradicting the cultural normativeness hypothesis, there is some evidence that authoritarian parenting is associated with higher externalizing and internalizing problems, at least among families of young (4–5-year-old) children (Calzada et al., 2012; Calzada, Barajas-Gonzalez, Huang, & Brotman, 2017).

Parenting in the Context of Poverty

In the Dominican Republic (DR), 41% of the population lives in extreme poverty, with the highest rate (55%) among children ages 0–5 (Oficina Nacional de Estadística [ONE], 2014). In New York City (NYC), 26% of Dominicans live in poverty, and, as in the DR, the poverty rate is highest, at 33%, among children (Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies, 2011; PEW Hispanic Center, 2009). Living in poverty affects parenting and child outcomes (Bornstein & Bradley, 2014; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). In the USA, across ethnic groups, stress and depression commonly occur in the context of poverty (McLoyd, 1998), compromising the use of authoritative practices (e.g., explaining the reasons for a rule) and increasing the use of authoritarian practices (e.g., scolding or spanking in response to misbehavior) (Barajas-Gonzalez & Brooks-Gunn, 2014; Gutman, Sameroff, & Eccles, 2002). For example, in a national dataset that compared the home environments of poor and non-poor families, poor Latino families were observed to use harsh discipline practices more often compared with non-poor Latino families (Bradley, Corwyn, McAdoo, & García Coll, 2001a, 2001b).

Most of what is known about Dominican families is based on research with primarily low-income samples in the USA, but in a unique study that took place in the DR, the role of poverty was examined through a comparison of poor, rural families and middle-class, urban families (Foucault & Schneider, 2009). The authors found that relative to Dominican mothers from middle-class communities, mothers living in poverty were more likely to value conformity over self-direction in their children, and they were observed as less engaged, cognitively and emotionally, during parent-child interactions.

The Present Study

Parenting serves as the most proximal influence on children's development, particularly during early childhood when the role of peers and other extrafamilial networks is limited. Parenting scholars generally decry authoritarian practices as harmful, but authoritarian practices may be normative within Latino culture and/or adaptive for Latinos living in the USA as a minority group. Mothers may intentionally use an authoritarian parenting approach that stresses obedience to protect children from negative influences outside the home, especially in poor neighborhoods (Deater-Deckard et al., 1996; Luis et al., 2008; Pinderhughes, Nix, Foster, & Jones, 2001). The extent to which these findings can be generalized to the early childhood developmental period, however, remains unknown. In the present study, we focused on families of young children to examine authoritarian parenting given the long-lasting scholarly debate regarding its effects across cultural groups (Chao, 1994; Deater-Deckard et al., 1996; Steinberg, 2001).

Our specific aims were to address several issues in families of young children: (1) whether authoritarian parenting is normative in Dominican culture by comparing parenting practices of mothers in the DR with those in the USA, considering poverty status (poor and non-poor), and (2) whether authoritarian parenting is adaptive by examining its relation to child functioning across levels of risk defined by poverty status and country of residence (living as a minority family in the USA or living in their country of origin, the DR). For Aim 1, we hypothesized that authoritarian parenting would be more commonly reported among Dominican mothers raising their children in the DR relative to those raising their children in the USA. For Aim 2, we hypothesized that the association between authoritarian parenting and child functioning would be moderated by both poverty status and country of residence, such that the relation would be attenuated for children living in poverty and those living as minority children in the USA.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 672 Dominican female caregivers of children between the ages of 3 and 5 recruited in two separate studies in New York City in the USA ($n = 332$, USA) and Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic ($n = 340$, DR). In both studies, families were drawn from schools (11 in the USA; 12 in the DR) that offered prekindergarten and kindergarten classes. Children were 4.38 (SD = 0.70) on average, and approximately half were boys. In the immigrant sample, mothers had lived in the USA an average of 12.80 years (SD = 8.05). Family and child characteristics of the two study samples, by poverty status, are shown in Table 4.1. Mothers were more likely to be married or living with the child's father and more likely to have completed high school, if they were non-poor and living in the USA. In addition, child internalizing and externalizing problems were highest in the DR poor sample compared to the DR non-poor sample, the US poor sample, and the US non-poor sample.

Measures

Family demographic characteristics. Mothers completed a demographic form that assessed maternal and child age, maternal education level, and household composition. In NYC, mothers also reported on their income and family size, which was used to determine family poverty status, as described below.

Family poverty status. Our measure of family poverty status differed across studies. In the USA (NYC), poverty status was determined using the US Department of Health and Human Services poverty guidelines, which considers income relative to family size (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). For example,

Table 4.1 Sample characteristics and comparisons by country and poverty status

	Total sample (N = 672)	USA (n = 332)	DR (n = 340)	USA, non-poor (n = 142)	USA, poor (n = 179)	DR, non-poor (n = 236)	DR, poor (n = 102)
	M (SD)/%	M (SD)/%	M (SD)/%	M (SD)/%	M (SD)/%	M (SD)/%	M (SD)/%
Family demographics							
Mother's age	33.58 (6.86)	33.47 (7.30)	33.69 (6.40)	32.32 (5.98)	34.48 (8.21)[d]	34.36 (5.92)[d]	32.13 (7.21)[e, f]
Two-parent home	66.8%	60.20%[b]	73.20%	66.90%	53.60%[d]	81.50%[d]	53.90%[d, e]
Mother completed HS	80.6%	77.00%[b]	84.10%	88.70%	68.50%[d]	97.90%[d]	52.50%[d, e, f]
Child characteristics							
Child's age	4.38 (0.70)	4.46 (0.58)	4.29 (0.80)	4.42 (0.56)	4.51 (0.58)	4.07 (0.81)[d]	4.82 (0.43)[d, e, f]
Child gender (male)	53.2%	50.00%	56.40%	49.30%	52.50%	57.40%	53.90%
Externalizing problems[a]	15.90 (9.22)	15.36 (9.01)	16.43 (9.35)	15.57 (8.96)	15.19 (9.19)	15.62 (7.25)	18.26 (12.73)[d, e, f]
Internalizing problems[a]	21.57 (8.82)	20.63 (8.63)	22.32 (8.98)	21.27 (8.69)	20.43 (8.53)	20.36 (6.94)	26.62 (11.24)[d, e, f]
Parenting practices							
Authoritarian[a]	1.80 (0.51)	1.71 (0.46)	1.90 (0.55)	1.74 (0.50)	1.70 (0.43)	1.77 (0.43)	2.19 (0.67)[d, e, f]
Authoritative	4.21 (0.55)	4.26 (0.56)[b, c]	4.16 (0.54)	4.34 (0.50)	4.18 (0.61)	4.22 (0.48)	4.03 (0.66)

Note. NYC New York City; *DR* Dominican Republic; *HS* high school. Mean-level differences were examined for all variables. A country-by-poverty interaction was examined for child externalizing and internalizing problems and for authoritarian and authoritative parenting

[a]Indicates a significant interaction term. [b]indicates a significant difference between the USA and DR samples; [c]Indicates a significant difference between poor and non-poor samples; [d]Indicates a significant difference compared with the US non-poor sample; [e]Indicates a significant difference between the DR poor and DR non-poor samples; [f]Indicates a significant difference between the US poor and DR poor samples

the income threshold in 2013 was $23,550 for a family of four. Based on mothers' report of their annual household income and family size, families were classified as "poor" if their annual income was below the poverty guideline level in the year of their participation and as "non-poor" if their annual incomes surpassed that level.

In the DR, family poverty status was measured using a proxy variable of "school type." Specifically, families who were recruited at the public schools were classified as poor, and those recruited through private schools were classified as non-poor. These schools were located in diverse neighborhoods, ranging from slums to upper-middle-class areas, and private schools' tuition ranged from moderately expensive to expensive. Public schools were all located in poor neighborhoods and were free of tuition.

Parenting practices. The Parenting Styles and Dimensions (PSD; Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart, 1995) questionnaire is a 32-item self-report measure of parenting practices with three orthogonal factors corresponding to Baumrind's (1995) authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting style constructs. The PSD has been standardized for parents of young children and has been used with samples from various countries and of various ethnic backgrounds including Latina mothers from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico (Calzada et al., 2017; Calzada & Eyberg, 2002). The permissive scale, which revealed low internal consistency in past studies with Dominican mothers, was not used in the present study. Sample items for the authoritative scale included "I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset" and "I give my child reasons why rules should be obeyed." The authoritarian scale included items such as "I use physical punishment as a way of disciplining my child" and "I use threats as punishment with little or no justification." Parents respond to each item on a 5-point Likert scale anchored by "never" and "always." In the present samples, internal consistencies (Cronbach's alpha) were 0.83 and 0.80 on the authoritative scale and 0.66 and 0.74 on the authoritarian scale, for the NYC and DR samples, respectively.

Child functioning. The Behavior Assessment System for Children-Parent Rating Scale (BASC PRS; Reynolds & Kamphaus, 2004) is a widely used, well-validated measure of child behavior and emotional functioning for children between the ages of 2.5 and 18 years. The BASC PRS is available in both English and Spanish based on translation and standardization by the measure developers with a sample of 386 Latinos (specific ethnic groups not described; Reynolds & Kamphaus, 2004). In the present study, we used the anxiety and depression subscales to create a composite (alpha = 0.81 and 0.80 for NYC and DR samples, respectively) as a measure of child internalizing problems. We also used a composite of the hyperactivity and aggression subscales (alpha = 0.88 and 0.89 for the NYC and DR samples, respectively) as a measure of child externalizing problems.

Procedures

In the USA (NYC), Dominican-origin mothers of 4–5-year-old children enrolled as prekindergarten or kindergarten students in 1 of 11 public elementary schools in the city were eligible to participate. At partner schools, research staff, fluent in Spanish and English, attended parent meetings and were present during daily school drop-off and pickup times to inform parents of the study. Seventy-three percent of mothers approached agreed to participate. Interested mothers were scheduled for an interview that took place at the school. Participating mothers were asked which language they preferred to be interviewed in (Spanish or English) before beginning research activities. The majority of mothers (92%) chose to be interviewed in Spanish. Interviews lasted 2 h and mothers received a stipend for their participation.

In the DR, mothers of 3–5-year-old children enrolled as prekindergarten or kindergarten students in 1 of 12 elementary schools in Santo Domingo were invited to participate. After distributing fliers advertising the study, research staff attended school events (i.e., parent workshops) to inform mothers of the study in person. Because the

study was described to groups of potential participants, we were not able to determine the participation rate. Interested mothers were consented in person and then given the choice of completing the questionnaires on their own or with research staff. Mothers who completed the questionnaires on their own returned the packet to school staff in a sealed envelope; no information on the return rate was available. All study activities were conducted in Spanish (e.g., recruitment, interviews). Interviews lasted approximately 45 min, and mothers received a small stipend for their participation.

Data Analyses

Aim 1 was to compare parenting practices (i.e., authoritarian, authoritative) by country of residence (USA, DR), poverty status (poor vs. non-poor), and a country × poverty interaction. To address this aim, we first conducted a MANOVA to examine whether there were significant interaction or main effects. To follow up, we conducted ANOVAs to examine significant interactions. Aim 2 was to examine the association between parenting and child functioning across contexts. To address this aim, we conducted multivariate linear regression analyses that included parenting practices, country of residence, and poverty status. Models were conducted separately for child externalizing and internalizing problem outcomes. To test for moderation, interaction terms between parenting and (1) country of residence (USA = 0, DR = 1) and (2) poverty status (non-poor = 0, poor = 1) were included. All models controlled for child gender and age. Because the sample had a modest amount of cases with missing data on key variables (e.g., poverty) that did not allow for imputation, we employed a listwise deletion approach to handle missing data.

Results

Descriptive statistics of the variables are shown in Table 4.1. In examining parenting across contexts, results from the MANOVA showed main effects for country of residence, t (1, 655) 9.134, $p = 0.003$, and poverty status, t (1, 655) 14.797, $p < 0.001$, but no significant country × poverty interaction, F (1, 655) 0.156, $p = 0.693$, on authoritative parenting. As shown in Table 4.1, authoritative parenting was significantly higher among non-poor compared to poor mothers and among US mothers compared to DR mothers. For authoritarian parenting, results from the MANOVA showed a significant country × poverty interaction, F (1, 655) 21.933, $p < 0.001$. A follow-up ANOVA showed significant differences in the use of authoritarian practices between DR poor mothers compared to other mothers, including DR non-poor, US poor, and US non-poor mothers. There was no difference on authoritarian parenting between the US mothers based on poverty status.

Results of model testing to examine parenting as a predictor of child functioning are presented in Table 4.2. We found that authoritarian parenting was a significant predictor of child internalizing problems (Model 1) and that the relation was moder-

Table 4.2 Regression results for test of the relation between parenting and child behavior problems by poverty status and country

	Internalizing problems (Model 1)			Externalizing problems (Model 2)		
	Beta	SE	p	Beta	SE	p
Child's age	1.093	0.478	0.023	−1.147	0.486	0.019
Child's gender	1.412	0.641	0.028	−2.108	0.651	0.001
Authoritative parenting	1.685	1.110	0.130	−1.360	1.129	0.229
Authoritarian parenting	5.339	1.169	0.000	7.373	1.191	0.000
Poverty status	1.208	0.711	0.090	−0.117	0.724	0.872
Country of residence	0.788	0.685	0.250	−1.005	0.698	0.150
Authoritative parenting × poverty status	0.123	1.189	0.918	−0.561	1.204	0.642
Authoritative parenting × country of residence	−0.869	1.168	0.457	−0.571	1.187	0.631
Authoritarian parenting × poverty status	3.490	1.283	0.007	2.404	1.299	0.065
Authoritarian parenting × country of residence	−1.686	1.300	0.195	−1.641	1.320	0.214
	$\Delta R^2 = 0.19$			$\Delta R^2 = 0.22$		

Note. Child gender is coded such that 0 = male, 1 = female. Country is coded such that 0 = USA, 1 = Dominican Republic. Poverty status is coded such that 0 = non-poor, 1 = poor. Models included a poverty × country interaction term. Three-way interactions that included parenting, poverty status, and country of residence were nonsignificant.
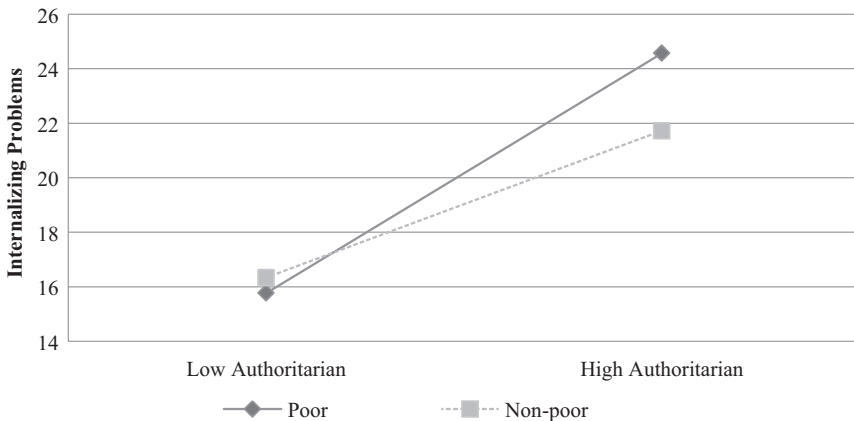
Fig. 4.1 Interaction between authoritarian parenting and poverty status on child internalizing problems

ated by poverty status. Specifically, as shown in Fig. 4.1, the strength of association between authoritarian parenting and internalizing problems was greater among poor children relative to non-poor children. Authoritarian parenting was also a significant predictor of child externalizing problems (Model 2), but this association was not moderated by country of residence or poverty status. Authoritative parenting was not associated with either child outcome.

Discussion

Current theories suggest that parenting is deeply rooted in culture at the same time that it is shaped by a family's contextual characteristics (García Coll et al., 1996). In the present study, we focused on one cultural group of mothers, Dominicans, who were raising their children in very distinct contexts to provide a more nuanced examination of parenting and its association with early childhood functioning. Specifically, we compared poor and non-poor Dominicans living in their country of origin with those living in the USA, allowing us to consider whether and how country of residence and poverty status are related to parenting. Our findings indicate the potential ways in which culture and context interplay to influence Dominican parenting practices and, in turn, young children's development.

In line with previous research on Dominican parenting (Calzada & Eyberg, 2002), we found that in both the DR and the USA, mothers reported greater use of authoritative than authoritarian parenting practices, suggesting that Dominican parenting of young children is characterized by high levels of nurturance and acceptance. In comparing parenting across contexts, however, we found more frequent use of authoritarian practices by mothers in the DR compared with those in the USA. This discrepancy was expected given the cultural emphasis in the Dominican Republic on hierarchical parent-child relationships, respect for authority figures, especially parents, and the subjugation of individual needs to those of the group (e.g., family; Calzada, 2010; Calzada et al., 2010). For parents raising their children outside of their countries of origin and acculturating to a new set of cultural norms and behaviors, as was the case for the Dominican mothers in the USA, shifts are likely in both child-rearing values and practices (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007), leading to a less authoritarian approach to parenting (Dumka et al., 1997; Parke et al., 2004). Beyond societal norms, it may also be that Dominican parents in the USA were attuned to the potential legal consequences of using corporal punishment, making them less willing to reinforce their authority using physical means. In contrast, parents in the DR may not be deterred—legally or otherwise—from using authoritarian practices.

We also found more frequent use of authoritarian practices among poor, relative to non-poor, mothers in the DR, corroborating past studies in the USA that indicate that positive parenting may be compromised in the context of poverty. This may be because poor parents experience high levels of stress leading to a reliance on authoritarian practices (McLoyd, 1998). In contrast, no differences based on poverty status were found in the USA. It is not clear why we did not observe more authoritarian parenting among NYC Dominican mothers living in poverty, but the literature on the immigrant paradox may be relevant. According to the paradox, immigrant populations tend to fare better than their US-born counterparts on indicators of mental health, a pattern that may be attributable to resilience and strength factors that buffer foreign-born individuals from the stressors of socioeconomic disadvantage (Vega et al., 1998). In the US sample of immigrant Dominican mothers, it is possible that despite experiences of poverty, they were less vulnerable to stress and depression—

potentially as a function of immigrant optimism (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Viruell-Fuentes, 2007)—and thus less likely to use harsh practices with their children (Parke et al., 2004; Riley et al., 2009).

It is also possible that we did not find a link between poverty and authoritarian parenting in NYC, in contrast to the DR, because of neighborhood characteristics. Past studies suggest that parents living in poverty intentionally adopt an approach that stresses unquestioning obedience to authority figures or guardians to protect their children from negative influences outside the home (Luis et al., 2008; Pinderhughes et al., 2001). Parents who are raising children in environments perceived as less threatening (e.g., middle-class neighborhoods) may feel less compelled to demand obedience from their children as a means to protect them from environmental risks and more compelled to foster independence and autonomy in their children. Some research shows that rather than poverty itself, residence in unsafe communities may be a more proximal predictor of parenting practices (Kelley, 1988). Perhaps, then, the neighborhood environments of poor children in the DR were more dangerous than those of poor children in the USA. In that case, the DR mothers living in poverty may have been more likely to directly experience environmental stressors that influenced their parenting.

It bears noting that the difference between poor and non-poor neighborhoods was likely greater in the DR than in the USA. In the DR, the non-poor group included middle- and upper-class families attending moderately priced or expensive private schools. In the USA, household incomes in the Dominican population are skewed toward poverty so that sampling from middle- to upper-class families is not feasible. As a result, the non-poor group included working and middle-class families attending the same public schools as the poor group. To the extent that the non-poor groups across the two countries were qualitatively distinct, caution is warranted in drawing firm conclusions from these comparisons. More research is needed that oversamples non-poor Dominican families in the USA to understand the effects of poverty in this population.

Our second aim was to explore the relation between parenting and child functioning across contexts, and we found that authoritarian parenting was associated with both externalizing and internalizing problems for all children. Evidence is mixed regarding the effects of authoritarian (or harsh) parenting, with many studies finding no relation in Latino families (Hill, Bush, & Roosa, 2003; Ispa et al., 2004). Importantly, though, past research has focused primarily on older children, and it may be that authoritarian practices such as spanking produce stronger negative effects for younger Latino children than for their older counterparts (Bradley et al., 2001a, 2001b), underscoring a potential vulnerability to harsh practices during early childhood. For example, in contrast to school-aged children or adolescents, young children may not have the cognitive skills to understand the potentially normative or adaptive nature of authoritarian practices. Also from a developmental perspective, authoritarian parenting, with its emphasis on obedience, may be particularly harmful in early childhood when children are acquiring developmental competencies and require parental guidance to master foundational behavioral and emotional skills. Cross-sequential studies are warranted to explore these potential three-way interactions between child age, parenting practices, and developmental outcomes.

Contrary to the *authoritarian as adaptive parenting* hypothesis, which would predict an attenuated association in families experiencing poverty-related stressors (e.g., dangerous neighborhoods), authoritarian practices were related to externalizing problems regardless of context and to internalizing problems to a greater extent among families living in poverty. These unexpected findings may be a function of child age, especially considering the relatively limited exposure that young children have to influences outside of the home and school. Without an immediate need to protect young children from neighborhood gangs, for example, authoritarian practices may be more likely to reflect parental stress than protective parenting. Future studies are needed to identify the correlates of parenting practices, but what seems clear from the present study findings is that authoritarian practices in early childhood may serve only to undermine the parent-child relationship with no accompanying adaptive purpose.

There are several limitations to the present study. First, as noted above, our assessment of poverty was different across studies and, in the DR sample, was based on a proxy measure (public vs. private school attendance) rather than household income. Better measurement of poverty status would be especially useful in further exploring whether authoritarian parenting possibly exacerbates the negative effects of poverty on Dominican early childhood development. Second, we relied on maternal report of parenting practices and child functioning, contributing to reporter bias, especially because mothers who are authoritarian may also be less tolerant of child misbehaviors (Canino & Guarnaccia, 1997). Future research should include teacher ratings and/or observational data to examine the robustness of associations found in the present study.

We also did not collect data on fathers. Latino children, regardless of their country of residence (DR or USA) or poverty status, often come from two-parent homes, and fathers' involvement and parenting practices have a significant and direct influence on children's development. Future studies should include data from fathers with the aims of providing a more nuanced picture of the family context of Dominican children and of identifying potential buffering effects that father involvement may have on the development of young children living in poverty. In addition, longitudinal work is needed to understand the influence of authoritarian parenting on Dominican children, especially in light of a robust literature showing the bidirectional effects of child behavior on parenting, with child misbehavior eliciting authoritarian practices that further exacerbate child misbehavior (Fite, Colder, Lochman, & Wells, 2006; Sameroff, 1975). Finally, our results may not generalize to Dominican families living outside of the unique contexts of NYC and Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic (Foucault & Schneider, 2009).

Despite these notable limitations, the present study is innovative in its focus on Dominican parenting and early childhood functioning in families living in vastly different contexts. Its significance is underscored by the virtual absence of research on Dominicans, who represent the fifth largest Latino subgroup in the USA and number approximately 1.5 million residents of the USA (US Census Bureau, 2011). Our findings suggest a number of strengths in this population, including a greater reliance on authoritative than authoritarian practices, and among immigrant moth-

ers in the USA, potentially less vulnerability to the stressors of poverty (i.e., the immigrant paradox). Specifically, no differences in parenting or child functioning were found between poor and non-poor Dominican families in the USA, despite a wealth of evidence that poor children present with more externalizing and internalizing problems than their non-poor peers (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Xue, Leventhal, Brooks-Gunn, & Earls, 2005). Indeed, in the DR, the effects of poverty appeared profound. Regardless of poverty, though, authoritarian practices seem to serve as a risk factor for young Dominican children's mental health. Given the relatively low reliance on this approach across families, it may be that harsh practices contribute to early childhood mental health problems even at a low "dose." Efforts to promote healthy child development, then, may focus on teaching parents alternatives to authoritarian practices and, for those in the USA, identifying and leveraging immigrant strengths that contribute to positive parenting.

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Part II
Parenting and Children's Early Development and Academics

Chapter 5
Parental Socialization of Emotion and Child Functioning Among Indian American Families: Consideration of Cultural Factors and Different Modes of Socialization

Vaishali V. Raval, Bethany L. Walker, and Suchi S. Daga

Indian Americans are the second largest Asian group in the United States, and they are among the fastest-growing ethnic groups at the rate of 78% (US Census Bureau, 2015). Currently, there are over three million Indian Americans in the United States, constituting approximately 1% of the American population (US Census Bureau, 2015). Despite this substantial presence and accelerated growth, Indian Americans have received relatively little research attention in psychology. According to a recent review of peer-reviewed empirical articles involving Asian Americans published in 2015, a majority of the articles focused on individuals with Chinese or Korean ancestry, with only 15% targeting Indian Americans (Kiang, Cheah, Huynh, Wang, & Yoshikawa, 2016). Although immigrants from different parts of Asia may share broad cultural values, the historical context of British colonial rule, along with diverse social, cultural, and religious traditions in India, likely contributes to unique family structures and relationships among Indians and Indian Americans (Sheth, 1995). Thus, there is a critical need for research involving Indian Americans to contribute to a better understanding of the Indian diaspora in the psychological literature and to inform education and health programs and services that target this community.

In this chapter, we begin with providing a broader historic context of immigration from India to the United States. We will then describe the sociodemographic characteristics and patterns of acculturation of Indian Americans and then discuss parenting and parent-child relationships in Indian American families. In particular,

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we will focus on a key aspect of parenting, the parental socialization of emotion, and its relation to child socio-emotional functioning in Indian American families.

Waves of Immigration for Indians to the United States

While the earliest record of an Asian Indian in the United States dates to 1790 in Massachusetts (Tewary, 2005), early Indian migration was generally limited due to the Asian Exclusion Act of 1917 and the Immigration Act of 1924, which banned most Asian populations from immigrating to the United States and set immigration quotas against non-European immigrants (Nandan, 2007). Those Indians who did migrate to the United States, beginning in the late nineteenth century, were generally volunteer laborers who came to work in agriculture and on the railroads (Tewary, 2005). The number of Asian Indian immigrants increased by only a small number after the passage of the Luce-Celler Act in 1946, which allowed 100 Indians to immigrate to the United States per year, naturalize, and become citizens (Tewary, 2005).

The US Indian diaspora primarily grew after the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. This legislation shifted the focus of immigration law from race and ethnicity to meeting the changing landscape of the US economy (Tewary, 2005). The abolishment of quotas and an emphasis on occupational preferences brought many highly qualified, educated Indian professionals and scientists to the United States (Nandan, 2007; Roberts, Mann, & Montgomery, 2016; Tewary, 2005). Additionally, the Immigration and Nationality Act, and later the Immigration Act of 1990, also emphasized family reunification, which allowed naturalized Indian citizens to sponsor the immigration of family members. This eventually, around the 1980s, brought diversity into the diaspora community along dimensions such as education, occupation, gender, and socioeconomic status (Nandan, 2007).

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Indian Americans

After these initial waves of immigration, the Indian population underwent tremendous growth. In 2000, the US Census Bureau reported that 1,678,765 people identified as Asian Indian (Barnes & Bennett, 2002), and by 2010, the number grew to 2,843,391, a 69.4% increase (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Hasan, 2012). Within these 10 years, the general Asian population was the fastest-growing racial group in the United States (Hoeffel et al., 2012). As of 2015, the US Census reported 3,699,957 individuals who identified as Asian Indian, a 120% increase in the last 15 years (US Census Bureau, 2015).

The Asian Indian population in the United States was equally split between males (51.9%) and females, with 21.9% of the population between ages 25 and 34 years, 19.2% between ages 35 and 44 years, and 16.1% between ages 5 and

17 years. While 28.5% of Indians in the United States were native born, 34.7% were foreign-born naturalized US citizens, and 36.8% were foreign-born, non-US citizens. Furthermore, 69.5% were married, the average family size was 3.49 people, and 9.6% lived in households with extended family. At home, 77.7% of Indian families spoke another language in addition to English (US Census Bureau, 2015).

Indian Americans have a high rate of educational attainment, with an estimated 70.0% earning college degrees or higher, which is higher than the US national average of 28.2%, and Asian American average 49.0% (Pew Research Center, 2013). Almost all Indians in the labor force (67.4%) were employed, with 69.6% in management, business, science, and arts occupations (US Census Bureau, 2015). Median household family income for Indian Americans in 2015 was $103,821, higher than the total US population median household income of $55,775 (US Census Bureau, 2015). Despite this relative group success, 4.7% of Indian American families live in poverty, as compared to the US population poverty rate of 10.6%.

Patterns of Acculturation and Psychological Functioning

As the Indian American community continues to increase in population, immigrants and later generations continue to face the challenge of navigating the acculturation process between maintaining country-of-origin or ancestral cultural identity and norms and adapting to the dominant US cultural identity and norms. This process also includes the subsequent changes in beliefs, values, and behaviors that Asian Indians may experience after contact with the US culture (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 1996). Berry and colleagues (e.g., Berry, 1997) posit a two-dimensional model of acculturation that assesses the extent to which an individual maintains the culture of origin and the extent to which he or she adapts to the dominant host culture. This model yields four acculturation strategies: assimilation (identifying only with the dominant culture and rejecting the culture of origin), marginalization (rejecting both the culture of origin and the dominant culture), separation (identifying only with the culture of origin and rejecting the dominant culture), and integration (maintaining aspects of the culture of origin while selectively adapting to the dominant culture, i.e., biculturalism).

Several studies with various immigrant populations have noted factors that may influence acculturation and vice versa, including social support (e.g., Safdar, Lay, & Struthers, 2003), education level and English language proficiency (e.g., Yeh & Inose, 2003), duration of residence (e.g., Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002), religion, and socioeconomic status (e.g., Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002). Studies have shown that on average, Indian Americans and their children adopt an integrated or bicultural style of acculturation more often than other styles (e.g., Farver, Bhadha et al., 2002; Krishnan & Berry, 1992). For Indian Americans, integration strategies have been positively associated with better mental health outcomes (Mehta, 1998) and positive affect (Diwan, Jonnalagadda, & Balaswamy, 2004) and negatively associated with acculturative stress (Krishnan & Berry, 1992), feeling unaccepted, and

lower levels of US social attachments and observance of cultural norms (Mehta, 1998).

Indian Americans develop bicultural competence (i.e., the ability to function adaptively in two cultural systems) likely due to their familiarity with the English language and exposure to Western influences in India resulting from years of colonial rule (Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandhu, 1997). Additionally, Indian Americans tend to be voluntary migrants who choose to migrate for better educational and occupational opportunities, and thus, they may be more open to taking on characteristics of the new society, while also retaining aspects of their natal identity. Studies have found that Indian immigrant parents and their children reported similar acculturation styles and that adolescents with an integrated style reported better academic achievement and higher levels of self-esteem (Farver, Bhadha et al., 2002). Parents with a separated or marginalized acculturation strategy reported higher levels of family conflict, as compared to those with assimilated or integrated styles, and that when no acculturation gap existed between parents and children, the children reported higher levels of self-esteem, less anxiety, and less family conflict (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). These findings suggest that how immigrant parents relate to their native and host cultures impacts family dynamics, as well as their children's identity and psychological functioning.

Parenting in Indian American Families

Traditionally, Indian family dynamics and parenting attitudes and behaviors have been greatly influenced by Indian values and norms that emphasize a patriarchal, hierarchical, joint, and interdependent family structure in which the extended family, including grandparents or other elders, plays a role in the upbringing of children (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007; Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002). Indian parenting goals and practices generally emphasize filial piety and solidarity and the salience of academic achievement (Rao, McHale, & Pearson, 2003), as well as religious beliefs (Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002). At a group level, Indian culture is typically described as collectivistic, where group goals and norms guide social behavior (Hofstede, 1980). At an individual level, self is defined primarily in relation to others, and interdependence in self-other relationships marks family relations (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Given this overarching emphasis on interpersonal relatedness, it is not surprising that parental socialization goals for families in India focus more on relational attributes (e.g., learning to obey elders, developing adaptability) than autonomous characteristics (i.e., developing self-expressiveness, independence) in children (Raval, Raval, & Deo, 2014). It is noteworthy that Indian culture is considered highly heterogeneous with variability in values, beliefs, and lifestyles depending on social class, religion, geographic region, generational status, and other variables. Some scholars have argued that social patterns of both individualism and collectivism are prevalent and, in some instances, may coexist (Sinha, Sinha, Verma, & Sinha, 2001).

First-generation Indian American parents may continue to emphasize the traditional goals and values imparted during their own upbringing in raising their second-generation children (Inman et al., 2007). However, given differences in cultural norms between India and the United States, immigrant parents may also experience tension between the two sets of cultural values and practices. Given the responsibility immigrant parents may feel to instill traditional cultural values in their children, the goal of actively maintaining cultural ideas in the context of parenting is emphasized (Raghavan, Harkness, & Super, 2010). In open-ended interviews, immigrant Indian mothers reported wanting to provide their children with "the best of both worlds" by maintaining an "Indian home," while actively helping children to fit in mainstream American society (Raj & Raval, 2017).

Parenting and emotion socialization. In the developmental and family psychology literatures, several constructs related to parenting are studied. Parental socialization of children's emotion is one broad domain of parenting that includes parents' beliefs, behaviors, and affective reactions concerning emotion and how these processes relate to children's understanding, experience, and regulation of emotion (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinard, 1998). Various methods of parental emotion socialization (ES) have been studied, including parents' direct responses to children's emotions, parents' discussion of emotions, and parents' own emotional expressions, which serve as models for children regarding how to behave in emotion-eliciting situations (Eisenberg et al., 1998). A related construct, parental meta-emotion philosophy (PMEP; Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996) refers to parents' organized set of beliefs and behaviors about their own and their children's emotions, combining parents' awareness and acceptance of emotions in themselves and their children, their responses to their children's emotions, and their own regulation of emotion.

Parents' responses to children's emotions are the most widely studied method of ES. Parents' supportive responses (e.g., comforting responses that help children feel better or aim to resolve the problem that caused the emotion) have been associated with adaptive child outcomes in White American families (Katz & Hunter, 2007). In contrast, parents' nonsupportive responses (e.g., punitive responses, minimizing the significance of the child's feeling, parental distress) have been associated with internalizing and externalizing problems in White American families (Eisenberg et al., 1999). Mothers of school-age children in India reported providing more explanation-oriented and fewer solution-oriented problem-focused responses and some nonsupportive responses (e.g., not talking) more than did White American mothers (Raval, Raval, Salvina, & Wilson, 2013). Similarly, emerging adults in India rated their mothers as providing more explanation-oriented responses and as engaging in all four nonsupportive responses (punitive responses, minimizing responses, scolding, and not talking) more than US emerging adults (Teo, Raval, & Jansari, 2017). Indian American mothers also reported engaging in nonsupportive responses more than White American mothers (McCord & Raval, 2016).

In addition to parental responses to children's emotions, researchers have studied parents' own emotion expressivity and its relation to child functioning. In general, parents' positive expressivity is associated with adaptive child outcomes (Eisenberg

et al., 1998), while negative expressivity is directly or indirectly related to children's behavior problems in White American families (Eisenberg et al., 2001; Ramsden & Hubbard, 2002). According to one study, Asian Americans reported lower levels of positive expressivity during their childhood years than did White or Black Americans, although positive or negative expressivity for Asian Americans was not related to difficulties with emotion regulation or adjustment problems (Morelen, Jacob, Suveg, Jones, & Thomassin, 2013). In contrast, for mothers in China (Chen, Zhou, Eisenberg, Valiente, & Wang, 2011), positive expressivity was associated with adaptive outcomes (low externalizing problems, high social competence), while negative expressivity was associated with maladaptive child outcomes (high externalizing problems, low social competence). In comparing Indian American and White American families, McCord and Raval (2016) found that Indian American mothers reported expressing positive feelings less than White American mothers. In addition, the more likely they were to report expressing negative feelings, the more likely they were to report child behavior problems and less likely to perceive their children as social competent.

The relation between PMEP and child functioning has also been explored, primarily with White American samples. Utilizing a dimensional approach, parents' responses to the meta-emotion interview (Katz & Gottman, 1996) were coded on parents' awareness, acceptance, and regulation of their own emotions; parents' awareness, acceptance, and regulation of their children's emotion; and emotion coaching (i.e., how parents problem solve and discuss emotions with their children; Katz, Mittman, & Hooven, 1997). In White middle-class families, mothers' acceptance of their own emotions has been associated with adaptive functioning in their adolescents (e.g., fewer depressive symptoms, fewer externalizing problems, higher self-esteem; Katz & Hunter, 2007), and emotion coaching has been associated with child emotion regulation and fewer externalizing problems (Shortt, Stoolmiller, Smith-Shine, Mark Eddy, & Sheeber, 2010). Nahm (2006) also found that Korean American parents were rated as less aware, less accepting of negative emotions, and engaging in less emotion coaching than White American parents. Similarly, Daga, Raval, and Raj (2015) found that scores for emotion coaching, awareness of their own and their children's emotions, acceptance of their own emotions, and regulation of their own emotions were lower for Indian American than White American mothers. Interestingly, emotion coaching was related to child socio-emotional functioning for White Americans in the expected direction but was unrelated to child outcomes for Indian families.

Overall, few studies, even with White American samples, have examined different modes of ES collectively using one sample. It is critical to examine how different methods of ES relate with one another and their roles in child functioning. Moreover, theory and research about ES emerged primarily within Western developmental psychology, and it is important to examine whether ES is a relevant construct for child functioning in diverse cultural groups. In addition, specifically

examining cultural variables such as acculturation may provide insight into whether immigrant parents who are more oriented toward mainstream American culture may prefer specific ES practices and whether those practices are beneficial for child well-being. Previous research has shown that parental acculturation practices are related to child functioning for Indian American families (Farver, Bhadha et al., 2002; Farver, Narang et al., 2002). Taking a step further, it is important to examine how parental acculturation relates to parental ES and child functioning.

In addition, family interdependence has been conceptualized as a core cultural attribute of families with ancestry in Asia, including Indian American families who retain cultural values and practices (Raghavan et al., 2010). Pomerantz, Qin, Wang, and Chen (2009) examined the extent to which American and Chinese children include their parents in their self-construals and found that American children's inclusion of their parents decreased over time (across time points for data collection), though this was not found for Chinese children. For both groups, higher scores of parent-oriented interdependence interacted with parent-child relationship quality and predicted children's positive affect and satisfaction. These findings suggest the relevance of assessing family interdependence in understanding the link between parenting and child functioning.

Based on Daga et al. (2015) and McCord and Raval's (2016) studies, and utilizing the same sample of Indian Americans families, we examined (1) different methods of ES to investigate their interrelationships and (2) how maternal acculturation and children's interdependence relate to maternal ES methods and child emotion regulation. Specifically, we expected associations among mothers' reports of different modes of ES. We expected that mothers who were rated higher with respect to awareness and acceptance of their own and their children's emotions (PMEP) would also be more likely to report expressing positive feelings with family members and supportive responses to their children. Mothers who were rated lower with respect to awareness and acceptance of their own and their children's emotions (PMEP) would be more likely to report expressing negative feelings with family members and nonsupportive responses to their children's emotions. Second, we expected associations among mothers' acculturation level, children's reported interdependence, and mothers' ES behaviors. Mothers who reported higher preference for mainstream American culture would have children who report lower interdependence, and they would be more likely be rated higher with respect to awareness, acceptance, and coaching of emotions (PMEP) and report higher likelihood of expressing positive feelings in the family, higher supportive responses to their children, lower likelihood of expressing negative feelings, and lower nonsupportive responses to their children. Further, children's reports of interdependence would be positively related to adaptive child outcomes (emotion regulation, social competence) and negatively to child behavior problems. Given lack of previous literature, we examined the relation between maternal ES and child interdependence in an exploratory manner.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 40 Indian American children (57% female) and their mothers (M_{age} = 39.11 years, SD = 3.07) in Ohio. Children were between 8 and 16 years of age (M_{age} = 11.45 years, SD = 2.24). Mothers were from the Southern state of Tamil Nadu (47%), south-western state of Maharashtra (16%), and other parts of India (26%) and had been in the United States for an average of 13.6 years (SD = 4.15 years). Most (97%) mothers were married, 82% lived in nuclear families, and 13% lived in joint families that included parents-in-law; 21% of families had one child, and 76% had two children. The majority of mothers identified as Hindu (75%), and 95% had completed a bachelor's degree or higher. The majority of families' annual incomes were at or above the median family income in Ohio of $49,429 (US Census Bureau, 2015).

Procedure

Mothers were recruited through flyers and word of mouth at community events, local middle and high schools, Hindu and Jain temples, and South Asian grocery stores and restaurants. Mothers who were interested in participating contacted the researchers to schedule an interview at the university or at their home. All participants were fluent English speakers and completed all measures in English. Research assistants obtained informed consent from mothers and assent from children. Mothers completed meta-emotion interviews with trained graduate students. Mothers and children also completed a series of questionnaires.

Measures

Suinn–Lew Asian self-identity acculturation scale (Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992). The SL-ASIA is a measure of acculturation to American culture that contains questions about individuals' preferred languages, entertainment, food, and other aspects of cultural identity and pride. This measure was adapted to measure the acculturation level of Indian immigrant mothers. Indian immigrant mothers rated 17 items on a 5-point scale (1 = preference for Asian Indian culture and customs, 5 = preference for mainstream American culture and customs). The SL-ASIA has demonstrated good internal consistency in East Asian American samples (α = 0.91). In the current study, internal consistency was adequate (α = 0.74).

Parental meta-emotion interview (PMEI; Katz & Gottman, 1996). This is a semi-structured interview that assesses parents' own experiences of sadness, anger, and fear, their beliefs about emotional control and expressivity, and their attitudes and

behaviors regarding their children's sadness, anger, and fear. Interviews were digitally audio-recorded. Using an established coding system (Katz et al., 1997), the interviews were coded on a 5-point scale (1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree), along seven dimensions: (1) mother's awareness of her own emotions (12 items; e.g., "Parent experiences this emotion"), (2) mother's acceptance of her own emotions (17 items; e.g., "Parent feels comfortable with their expression of this emotion"), (3) mother's regulation of her own emotions (12 items; e.g., "Parent has remediation techniques for this emotion"), (4) mother's awareness of her child's emotions (9 items; e.g., "Parent notices the child has this emotion"), (5) mother's acceptance of the child's emotions (13 items; e.g., "Parent wants child to talk to them about emotion"), (6) mother's coaching of the child's emotions (11 items; e.g., "Parent comforts during emotion"), and (7) mother's report of her child's emotion regulation (9 items; e.g., "This emotion is difficult for child to get over"). A second trained coder coded 20% of the interviews (r's = 0.81–0.93).

Responses to children's emotions scale (Magai, 1996). The RTC assesses parents' reports of their own responses to their children's sadness, anger, and fear. For each of these emotions, parents indicated how often they responded to their child in 15 different ways within the past month on a 5-point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Very often). Parents' responses were categorized into five subscales: (1) the reward subscale, serving a comforting or problem-solving function (9 items; e.g., "When my child was sad, I helped my child deal with the issue that made her/him sad"), (2) magnify subscale which assesses parental distress (9 items; e.g., "When my child was mad, I got very mad"), (3) punish subscale (9 items; e.g., "When my child was fearful, I told my child that s/he was acting younger than her/his age"), (4) neglect subscale that includes ignoring children's emotions (9 items; e.g., "When my child was fearful, I did not pay attention to her/his fear"), and (5) override subscale that includes parents' distractions and being dismissive (9 items; e.g., "When my child was sad, I told her/him to cheer up"). In the current study, the reward subscale served as a measure of mothers' supportive responses to children's emotions. Magnify, punish, and neglect subscales were summed to create a composite of mothers' nonsupportive responses to children's emotions. Internal consistencies for the five subscales were moderate to high (α = 0.64–0.89), and the composite of nonsupportive responses was also high (α = 0.86).

Self-expressiveness in the family questionnaire (Halberstadt, Cassidy, Stifter, Parke, & Fox, 1995). The SEFQ is a self-report measure of parents' perceptions of their own positive and negative emotion expressivity in the family context. It assesses parents' emotion expressivity toward their families in general, not toward their children specifically. Mothers indicated how often they expressed themselves in 40 different family situations on a 9-point scale (1 = Not at all frequently, 9 = Very frequently). The SEFQ is comprised of a positive expressivity scale (23 items; e.g., "Offering to do somebody a favor") and a negative expressivity scale (17 items; e.g., "Expressing momentary anger over a trivial irritation"). Internal consistencies were high for the positive and negative expressivity subscales, respectively (α = 0.94 and 0.89, respectively).

Parent-oriented interdependent self-construal scale (Pomerantz et al., 2009). The POISCS is a measure of children's inclusion of their parents in their self-construals. Children rate 15 self-construal statements (e.g., "My relationships with my parents are an important part of who I am") on a 5-point scale (1 = Not at all true of me, 5 = Very true of me). Items were summed to create a total score reflecting POI. Internal consistency in the current study was somewhat lower ($\alpha = 0.68$).

Emotions as a child scale (Magai, 1996). The EAC is a self-report measure of children's emotion regulation strategies with regard to sadness, anger, and fear. For each of these emotions, children rated 18 statements about their use of different emotion regulation strategies within the past month on a 5-point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Very often). Children's emotion regulation strategies are grouped into five subscales. The express to mother subscale assesses children disclosing their emotions to their mothers (10 items; e.g., "When I was sad, I would share my feelings with my mom"). The express to friend subscale measures children's disclosure of their emotions to their friends (10 items; e.g., "When I was sad, I would share my feelings with a friend"). Emotion under-regulation is captured by the express subscale (10 items; e.g., "When I was sad, I would yell or stomp around"), and emotion over-regulation is captured by the withdrawal subscale (10 items; e.g., "When I was sad, I would clam up and keep to myself"). The distract subscale measures children's use of distraction to regulate emotions (10 items; e.g., "When I was sad, I would try to get my mind off of it"). In the current study, the express to mother and express to friend subscales were summed to create a measure of children's emotion regulation, and the express and withdraw subscales were summed as an indicator of children's emotion dysregulation. The distract subscale was not examined in this study. Internal consistency for children's emotion regulation and emotion dysregulation were 0.73 and 0.90, respectively.

Home and community social behavior scales (Merrell et al., 2001). The HCSBS is a measure of children's social competence, which mothers completed. The HCSBS is comprised of 32 items, rated on a 5-point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Frequently), that describe children's social behavior in the past 3 months (e.g., "Follows family or community rules"). Merrell et al. (2001) reported high internal consistency for the HCSBS ($\alpha = 0.96$–0.98), which were consistent with those from our sample ($\alpha = 0.95$).

Child behavior checklist (Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001). The CBCL for ages 6–18 is a measure of children's social, emotional, and behavioral problems. Mothers rated 113 items on a 3-point scale (0 = Not true, 1 = Somewhat or sometimes true, 2 = Very true or often true), referring to their child's functioning within the past 6 months. The internalizing scale contains anxious/depressed, withdrawn/depressed, and somatic complaint subscales. The externalizing scale consists of rule-breaking behavior and aggressive behavior subscales. The two scales were highly correlated ($r = 0.87$) and, thus, combined into an aggregated score ($\alpha = 0.97$).

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Mean-Level Comparisons

Indian mothers' mean level of acculturation was 2.40 (SD = 0.42), where a score of 3 is considered bicultural (Suinn et al., 1992). Mothers' responses to the additional item asking about their primary identity were consistent with the acculturation score, as 39.5% identified as "Indian," 34.2% as "Indian American, but deep down Indian," and 23.7% as "equally Indian and American." None of the mothers identified as "Indian American, but deep down American or as "American." Children's mean level of POI was 3.84 (SD = 0.67, see Table 5.1) indicating that they endorsed more values of interdependence than independence.

A series of paired sample *t*-tests showed that Indian mothers scored higher on supportive than nonsupportive responses and higher on positive expressivity than negative expressivity (see Table 5.1). Interestingly however, children's reports indicated higher mean scores for emotion dysregulation than regulation.

Table 5.1 Descriptive statistics and significant paired sample *t*-tests

Mother emotion socialization variables	*Mean*	*sd*	t^a
Meta-emotion interview (scale 1–5)			
Mother awareness (self)	3.58	0.24	
Mother acceptance (self)	3.36	0.20	
Mother regulation (self)	3.53	0.26	
Mother awareness (child)	3.66	0.34	
Mother acceptance (child)	3.46	0.26	
Mother coaching (child)	3.69	0.18	
Responses to children's emotions (scale 1–5)			
Supportive responses	4.30	0.70	
Nonsupportive responses	2.17	0.43	14.65***
Self-expressiveness in the family (scale 1–9)			
Positive expressivity	6.57	1.33	
Negative expressivity	4.21	1.25	7.43***
Child functioning variables	*Mean*	*sd*	
Child-rated interdependence (scale 1–5)	3.84	0.67	
Child regulation (from meta-emotion interview)	3.70	0.30	
Child emotion regulation (scale 1–5)	2.34	0.68	
Child emotion dysregulation (scale 1–5)	3.01	0.47	−3.55**
Mother-rated child social competence (scale 1–5)	4.28	0.50	
Child behavior problems (total)	68.66	9.69	

**p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001
[a]Paired sample *t*-tests examining significant mean differences across three pairs: mothers' supportive versus nonsupportive responses, mothers' positive expressivity versus negative expressivity, and child emotion regulation versus child emotion dysregulation

Intercorrelations Across Three Methods of ES

Bivariate correlations across the three modes of ES (PMEP, responses to children's emotions, and emotion expressivity) were examined (see Table 5.2). All correlations were in the expected direction. Mothers who were coded as demonstrating more acceptance of their emotions (PMEP) were also more likely to report expressing positive feelings in the family. Mothers who were coded as regulating their emotions (PMEP) well were more likely to report responding to their children's emotions with supportive responses and were less likely to report expressing negative feelings within the family. Finally, mothers who were more likely to report supportive responses to their children's emotions were also more likely to report expressing positive feelings and less likely to express negative feelings in the family.

Correlations Among Acculturation, ES Approaches, and Child Functioning

As expected, Indian American mothers who preferred more mainstream American culture and customs were more likely to express positive feelings to their family members and reported less nonsupportive responses to their children's emotions. No other statistically significant correlations between acculturation and key study variables were found. Consistent with our expectation, Indian American children who reported higher interdependence were also more likely to report using emotion regulation skills (see Table 5.2). However, no significant correlations were found between children's reported interdependence and their social competence or behavior problems.

The relations between Indian mothers' ES strategies and their children's functioning were all in the predicted directions. Mothers who reported their children as using adaptive emotion regulation skills were also more likely to rate their children higher in social competence, whereas mothers who were more likely to report nonsupportive responses to children's emotions rated their children lower on social competence. Mothers who were coded as regulating their emotions well were less likely to report behavior problems in their children, while mothers who were more likely to report expressing negative feelings within the family were more likely to report child behavior problems. Finally, mothers who were more likely to report expressing negative feelings within the family were less likely to have children who were coded as demonstrating appropriate emotion regulation.

Table 5.2 Intercorrelations across mothers' emotion socialization variables, child emotion regulation variables, parent-oriented interdependence, and child social functioning

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Acculturation	–	0.06	−0.18	0.12	0.27	−0.16	−0.07	−0.10	0.17	−0.42*	0.53**	−0.21	0.08	−0.18	0.23	−0.02	−0.18
2. Mother awareness (self)		–	0.43**	0.21	0.57**	0.27	0.21	−0.15	−0.20	−0.07	−0.01	0.30	0.10	−0.23	−0.05	0.10	0.09
3. Mother acceptance (self)			–	0.17	0.21	0.16	0.16	−0.17	0.05	−0.10	0.36*	0.09	−0.01	−0.09	0.07	0.04	−0.10
4. Mother regulation (self)				–	0.13	−0.19	0.03	0.15	0.35*	−0.18	−0.05	−0.50**	0.17	−0.05	−0.29	0.09	−0.34*
5. Mother awareness (child)					–	0.39*	0.45**	0.16	−0.03	−0.14	0.03	0.20	0.25	0.16	0.23	−0.26	0.18
6. Mother acceptance (child)						–	0.55**	−0.16	0.16	0.04	0.13	0.19	0.35*	0.23	−0.05	−0.02	0.09
7. Mother coaching (child)							–	0.09	0.31	0.07	0.03	0.01	0.34*	0.16	−0.02	0.10	0.09
8. Child regulation								–	0.34	−0.08	0.00	−0.33*	0.10	−0.15	0.24	0.38*	−0.19
9. Supportive responses									–	−0.28	0.38*	−0.65**	0.24	0.08	−0.03	0.22	−0.22
10. Nonsupportive responses										–	−0.26	0.25	−0.11	0.06	0.02	−0.38*	0.31
11. Positive expressivity											–	−0.12	0.25	−0.14	0.15	0.05	−0.09
12. Negative expressivity												–	−0.19	−0.04	0.20	−0.31	0.40*
13. Interdependence													–	0.57**	−0.14	0.17	−0.06
14. Child emotion regulation														–	0.00	−0.16	0.11
15. Child emotion dysregulation															–	−0.13	0.20
16. Child social competence (mother rated)																–	−0.55**
17. Child behavior problems (mother rated)																	–

Notes. Variable 1 = SL-ASIA; Variables 2–8 = Meta-emotion interview; Variables 9 and 10 = Responses to Children's Emotions Questionnaire; Variables 11 and 12 = Self-Expressiveness in the Family Questionnaire; Variable 13 = Parent-Oriented Interdependent Self-Construal Scale; Variables 14 and 15 = Emotions as a Child Questionnaire; Variable 16 = Home and Community Social Behavior Scale; Variable 17 = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist

* = Correlation significant at the $p < 0.05$ level; ** = Correlation significant at the $p < 0.01$ level

Discussion

Indian Americans are an ethnic group with unique social, cultural, and historic backgrounds, and yet little is known about their parenting practices. Focusing on a key domain of parenting, socialization of emotion, our findings demonstrate that acculturation is relevant in understanding how Indian American mothers manage their own emotions and how they socialize their children with respect to emotions. Moreover, different methods of emotion socialization are pertinent for child functioning in this group.

In our assessment of acculturation, the mean score for mothers in our sample was close to the mid-point of the 5-point scale (2.40) with little variability (similar to other studies, e.g., see Chuang, 2006). This score indicates a bicultural style or integration in Berry's (1997) model, reflecting some preference for Indian culture and some for mainstream American culture. This finding is consistent with previous studies revealing that Indian immigrant adults and children are more likely to endorse an integrated style relative to other acculturation styles (Farver, Bhadha et al., 2002; Krishnan & Berry, 1992).

It is important to note that the Suinn et al. (1992) acculturation measure that we used conceptualizes acculturation as a single bipolar dimension with preference for heritage culture on one end and preference for host culture on the other end, with bicultural or integrated style of acculturation in the middle. In contrast, contemporary models of acculturation conceptualize preference for heritage culture and preference for host culture as separate dimensions (e.g., see Berry). Moreover, a majority of the items on this measure assessed behavioral acculturation (e.g., who one associates with, preferences for music, films, food, language), although a few additional items assessed psychological dimensions (e.g., values, who one fits in with). Future research on immigrant parenting should include measures of acculturation that assess both behavioral and psychological aspects and assess preference for heritage culture and host culture as separate dimensions. Moreover, assessment of parents' acculturation-related goals and preferences for their children (i.e., whom the child associates with, the child's engagement with languages, music, or films of heritage vs. host culture) and parents' beliefs about values pertaining to parenting (i.e., those drawn from heritage vs. host culture) may be important.

We found that mothers who preferred mainstream American cultural lifestyle and customs were more likely to report expressing positive feelings with family members and were less likely to report nonsupportive responses to children's emotions. In a previous study of Indian immigrant mothers, mean-level differences in Indian and White American mothers' reports of ES revealed that White American mothers were more likely to report expressing positive feelings in the family and less likely to use nonsupportive responses than Indian immigrant mothers (McCord & Raval, 2016). Taken together, these findings suggest that White American cultural orientation is associated with higher positive expressivity and lower nonsupportive responses. Studies in social psychology have found that although people around the world are more likely to report experiencing positive than negative emotions

(Schimmack, Radhakrishnan, Oishi, Dzokoto, & Ahadi, 2002), cultural differences are found to the extent that individuals in Asian cultures report experiencing positive emotions less frequently than their American counterparts (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Mesquita & Karasawa, 2002). Miyamoto and Ma (2011) argue that American cultural scripts about emotions highlight the importance of happiness and minimizing negative emotions, whereas Asian cultural scripts emphasize a balance between positive and negative emotions. It is likely that Indian American mothers in the current study who report higher preference for mainstream American culture may also have internalized the cultural script of maximizing positive emotions, and this cultural script likely influences how they express their own emotions and how they respond to their children's emotions.

We also examined Indian American children's reports of interdependence. These children reported moderately high levels of interdependence and inclusion of parents in one's own sense of self. Parent-oriented interdependence was positively related to children's reports of emotion regulation. These findings indicate that higher levels of interdependence in the parent-child relationship may contribute to adaptive outcomes for Indian American children and that interdependence is a promising variable to study in future research with Indian American families.

Unfortunately, given our limited sample size, we could not examine interactive effects of maternal ES approaches and interdependence on child functioning variables. Future research may examine whether parental nonsupportive responses are strongly related to child maladaptive functioning when interdependence is low and whether this relation is weak when interdependence is high. When parents are included in one's self-construal, parental nonsupportive responses may be experienced less negatively by Indian American children, potentially leading to fewer problem behaviors.

In examination of interrelations across methods of ES, we found that all correlations were in the expected direction. Mothers who were rated higher with respect to acceptance of their emotions were more likely to report expressing positive feelings. Mothers who were rated higher with respect to their emotion regulation skills were more likely to report supportive responses to their children's emotions such as comforting or problem solving to make the child feel better. These mothers were also less likely to report expressing negative feelings, likely because they were able to effectively regulate them. Mothers who were more likely to report supportive responses to their children's emotions were also more likely to report expressing positive feelings and less likely to report expressing negative feelings in the family. These findings suggest that what mothers think about their emotions and how they manage them may contribute to how they respond to their children's emotions.

We also found that mothers' ES methods were related to child functioning variables. Mothers who were coded as regulating their emotions effectively were less likely to rate their children as experiencing behavior problems, whereas those who reported expressing negative feelings in the family were more likely to rate their children as experiencing behavior problems. These findings suggest that what Indian American mothers model for their children may matter for their children's functioning. Mothers' expressions of negative emotions may have negative

implications for child functioning, whereas mothers' effective regulation of nega-
tive emotions likely has adaptive consequences. Overall, findings are consistent
with studies that have shown a positive relation between parental negative expres-
sivity and child problem behaviors in White American (Eisenberg et al., 2001;
Ramsden & Hubbard, 2002) and Chinese samples (Chen et al., 2011).

Limitations and Future Directions for ES Research with Indian American Families

The current study was limited by a small sample size and concurrent measures for
ES, acculturation, and child functioning variables. Emotion socialization was
assessed using maternal self-report, a common method of assessing ES, though
observational methods and cross-informant ratings (e.g., ES rated by both mother
and child) would be particularly useful in future research. Finally, correlational
findings do not provide information about the direction of the relations. Although
there is vast evidence in the literature that maternal ES practices influence child
social, emotional, and behavioral outcomes, the bidirectional nature of the relations
between parenting behaviors and child functioning is acknowledged (Eisenberg
et al., 1998). Thus, longitudinal studies with larger samples that include multi-
method assessments of parenting and child variables in Indian American families
would be beneficial. Such studies would also allow advanced statistical analyses
(e.g., hierarchical multiple regression) to examine relative predictive value of differ-
ent ES methods.

Conceptually, future studies of ES in particular, and parenting in general, in
Indian American families need to consider the relevance of constructs originally
developed and primarily studied with White American samples. In her seminal
work, Chao (1994) questioned the relevance of authoritarian parenting style, which
is characterized by low parental warmth and high levels of behavior control for
Chinese American families, and argued that Chinese notion of *chiao shun* or child
training better captures Chinese parenting. In some of our own work (see Raval &
Martini, 2011), we found that ES practices of mothers in India were best character-
ized by "making the child understand" approach that focused on helping the child
accept and accommodate to the emotion-eliciting situation rather than attempting to
change the situation—a response option that is not included on self-report measures
of parents' responses to children's emotions that were originally developed for use
with White American samples. The use of open-ended interviews allowed us to
learn about culturally salient adult responses to children's emotions that we would
have missed had we relied solely on self-report measures developed in North
America. In another study (Fishman, Raval, Daga, & Raj, 2014), instead of using
the coding system developed by Katz et al. (1997) to score parent responses, we

used thematic analysis to analyze mothers' responses to the meta-emotion interview and identified responses that were not captured by the coding system. In future research, open-ended interviews can help explore other methods of ES. For example, open-ended interviews can facilitate a better understanding of what Indian American children learn by observing parents' emotion management and what they learn through parent-child discussions of emotions (e.g., when they arise, how they unfold, what is explicitly vs. implicitly communicated).

In addition to critically examining the relevance of specific ES practices, it is also important to consider the relevance of specific emotions for Indian Americans. Kitayama, Mesquita, and Karasawa (2006) distinguished between socially engaging (e.g., friendly feelings, guilt) and disengaging (e.g., pride, anger) emotions and found that Japanese students reported experiencing engaging emotions more strongly than disengaging emotions and that engaging positive emotions were more closely related to subjective well-being for Japanese students. The researchers argued that everyday practices in Asian cultures emphasize relational themes grounded in interdependence, which may lead to the salience of emotions that promote interpersonal relatedness and strengthen ones' relationships. Much of the ES literature focuses on disengaging negative emotions, such as anger or sadness, which were investigated in the present study along with broad positive expressivity. Future research with Indian Americans may include a wide range of emotions, both those that promote social relationships and those that may interfere with social relationships, to examine how these different types of emotions may be socialized.

In addition, for immigrant families, it is important to explore culturally based beliefs and preferences beyond acculturation in studies of ES and other domains of parenting. In their conceptual model for understanding ES and its relations to child functioning in diverse families, Raval and Walker (2017) include parents' socialization goals, their beliefs (about emotions as well as how children learn), and their preferences for emotion communication (e.g., direct vs. subtle and implicit). The researchers also suggest exploring children's appraisal of parental ES in better understanding how parental ES contributes to child functioning.

In conclusion, our findings demonstrate that specific methods of maternal ES matter for child functioning in Indian American families and that maternal acculturation may be related to their preferences for ES. The current line of research has implications for parent guidance literature and for interventions that target child psychopathology in diverse families. For example, a widely available parenting book, *Raising an Emotionally Intelligent Child* (Gottman, Declaire, & Goleman, 1998), is primarily based on research conducted on PMEP with White American samples. Incorporating research with diverse families from around the world in such books may provide more accurate and meaningful guidance to parents. It is suggested that ES research guide prevention and intervention programs for children's socio-emotional functioning (Suveg, Southam-Gerow, Goodman, & Kendall, 2007) and such efforts would benefit from research conducted with diverse families to enhance their cultural relevance.

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Chapter 6
Specialization, Coordination, and Developmental Sequelae of Mother-Infant Person- and Object-Directed Interactions in American Immigrant Families

Linda R. Cote and Marc H. Bornstein

One quarter of children under the age of 5 in the United States are either immigrants themselves (1.2% are first generation) or have at least one foreign-born parent (24.1% are second generation), and their ranks are expected to grow in the next 25 years (US Census Bureau, 2013). Immigrants living in the United States today differ from immigrant waves of the past because they hail primarily from Asia and Latin America (28.2 and 53.1%, respectively; Grieco et al., 2012), whereas historically (at the turn of the twentieth century) the majority of immigrants came from Western Europe. Despite the large numbers of children of immigrants currently residing in the United States, the majority of research on human behavior generally, and parenting and child development specifically, has used WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010) samples and therefore has little to tell us about the experiences and outcomes of children in immigrant families today. This chapter makes one small attempt to redress this void in the literature by examining universal mother-infant interactions among immigrant families who do not have Western European origins but were from comparably educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic countries.

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Cultural Theories of Parenting and Children's Development

One way in which WEIRD cultures are believed to differ from the rest of the world is in the constructs of collectivism and individualism. Broadly speaking, individuals from more collectivist cultures view themselves as motivated by the norms and values of their cultural group and inextricably connected to others (Cote, Bornstein, Haynes, & Bakeman, 2008; Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). The role of other individuals is more central to self-conceptions in cultures with a more collectivist than individualist orientation. Parenting practices in cultures regarded as collectivist tend to emphasize interdependence and relatedness within the mother-infant dyad (Keller, 2003). In contrast, individualism refers to the extent to which individuals view themselves as autonomous and motivated by their own goals, rights, and preferences. Mothers in individualist cultures behave in ways designed to instill a sense of personal agency in their infants (Keller, 2003; Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). No culture is uniformly collectivist or individualist (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002), and interdependence and independence (Keller, 2003) and autonomy and relatedness (Kağitçibaşi, 2012a, 2012b) both vary and co-occur within cultures.

Kağitçibaşi (2012a) was among the first to conceptualize autonomy and relatedness as two separate continuums (autonomy-heteronomy and relatedness-separateness) rather than two ends of a single continuum in which autonomy was given preference over relatedness (which had its roots in Western psychological theories of adolescence). Construed this way, there are then four different conceptualizations of agency and self-in-relation to others: an autonomous-related self (high on autonomy and relatedness), autonomous-separate self (high on autonomy and separateness), heteronomous-related self (high on heteronomy and relatedness), and a heteronomous-separate self (high on heteronomy and separateness) (Kağitçibaşi, 2012a). Among these four construals of self, Kağitçibaşi (2012a) suggested that the autonomous-related self is optimal because it satisfies the individual's basic psychological needs for autonomy *and* relatedness. Elaborating on Kağitçibaşi's (2012a) work, Tamis-LeMonda et al. (2008) discussed the ways in which the developmental goals of autonomy and relatedness can coexist within families: they might be conflicting (as was traditionally assumed), additive (equally important but separate aspects of development), or functionally dependent (e.g., in attachment theory the mother-infant relationship allows the child a secure base from which to autonomously explore the environment); moreover, they suggested ways in which the balance of autonomy and relatedness might change over the course of development or across settings. Thus immigrant families from different cultures of origin might foster autonomy and relatedness in their children in different ways, and these ways may change across settings and over time.

The majority of immigrants living in the United States today hail from Asia and Latin America where collectivism, interdependence, and relatedness are generally valued over individualism, independence, and personal agency (Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). Whether called collectivism, relatedness, or interdependence, each has been found to shape parenting practices and children's outcomes (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Kağitçibaşi, 2012b; Keller, 2003). In contrast, the United

States has been variously characterized as a country where the individual's wants and needs are valued over those of the group and as one of the most individualistic countries in the world (when levels of collectivism and individualism were compared at the country level; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). As a result of the differing worldviews in immigrants' countries of origin and destination, one might wonder how immigrant parents promote the development of relatedness and autonomy in their children and whether different cultural groups appear to adopt different or uniform strategies. With this question in mind, because there is variability among peoples from Asia and Latin America, we studied three specific immigrant groups living in the United States: Japanese, South Korean, and South American.

Within each of the three cultural groups we studied, immigrant mothers in our samples rated themselves as significantly more collectivist than individualist (measured separately), but their average ratings were close to the midpoint on each scale (Table 6.1). The cultural value of interdependence was evident in childrearing, as was the cultural value of independence for European American parenting. For

Table 6.1 Mean scores of cultural characteristics of immigrant mothers

	Japanese (n = 32)	South Korean (n = 59)	South American (n = 33)
Age at immigration[a]	27.92 (0.73)	14.23 (1.35)	23.50 (1.50)
Years lived in the United States[b]	5.52 (0.62)	16.79 (1.50)	11.37 (1.36)
Acculturation level[c]	2.02 (0.07)	2.63 (0.09)	2.20 (0.05)
Individualism score[d]	5.88 (0.17)	6.08 (0.13)	5.84 (0.21)
Collectivism score[d]	6.80 (0.18)	7.03 (0.12)	7.56 (0.13)

Note. M (SE). ANOVAs followed by Tukey *HSD* ($\alpha = 0.05$) tested differences among immigrant samples

[a]Japanese and South American immigrant mothers were older when they immigrated to the United States than South Korean immigrant mothers, $F (2, 110) = 25.40$, $p = 0.00$, $\eta^2_p = 0.32$

[b]South Korean immigrant mothers had lived in the United States longer than Japanese immigrant mothers at the time of the first study visit, $F (2, 111) = 13.61$, $p = 0.00$, $\eta^2_p = 0.20$

[c]The Japanese American (JAAS), South Korean American (KAAS-I), and South American (SAAS) Acculturation Scales were used (Cote & Bornstein, 2003); scores ranged from 1 to 5, with higher scores indicating a stronger identification with US culture (relative to the culture of origin). Reliability for these instruments has been established (Cote & Bornstein, 2003). South Korean immigrant mothers were more acculturated than Japanese immigrant or South American immigrant mothers, $F (2, 121) = 15.78$, $p = 0.00$, $\eta^2_p = 0.21$

[d]Scores on Triandis' (1995) Individualism-Collectivism Scale (INDCOL) ranged from 1 to 9 for both individualism and collectivism (measured separately), with higher scores indicating a higher degree of individualism or collectivism. Five items from the collectivism subscale were omitted in order to increase subscale reliability as suggested by Triandis (1995). Subscale reliabilities for this measure with these samples have been documented (Bornstein & Cote, 2007; Cote & Bornstein, 2003). No differences in mothers' levels of individualism emerged, $F (2, 120) = 0.66$, $p = 0.52$, $\eta^2_p = 0.01$. South American immigrant mothers were more collectivist than either Japanese or South Korean immigrant mothers, $F (2, 120) = 6.01$, $p = 0.00$, $\eta^2_p = 0.09$. Immigrant mothers rated themselves as significantly more collectivist than individualist: Japanese, $t(30) = 3.48$, $p = 0.00$, $d = 0.62$; South Korean, $t(58) = 5.68$, $p = 0.00$, $d = 0.74$; and South American, $t(32) = 6.84$, $p = 0.00$, $d = 1.19$

example, a fundamental goal of Japanese mothers is to socialize their children in relatedness with themselves and others (*amae*; Morelli & Rothbaum, 2007), and this cultural orientation is reflected in an emphasis on qualities such as empathy, accommodation, dependence, compliance, indulgence, and propriety in interpersonal relationships (Azuma, 2005; Trommsdorff, 1995). The Korean virtue of *hyo* that governs family life and interactions emphasizes the mutual responsibilities of parent and child and the interdependence of parents and children (Kim, 2006). A principal socialization goal of Latino families is to be sure the child is *bien educado* ("well educated"), which includes the development of interpersonal skills so that the child will act appropriately and respectfully toward other people (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Romano Yalour, 1986). Among European Americans, a primary socialization goal is to discourage dependence and instead encourage infants and young children to gain mastery over their physical environment and act on their own so that the child will develop behavioral autonomy and independence in decision-making (Tamis-LeMonda & McFadden, 2010). By investigating parent-infant interactions among three immigrant groups and the nonmigrant dominant ethnic group, we can learn more about how and the extent to which immigrant families incorporate the cultural values of interdependence and independence in their interactions with their infants and whether they do so in a uniform or culture-specific fashion.

Person- and Object-Directed Interactions in Infancy

The cultural foci on interdependence and independence are evident and instantiated in person-directed and object-directed mother-infant interactions, respectively. Person-directed behaviors include a mother encouraging her infant to interact with other people by verbally or physically encouraging her infant to look at and focus on her or, from the infant's perspective, focusing attention on the caregiver or other individuals (Bornstein, 2002). By contrast, object-directed behaviors turn outward from the dyad and include the mother encouraging her infant to engage with the world by verbally or physically stimulating the infant's attention to toys or other objects in the environment and from the infant's perspective attending to toys or other objects in the environment (Bornstein, 2002; Papoušek & Bornstein, 1992). Person- and object-directed behaviors have been observed among mothers and infants around the world in the first 6 months of life, and the existence of these behaviors is believed to be culturally universal and developmentally significant although their prevalence, meaning, and developmental sequelae may be distinctive in different cultures.

Previous research investigating person- and object-directed behaviors and interactions among mothers in the cultures of origin (Japan, South Korea, and South America) of our immigrant samples and in their common culture of destination (European American-US) has found reliable cultural differences that align with the cultural orientations of interdependence and independence. For example, although

mothers in all cultures engage in both person- and object-directed behaviors, Japanese, South American, and South Korean mothers engage in more person-directed behaviors with their infants than European American mothers (Cote, Bornstein, Haynes, Bakeman, & Suwalsky, 2007; Cote et al., 2008; Bornstein & Kwak, 2016). European American mothers favor object-directed activities that allow their children to interact with and gain control over the physical environment (Tamis-LeMonda & Song, 2013).

Relations Among Mother-Infant Person- and Object-Directed Interactions

Although person- and object-directed behaviors and interactions coexist in all cultures, the typical focus of cross-cultural and intracultural research has been on differences in the prevalence of these behaviors. In this chapter, we explore the extent to which these behaviors coexist or cohere within the individual. It may be that some mothers are more likely to respond to their infants with complementary behaviors than other mothers, perhaps as a result of individual differences in overall maternal sensitivity, in which case we would expect coherence in maternal responsiveness across domains of mother-infant interaction, indicating that mothers are generalists with respect to responsiveness. However, it may also be that mothers want to reinforce or reward culturally valued behaviors in their infants and thus tend to respond to certain kinds of behaviors in their infants but not others, in which case we would not expect coherence in maternal responsiveness across domains of interaction. This pattern would signify that mothers are specialists. Thus, our first research question and analysis investigated whether mothers generalized or specialized with respect to their encouragement of person- and object-directed interactions by investigating whether mothers' responsiveness to infant behaviors in one domain (person-directed behaviors) related to their responsiveness in the other domain (object-directed behaviors).

Since previous researchers have suggested that both mothers and their infants specialize when it comes to responsiveness to specific types of behavioral interactions (Bornstein & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004), our second research question and analysis investigated coherence in infant responsiveness to person- and object-directed behaviors. Maternal and infant specializations in behavioral responsiveness have rarely been studied and have not been examined cross-culturally; therefore, we examined coherence in responsiveness separately for each cultural group. We expected, based on limited previous research, that we would not find coherence in responsiveness within individuals across domains of interaction.

Our third set of research questions and analyses investigated whether mothers and infants were similarly responsive to each other. Coordination between maternal and infant responsiveness has been found in a variety of domains (Bornstein, 2013; Van Egeren, Barratt, & Roach, 2001) and across many cultures (Bornstein, 2012; Kochanska & Aksan, 2004), and these behavioral attunements may well be a

universal (experience-expectant) feature of mother-infant interactions and contribute to children's socioemotional and cognitive well-being (Bornstein, 2013; Field et al., 2007; van IJzendoorn, Juffer, & Poelhuis, 2005). As one specific example, mothers who encouraged their infants socially had infants who attended to them more, and mothers who engaged in more didactic encouragement had infants who explored their environments more (Bornstein, 2012). Thus, we hypothesized that maternal and infant responsiveness would covary; specifically, mothers who were more responsive to their infants' person-directed interactions would have infants who were more responsive to their mothers' person-directed interactions, and mothers who were more responsive to their infants' object-directed interactions would have infants who were more responsive to their mothers' object-directed interactions.

Longitudinal Relations Between Interactions, Parenting, and Children's Development

Many researchers and theorists over the years have recognized that maternal responsiveness has consequences for children's socioemotional and cognitive development (e.g., Belsky, 1999; Shaw & Winslow, 1997; Wachslag & Hans, 1999). Maternal responsiveness entails a three-event sequence—child behavior, parent reaction to that behavior, and effect on child—that has been found to predict children's development in a variety of domains (Bornstein & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004). In contrast to a monolithic view of mothering that posits that parenting affects a child's overall level of development, we adopt here a view of parenting as multivariate and domain-specific (Bornstein & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004). Thus, we expected any relations between interactions in infancy and later development to be domain-specific. Previous research supports this domain specificity: person-directed interactions have been found to relate to children's later social development (Suwalsky, Park, Cote, & Bornstein, 2012) and object-focused interactions to children's cognitive development (Bornstein, 2000; Tamis-LeMonda & Bornstein, 1996). Although greater attention has been paid to mothers and maternal responsiveness in particular with respect to infants' and children's developmental outcomes, infants too influence mother-infant interaction and mother-infant relationships more generally (Bornstein, 2000; Kochanska & Aksan, 2004), and so we investigated longitudinal effects of both maternal and infant responsiveness.

Our Empirical Studies

Participants in our research program migrated from the following areas of origin: Japan, South Korea, and South America (primarily from Argentina, Colombia, and Peru; we have not found within-group differences on the dependent variables for the

South American sample). We have collected comparable data from European American families in the United States and the countries of origin for each of these immigrant samples. In the current analyses, data from 32 Japanese immigrant, 59 South Korean immigrant, 33 South American immigrant, and 40 European American mother-infant dyads were analyzed. All mothers in this study were primiparous and married to (98%) or living with the baby's father. All infants were full-term and healthy at the time of birth and our observations.

In the region of the United States where this study was conducted, the greater Washington DC metropolitan area, the foreign-born population is slightly higher than the national average (Grieco et al., 2012). In this area of the country, immigrants from Japan, South Korea, and South America tend to have been part of the urban middle class in their countries of origin, well educated, and immigrated to the United States from their homelands for economic reasons (Gryn & Gambino, 2012; Pew, 2013; Whoriskey & Cohen, 2001; Wilson & Pan, 2000); our samples reflect this demographic. Immigrant mothers did not differ from each other in education level (on average they had attended college) nor did they differ from each other in the age at which they gave birth to their first child (in their late 20s and early 30s on average; see Table 6.2 for further demographic information). Thus, ethnicity and socioeconomic status were not confounded in our research program as is frequently the case in research on ethnic minorities in the United States.

All mothers in the study self-identified as Japanese, South Korean, or South American. All mothers were first generation meaning that they were foreign-born (in US Census Bureau parlance) and immigrated to the United States during their lifetimes; their infants were born in the United States (second generation). On an acculturation scale, immigrant mothers rated themselves as bicultural (Table 6.1).

The data we report were part of a longitudinal prospective study of parenting and children's development among the three immigrant groups living in the United States. Mothers and infants were observed when their firstborn infants were 5 and 20 months old, and all but the South Korean immigrant families were visited again when the firstborn child was 48 months old (South Korean immigrant families were visited instead at 13 months). The same procedures were used for each cultural group. At all time points mothers completed a series of questionnaires to provide information about their demographic background and cultural beliefs. Additionally, naturalistic observations were made in the home when infants were 5 months old to assess maternal and infant behaviors in a variety of domains (i.e., mothers' social, didactic, verbal, and nurturing behaviors, encouragement of physical development, and provision of materials in the environment; infants' social, exploratory, vocal, and physical behaviors; see Bornstein & Cote, 2001), and mothers completed questionnaires about parenting and children's development. For this chapter we analyzed only mother and infant person- and object-directed behaviors as detailed below.

At 20 months of age, infants were observed playing alone and in a joint play session with their mothers with a standardized toy set to assess their play sophistication and language development (see Cote & Bornstein, 2009, for further details). We used only two dependent variables from the 20-month dataset for this chapter: toddlers' symbolic play in a solitary play session and mothers' demonstrations of

Table 6.2 Sociodemographic characteristics of the families

	Japanese immigrant ($n = 32$)	South Korean immigrant ($n = 59$)	South American immigrant ($n = 33$)	European American ($n = 40$)
Mothers' age at the time of the infant's birth[a]	31.48 (0.57)	31.27 (0.48)	31.56 (0.88)	28.99 (0.78)
Mothers' education level[b]	5.75 (0.13)	6.12 (0.16)	5.94 (0.15)	5.73 (0.16)
Hours per week mother works[c]	7.06 (2.56)	20.14 (2.45)	15.42 (2.91)	16.93 (2.84)
Family arrangement (nuclear/extended)[d]	30:2	48:11	25:8	30:10
Infant age (in months)[e]	5.65 (0.08)	5.67 (0.07)	5.54 (0.07)	5.36 (0.03)
Infant gender (girl/boy)[f]	15:17	30:29	14:19	17:23

Note. M (*SE*) unless otherwise specified. For ratio and interval data, ANOVAs followed by Tukey HSD ($\alpha = 0.05$) tested differences among cultural groups; for categorical data chi-square tests examined differences among cultural groups

[a]South Korean immigrant mothers were older (less than 3 years on average) than European American mothers, but mothers' age did not differ among immigrant groups*, F* (3, 160) = 3.31, $p = 0.02$, $\eta^2_p = 0.06$

[b]Bicultural researchers adjusted mothers' years of schooling so that the scales were equivalent to the 7-point Hollingshead (1975) index because there were differences between countries in the duration, quality, and content of schooling. On this scale, a 4 indicates that the mother's highest level of educational attainment was a high school degree or equivalent, a 5 indicates some college, and a 6 indicates a college degree. Mothers' education level did not differ among cultural groups, *F* (3, 160) = 1.56, $p = 0.20$, $\eta^2_p = 0.03$

[c]South Korean immigrant mothers worked more hours per week than Japanese immigrant mothers, *F* (3, 160) = 3.96, $p = 0.01$, $\eta^2_p = 0.07$

[d]Family composition did not differ across cultural groups, χ^2 (3, $N = 164$) = 4.93, $p = 0.18$

[e]Japanese immigrant and South Korean immigrant infants were slightly older than European American infants at the time of the 5-month visit, *F* (3, 160) = 4.61, $p = 0.00$, $\eta^2_p = 0.08$

[f]Infants' gender distribution did not differ across cultural groups, χ^2 (3, $N = 164$) = 0.93, $p = 0.82$

symbolic play in a joint play session. Interrater reliabilities, computed separately by group, were acceptable (κs ≥ 0.60) for all coding. Additionally mothers completed questionnaires to assess their ideas about parenting and child development, their child's temperament (using Goldsmith's, 1987, *Toddler Behavior Assessment Questionnaire* or Rothbart & Gartstein's, 2000, *Infant Behavior Questionnaire-Revised*), and their own personality. We used temperament as a covariate below.

At 48 months, mothers and infants participated in a laboratory assessment of a wide range of behaviors (child's IQ, knowledge of numeracy, literacy, and mechanics, their artistry and psychomotor ability, and their sociability and adaptive behavior; see Bornstein & Putnick, 2015, for details). In this chapter, we analyzed only the following 48-month behaviors: the hostility subscale of the *Preschool Behavior Questionnaire* (PBQ; Behar & Stringfield, 1974) and the communication scale of

the *Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales* (VABS; Sparrow, Balla, & Cicchetti, 1984). Because the present analyses involving 20- and 48-month data used well-known procedures or psychological tests and were limited in scope and exploratory in nature, only the behavioral codes from the 5-month data collection, coding, and analysis are discussed in detail.

At the 5-month visit, infants and their mothers were video-recorded behaving naturalistically for 50 min. A variety of mother and infant behaviors was coded from these observations, but for this chapter, we focus on four behaviors. Specifically, two mutually exclusive person- and object-directed behaviors were coded for mothers (the mother encourages attention to herself or to an object) and two for infants (the infant looks at the mother or object). Onsets and offsets of these four behaviors were coded to the nearest 0.1 s, resulting in timed event-sequential data. Behaviors were coded by bilingual bicultural researchers (see Bornstein, Cote, Haynes, Bakeman, & Suwalsky, 2012; Cote et al., 2008, for more details about the coding and methodology). For object-directed interactions, two additional coders determined whether infant and mother were focused on the same object. Interrater reliabilities were acceptable ($\kappa s \geq 0.60$) for all codes and cultural groups.

Sequential analyses were performed using GSEQ (http://www2.gsu.edu/~psyrab/gseq/Download.html) to generate odds ratios to explore whether mother-infant behaviors were contingent or causally related in real time. In order to be considered contingent, partner B's behavior began within 3 s after the onset of partner A's behavior following Bakeman and Gnisci's (2005) and Bakeman and Quera's (2011) procedures. Thus, the four dependent variables were the odds that within 3 s (a) the infant looked at the mother after the mother encouraged the infant to look at her (*infant responsiveness to mother's person-directed behavior*), (b) the mother encouraged the infant's attention to herself after the infant looked at her (*maternal responsiveness to infant's person-directed behavior*), (c) the infant looked at the same object after the mother encouraged her infant to look at that object (*infant responsiveness to mother's object-directed behavior*), and (d) the mother encouraged her infant to attend to the same object after her infant looked at that object (*maternal responsiveness to infant's object-directed behavior*).

Our Analytic Plan

Two-tailed Pearson correlations were used to explore coherence in individual responsiveness across domains of behavior at 5 months. One-tailed Pearson correlations were used to explore coordination between maternal and infant responsiveness within domains of behavior at 5 months and longitudinal relations between mother-infant interactions in infancy and social and cognitive parenting behaviors and child outcomes at 20 and 48 months. Mothers' age and education level, number of hours per week mothers worked, infant age, infant temperament, number of highly responsive objects in the infant's environment, and the percentage of time the infant was awake and in view of the mother during filming were screened as appropriate as

covariates in the following analyses. Results with and without covariates were generally similar in magnitude, direction, and significance level; therefore, analyses without covariates were reported below.

Relations Among Mother-Infant Person- and Object-Directed Interactions

The first analysis investigated whether mothers were similarly responsive to infants across behavioral domains. In support of the hypothesis that mothers would specialize in a behavioral repertoire, and consistent with previous work (Bornstein & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004), no relations between maternal responsiveness to infants' person- and object-directed behaviors were found for any of the four cultural groups: Japanese immigrant, $r(29) = -0.24$, $p = 0.19$; South Korean immigrant, $r(56) = 0.00$, $p = 0.99$; South American immigrant, $r(30) = 0.04$, $p = 0.85$; and European American, $r(36) = -0.09$, $p = 0.58$.

The second set of analyses investigated whether infant responsiveness was coherent across domains of behavior. For each cultural group, we found that infants, like their mothers, were also specialists to the extent that infants who were highly responsive to their mothers' person-directed behaviors were not similarly highly responsive to their object-directed behaviors: Japanese immigrant, $r(27) = 0.14$, $p = 0.48$; South Korean immigrant, $r(55) = 0.06$, $p = 0.68$; South American immigrant, $r(25) = 0.33$, $p = 0.09$; and European American, $r(34) = -0.11$, $p = 0.54$. The findings that both mothers and infants were specialists and not generalists are consistent with previous research (Bornstein & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004) yet extend this research to immigrant samples for the first time. It may be that behavioral specialization is a universal characteristic of behavioral responsiveness.

The third set of analyses investigated whether mothers and infants were similarly responsive to each other within behavioral domains. In support of this hypothesis, significant positive relations emerged between maternal and infant responsiveness in person-directed interactions, although these relations were significantly weaker for South Korean immigrant than European American dyads ($z = 2.52$, $p = 0.01$): Japanese immigrant, $r(27) = 0.55$, $p = 0.00$; South Korean immigrant, $r(56) = 0.20$, $p = 0.07$; South American immigrant, $r(31) = 0.48$, $p = 0.00$; and European American, $r(34) = 0.64$, $p = 0.00$. However, maternal and infant responsiveness to object-directed interactions was significantly positively related for Japanese immigrant and European American dyads, positively but not significantly related for South American immigrants, and negatively related for South Korean immigrant dyads: Japanese immigrant, $r(30) = 0.34$, $p = 0.03$; South Korean immigrant, $r(55) = -0.25$, $p = 0.06$; South American immigrant, $r(24) = -0.04$, $p = 0.42$; and European American, $r(37) = 0.44$, $p = 0.00$. The correlation coefficient for the South Korean immigrant sample differed significantly from Japanese immigrant, $z = 2.65$, $p = 0.01$, and European American dyads, $z = 3.38$, $p = 0.00$, and the correlation coefficient for the South American immigrant sample differed significantly from

European American dyads, $z = 1.92$, $p = 0.05$. Thus, mother-infant dyads across cultures seem to be coordinated with respect to person-directed interactions by 5 months of age but were not uniformly coordinated across cultural groups for object-directed interactions.

Coordination between similar kinds of mother and infant behaviors has been found in a variety of domains and across many cultures (Bornstein, 2012; Bornstein et al., 2012; Van Egeren et al., 2001), and it has been hypothesized that such behavioral coordination may well be a universal and adaptive feature of mother-infant interactions (Bornstein, 2013; Field et al., 2007; van IJzendoorn et al., 2005). Why then did we find behavioral coordination in one domain (person-directed interactions) but not another (object-directed interactions)? In previous research we found that at 5 months of age mother-infant person-directed interactions were significantly contingent in each of the cultural groups we investigated here (for both mothers and infants as respondents), but object-directed behaviors were not. Specifically, object-directed behaviors were significantly contingent for both Japanese immigrant and European American dyads but not for South American immigrant or South Korean immigrant dyads (see Bornstein & Cote, 2016; Bornstein et al., 2012; Cote et al., 2008) suggesting that when these behavioral interactions were not yet coordinated and predictable (they lacked contingency), coordination between rates of maternal and infant responsiveness will not be found. Our finding of coordination and contingency in object-directed interactions in some cultures but not others may also reflect the fact that object-directed interactions are a relatively developmentally "new" behavior at 5 months of age so that not all dyads have yet had a chance to coordinate these behaviors. The lack of contingency and coordination could also result from the acculturation process for South Korean immigrant and South American immigrant dyads, although we think the first explanation is the more plausible. Investigation of the coordination between mother and infant interactions at later points in development would help to elucidate whether a developmental lag or the acculturation process itself better explains the lack of coordination for maternal and infant responsiveness in some of our immigrant samples.

Longitudinal Relations Between Interactions, Parenting, and Children's Development

Person-directed interactions. To investigate our fourth research question, relations between maternal and infant responsiveness to person-directed behaviors at 5 months and parenting and children's outcomes were investigated, operationalized as mothers' greater physical affection at 20 months and children's psychological adjustment (less hostility) measured at 48 months, respectively. We found no relations between maternal responsiveness to infants' person-directed behavior at 5 months and maternal or child behavior later in development (Table 6.3). However, we did find that *infant* responsiveness to person-directed behavior was related to later maternal socioemotional behavior and children's outcomes for one cultural

Table 6.3 Longitudinal relations between responsiveness to person-directed behavior and 20- and 48-month affective behaviors

	Maternal physical affection at 20 months	Child hostility at 48 months
Maternal responsiveness at 5 months	**0.19**	**−0.10**
	−0.19	–
	−0.40	*−0.30*
	−0.16	−0.03
Infant responsiveness at 5 months	**0.39***	**−0.14**
	−0.07	–
	0.03	*0.04*
	−0.07	−0.08
Maternal physical affection at 20 months		**−0.56***
		–
		0.41
		−0.10

Note. Japanese immigrant families were in bold font and were listed first, South Korean immigrant families were in regular font and listed second, South American immigrant families were in italics and listed third, and European American families were in regular font and listed last. *N*s were smaller at 20 and 48 months due to attrition
*p ≤ 0.05.

group. Specifically, Japanese immigrant infants who were more responsive to their mothers' encouragement of person-directed interactions at 5 months had mothers who were significantly more likely to engage in physical affection with them during a joint play session at 20 months, and mothers who engaged in more physical affection with their 20-month-old toddlers had children who showed significantly less hostility at 48 months (as measured on the PBQ, Behar & Stringfield, 1974). Infant responsiveness was not related to child outcomes or maternal behavior for any other cultural group (Table 6.3).

Object-directed interactions. We explored relations between mothers' and infants' responsiveness to their partners' object-directed behaviors in infancy, pretense play in toddlerhood, and cognitive development in early childhood separately in each cultural group (Table 6.4). Japanese immigrant mothers' responsiveness to their infants when their infants look at objects was significantly positively related to toddlers' symbolic solitary play and mothers' demonstration of symbolic play with objects in a joint play session at 20 months, and toddlers' symbolic solitary play at 20 months in turn was positively related to children's communication scores on the Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales (Sparrow et al., 1984) at 48 months (and there was also a direct relation between maternal responsiveness at 5 month and scores on the communication scale at 48 months). The pattern of relations found for Japanese immigrant families was not found for any other cultural group. No relations between infant responsiveness to objects at 5 months, play at 20 months, and children's communication skills at 48 months were found for any cultural group (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Longitudinal relations between responsiveness to object-directed behavior and 20- and 48-month cognitive development

	Solitary play: toddler's symbolic play at 20 months	Symbolic play: mother's demonstration in joint play at 20 months	Communication score at 48 months
Maternal responsiveness at 5 months	**0.43***	**0.33***	**0.73***
	−0.28	−0.06	−
	−0.05	*0.14*	*0.23*
	−0.11	−0.15	−0.07
Infant responsiveness at 5 months	**0.02**	**0.27**	**−0.06**
	0.08	0.01	−
	0.19	*0.18*	*−0.03*
	−0.12	0.11	0.17
Toddler's symbolic play in solitary play at 20 months			**0.77***
			−
			0.18
			−0.24
Mother's demonstration of symbolic play in joint play at 20 months			**0.63**
			−
			−0.06
			0.07

Note. Japanese immigrant families were in bold font and were listed first, South Korean immigrant families were in regular font and listed second, South American immigrant families were in italics and listed third, and European American families were in regular font and listed last. *N*s were smaller at 20 and 48 months due to attrition

*$p \leq 0.05$.

Specificity in Longitudinal Relations

Notably, we found different patterns of relations across cultural groups, supporting the specificity principle in acculturation (Bornstein, 2017). Why were these relations found for Japanese immigrant dyads and no other cultural groups? It could be that relations between mother-infant interactions in the other cultural groups we studied were indirect and not direct (we studied only direct relations) or mediated or moderated by factors not assessed in the current analyses (these analyses were preliminary and as such did not include a comprehensive variety of parenting behaviors or outcomes measures and did not include composite variables). The explanation may also refer to the cultural construction of parenting and infants among Japanese immigrants. It has been noted that in Japan, mothers redirect their infants' object-directed interactions toward themselves (Bornstein, Toda, Azuma, Tamis-LeMonda, & Ogino 1990). Our own observations of mother-infant interactions at 5, 20, and 48 months point to qualitative differences in mother-infant interaction in comparison to the other cultural groups we have studied. Specifically, at 5 months, Japanese immigrant mothers were almost always in physical contact with their infants, even when their infants were playing with a mobile or playset, in stark contrast to South American immigrant and European American infants, who were expected to play with objects on their own even when the mother was nearby. This philosophy is

consistent with the indigenous Japanese cultural construct *amae* which denotes empathic closeness and interdependence of the infant with the mother (Behrens, 2004, 2010), and it is consistent with other researchers' observations that Japanese mothers maintain close physical proximity to their infants (Behrens, Hesse, & Main, 2007; Tamis-LeMonda & Song, 2013), which seems to be maintained among our sample of first-generation (*issei*) Japanese immigrant mothers. In contrast, we observed European American mothers placing their infants on their backs and allowing their infants to interact with the playset independently, without physical assistance or control by the mother (consistent with other researchers' findings; Tamis-LeMonda & Song, 2013).

At 20 months, among the standard toy set that was given to mothers and infants was a tea set. A number of Japanese immigrant mothers were observed to use the tea set to reenact the tea ceremony that is part of Japanese culture; thus, these mothers used the joint play session as an opportunity to teach their children about culturally valued routines and interactions. Playing with the tea set would be coded as sequential pretense if, for example, the child pretended to make and then pour tea into a teacup or other-directed pretense if, for example, the child offered a fresh cup of "tea" to his/her mother (and these would be levels 7 and 6 on an 8-point coding scheme where 8 was the most sophisticated level of pretend play; Bornstein, Haynes, O'Reilly, & Painter, 1996; Bornstein & O'Reilly, 1993). Moreover, the behavior of the Japanese immigrant mothers was consistent with the behavior of mothers in Japan, who have been observed to engage in more sophisticated play (i.e., other-directed pretense play) than European American mothers (Tamis-LeMonda, Bornstein, Cyphers, Toda, & Ogino, 1992). It has been posited that the function of play is different for Japanese and European American mothers; specifically in Japan, mothers use play as a way to mediate dyadic interaction, whereas for European American mothers, play functions as a way for infants to independently explore objects and thereby begin to master their environment (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 1992).

At 48 months, Japanese mothers expected more advanced behaviors from their children than European American mothers (i.e., in a joint book reading task, Japanese immigrant mothers actively encouraged their children to read the few words in the book; in a picture drawing task, mothers expected their children to draw the picture themselves under the direction from the mother; and in the social domain, children used more polite terms, such as please and thank you, and generally Japanese immigrant children complied more with their mothers' requests and directions than did European American children; J. Suwalsky, personal communication, March, 2016). Again, these qualitative observations of Japanese immigrant mothers' interactions with their infants were consistent with Japanese mothers' goals of socializing children toward relatedness with themselves and others, which include respectful and compliant behavior when interacting with parents and other authority figures (Morelli & Rothbaum, 2007).

Thus, beginning at least by 5 months, it seems that Japanese immigrant mothers controlled their infants' interactions with the environment with a goal toward teaching their children not only about the environment but preparing them for the social

world that exists in Japanese society (instilling a respect for authority is a necessary ingredient for hierarchical relationships to function inside and outside of the family). This socialization style promotes autonomy (exploration of the environment) through relationships with others and thus is most consistent with Tamis-LeMonda et al.'s (2008) conceptualization of autonomy and relatedness as functionally dependent. European American mothers, in contrast, allow their children to explore and demonstrate skills spontaneously on their own with a goal toward encouraging their children's autonomy (Morelli & Rothbaum, 2007; Tamis-LeMonda & McFadden, 2010), and for European American mothers, even noncompliance can be interpreted as the child's expression of autonomy (and as such would be viewed positively by European Americans). Thus, European American mothers' socialization style can best be described as one in which relatedness is viewed as potentially interfering with the development of autonomy ("conflicting associations" to use Tamis-LeMonda et al.'s (2008) terms).

Future Directions Prompted by Our Research

It is important to understand parenting and parent-child relationships among immigrant families in the United States because the United States is becoming increasingly culturally diverse, yet our knowledge base in child development was developed primarily with nonmigrant European American samples. This circumstance is particularly true with respect to interactions that are believed to influence children's development, positively or negatively. The research we discussed here suggests that mothers and infants were each specialists with respect to mother-infant person- and object-directed interactions in infancy and that these patterns may constitute a universal feature of mother-infant interactions. Additionally, synchrony in maternal and infant responsiveness to their partner's person-directed behaviors appears to be universal in middle infancy for the mother-infant dyad. We also found unique patterns of association between person- and object-directed mother-infant interactions at 5 months and developmental sequelae for parenting and children's outcomes in toddlerhood and early childhood that also differed by cultural group, further supporting the specificity principle of development (Bornstein, 1995) and acculturation (Bornstein, 2017). Further exploration of mother-infant interactions and their developmental sequelae among Japanese immigrant, South Korean immigrant, and South American immigrant families is needed.

It should be noted that in support of the specificity principle in development, we found that maternal and infant responsiveness predicted development in different domains for Japanese immigrant families. We did (and still do) expect that mother-infant person-directed interactions influence parenting behavior in the social and affective domains and children's socioemotional development and that mother-infant object-directed interactions influence parenting and children's development in the cognitive domain, but it is likely that the outcome variables vary across cultural groups. For example, it may be that European American mothers' responsiveness to

their infants' object-directed relations predicts their infants' language development, but not their pretend play. It may be that object-directed relations predict infants' language development for monolingual but not bilingual toddlers. In this study, the outcome variables we investigated were limited in scope; therefore, future research should expand the range of outcome variables. It may be also that associations for these groups were indirect; thus, future research should also explore indirect effects of mother-infant interactions on development. As this volume attests, our results may not generalize to Japanese, South Korean, or South American immigrant mothers who immigrate to countries other than the United States, who immigrate to other areas of the United States, or who have immigrated during different historical epochs because the immigration experience is particular to each culture and point in history and the specificity principles in acculturation and development appear to influence the developmental trajectories of mother-infant interactions, as they do so many other aspects of child development.

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Chapter 7
How Do Children Learn Mathematics? Chinese and Latina Immigrant Perspectives

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One in every four children in the U.S. is growing up in an immigrant family, with many living in ones of Latino or Asian origin (Hernandez & Napierala, 2012). Some children living in immigrant families, particularly those from Latino families, experience significant educational disadvantages as early as kindergarten (Hill & Torres, 2010; Reardon & Galindo, 2009). In contrast, children from Asian families more often do well in school (Galindo & Pong, 2011; Hernandez, 2004). Given the educational disadvantages of some immigrant children and the increasing percentage of school-age children from immigrant families (Hernandez & Napierala, 2012; Kao & Thompson, 2003), we need to understand the nature of immigrant parents' socialization of their children's academic development to optimize academic outcomes of all children (Keels & Raver, 2009). This chapter extends our knowledge of academic socialization practices of two key immigrant groups in the U.S., Chinese and Latino parents, whose children have different histories of success in school. We consider parents' beliefs and practices about children's math development and the frequency of children's engagement in a broad range of math-related activities.

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Theoretical Framework

Our research is influenced by ecological (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and integrative theoretical models of development (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) that stress the need to consider interrelations among the contexts in which children develop. We draw from sociocultural theories that emphasize the importance of heritage influences and the larger social structure when examining children's learning experiences (Vygotsky, 1978). Understanding what experiences Chinese and Latino families make available to their children is important because cultural differences are embedded in socialization practices (Super & Harkness, 2002). For immigrants, these socialization practices may reflect both the heritage and host cultures (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006; Qin & Han, 2014).

Our research also reflects Taylor, Clayton, and Rowley's (2004) model of academic socialization which emphasizes the importance of considering parents' beliefs as predictors of children's development. The model explains how parents' attitudes, values, and beliefs about school predict how parents prepare children for school, which, in turn, predicts children's academic skill acquisition (see also Green, Walker, Hoover-Dempsey, & Sandler, 2007).

Parents' Socialization Practices

The role that parents play in their children's education, particularly in the early years, is important for children's academic development (Crosnoe & Cooper, 2010; Crosnoe et al., 2010; Lee & Bowen, 2006; Yan & Lin, 2005). Parent involvement may foster children's skills and motivation (Pomerantz & Moorman, 2010). Research examining the home environment of children, regardless of their race/ethnicity or immigrant status, shows that young children's home-based math experiences positively predict their math skills (Blevins-Knabe & Musun-Miller, 1996; LeFevre, Skwarchuk, Smith-Chant, Fast, Kamawar, & Bisanz, 2009). Unfortunately, there has been limited research on parents' beliefs and practices relevant for children's math development, an important aspect of their academic development (Cross, Woods, & Schweingruber, 2009). In addition, research on home-based influences has concentrated more on activities that children engage in than on parents' beliefs. However, parents' beliefs about their role in their children's development are associated with the experiences they provide for their children and their development (Puccioni, 2014; Sonnenschein, Baker, & Serpell, 2010; Sonnenschein et al., 2012; Taylor et al., 2004).

Racial/ethnic group-based differences in children's academic development have been attributed to differences in parent's socialization practices (Brooks-Gunn & Markman, 2005; Cheadle, 2008; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Pearce, 2006;

Sonnenschein & Galindo, 2015). For example, Bradley, Corwyn, McAdoo, and Garcia Coll (2001) found that Latino children were exposed to fewer academically stimulating opportunities at home (e.g., number of books) than Asian children (see also Stevenson, Chen, & Uttal, 1990). Huntsinger and Jose (2009) showed that Chinese American parents engaged in a more formal, didactic style of academic instruction with their young children than did White parents.

Much of the research on culturally-based educational practices has not distinguished between U.S.-born and immigrant groups (Ji & Koblinsky, 2009; Qin & Han, 2014). However, immigration may pose challenges to parents' involvement in their children's education due to unfamiliarity with school system requirements and language barriers (Qin & Han, 2014; Turney & Kao, 2009), which may impact children's success in school. Alternatively, strengths within immigrant families may compensate for the challenges (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011). In fact, some research finds differences in children's academic achievement favoring first-generation children (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011; Hill & Torres, 2010; Tienda & Haskins, 2011), although findings vary with the developmental stage of the child and the outcome evaluated. Thus, it is particularly important to consider within-group differences to understand how immigrant families socialize their children's math skills.

Latino and Chinese immigrant families share certain characteristics that may affect their children's educational outcomes. Both groups must overcome language barriers and cultural differences and are unfamiliar with U.S. institutions (Galindo, 2010; Turney & Kao, 2009). More positively, both groups have high educational expectations for their children (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Sonnenschein & Galindo, 2014; Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007), which are associated with children's academic development (Fan & Chen, 2001). Chinese parents' views of the importance of education stem from Confucian beliefs (Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song, 2013). Hence, fostering children's educational success is deeply tied to their cultural ideas of what it means to be a good parent. Chinese parents focus on training (*guan*) their children, which includes academic socialization but extends to all aspects of socialization (Chao, 2001). They emphasize grades (Hidalgo, Siu, & Epstein, 2004), the role of effort (Stevenson et al., 1990), and engage in systematic instruction (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Pomerantz, Ng, Cheung, & Qu, 2014).

Latino immigrant parents generally believe that education provides the opportunity for a more prosperous, fulfilling life and often come to the U.S. to gain access to a better education for their children (Olmeda, 2003; Reese, 2002; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Although Latino parents have high expectations for their children's academic success, their academic socialization may focus more on what can be called motivational practices (Ceballo, Maurizi, Suarez, & Aretakis, 2014; Hill & Torres, 2010). Thus, Latino parents socialize their children by telling them about the sacrifices they have made for them to do well in school (*sacrificios)*, giving advice (*consejos*), and providing moral support (*apoyo*; Azmitia, Cooper, & Brown, 2009; Ramos, 2014). It is unclear, however, whether these motivational

practices are *instead of* or *in addition to* more traditional forms of home-based involvement (e.g., providing books and activities at home) because there is relatively limited research investigating Latino home practices.

Documenting the math experiences Latino children have at home is particularly important given that Latino parents are sometimes viewed as less involved than other racial/ethnic groups in their children's education (Hill & Torres, 2010). This notion stems, in part, from research on parents' involvement in schools rather than what is occurring at home (Turney & Kao, 2009). In fact, Latino, Chinese, and other immigrant parents tend not to be heavily involved in school activities, perhaps due to obstacles they face (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Lau, Li, & Rao, 2011; Turney & Kao, 2009).

The present research extends prior findings by documenting the math-related beliefs and practices of first-generation Chinese and Latino parents and their preschool through first-grade children. We take a mixed-methods approach to examine Chinese and Latino immigrant parents' views about their beliefs, their role in their children's education, and the extent to which math activities are embedded in children's daily routines. Most of the limited research on the socialization of children's math development has been quantitative and not addressed parents' beliefs. However, as previously noted, parents' beliefs are important predictors of their practices and children's development (McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Sigel, 2002; Sonnenschein et al., 2012; Taylor et al., 2004), and such beliefs are best documented with a melding of quantitative and qualitative approaches (Puccioni, 2014; Serpell, Baker, & Sonnenschein, 2005). This approach allows us to identify potential strengths within each group for promoting math development.

We also examine whether the beliefs and practices of the Chinese and Latino families vary as a function of how long they have lived in the U.S., given that these may change as the families gain familiarity with the host country (Berry, 2007; Keels & Raver, 2009). Research has shown associations with acculturation and various parenting styles (Cabrera, Shannon, West, & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Parke et al., 2004). Very few studies, however, have examined relations between acculturation and academic socialization. Nevertheless, the relevance of length of residence in the host country has been recognized in recent studies. Glick, Bates, and Yabiku (2009) found that Asian, Latino, and Black immigrant mothers who came to the U.S. prior to 8 years of age had children with similar scores on cognitive measures to those whose mothers were born in the U.S. Parenting practices and the home literacy environment were significant mediators and differed across groups. The present study extends prior research on acculturation by looking at the associations between length of time residing in the U.S. and math socialization practices of Chinese and Latino immigrants.

A key component of parents' socialization practices is the type and amount of activities they provide for their children. Documenting children's engagement in math-related activities at home is important because of its association with math skills (e.g., Blevins-Knabe & Musun-Miller, 1996). For example, playing

mathematics-related board and card games and helping with cooking and shopping positively predict numeracy skills (LeFevre et al., 2009; Ramani & Siegler, 2008). The few studies that have documented what can be considered engagement in math activities at home find that Latino children reportedly engage in fewer such activities than Asian children (Stevenson et al., 1990). However, others find that race/ethnicity accounts for far less variance in children's activities than mother's education (Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007). This study goes beyond previous research on children's math engagement at home by including a larger and more diverse set of potential math activities and comparing engagement across racial/ethnic immigrant groups.

Method

Participants

Parents were recruited through LISTSERVs and from schools, churches, and community centers in the Baltimore/Washington corridor, a large metropolitan area in the Middle Atlantic region of the U.S. We limited our sample to first-generation Chinese or Latino mothers of children in preschool through first grade (about one third at each grade, about half girls). We assessed acculturation by the number of years residing in the U.S. Parents were categorized into two groups, those that had lived in the U.S. 8 years or less and those more than 8 years. We based this grouping on Cummin's (1984) notions of how long it takes to achieve fluency in a second language, given that acquiring fluency in the host language is a hallmark of acculturation (Cabrera et al., 2006).

Chinese. We interviewed 39 Chinese mothers (*M* age = 39.04 years, *SD* = 4.00) who had been in the U.S. for, on average, 9.37 years (*SD* = 5.29 years). Seventeen of the mothers (44%) had been in the U.S. for 8 years or less (less than 1–8 years) and 22 (56%) for more than 8 years (9–22 years). The majority of mothers (82%) came from China; the remainder came from Taiwan. The mean number of other adults living in the home was 1.31 (*SD* = 0.83). The number of children, in addition to the focal children, these mothers had was 1.69 (*SD* = 0.66). About 62% of the focal children were only or first-born children. Forty-four percent of the focal children were boys. The majority of the mothers had completed a bachelor's degree or higher (97%). About 67% had received some schooling in the U.S. All but one of those mothers had attended college or graduate school in the U.S. Seventy-seven percent reported working outside the home. Ninety-three percent reported speaking primarily Chinese at home (37% spoke only Chinese at home).

Latino. Thirty-seven Latina mothers (*M* age = 33.79 years, *SD* = 5.31) who had been in the U.S., on average, 10.97 years (*SD* = 4.93 years) were interviewed. Thirteen of the mothers (35%) had been in the U.S. for 8 or less (less than 3–8 years)

and 24 (65%) for more than 8 years (9–26 years). The largest percentage of mothers (46%) came from El Salvador, followed by Mexico (14%) and Guatemala (14%). Remaining parents came from Ecuador, Honduras, and Peru (one parent from each). The mean number of other adults living in the home was 1.84 ($SD = 1.00$). The number of children, in addition to the focal children, these mothers had was 1.24 ($SD = 1.09$). About 49% of the focal children were only or first-born children. Fifty-three percent of the children were boys. Five percent of the mothers had completed a bachelor's degree; another 5% had an associate degree or were actively pursuing a bachelor's degree. About 22% had taken vocational or a few college courses, 27% had a high school degree, and 41% had not completed high school. About 14% had received some schooling in the U.S. Of those, 60% (8% of the full Latino sample) attended U.S. elementary or high schools. Sixty-eight percent reported working outside the home. About 95% reported speaking Spanish most frequently at home (about 49% spoke only Spanish at home).

Comparison between Chinese and Latino groups. There were some statistically significant ($p < .05$) differences between groups. Most relevant for this paper, given potential associations between educational level and parents' beliefs and practices (Pearce, 2006), is that Chinese mothers were more highly educated than Latina mothers. Chinese mothers were also significantly more likely than Latinas to have received some schooling in the U.S. and were a few years older than their Latina counterparts ($p < .05$). In contrast, Latina mothers had more children ($p < .05$). None of the other demographic variables differed significantly across groups. Given the association between mothers' education and children's development, we controlled for mother's education in all quantitative analyses comparing Chinese and Latinos.

Measures and Procedures

Mothers were individually interviewed by members of our research team who were fluent in the parents' native languages. Parents were given the choice of being interviewed in Chinese, Spanish, or English. All but two of the Latina interviews were conducted in the parents' native language. Responses were audio-taped, and interviewers took field notes during the interviews. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated/back-translated according to recommended practices (Peña, 2007).

The *Parent's Beliefs about Children's Math Activities Questionnaire* reflects Super and Harkness' (2002) developmental niche theory stressing the importance of considering the settings in which children reside, customs and practices of child-rearing, and parents' belief systems. Such an approach is particularly important to understand cultural practices (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006). The questionnaire was adapted from one used to study children's reading development (Serpell et al.,

Table 7.1 Sample items from parent's conceptions of math questionnaire

Open-ended questions
What is math?
What does your child like best about (*math activities mentioned*)?[a]
What do you like best about (*math activities mentioned*)?[a]
What is the best way to help your child learn math?
When you pick out a math toy/book/activity for your child, what kinds of things do you look for?
Quantitative questions
How often does *[child's name]* do any math activities at home? *(0 = never/almost never, 1 = less than once a week, 2 = once a week to several times a week, 3 = every day or almost every day)*
How often does *[child's name]* do (specific named)[b] activities? *(0 = never/almost never, 1 = less than once a week, 2 = once a week to several times a week, 3 = every day or almost every day)*
How important is it that your child does math activities at home? *(1 = not very, 3 = somewhat, 5 = very)*
How important is it that you help your child with math? *(1 = not very, 3 = somewhat, 5 = very)*
How often does your child see you doing math? *(1 = never/almost never, 2 = less than once a week, 3 = once a week to several times a week, 4 = every day/almost every day)*
How much do you enjoy math? *(1 = not at all, 3 = somewhat, 5 = very much)*
How good at math are you? *(1 = not good at all, 3 = ok, 5 = very good)*

[a]Parents were asked this question only for math activities they rated as 2 or higher
[b]Parents were asked to rate the frequency of about 30 activities including counting, puzzles, math TV, blocks, and building toys

2005). In addition to questions about demographic characteristics of the interviewee, the questionnaire included open-ended questions and rating scales tapping parents' math socialization practices (see Table 7.1). Ratings were entered into SPSS and independently checked by a second person. NVivo 10.0 was used to code qualitative responses. Five trained coders (five of the authors) independently read and coded the transcripts. Our coding reflected *etic* and *emic* approaches (Neuman, 2003). Based on our theoretical framework, several coding categories, such as "parents' engagement in math," "parents' socialization practices," and "parents' beliefs about children's development," were created before reviewing the transcripts (etic approach). We also read the transcribed interviews and allowed themes to emerge from the data to understand parents' perceptions and interpretations (emic approach). The coders independently coded and discussed a subset of transcripts from the interviews. This process continued until all coders viewed the transcripts in the same manner. The coders then worked independently on the remaining transcripts with some periodic discussion among group members.

Results

Chinese Mothers' Perspectives

Mothers' socialization beliefs and practices. Mothers emphasized the importance of providing a math-rich environment for their children. The majority of mothers endorsed (scores of 4 or 5) the importance of their child doing math at home (80%) and helping their child with math (77%). Mothers (67%) reported that their children saw them doing math activities between once a week and every day. Forty-six percent gave high ratings (4 or 5) for enjoying math and being good at it (39%).

A review of transcripts showed that mothers described themselves as active participants in their children's math learning (33%) or facilitators (74%)[1] of such learning. As part of their active involvement in their children's learning math, several mothers discussed using summer breaks to compensate for what may have been inadequate time spent on math at school (*I think summer time we gave her more work at home. Now we don't know how much time does she spend on math in school*). Another mother mentioned using summer to teach her child material that would be covered the following year (*I give her, pre-teacher her some. Will not be too deep…just introduce concepts, to make her… life easier in that semester*).

Mothers who mentioned that their role was to facilitate their child's learning discussed providing artifacts (72%), using daily living opportunities (41%) or stimulating their child's interest in math (33%). For example, one mother stated, "My first thinking is he will like it and it is interesting; otherwise it is meaningless." Relatedly, 59% of the mothers mentioned providing games or making the tasks fun for the child.

Mothers also discussed the processes through which children learned math. For example, 54% mentioned the need for the child to practice or memorize math facts (*Everyday you need to do math exercises constantly*; *If you really want him to learn numbers, he needs to memorize*).

In addition to viewing themselves as being actively involved in teaching their children or facilitating their learning, 38% of the mothers expressed clear expectations for what they expected their children to learn or how much time they expected their child to devote to math at home. These mothers often mentioned how the amount of time or required tasks would change as their children progressed. For example, one mother said, "At the beginning, two pages in the morning, two pages in the afternoon. Then gradually adds her more pages. Three or four pages depend on the situation of that time." Another mother discussed her child's completion of a workbook she had purchased, "I usually require him to do four sheets….I feel like if he concentrates on it, he should be able to finish it within 20 minutes." That mother further noted that the workbook required more than simple rote addition or subtraction, "There are testing sheets in it with math questions that are not the

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[1] Mothers could be coded as giving more than one response so the percentages can total to more than 100%.

Table 7.2 Percentage of children who reportedly engaged in specific math activities at least once a week based on parents' reports

Activity	Chinese ($N = 39$)	Latino ($N = 37$)
Count objects	94.9	89.1
Add or subtract	76.9	73.0
Play with money	20.5	51.3
Write numbers	87.2	72.9
Match or identify shapes	66.7	70.2
Blocks or construction toys	56.4	45.9
Put objects in order	28.2	54.0
Do math homework[*]	41.0	70.2
TV remote[*]	66.6	89.2
Dial telephone	28.2	54.0
Keep score in games[*]	18.0	51.3
Tell time on clock	59.0	54.0
Ask "how many are there?"	79.5	83.8
Play video games	46.1	51.3
Use computer	64.1	51.3

Note. ANCOVAs were conducted with parents' education level as a covariate and parents' race/ethnicity and length of time in U.S. as between-subject factors. The dependent variable was the frequency of engagement in math activities

[*]$p < .05$

formula of addition and subtraction." In fact, several mothers noted obtaining workbooks from China because they contained more than rote calculation exercises and more characteristic of U.S. workbooks.

Children's engagement in math activities. Ninety-two percent of Chinese children reportedly engaged in math activities at least once a week; 41% did so almost every day. As shown in Table 7.2, over 60% of the children counted objects, added/subtracted, wrote numbers, used the TV remote, asked questions about quantity, and used the computer at least once a week. About half of the children wrote numbers (56%) or counted (46%) almost every day. Fewer than half of the children played card or board games (23%) at least once a week.

Latina Mothers' Perspectives

Mothers' socialization beliefs and practices. The majority of mothers emphasized (scores of 4 or 5) the importance of their child doing math at home (92%) and helping him or her with math (95%; see Table 7.3 for means). Over half the children (57%) reportedly saw their mothers do math activities between once a week and every day. Fifty-one percent of mothers gave high ratings (4 or 5) for enjoying math and being good at it (57%).

Table 7.3 Parents report of Chinese and Latino children's' frequency of engagement in math activities and ratings

	Chinese	Latino				
	M(SE)	M(SE)	df	F	η²	p
How often does *[child's name]* do any math activities at home?	2.18 (0.24)	2.19 (0.25)	1,73	<0.01	<.001	.981
How important is it that your child does math activities at home?	4.25 (0.23)	4.74 (0.24)	1,73	1.30	.017	.259
How important is it that you help your child with math?	4.24 (0.24)	4.91 (0.25)	1,73	2.29	.030	.134
How often does your child see you doing math?	2.54 (0.27)	3.08 (0.28)	1,73	1.18	.016	.281
How much do you enjoy math?	2.95 (0.33)	4.16 (0.34)	1,73	3.87	.050	.053
How good at math are you?	4.09 (0.32)	3.82 (0.33)	1,73	1.49	.020	.227

Note. Above analyses, including means and SEs, controlled for parents' education level

Forty-three percent of the Latina mothers described themselves as active participants in their children's math learning. They discussed specific activities they engaged in with their children (*I like to count things with them…*), the role they played in their children's learning, (*I think as a parent, I think you need to sit with him to teach him*), and the need to assist the child if he/she did not understand something (*if he doesn't understand something, try to help him*).

About half of the mothers (51%) reported facilitating their children's learning by providing artifacts (such as books, blocks). Thirty percent talked about providing daily living opportunities that could facilitate math learning. For example, mothers reported involving their children in cooking (*when I am cooking I tell her, bring me two tomatoes*). However, relatively few mothers (21%) mentioned the need to interest their children in learning math.

Mothers also discussed how their children learned. The most common responses were through play (50%) and practice (35%).

Few mothers (15%) mentioned planning their children's future math learning or trajectory of skills acquisition. When they did, their remarks were fairly general and based on the child completing work in advance of his or her age rather than a specific expectation of what skills the child might acquire or the child's task completion. For example, one mother discussed a workbook her son was using at home, "this book, is from first grade already… now he is in kindergarten, next year he is going into first."

Children's engagement in math activities. Eighty-one percent of Latino children reportedly engaged in math activities at least once a week (35% of parents reported children engaging in math almost every day). Over 60% of the children counted objects, added/subtracted, wrote numbers, matched shapes, did math homework, used the TV remote, and asked questions about quantity at least once a week (Table 7.2). About half the children watched math television programs (46%) or asked questions about quantity (57%) almost every day. Fewer than half the children played card (22%) or board games (11%) at least once a week.

Comparison Between Chinese and Latinas

Mothers' socialization beliefs and practices. Both Chinese and Latina mothers, regardless of how long they had resided in the U.S., emphasized the importance of their children learning math and their role in such learning. They discussed taking an active role in their children's math learning and facilitating such learning by giving their children artifacts. They also mentioned using daily living activities to promote math learning.

We conducted a series of ANCOVAs on the effects of length of time in the U.S. and race/ethnicity on mothers' ratings (see Table 7.1 for questions; Table 7.3 for mean responses). Parents' educational level, the covariate, was not statistically significant in any of the analyses. Surprisingly, length of time in the U.S. also was not statistically significant ($p > .20$) nor was it associated with parents' qualitative responses.

There was one statistically significant difference between Latina and Chinese mothers. Latina mothers reported enjoying math more than Chinese mothers.

Despite the many commonalities, there also were some differences between the groups which were evident in their qualitative responses. Chinese mothers were more likely to talk about fostering their children's interest in learning math and the importance of engagement for learning. Chinese mothers also had a more systematic plan of action for fostering their children's learning.

Although both groups of mothers stated that their children saw them do math activities (on average about once a week or more), only a few mothers from either group mentioned that they discussed math during these times or that such observation can be a source of children's learning math. Thus, it appears that these mothers may not have been taking advantage of opportunities to help foster their children's math skills.

Children's engagement in math activities. We conducted ANCOVAs, again controlling for mothers' educational level, to compare the frequency of children's engagement in math activities associated with race/ethnicity and years in the U.S There were no differences across groups in the frequency of math engagement when responding to the question, "How often does your child do math activities at home?" Chinese and Latina mothers, on average, reported about once a week. Interestingly, however, when we computed a mean composite of their responses to each of the 30 math activities probed, Latino children reportedly engaged in math significantly more frequently ($M = 1.61$, $SE = 0.12$) than Chinese children ($M = 1.10$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .020$). A similar pattern occurred when we analyzed the frequency of specific activities. Latino children engaged in math homework assigned by teacher, used TV remotes, kept score in games, and played jump rope/hop scotch games significantly more frequently ($p < .05$) than Chinese children. Nevertheless, the frequency of these activities was, on average, less than once a week.

Discussion

This study significantly extends our knowledge of the math socialization practices of Chinese and Latina immigrant mothers of young children, the two largest immigrant groups in the U.S. There were quite a few similarities in how Chinese and Latina immigrant mothers reported socializing their children's math development. Both groups emphasized the importance of children engaging in math activities and their role in their children's learning. Both reported playing an active role in their children's math development through direct instruction, providing artifacts, and using daily living activities as teaching opportunities. Thus, both seemed to be providing their children with opportunities for acquiring academic skills and motivation for learning (Pomerantz & Moorman, 2010). These similarities are particularly noteworthy given the differences in educational background between the groups. Many aspects of these parents' beliefs and practices may reflect values and beliefs shared by these two immigrant groups and not influenced by their educational background. It is also possible, however, that the source of the commonalities in Chinese and Latina mothers' beliefs and practices originated in their children's schools. That is, the children's schools (preschool or elementary school) may have communicated expectations to the mothers about optimal home-based practices to support children's learning (Epstein, 2001). Also, many of the families (Chinese 38%, Latino 51%) had older children and, therefore, additional experience with U.S. schools.

Despite many commonalities across the two groups, there also were important differences. Consistent with what has been reported in the literature (Chao, 2001; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Pomerantz et al., 2014), Chinese mothers' approaches generally were guided by a detailed systematic plan and set of expectations for their children's progress. They discussed the processes (practice, memorization, engaging child's interest) through which their children learned math. Latina mothers stressed the importance of their children learning and discussed activities they did to foster learning but generally did not express a systematic approach to fostering such learning or a set of expectations for their children's acquisition of math skills. Fan and Chen (2001) found that parental expectations were the most important component of parental involvement for children's academic performance. Our group-based differences may reflect differences in mothers' expectations or how these expectations were translated into practice. Although Latina mothers expressed a desire for their children to learn, Chinese mothers discussed what specific math activities their children needed to complete and how that would change over time with changes in their children's skills.

We found that many Chinese (41%) and Latina mothers (30%) emphasized using daily living activities to socialize their children's math development. There has not been much research investigating associations between engagement in daily living activities and children's math development. Sonnenschein et al. (2012) found that an emphasis on daily living as a means of fostering math development was positively associated with children's engagement in math activities. Sonnenschein, Baker, Moyer, and LeFevre (2005) found a positive association between parents

using daily living activities to foster their children's math development when their children were in prekindergarten and kindergarten and their children's math skills in third grade. Although further research is warranted, encouraging parents to use daily living activities to foster their children's math engagement and achievement may be important.

Many Chinese mothers in our study also emphasized the importance of engaging their children's interest. Serpell et al. (2005) showed that such an approach was a common means that middle-income U.S. parents used to effectively socialize their children's reading development. Such an approach has not been noted before in research with Chinese families.

We did not find any differences in how the two groups of families reported socializing their children's math development as a function of how long they had lived in the U.S. Glick et al. (2009) found differences in children's cognitive scores associated with the age at which their mothers came to the U.S. Children whose mothers came by the age of 7 years were at an advantage relative to those coming later. This suggests that being schooled in the U.S. may be important for parents to learn what experiences to provide their children. Most of the mothers in this study were not educated in the U.S. or, if they were, only attended college/graduate school here. In fact, several Chinese mothers commented on their unfamiliarity with U.S. elementary schools. Other families (38% Chinese, 51% Latino) did have older children in U.S. schools, which should have provided them some familiarity with educational practices and expectations. However, if families experience barriers to school involvement, something more common with immigrant families, they may be less likely to learn what they should be doing at home to facilitate their children's academic growth.

Unlike what other investigators working with Latino families have discussed (e.g., Ceballo et al., 2014; Hill & Torres, 2010), the mothers in this study did not discuss motivational practices (*sacrificios*, *consejos*, *apoyo*). However, this may reflect the nature of our questions rather than these parents' beliefs about these motivational practices.

An important contribution of this study is documenting the frequency of children's engagement in a broad array of math activities. The majority of Chinese and Latino children reportedly engaged in some form of math activity at least once a week, if not more. It is particularly noteworthy, given that Latino parents are sometimes viewed as relatively uninvolved in their children's education and that Latino children at times engaged in math activities more frequently than Chinese children. This highlights the importance of documenting what is occurring at home and not limiting data to what is occurring at school. On the other hand, the frequency of engagement, which varied across activities, was often once a week or less. This may not be sufficient to facilitate children's math acquisition. Furthermore, although the almost 30 activities probed in the questionnaire all included some math, they may not be equally relevant for children's learning. For example, using a TV remote may not contribute as much to children's math learning as playing numeric board games or completing workbooks.

Despite the importance that Latino parents give to having their children do math at home and assisting in their children's learning (over 90% highly endorsed such items), there are significant differences across racial/ethnic groups in the academic skills the children display at school entry and beyond (Murphey, Guzman, & Torres, 2014; Reardon & Galindo, 2009). Latino parents may not be aware of effective ways to facilitate their children's math skills. Fewer Latina than Chinese mothers focused on using daily living activities or engaging their children's interest. They also were less likely to talk about plans or expectations for their children's learning. When Latino children start school, they also may attend schools that are more limited in resources and thus do not compensate for any weaknesses in the children's home experiences (Rothstein, 2013). Welner and Carter (2013) have discussed these opportunity costs as one means of accounting for the academic struggles experienced by many children from certain racial/ethnic/income groups.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several limitations to the study. First, the Chinese and Latino samples differed in terms of mothers' educational level, although the sample was consistent with U.S. demographic characteristics of Chinese and Latinos (Camarota, 2012). This limits our ability to disentangle the extent to which racial/ethnic differences are due to socioeconomic characteristics. Although we controlled for mothers' education in the analyses, future research should include groups matched in educational background (Pearce, 2006). Second, the frequency of children's activities was reported by their mothers. This is a commonly used technique but may be subject to bias. Third, our sampling did not allow us to compare different subgroups of Latinos, even though parents' beliefs and practices may differ among different subgroups (Cabrera et al., 2006; Reardon & Galindo, 2009). Despite these limitations, these data provide important information about how first-generation Chinese and Latina mothers socialize their young children's math development.

Conclusions

Given the current demographic changes and the educational disparities observed across race/ethnicity and immigrant groups, it is important to better understand culturally specific parents' socialization practices of math skills. This study examined socialization practices of the two most predominant immigrant groups in the U.S., Chinese and Latinos. We identified important similarities as well as differences in the socialization practices of Chinese and Latina immigrant parents. Future research should examine the extent to which these practices have implications for children's math development. These findings are an important first step that can aid in the development of home-based interventions to improve children's math acquisition.

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Part III
Acculturation Factors, Processes, and Family Dynamics

Chapter 8
Acculturation-Related Stressors and Individual Adjustment in Asian American Families

Yang Hou and Su Yeong Kim

Asian Americans were the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the United States in 2012 (US Census Bureau, 2013). This population is projected to more than double in size between 2015 and 2060, growing to 39.9 million and eventually making up 9.1% of the total US population (US Census Bureau, 2012). Asian Americans are the largest immigrant group in the United States, accounting for 25% of all the first-generation immigrants in 2012 (Pew Research Center, 2013). Asian American families, particularly immigrant families, face a multitude of stressors and challenges (Xia, Do, & Xie, 2013). Some are general life stressors, while others are more acculturation-related such as discrimination, perpetual foreigner stereotype, bicultural management difficulty, intergenerational acculturation gap, and economic stress (Kim, Chen, Wang, Shen, & Orozco-Lapray, 2013; Kim, Shen, Huang, Wang, & Orozco-Lapray, 2014; Xia et al., 2013). However, implications of these acculturation-related stressors for Asian Americans' adjustment are relatively understudied, partly due to the widely held "model minority" stereotype of Asian Americans (e.g., Asian students have good academic performance and are trouble-free, Asian American families earn more money than other ethnic families, and all Asian American families are adjusting smoothly after migrating to the United States (Benner & Kim, 2009; Xia et al., 2013)). Given the increasing number of Asian Americans and the various challenges they may encounter during the process of acculturation, it is critical to investigate how acculturation-related stressors affect individual adjustment and family processes in Asian American families.

The integrative model for ethnic minority study emphasizes that racism, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression provide an important macrosystem context for ethnic minority children's development (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). According to this model, these contextual factors can affect children's development directly through social interactions, as well as indirectly through mediating family processes. This

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integrative model provides a very comprehensive theoretical framework to understand the developmental context of ethnic minority children. Nevertheless, more specificity about how individuals' acculturative experiences in such contexts may influence their own and family members' adjustment is needed in order to guide empirical studies. Thus, we present a more specific conceptual model focusing on implications of acculturative stressors for Asian American families (Fig. 8.1). In this model, parents' and children's experiences of acculturative stressors can directly influence their own adjustment (paths A); most importantly, parents' acculturative stressors can also influence family processes, thus indirectly influencing children's adjustment (paths B).

This chapter aims to discuss extant and potential theoretical and methodological approaches for examining the direct and indirect associations between acculturative stressors and individual adjustment in Asian American families. Our review of the literature is not exhaustive; rather, it provides examples of each theoretical/methodological approach. For acculturation-related stressors, we focus on studies assessing a specific type of acculturation-related stressor (e.g., discrimination) but also include studies assessing general acculturative stress (e.g., Chung & Epstein, 2014; Singh, McBride, & Kak, 2015). For individual adjustment, we focus on psychological (e.g., depressive symptoms), behavioral (e.g., delinquent behaviors), and academic outcomes. We specifically highlight the role of family processes (e.g., parenting and parent-child relationships) in linking acculturative stressors and individual adjustment. This chapter has four main sections. The first section focuses on direct intrapersonal associations between acculturative stressors (e.g., discrimination) and individual adjustment (paths A in Fig. 8.1). The second section centers on indirect
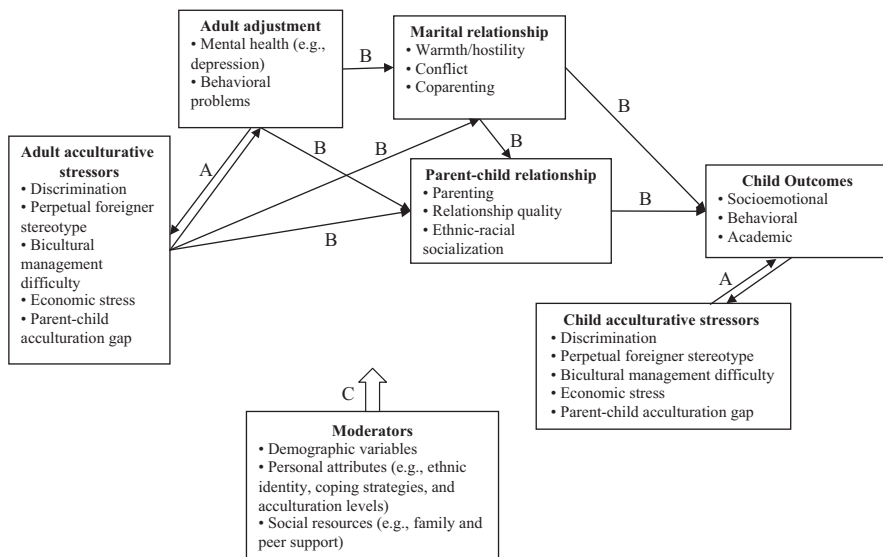
Fig. 8.1 Conceptual model linking acculturative stressors and individual adjustment

effects from parental experiences of acculturative stressors (e.g., economic stress) to child adjustment through family processes (paths B). The third section addresses individual variations in the relation between acculturative stressors and individual adjustment by reviewing studies exploring moderators of the association (path C). The last section discusses future directions for studies examining acculturative stressors and individual adjustment among Asian Americans.

Intrapersonal Associations Between Acculturative Stressors and Individual Adjustment

Most of the extant studies on the implications of acculturative stressors for Asian Americans focus on direct and intrapersonal effects (paths A in Fig. 8.1). In the following paragraphs, we summarize the intrapersonal effects of three specific types of acculturative stressors (discrimination, perpetual foreigner stereotype, and bicultural management difficulty) and general acculturative stress on Asian Americans' adjustment.

Discrimination. Similar to other ethnic minority groups, Asian Americans face various types of discriminatory treatment in their lives (Benner & Kim, 2009; Xia et al., 2013). Compared to other acculturative stressors, discrimination is more widely studied in Asian Americans. Regardless of the type (e.g., daily or racial) or source (e.g., peer or adult) of discrimination, individuals' experiences of discriminatory treatment are associated with negative individual outcomes (Benner & Kim, 2009; Galliher, Jones, & Dahl, 2011; Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). For example, adults' perceived discrimination has been related to poorer mental health (Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007; Yip et al., 2008), lower levels of psychological well-being (Lee, 2003; Yoo & Lee, 2008), higher levels of psychological distress (Chung & Epstein, 2014; Huynh, Devos, & Goldberg, 2014), and more depressive symptoms (Wei, Heppner, Ku, & Liao, 2010). Adolescents' experiences of discrimination have been linked to negative socioemotional outcomes, such as more depressive symptoms and lower levels of psychological well-being (Hou, Kim, Wang, Shen, & Orozco-Lapray, 2015; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008); negative academic outcomes, including lower grades and lower levels of school engagement (Benner & Kim, 2009); and negative behavioral outcomes, such as more delinquent behaviors (Deng, Kim, Vaughan, & Li, 2010; Galliher et al., 2011).

Perpetual foreigner stereotype. Besides overt discrimination, Asian Americans also experience more subtle forms of discriminatory treatment, such as perpetual foreigner stereotype (Armenta et al., 2013; Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011). Asian Americans are often viewed as "perpetual foreigners" who are unlikely to assimilate into the mainstream culture, no matter where they were born or how long their families have resided in the United States (Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011). Empirical studies have demonstrated that experiences of being stereotyped as a perpetual foreigner (e.g., being criticized for

speaking Chinese or for not speaking/writing English well) are pervasive in the everyday lives of Asian Americans, particularly immigrants (Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2009). Experiences of being stereotyped as a perpetual foreigner were associated with various measures of Asian Americans' adjustment (Armenta et al., 2013; Huynh et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2011). For example, Huynh et al. (2011) revealed that experiences of being stereotyped as a perpetual foreigner significantly predicted a lower sense of belonging to American culture, increased identity conflict, and lower levels of hope and life satisfaction in Asian Americans, even after controlling for perceived levels of discrimination.

Bicultural management difficulty. In addition to external stressors, such as discrimination and perpetual foreigner stereotype, Asian Americans may experience internal challenges as they navigate between two distinct cultures (Cheah, Leung, & Zhou, 2013; Kim et al., 2014). For example, they may detect contradictions between their ethnic culture and the American culture; they may find it difficult to determine which cultural practices to follow in certain situations; and they may feel it is hard to balance between the two cultures. These internal struggles in navigating between ethnic and mainstream cultures (i.e., bicultural management difficulty) have been linked to poorer individual adjustment and family functioning (Kim et al., 2014; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). For example, a recent study demonstrated that parental bicultural management difficulty was associated with more parental depressive symptoms, more punitive parenting, less democratic parenting, and less inductive reasoning in Chinese Americans (Kim et al., 2014).

Acculturative stress. Many studies have assessed how experiences of general acculturative stress relate to the adjustment of Asian American immigrants (Castillo et al., 2015; Chung & Epstein, 2014; Park, Anastas, Shibusawa, & Nguyen, 2014). Measures of general acculturative stress encompass various stressful experiences during the acculturation process—for example, discriminatory experiences, pressure to adopt new cultural values and behaviors, as well as pressure from heritage culture members to not become Americanized. These studies have demonstrated that acculturative stress is positively related to various negative individual outcomes, such as psychological distress (Chung & Epstein, 2014; Singh et al., 2015), depressive symptoms (Hamamura & Laird, 2014; Roley et al., 2014), alcohol use (Park et al., 2014), and eating disorders (Kroon Van Diest, Tartakovsky, Stachon, Pettit, & Perez, 2014).

Parental Acculturative Stressors and Child Outcomes

It is important to investigate how parental experiences of acculturative stressors influence child adjustment indirectly through family processes (paths B in Fig. 8.1), given that parents play an important role in child development. For indirect associations between parental acculturative stressors and child outcomes, most prior studies have examined two acculturative stressors, parent-child acculturation gap and

family economic stress, and more recently, parental discriminatory experiences, perpetual foreigner stereotype, and bicultural management difficulty. Most of these studies adopted the family stress framework, which suggests that family stressors indirectly relate to child outcomes through family processes (Conger & Donnellan, 2007).

Parent-child acculturation gap. Parent-child acculturation gap refers to the discrepancies between parents' and children's acculturation levels, the extent they endorse the American and ethnic cultures (Telzer, 2010). According to the acculturation gap-distress model, a large discrepancy between parents' and children's acculturation levels is a risk factor for child development in immigrant families (Kim et al., 2013; Lui, 2015; Telzer, 2010). Prior studies have found that higher levels of parent-child acculturation discrepancy are indirectly associated with adverse child outcomes (e.g., lower academic performance, more depressive symptoms, and more delinquent behaviors) through disruptive family processes (e.g., Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009; Kim et al., 2013; Wang, Kim, Anderson, Chen, & Yan, 2012). Such family processes include more family conflict (Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe, 2008; Ying & Han, 2007), parents' use of unsupportive parenting practices (Kim et al., 2009, 2013), adolescents' perceptions of less parental knowledge (Wang et al., 2012), and increased sense of alienation in parent-child dyads (Kim et al., 2013). For example, Kim et al. (2013) examined parents' and adolescents' American orientation and Chinese orientation among 379 Chinese immigrant families in the United States. They found that parent-child discrepancy in American orientation (but not Chinese orientation) negatively related to parents' use of supportive parenting (warmth, monitoring, and reasoning); decreased use of supportive parenting was associated with increased sense of alienation between parents and children, which in turn, was related to more depressive symptoms and lower academic performance in adolescents.

Family economic stress. Although economic stress is not unique to ethnic minority families, it can be regarded as an acculturative stressor because immigrants are more likely to encounter economic stress due to underemployment or unemployment, cost of settling down in a new place, and lack of financial support (Xia et al., 2013). Some studies on Asian American families have demonstrated that parents' economic stress can indirectly affect adolescents' academic, behavioral, and socioemotional outcomes (Benner & Kim, 2010; Mistry, Benner, Tan, & Kim, 2009). For instance, adopting the family stress model (Conger & Donnellan, 2007), Benner and Kim (2010) demonstrated that, in Chinese American families, parental economic stress was associated with more parental depressive symptoms, which in turn related to more hostile and coercive parenting, less nurturing and involved parenting, and greater interparental hostility; subsequently, maternal hostile and coercive parenting were linked to more negative adolescent academic outcomes and more delinquent behaviors, whereas fathers' nurturing and involved parenting were associated with more negative adolescent academic outcomes.

Parental discrimination experiences, perpetual foreigner stereotype, and bicultural management difficulty. As we discussed in the previous section, prior studies have demonstrated the direct effects of individuals' discrimination experiences,

perpetual foreigner stereotype, and bicultural management difficulty on their own adjustment. More recently, two studies have demonstrated the indirect effects of parental experiences of these acculturative stressors on adolescent adjustment in Asian American families (Hou, Kim, Hazen, & Benner, 2017; Hou, Kim, & Wang, 2016). Using a longitudinal data set of Chinese American families, these two studies highlighted the important role of marital and parent-child relationship in linking parental acculturative stressors and child outcomes in Asian American families. Specifically, Hou, Kim, and Wang (2016) found that parental perpetual foreigner stereotype and bicultural management difficulty positively related to parent-child conflict, either directly or indirectly through interparental conflict. Subsequently, both interparental and parent-child conflict positively related to parent-child alienation, which then related to more depressive symptoms, more delinquent behaviors, and lower academic performance in adolescents. Hou et al. (2017) found that fathers' experiences of discrimination predicted more paternal depressive symptoms, which in turn predicted greater maternal hostility toward children; ultimately, maternal hostility related to poorer adolescent adjustment (more depressive symptoms and delinquent behaviors). These results underscore the importance of considering the family as an interdependent dynamic system and including multiple family members in this line of studies.

Individual Differences in the Effects of Acculturative Stressors

Although acculturative stressors tend to be associated with negative individual outcomes, the effects of acculturative stressors vary dramatically across individuals. Whereas some people experience negative effects of acculturative stressors, some may be less affected by acculturative stressors, and others may even build strength and resilience from stressful experiences (Xia et al., 2013; Xu, Xie, Liu, Xia, & Liu, 2007; Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008). Studies that investigate moderators of the relationship between acculturative stressors and Asian Americans' adjustment can shed light on such individual differences. In this section, we review initial findings on three types of moderators (demographic variables, personal attributes, and social resources; path C).

Demographic variables. The effect of acculturative stressors on individual adjustment can vary across age, gender, immigration status (immigrant vs. US born), and socioeconomic status. For the moderating role of age, it seems that acculturative stressors may be most likely to affect the adjustment of adolescents (Benner & Kim, 2009; Niwa, Way, & Hughes, 2014). Compared to children, adolescents are more mature in the social and cognitive abilities that are required to understand the meaning of their ethnicity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) and to perceive acculturative stressors such as discrimination (Brown & Bigler, 2005). Compared to adults, adolescents have lower levels of coping skills and fewer experiences in dealing with stress. Age can also interact with immigration status and other moderators to influence the relationship between acculturative stressors and individual adjustment. For

example, Yip et al. (2008) found that immigration status and age influence the moderating role of ethnic identity on the association between discrimination and mental health. Specifically, for US-born individuals 41–50 years of age, the link between discrimination and mental health was weaker for those who felt closer to members of their ethnic group, whereas for US-born individuals 31–40 years of age and 51–75 years of age, the negative effects of discrimination on mental health were stronger for those who felt closer to members of their ethnic group.

For the moderating role of gender, prior studies have presented inconsistent findings. For example, Galliher et al. (2011) demonstrated that female (versus male) Asian American adolescents exhibited a weaker association between discrimination and psychological functioning. However, Hahm et al. (2010) found that women had a lower threshold for the influence of discrimination, such that, for women, the association between mental health and discrimination was significant when levels of discrimination were medium or high, whereas for men, the association was significant only when levels of discrimination were high. As for the moderating role of socioeconomic status, individuals with higher socioeconomic status (e.g., higher income) may be less vulnerable to the deleterious effects of acculturative stressors because they have greater access to resources (e.g., psychotherapy and social support) that could help them cope with psychologically distressing events (Ford, Hurd, Jagers, & Sellers, 2013; Ponnet, 2014).

Personal attributes. Ethnic identity and coping strategies are two personal attributes that are often considered as moderators for the link between acculturative stressors and individual adjustment. Ethnic identity is usually regarded as a protective factor for ethnic minorities, as it may provide individuals with psychological resources (e.g., a sense of social connectedness and a positive sense of self) when facing stressful life events (Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, & Chance, 2010; Stein, Kiang, Supple, & Gonzalez, 2014). However, empirical findings regarding the moderating role of ethnic identity in Asian Americans are mixed and complex, with results varying across types of stressors, domains of ethnic identity, and measures of individual adjustment (Huynh et al., 2014; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Stein et al., 2014). For example, Rivas-Drake et al. (2008) showed that public regard (but not private regard) toward ethnicity buffered the deleterious consequences of peer discrimination on depressive symptoms. However, Lee (2005) indicated that private regard toward one's ethnic group exacerbated the negative influence of racial discrimination on depressive symptoms.

Results for the moderating role of coping strategies on the association between acculturative stressors (e.g., discrimination) and individual adjustment are also mixed. For example, Wei et al. (2010) found that the positive association between racial discrimination stress and depressive symptoms was stronger for Asian Americans who adopted less reactive coping strategies (i.e., coping activities that inhibit or hinder the resolution of stressful life events) and more utilization of family support. Yoo and Lee (2005) found that the use of cognitive restructuring and problem solving buffered the effects of racial discrimination on well-being, but only when racial discrimination was low.

Social resources. The social contexts Asian immigrants living in, including the family and interpersonal context, can either exacerbate or buffer the effects of acculturative stressors on individual adjustment (Chung & Epstein, 2014; Roley et al., 2014; Singh et al., 2015). Family conflicts have been demonstrated to increase the deleterious effects of acculturative stress and discrimination on Asian Americans' depressive symptoms, anxiety, and loneliness (Chung & Epstein, 2014; Roley et al., 2014). In contrast, greater family cohesion and social support (e.g., from families or peers) have been demonstrated to buffer the deleterious effects of acculturative stress on the mental health of Asian Americans (Juang & Alvarez, 2010; Singh et al., 2015). For example, Juang and Alvarez (2010) investigated the moderating role of family conflict and cohesion in the association between perceived discrimination and adolescent adjustment (loneliness, anxiety, and somatization) among 181 Chinese American families. They found that greater family conflict exacerbated the negative effects of discrimination, and greater family cohesion mitigated the negative effects of discrimination.

Future Directions

Although extant studies have provided insightful knowledge about the relationship between acculturative stressors and individual adjustment among Asian Americans, still there are notable limitations in prior studies, and more future studies are needed to further enhance our understanding of this issue. First and foremost, the majority of studies in this line of research focused on the individual-level (i.e., intrapersonal) associations between acculturative stressors and individual adjustment (as we discussed in the first section). However, most Asian immigrants are living in an interdependent context, the family, where one family member's acculturation experiences may influence other family members (Cox & Paley, 2003; Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Particularly, family relationships have important implications for children of Asian immigrants, as indicated by studies reviewed in the second section. Therefore, future studies that take a family systems approach may provide a more comprehensive understanding of how acculturative stressors relate to Asian immigrants' adjustment.

The family systems theory proposes that a family is an interdependent, dynamic system in which family members' experiences are interrelated and can mutually influence each other (Cox & Paley, 2003). One way to take into account such mutual influences is to adopt the actor-partner interdependence model (APIM; Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006). In APIM, actor effects (intrapersonal effects) and partner effects (interpersonal effects) are tested simultaneously. Actor effects refer to within-person associations between variables. For instance, a parent's acculturative stressors may relate to his or her own psychological adjustment and to behaviors in marital and parent-child interactions (Anderson et al., 2014; Wei, Ku, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Liao, 2008). Partner effects refer to the between-person associations of variables. For example, parents' acculturative stressors may be related to

their spouses' depressive symptoms, as couples may witness, share, and communicate about their experiences (Crouter, Davis, Updegraff, Delgado, & Fortner, 2006).

Prior studies investigating the effects of parental stress (e.g., economic stress or discrimination) on family processes have mainly focused on actor effects (e.g., Anderson et al., 2014; Benner & Kim, 2010). However, emerging studies have begun to highlight the importance of considering both actor and partner effects (Kenny et al., 2006; Ponnet, 2014). Nevertheless, to our knowledge, only one study has adopted this family systems approach to investigate the relation between acculturative stressors and individual outcomes among Asian American families (Hou et al., 2017). Moving beyond prior studies, Hou et al. (2017) have found significant partner effects in the mediating family processes linking parental perceived discrimination to adolescent adjustment among Chinese American families. Specifically, they found that paternal depressive symptoms related to maternal hostility toward children, and maternal hostility toward fathers related to paternal hostility toward children. Therefore, future studies should include both parents and investigate both actor and partner effects to provide a more comprehensive picture about the implications of acculturative stressors on family processes.

Second, studies investigating the relation between acculturative stressors and individual adjustment among Asian Americans rarely consider the role of parental ethnic-racial socialization. Parental ethnic-racial socialization practices (e.g., cultural socialization and preparation for bias) have been widely associated with adolescent outcomes, mostly among African-American families (Hughes et al., 2006; Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012). Parents who have experienced acculturative stressors (e.g., discrimination) in their life may anticipate that their children will also experience similar acculturative stressors and thus prepare their children for these potential acculturative stressors using ethnic-racial socialization practices (Hughes et al., 2006). Hence, parental acculturative stressors may also relate to adolescent outcomes through ethnic-racial socialization practices. In addition, prior studies on African-American families have demonstrated that parental ethnic-racial socialization may also moderate the association between discrimination and individual adjustment (Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Therefore, future studies should also examine the potential mediating and moderating role of parental ethnic-racial socialization in the relation between acculturative stressors and individual adjustment among Asian American families.

Third, future studies need to consider bidirectional relationships between acculturative stressors and individual outcomes. To date, most studies on Asian Americans' acculturative stressors have adopted a unidirectional model, assuming that acculturative stressors influence individual outcomes (e.g., Galliher et al., 2011; Juang & Alvarez, 2010; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). Developmental theories suggest that individuals are not merely passive recipients of environmental influences: contextual factors and individual outcomes may mutually influence each other (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Sameroff, 2009). For example, when there are more discrimination experiences in an individual's life (a contextual factor), he or she may be more likely to experience depressive symptoms; conversely, depressed individuals may be more likely to perceive discrimination, because they may experience more discrimination

and/or may be more sensitive to negative treatment (Benner & Kim, 2009; Gotlib & Joormann, 2010). Indeed, a recent study used cross-lagged modeling to analyze a three-wave longitudinal data and revealed bidirectional relationships between perceived discrimination and adolescent outcomes (i.e., ethnic affect and depressive symptoms) in Chinese American adolescents (Hou et al., 2015). Hence, it is important to go beyond unidirectional models and test longitudinal bidirectional relationships between acculturative stressors and adolescent outcomes, in order to gain a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of their associations.

Fourth, prior studies have generally focused on the negative effects of acculturative stressors on individual adjustment. However, acculturative stressors may also be beneficial. They may motivate immigrants to work harder to survive and thrive in the new land, thus promoting positive changes in immigrant families (Bush, Bohon, & Kim, 2009). For example, when encountering perpetual foreigner stereotype (e.g., being assumed to have poor English skills), immigrants may become more motivated to improve their English skills and to learn about the mainstream culture. Furthermore, according to the stress inoculation theory (Meichenbaum & Cameron, 1985), current stressors may benefit individuals in the future because these challenges may provide people valuable experiences from which they can draw upon when appraising and dealing with subsequent stressors. More specifically, if individuals have sufficient resources to deal effectively with current stressors, these experiences will enable them to develop adaptive coping skills and become more confident in their ability to master stressful events, thereby making them less vulnerable to the harmful effects of later stressors. Therefore, future studies should aim to identify potential positive changes associated with acculturative stressors. For example, researchers can first take a person-centered approach to identify different groups of individuals, such as those with and those without sufficient resources or strength to deal effectively with current acculturative stressors. Then, researchers can examine whether specific groups of individuals with different experiences of dealing with acculturative stressors exhibit variations in coping abilities and self-efficacy in managing stress. This information can then be used to determine its links to individuals' later responses to life stressors.

Fifth, there is a need for more longitudinal studies given that most studies on acculturative stressors adopted a cross-sectional design. A longitudinal design not only provides better inferences for the direction of relationships compared to a cross-sectional design but also allows researchers to investigate trajectories of acculturative stressors and their association with changes in individual adjustment. A few prior longitudinal studies on the trajectories of ethnic minorities' perceived discrimination have shed light on this issue (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Niwa et al., 2014). For example, Greene, Way, and Pahl (2006) explored the developmental trajectories of peer and adult discrimination among Black, Latino, and Asian American high school students. They found a linear increase over time in levels of perceived discrimination by adults, whereas perceptions of discrimination by peers remained stable over time. They also demonstrated that exacerbation in perceived discrimination was associated with decreased self-esteem over time. Due to the scarcity of multi-wave longitudinal data, our knowledge about the developmental

trajectories for acculturative stressors is still limited. This is especially reflective of research on Asian Americans. Investigating the trajectories of acculturative stressors and their association with changes in individual adjustment among Asian Americans will significantly contribute to the literature on acculturative stressors and Asian Americans' adjustment.

Summary

Despite the increasing number of Asian American families, there remains a dearth of research focusing on acculturation-related stressors and their implications for individual adjustment in Asian American families. Extant studies have demonstrated that Asian Americans may encounter various acculturation-related stressors to various extents; these stressors, which may include discrimination, perpetual foreigner stereotype, bicultural management difficulty, intergenerational acculturation gap, and economic stress, can affect parents' and children's adjustment, both directly and indirectly. We suggest five directions for future studies investigating acculturative stressors and individual adjustment: (a) incorporating the family systems approach, (b) examining the role of parental ethnic-racial socialization, (c) considering reciprocal relationships between stressors and individual outcomes, (d) exploring potential positive changes associated with acculturative stressors, and (e) conducting longitudinal studies examining the trajectories of acculturative stressors and their associations with trajectories of individual adjustment across time.

In conclusion, Asian Americans are not exempt from the influence of acculturative stressors. The effects of acculturative stressors can be within-person as well as between-person among family members and can be negative as well as positive for different individuals. Future studies should take various approaches to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the implications of acculturative stressors on the interdependent individuals in Asian American families.

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Chapter 9
Parenting Among Mainland Chinese Immigrant Mothers in Hong Kong

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As one of the more economically developed cities of Asia, Hong Kong has long attracted immigrants since its colonial days. Although there are immigrants from former British colonies in Southeast Asia such as India and Nepal, as well as other countries, the vast majority of immigrants in Hong Kong are from other parts of China, especially the Guangdong Province to which Hong Kong is adjoined by land and sea (Census and Statistics Department, 2012b; Society for Community Organization, 2014b). Earlier generations of Mainland Chinese immigrants moved to Hong Kong to escape war and seek better livelihood. In the last few decades, however, there has been a growing trend of cross-border marriages between women in Mainland China and men in Hong Kong, resulting in a large influx of women and children immigrating to Hong Kong for family reunification (Law & Lee, 2006).

Researchers may expect that immigrant parents—mostly mothers—from Mainland China in Hong Kong face fewer challenges than their counterparts in other countries such as the United States. The majority of immigrant mothers from Mainland China (referred to as immigrant mothers hereinafter) came from Guangdong Province and speak Cantonese, which is the dominant language in both Guangdong Province and Hong Kong (even though Mandarin is the official language in Mainland China). Moreover, these mothers are phenotypically similar to the host population, familiar with the culture of the host society, and have support from their husbands who are residents of Hong Kong to support their immigrant

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transition. Nonetheless, as will be reviewed, many immigrant mothers encounter pressures from outside and within the family that place them at risk for controlling parenting and low involvement.

In this chapter, we examine the circumstances of immigrant mothers in Hong Kong and how those circumstances relate to their parenting practices. Immigrant mothers from Mainland China are of particular interest as they represent the largest immigrant group in Hong Kong. More importantly, the study of this group represents a special case in which immigrant parents share much of the culture and language of the host society, thus shedding light on the influence of the immigrant experience per se on immigrant parents' adjustment and parenting. We first discuss the backgrounds of Mainland Chinese immigrant women, especially mothers, as a context for understanding immigrant mothers' experiences in Hong Kong. We then discuss how these immigrant mothers' experiences may constitute risk and protective factors that influence their parenting practices. We end with future directions for research with immigrant parents in Hong Kong.

Mainland Chinese Immigrant Women in Hong Kong

Hong Kong is an immigrant society and is primarily ethnically homogeneous, with Chinese making up about 94% of its population (Census and Statistics Department, 2012a). Hong Kong's growth in population has been characterized by multiple waves of immigration from Mainland China, since the time it became a British colony in 1842 through its return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 (Wong, 1997). Starting from the 1980s, however, there has been an ongoing wave of immigrants comprised mostly of wives and children of men residing in Hong Kong, who tend to be of disadvantaged socioeconomic status. According to the Society for Community Organization (SoCO), about 70% of these women are from the Guangdong Province and the others are from Fujian and Hunan; over three quarters of these women speak Cantonese (SoCO, 2014b). The proximity between Hong Kong and the Guangdong Province allowed many of these women and their husbands to make regular short-term visits to each other before they moved to Hong Kong. Some of them gave birth to children in Mainland China before immigration, whereas others gave birth in Hong Kong either after immigration or during one of their visits. In 1983, the British government increased the daily quota of immigrants to 150 with the consent of the Chinese government. Under this policy, which is still in effect today, 60% of the quota is reserved for family reunification with residents of Hong Kong, including 40% reserved for their children born in the Mainland and 20% for their spouses who have lived apart from them for at least 10 years (Chou, 2012). Between 1990 and 2010, about 900,000 immigrants—officially referred to as "Persons from the Mainland of China having Resided in Hong Kong for less than 7 years" or "PMRs" in short—have moved to Hong Kong from Mainland China, accounting for 13% of the Hong Kong population (Chou, 2013).

Research has indicated that the living environment, household finances, and employment represent the top three challenges of immigrants in Hong Kong (Bacon-Shone, Lam, & Yip, 2008). For immigrant women, challenges in their living environment may come from their family relationships in addition to physical living conditions. Upon arrival, some immigrant women found their husbands controlling and demanding (Ho, Ho, Wong, & Pau, 2014), whereas others had to live with in-laws who were critical toward them and skeptical of their commitment to the family. Such skepticism is, in part, driven by the negative stereotype of immigrant women as "gold diggers," propagated by media reports of such women abandoning their husbands and children (Newendorp, 2010).

Current statistics regarding the economic situation of immigrants also paint a picture of financial challenges, which contribute to poor living conditions. The average monthly income of immigrant households is only 40% of that for all households in Hong Kong (Home Affairs Department and Immigration Department, 2015). Consequently, most immigrant families can only afford to live in government-sponsored public rental or subsidized sale housing (New Home Association, 2014). During the years when they are waiting to be allocated public housing, some live in deplorable conditions, such as subdivided apartments and rooftop squatters. One study found that 75% of immigrant families live in a unit no larger than 300 square feet (New Home Association, 2014), with reports of up to 26 people sharing an apartment with one stove and one toilet (Newendorp, 2010). This often represents a dramatic change in living environment for immigrant women, who were able to live comfortably in relatively spacious apartments in Mainland China on the remittances from their low-income husbands.

In surveys, many immigrant women indicate the need to seek employment outside of the home (Bacon-Shone et al., 2008), even though some, especially those with young children, prefer to stay home (Ho & Cheung, 2012). Specifically, 95% of immigrant women state financial need as a reason for joining the labor force (SoCO, 2014a). Many of them work at least part time, and some even have primary responsibility for providing for the whole family. This is because immigrant women tend to be much younger than their husbands, with an age difference of 8 years on average in 2012, compared to 3.6 years for the entire population (Erni & Leung, 2014). By the time immigrant women moved to Hong Kong to join their husbands, some husbands soon have difficulty finding employment due to their age and lack of skills and education (Newendorp, 2010).

Seeking employment is a major challenge for many immigrant women (Bacon-Shone et al., 2008). The employment rate is lower among immigrant than "native" women - many "native" women and men in Hong Kong are actually descendants of immigrants from Mainland China one or two generations ago, but most of them identify themselves as the "Hong Kong people" as if they are natives because their family's immigrant history is not salient to them, hence we refer to them as natives of Hong Kong hereafter - with almost half of all immigrant women and three quarters of native women aged 25–44 participating in the work force in 2011 (Census and Statistics Department, 2012b). Moreover, Hong Kong has become a postindustrial knowledge society (Law & Lee, 2006). Given that many immigrant

women have relatively low educational attainment, they are at a disadvantage in seeking employment. For example, about 60% of immigrant females aged 15 or above had no more than lower secondary education, compared to 43% for the entire population in 2011 (Census and Statistics Department, 2012b). Similar to many immigrants in the West (e.g., Ayres and Barber, 2006; Yakushko, 2006), immigrant women are disproportionately employed in low-skilled and low-paying jobs, being about twice as likely to work as service workers or saleswomen (48%) or in elementary occupations (26%) as their native counterparts in 2011 (Census and Statistics Department, 2015). Despite a recent rise in immigrant women's educational attainment (Census and Statistics Department, 2015), college education and working experiences from Mainland China remain poorly recognized in Hong Kong (New Home Association, 2014), resulting in no association between their human capital and labor force participation (Chou & Chow, 2009). In fact, poor recognition of foreign qualification is a disadvantage faced by immigrants around the world (e.g., Chiswick & Miller, 2010; Li, 2001; see Piracha & Vadean, 2013, for a review).

Moreover, as the economic development of Hong Kong slowed down in the 1990s, immigrants became convenient scapegoats, further hampering their opportunities for employment. A study indicated that over 80% of immigrants reported experiencing discrimination due to their immigrant status, such as hearing insulting remarks directed at them in public and being treated with less courtesy in restaurants or by government agencies (SoCO, 2012a). They also reported experiencing discrimination from local employers, such as being denied job interviews or legal holidays, or dismissed when they missed work due to family emergency (Newendorp, 2010; SoCO, 2012a, 2014a).

Apart from low educational attainment and discrimination, past research has found that immigrant women also face other barriers in seeking employment. For instance, work hours are notoriously long in Hong Kong, where an average worker spent 2300 h at work each year, equivalent to 44 h per week (Wages and Labour Costs Statistics Section of Hong Kong, 2015), compared to 1700 h each year among other members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, equivalent to 33 h per week (OECD, 2015). Many immigrant women cannot find affordable childcare or jobs that accommodate their family obligations (SoCO, 2012b, 2014a, 2015; New Home Association, 2014). Neither can they rely on their family members for assistance. Some husbands may have jobs with long hours themselves, others may be too old to be able to ease mothers' burden of childcare and household chores, or they may be reluctant to perform traditionally "female" tasks (Ho & Cheung, 2012). It is, therefore, not surprising that some immigrant women report that their family objects to their offers to seek employment because they are needed to fulfill childcare obligations (Ho et al., 2014). Other immigrant mothers face objection because their aging and financially inferior husbands feel threatened by their income or become suspicious of their relationships with the opposite sex outside of the home (Ho et al., 2014). Indeed, the introduction of tension into the family due to employment is a common experience of immigrant women around the world (see Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999; Zentgraf, 2002). Despite these difficulties, immigrant women in Hong Kong often feel empowered by their

employment, as do their counterparts in the West (e.g., Espiritu, 2008; Grzywacz, Rao, Gentry, Marín, & Arcury, 2009). Not only do their jobs provide them with a sense of efficacy, identity, and an escape from home, their contributions to household finances and society earn them respect within and outside the family (Newendorp, 2010). Moreover, their financial independence allows them to be independent from their husbands and makes divorce a viable option if they discover infidelity (Ho et al., 2014).

Parenting Among Mainland Chinese Immigrant Families in Hong Kong

To date, there is a dearth of research examining parenting in immigrant families in Hong Kong. Evidence from prior studies, which mostly involved families with young children or school-age children, suggests that immigrant (versus native) parents may be relatively more controlling and less involved in their children's lives. According to Chan and Chan (2004), some immigrant children felt that their parents were more authoritarian and controlling after moving to Hong Kong, although no empirical evidence was provided. A non-government child protection agency reported that immigrant parents were more likely than native parents to use physical punishment (77% versus 64%, respectively) and to threaten to harm or abandon their children (21% versus 15%, respectively), although these numbers were not tested for statistical difference. In contrast, the tendency to use other practices that hurt children's feelings (e.g., saying things that demean children) was generally similar between the two groups (Against Child Abuse, 2015). It has also been suggested that some immigrant parents may not be highly involved in their children's lives. Some investigators even speculated that "there may be a strong element of neglect" in the lives of immigrant children due to their parents' work demands (Chan & Chan, 2004, p. 28). In one survey, a majority of immigrant women reported that their long work hours limited their time with their children (SoCO, 2015); half of those working full-time reported difficulties in taking care of their children or being involved in their children's learning (SoCO, 2014a). Adolescents from immigrant (versus native) families also reported receiving less assistance with schoolwork from their parents (Ho, 2006).

Although the few existing studies suggest the possibility of relatively controlling and under-involved parenting among immigrant (versus native) parents in Hong Kong, this characterization may not represent the experiences of all immigrant parents. One study found that over 90% of immigrant families reported the quality of the parent–child relationship as average at least, if not satisfactory, with a third reporting improved relationship after moving to Hong Kong and only 5% reporting deterioration (International Social Service Hong Kong Branch, 1997). A study of over 250 immigrant mothers found that half of the mothers perceived their children as well-behaved and the other half perceived their children as exhibiting behavioral problems (C. Leung et al., 2007).

Risk Factors for Controlling Parenting Among Mainland Chinese Immigrant Families in Hong Kong

The diverse parenting experiences of immigrants in Hong Kong may reflect the unique circumstances that immigrant mothers face within and outside their families. Whereas immigrant mothers' involvement in children's lives may be constrained by their long work hours (SoCO, 2014a, 2015), their use of controlling practices may be driven by a variety of factors. In examining the roles of these factors, we draw upon Grolnick's model (2003) of parental psychological control. This model posits that pressures from various sources may contribute to parents' use of control with children. Specifically, parents may experience pressures resulting from their children's behaviors, pressures from their social environment, and pressures as a result of psychological processes within parents themselves. Grolnick labeled these sources of pressures as "pressures from below," "pressures from above," and "pressures from within."

Pressures from below. Investigators have found that children's characteristics and behaviors, such as a lack of competence and problem behaviors, may contribute to their parents' use of controlling practices (e.g., Anderson, Lytton, & Romney, 1986; Pomerantz & Eaton, 2001). This is consistent with transactional models of socialization in which parents and children jointly contribute to parental socialization (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000). It is possible that the more immigrant mothers perceive academic and discipline problems in their children, the more they are at risk for adopting controlling parenting. Immigrant children are often behind in English and are asked to repeat their grades when they first move to Hong Kong (Bacon-Shone et al., 2008). This may contribute to immigrant mothers' perceptions that their children lack competence in school. Indeed, immigrant mothers show greater concern about their children's academic performance than native mothers (Against Child Abuse, 2015).

Immigrant mothers in Hong Kong may also experience stress from children's behavioral problems. One study found that immigrant (versus native) parents reported more behavioral problems in their preschool and school-age children (see S. S. Leung, Leung, & Chan, 2007). It could be that immigrant (versus native) children engage in more problem behaviors due to poor adjustment to life in Hong Kong. Consistent with this possibility, about a third of immigrant parents reported increased difficulty in disciplining their children after moving to Hong Kong (International Social Service Hong Kong Branch, 1997). About 60% of immigrant parents who used physical punishment indicated children's disobedience as the cause, as opposed to 44% of native parents (Against Child Abuse, 2015). On the other hand, it could be that immigrant parents hold their children to a higher behavioral standard than do native parents. Investigators found that immigrant (versus native) mothers were more disturbed by their children's disruptive behavior and had more dysfunctional interactions with their children, even though they did not indicate that their children's disruptive behaviors were more severe (S. S., Leung et al., 2007). They reported that their heightened concern about children's behav-

iors, which resulted in the use of harsh discipline, was in part driven by their fear that such behaviors in a crowded home may annoy other family members or neighbors.

Pressures from above and within. Immigrant mothers may also experience pressures from above - pressures from their social environment. In turn, these pressures may contribute to psychological distress and become pressures from within. The two primary sources of pressures from the environment may be economic hardship and discrimination. As discussed, many immigrant mothers in Hong Kong suffer from economic hardship, which has been found to underlie parents' use of controlling practices in the West (e.g., Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz, & Simons, 1994; Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1994; see McLoyd, 1990, for a review). Also, economic hardship has been linked to prejudice and discrimination from the society. Immigrant mothers whose in-laws or husbands are influenced by the negative stereotypes of immigrant women may find themselves in a lose–lose position. For example, if these mothers decide to be housewives and not work, they are viewed as lazy "gold diggers." If they work outside the home, they are considered to have failed in their traditional role as wives, being unable to care for their children and house around the clock (Ho et al., 2014; Newendorp, 2010).

The economic hardship and ubiquitous discrimination that immigrant mothers experience from their environment may translate into psychological distress, which functions as a source of pressures from within that place them at further risk for adopting controlling parenting. Researchers have reported these associations in the West: Parents' experiences of economic hardship and discrimination led to psychological distress, which in turn resulted in poor parenting (e.g., Anderson et al., 2015; Linver, Brooks-Gunn, & Kohen, 2002). In Yu and her colleagues' study in Hong Kong on primarily immigrant women from Mainland China, almost half of the women suffered from mild to severe depressive symptoms (Yu, Stewart, Liu, & Lam, 2014). This was corroborated by a recent report indicating that immigrant (versus native) parents were more likely to experience emotional disturbances (Against Child Abuse, 2015).

Immigrant mothers' psychological distress may indeed be traced to their experiences of economic hardship and discrimination in Hong Kong. Economic hardship often leads to emotional burdens for immigrant mothers, such as a sense of guilt over not being able to afford stimulating toys and activities or spending time with children due to work demands (Ho & Cheung, 2012). A longitudinal study of immigrant women's adjustment found that their perceptions of discrimination predicted heightened depressive symptoms after taking their initial symptoms into consideration (Chou, 2012). Those who feel unaccepted by their in-laws especially feel insecure, helpless, and angry about their second-class treatment in the society (Ho et al., 2014; SoCO, 2012a). Immigrant mothers whose family forced them to stay home reported bitterness as they came to conclude that their family wanted them in Hong Kong only for childrearing (P. S. Y. Ho et al., 2014).

In addition to depressive symptoms, immigrant women' experiences of discrimination may also lead to ego-involvement in parenting. Immigrant women may feel that they are constantly under the scrutiny of strangers and family members; this

may cause them to be vigilant to cues in their environment that signal disapproval and to feel compelled to perform all roles perfectly to prove that they are "good" immigrants rather than "bad" ones (P. S. Y. Ho et al., 2014). Given that motherhood is central to the identity of most immigrant mothers (W. C. Ho & Cheung, 2012), those who are concerned that their children's improper demeanor or poor performance in school may reflect poorly on them may engage in controlling practices to ensure their children's compliance. Generally across cultures, when parents are ego-involved and believe their children's performance reflects on their worth as a person, they are more likely to exert control over their children (e.g., Ng, Pomerantz, & Deng, 2014; Wuyts, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, & Assor, 2015).

Protective Factors Against Controlling Parenting Among Mainland Chinese Immigrant Families in Hong Kong

There is evidence that a sense of efficacy and resilience may buffer immigrant mothers in Hong Kong from adopting controlling parenting, as in the case of immigrant families in the West (e.g., Izzo, Weiss, Shanahan, & Rodriguez-Brown, 2000; Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006). A study involving mostly immigrant women reported a negative relation between their sense of personal resilience and depressive symptoms, after taking into account their socioeconomic background, difficulty in adapting to their new life, and discrimination experiences in Hong Kong (Yu et al., 2014). In addition, these women's sense of family resilience (i.e., their belief that their families would overcome any challenges together) was associated with reduced depressive symptoms above and beyond their sense of personal resilience. A sense of family resilience may be important for immigrant mothers as they immigrated to Hong Kong for family reunification, making family their top priority (W. C. Ho & Cheung, 2012).

Immigrant women who experience limited support from their family members might benefit from social support from external sources. Consistently, immigrant women's perceptions of support and assistance from neighbors buffered the negative effects of discrimination on their depressive symptoms a year later (Chou, 2012). Another study compared two groups of immigrant mothers with young children: an intervention group of mothers who received a 30-week preschool-based program that covered topics ranging from preschool academic skills to community resources and a comparison group of mothers who received six monthly sessions on parenting skills only. The intervention group perceived significantly more social support and reported fewer behavioral problems in their children at the end of the program than did mothers who only received monthly sessions on parenting skills (Leung, Tsang & Dean, 2011). Parents in the intervention group also reported increased self-efficacy and improved parent–child relationships in interviews and focus groups, which was corroborated by the preschool principals of their children. Their children also showed greater gains in receptive vocabulary and intelligence.

Whereas immigrant mothers' self-efficacy and perceptions of social support may serve as protective factors, their acculturation strategy may function as both a risk factor and a protective factor. Immigrant mothers who adopted a separation strategy (i.e., maintained their culture of origin and avoided interactions with members of the host society) reported greater parenting distress than those who adopted an integration strategy (i.e., maintained their cultural identity and interacted with members of the host society; C. Leung et al., 2007; see also Berry, 1997). Research on individuals living in bicultural contexts has also shown that the less conflict these individuals perceive between their original and host cultures, the better their emotional functioning (Chen, Benet-Martínez, Wu, Lam, & Bond, 2013). Using cluster analyses, C. Leung and colleagues (2007) identified two distinct groups of immigrant mothers: One group adjusted well to life in Hong Kong, as indicated by their lower parenting stress, psychological distress, perceived difficulty in managing daily activities, and enhanced marital relationship, whereas the other group adjusted poorly based on these indicators. The two groups showed distinct profiles in terms of their self-efficacy, perceived social support, and acculturation strategy, which is consistent with the idea that these factors facilitate immigrant mothers' adjustment in Hong Kong, thereby buffering them from adopting controlling parenting with children.

Putting It All Together: Current Study on Risk, Protection, and Parenting

Although the literature on immigrant parents in Hong Kong has identified some risk and protective factors for controlling parenting, it has several methodological limitations, including (1) a predominant reliance on cross-sectional data; (2) lack of a comparison group, leaving it unclear if some of the challenges reported by immigrant women were unique to this population or shared by low-income native families; and (3) group comparisons of immigrant and native families that do not report statistical significance, providing no basis to evaluate whether documented differences were due to chance. To address these limitations, we conducted a 2-year longitudinal study with about 200 immigrant and native mothers of young children in Hong Kong from 2011 to 2013. Native mothers of disadvantaged socioeconomic background were recruited as a comparison group, allowing us to focus on the influence of immigrant status, above and beyond that of socioeconomic status.

The overarching goal of the study was to understand how immigrant mothers' experiences in the host society, especially in terms of the risk and protective factors, may have shaped their parenting practices. Whereas prior studies examining the parenting practices of immigrant mothers have mostly focused on their controlling parenting and involvement, we additionally examined immigrant mothers' use of autonomy support in the current study. Although controlling parenting has been consistently found to be negatively associated with autonomy-supportive parenting among Chinese as well as Western parents, the two do not represent the two ends of

a continuum (Cheung, Pomerantz, Wang, & Qu, 2016; Silk, Morris, Kanaya, & Steinberg, 2003). We asked four questions: (1) How did immigrant and native mothers differ in their exposure to risk factors?; (2) How did immigrant and native mothers differ in their exposure to protective factors?; (3) How did immigrant and native mothers differ in their parenting practices, including psychological control, autonomy support, and involvement in their children's lives?; and (4) How did risk and protective factors contribute to mothers' parenting?

Methods

Participants

The sample consisted of 93 immigrant mothers and 79 native mothers (see Ng, Sze, Tamis-LeMonda, & Ruble, 2017). Mothers were mostly recruited through kindergartens located in low-income neighborhoods, especially those with a high concentration of immigrant families. Immigrant and native mothers grew up in Mainland China and Hong Kong, respectively; 60% of immigrant mothers were originally from the Guangdong Province. All immigrant mothers moved to Hong Kong after 16 years of age (mean age at immigration = 29.59 years, SD = 5.32) and had resided in Hong Kong for at least 3 months. The mean length of residency was 6.66 years (SD = 4.13), which approximates the minimum period of 7 years required for establishing permanent residence in Hong Kong. All mothers spoke Cantonese fluently and were the primary caregivers of their children, all of whom were born in Hong Kong. Immigrant and native mothers did not differ on age (M's = 36.33, 34.92 years, SD's = 4.82, 4.77, respectively), number of children (M's = 1.81, 1.59, SD's = 0.73, 0.69, respectively), or household size (M's = 4.29, 4.16 members; SD's = 1.32, 1.27, respectively), ts < 1.95, ns. Most immigrant (89%) and native (91%) mothers were married to or living with their children's biological father or stepfather.

Differences between the two groups were consistent with the literature. There was a larger age difference between immigrant (vs. native) mothers and their husbands (M's = 6.80, 2.76 years; SD's = 6.76, 4.03, respectively, $t(149)$ = 4.38, p < .001). Fewer immigrant mothers (31%) and their husbands (39%) had completed high school when compared to native mothers (77%) and their husbands (62%), χ^2s > 8.61, ps < .01. Immigrant mothers (3%) were less likely than native mothers (30%) to work full-time; a small proportion of immigrant (12%) and native (14%) mothers worked part-time, $\chi^2(2)$ = 25.32, p < .001. Both immigrant working mothers and their husbands (M = US\$1637; SD = 681) had lower monthly earnings than native families (M = US\$2450; SD = 1108), $t(163)$ = 5.76, p < .001, with 91% of immigrant families and 61% of native families reporting incomes no more than three quarters of the median household income of Hong Kong (Census and Statistics Department, 2012c), $\chi^2(1)$ = 21.01, p < .001.

Procedures

Mothers and children visited our laboratory twice, when children were aged 4 years and a year later. At each visit, mothers completed with the help of a trained researcher a set of surveys; some of the scales in the surveys were developed for this study, and other scales were adapted from prior studies (see Table 9.1 for a list of the variables included in the survey). Mothers received HK $400 (i.e., about $50 USD) at the end of the visit and children received books and stationery.

Results

Group Differences in Risk Factors

We found no evidence that immigrant (versus native) mothers experienced more pressures from below, as immigrant mothers actually indicated fewer behavioral problems in their 4-year old than did their native counterparts, $t(170) = 4.45$, $p < .001$ (see Table 9.1). Our findings are mixed regarding whether immigrant mothers experienced more pressures from above and within (see Table 9.1). Although there were no differences at the age four visit to the laboratory, as expected, immigrant mothers reported worrying more about household finances at the age five visit compared to native mothers, $t(166) = 1.95$, $p = .05$. At both visits, the two groups reported infrequent experiences of discrimination and few depressive symptoms. Immigrant mothers reported experiencing more discrimination based on their immigrant status and financial situation than did native mothers based on their financial situation, whereas native (versus immigrant) mothers reported more depressive symptoms, ts > 1.96, ps < .05. No group differences were found at either visit in mothers' reports of marital discord, anxiety, and negative emotions, ts < 1.91, *ns*, except that native (versus immigrant) mothers indicated more anger, ts > 2.34, ps < .05. We found, however, that immigrant (versus native) mothers were more likely to feel distressed for fear that their low educational level might not allow them to provide academic assistance to their children in the future, $t(166) = 2.42$, $p < .05$. No group differences were found in mothers' reports of their tendency to base their sense of worth on their children's performance, $t(166) < 1.00$, suggesting similarities in level of ego-involvement in the parenting role.

Group Differences in Protective Factors

Immigrant and native mothers appeared to be similarly exposed to a number of protective factors (see Table 9.1). At both the age four and age five visits, the two groups did not differ in their sense of efficacy, self-esteem, positive emotions, and

Table 9.1 Descriptive statistics of the self-report variables

	Number of items	Range	α	Native Age 4 M (SD)	Age 5 M (SD)	Immigrant Age 4 M (SD)	Age 5 M (SD)
Risk factors							
Perceived child behavioral problems	14	1–4	.88	**2.19** (0.48)	–	**1.89** (0.38)	–
Financial worries	5	0–3	.86–.87	0.65 (0.71)	**0.51** (0.61)	0.67 (0.61)	**0.71** (0.69)
Perceived discrimination	8	1–5	.92–.93	**1.41** (0.54)	**1.43** (0.50)	**1.60** (0.58)	**1.66** (0.60)
Marital discord	7	0–3	.64–.69	1.02 (0.42)	0.89 (0.42)	1.02 (0.40)	1.00 (0.41)
Depressive symptoms	10	1–4	.78–.82	**1.69** (0.47)	**1.71** (0.47)	**1.55** (0.40)	**1.57** (0.47)
Anxiety	10	1–5	.89	–	2.59 (0.56)	–	2.43 (0.64)
Negative emotion: fear	4	1–5	.78–.85	2.49 (0.80)	2.50 (0.72)	2.28 (0.59)	2.29 (0.70)
Negative emotion: anger	4	1–5	.84–.87	**2.81** (0.77)	**2.76** (0.76)	**2.54** (0.73)	**2.46** (0.67)
Negative emotion: shame	4	1–5	.75–.80	1.90 (0.63)	1.94 (0.63)	1.91 (0.59)	1.90 (0.62)
Negative emotion: sadness	4	1–5	.81–.85	2.27 (0.80)	2.19 (0.71)	2.03 (0.62)	2.08 (0.69)
Distress about inability to provide academic assistance	3	1–5	.91	–	**2.05** (0.83)	–	**2.40** (1.00)
Child-based worth	34	1–5	.96	–	2.65 (0.78)	–	2.68 (0.62)
Protective factors							
Self-efficacy	21	1–5	.72	–	3.28 (0.30)	–	3.32 (0.30)
Self-esteem	8	1–5	.79	3.36 (0.59)	3.42 (0.54)	3.43 (0.59)	3.47 (0.57)
Positive emotion: love	4	1–5	.75–.81	3.18 (0.62)	3.36 (0.57)	3.21 (0.70)	3.28 (0.64)
Positive emotion: joy	4	1–5	.69–.80	3.20 (0.48)	3.36 (0.53)	3.23 (0.69)	3.28 (0.64)
Sociocultural adaptation	11	1–5	.77	3.53 (0.43)	–	3.48 (0.45)	–
Relationships with relatives	3	1–5	.65–.67	3.83 (0.75)	3.98 (0.71)	4.04 (0.64)	4.07 (0.65)
Assistance from relatives	4	0–5	.71–.72	**1.42** (1.17)	**1.60** (1.24)	**0.83** (1.03)	**0.89** (1.03)
Perceived social support	9	1–5	.90–.91	3.06 (0.78)	3.17 (0.70)	3.01 (0.81)	3.06 (0.74)

(continued)

Table 9.1   (continued)

	Number of items	Range	α	Native Age 4 M (SD)	Native Age 5 M (SD)	Immigrant Age 4 M (SD)	Immigrant Age 5 M (SD)
Parenting practices							
Psychological control	8	1–5	.78–.83	3.14 (0.66)	3.1 (0.69)	2.98 (0.66)	3.11 (0.65)
Autonomy support	8	1–5	.77–.82	3.95 (0.44)	**4.04** (0.39)	3.83 (0.51)	**3.87** (0.54)
Time spent with children (hours per week)	1	0–84	–	31.43 (18.13)	35.44 (21.18)	32.29 (20.54)	29.03 (22.71)
Academic involvement	15	1–5	.79–.80	3.69 (0.38)	3.76 (0.36)	3.65 (0.48)	3.66 (0.43)
Book reading with children	1	0–4	–	2.86 (0.92)	–	2.92 (0.76)	–

Note. Means in bold denote significant group differences within each age ($p < .05$). Higher numbers indicate greater exposure to the risk or protective factor or greater use of the parenting practices

sociocultural adaptation (e.g., ability to make friends and deal with government agencies), ts < 1.22, *ns*. There were no group differences at either visit in mothers' relationships with relatives, ts < 1.96, *ns*, but native (versus immigrant) mothers reported receiving more assistance from relatives, including help with childcare, household chores, as well as financial and emotional needs, ts > 3.58, ps < .001. Both groups reported being in contact with their in-laws on a monthly or semi-monthly basis on average, with much variation within groups (ranging from daily contact to no regular contact). Contrary to the negative stereotypes about immigrant mothers' relationships with their in-laws, both immigrant and native mothers indicated their relationships with in-laws as good on average. Neither did the two groups differ in their perceptions of social support, ts < 1.01, *ns*. Should they have socio-emotional needs, such as feeling lonely, or instrumental needs, such as having questions about applying for benefits, both groups indicated that two to three individuals would be available to help on average.

Prior research has found buffering effects of social support on discrimination-related depression among immigrant women in Hong Kong (Chou, 2012). Given that immigrant (versus native) mothers in our study reported more emotional distress over the possibility that their low education level might prevent them from providing academic assistance to their children, we tested whether social support might buffer mothers from the negative effects of such distress. As discussed elsewhere (Sze, Ng, & Cheng, 2013), we found that such distress was associated with heightened depression when mothers perceived low or average level of social support but not at high level of social support.

Group Differences in Parenting

It has been suggested that immigrant parents may be controlling and limited in their involvement in children's lives (Chan & Chan, 2004). In our study, immigrant and native mothers neither differed in their reports of controlling practices at the two visits nor in their reports of autonomy-supportive parenting at the age 4 visit, ts < 1.55, ns. However, immigrant (versus native) mothers reported themselves as less likely to use autonomy-supportive practices at the age 5 visit, $t(166) = 2.23$, $p < .05$. There were no group differences in mothers' involvement in children's lives, as evident in their reports of time spent with children, involvement in children's schooling, and frequency of book reading with children, ts < 1.88, ns. These findings, however, should be taken in the context of the young age of their children. It is possible that immigrant mothers may feel less efficacious in their ability to be involved in children's schoolwork as children progress through school.

Risk and Protective Factors as Predictors of Parenting

Next, we examined whether and how the risk and protective factors reported by mothers when their children were 4 years of age predicted their parenting practices a year later. We conducted longitudinal regression analyses predicting parenting practices at the age five visit, with mothers' immigration status—as well as years of education when predicting mothers' involvement because years of education and involvement are correlated—entered in the first step, followed by the risk and protective factors as predictors in the second step. We entered parenting practices at the age four visit in the third step to adjust for mothers' initial practices, even though such practices tend to be stable over a 1-year period (e.g., Ng et al., 2014; Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007). For those risk and protective factors that predicted parenting practices at the age five visit, mediation analyses were subsequently conducted following Baron and Kenny's (1986) guidelines to test if such relations were explained, at least in part, by more proximal risk and protective factors related to mothers' emotional functioning. Specifically, variables related to mothers' emotional functioning (e.g., positive and negative emotions) at the age five visit were added to the regression models as mediators (analyses additionally including variables related to such functioning at the age four visit to adjust for baseline functioning yielded similar, albeit weaker, patterns and were not reported here). The Sobel test was used to test the significance of the indirect effects (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Consistent with prior research (e.g., K. E. Anderson et al., 1986), both immigrant and native mothers' reports of behavioral problems in children predicted greater use of control a year later, $\beta = 0.20$, $t(165) = 2.47$, $p = .01$. This relation was partially mediated by mothers' feelings of anger, rather than other types of negative emotions, such as fear and sadness, $z = 2.20$, $p < .05$. The relation between perceptions of behavioral problems and use of control, however, became insignificant when adjusting for their initial use of control, $\beta = 0.06$, $t(164) < 1.00$.

Analyses revealed that marital discord was a risk factor in mothers' use of autonomy-supportive practices, whereas social support functioned as an important protective factor. Regardless of immigrant status, mothers who perceived more marital discord and social support when children were 4 years of age reported, respectively, decreased and increased autonomy support a year later, adjusting for autonomy support at baseline, $|\beta|s > 0.13$, $ts > 2.10$, $ps < .05$. The positive relation between perceived social support and subsequent autonomy support was partially mediated by mothers' enhanced positive emotions, particularly their feelings of love, more than other types of positive emotions such as joy, $z = 2.23$, $p < .05$.

Findings on mothers' involvement in children's lives, although only marginally significant, paralleled those concerning mothers' autonomy-supportive practices. Regardless of immigrant status, mothers' reports of marital discord and perceived social support at the age four visit predicted, respectively, decreased and increased involvement in children's lives a year later adjusting for initial involvement, $|\beta|s > 0.10$, $ts > 1.90$, $ps < .08$, with mothers' dampened and enhanced positive emotions partially accounting for these relations, respectively, $zs > 1.90$, $ps < .05$. In both groups, mothers' sociocultural adaptation when children were aged 4 years was associated with increased involvement in children's lives a year later, $\beta = 0.26$, $t(164) = 3.46$, $p < .001$, although this was no longer significant when adjusting for involvement at baseline, $\beta = 0.07$, $t(163) = 1.22$, ns.

Discussion

Overall, immigrant mothers in our study seemed to be adapting well to life in Hong Kong, possibly because many of them had resided in Hong Kong for a number of years. Immigrant mothers were generally comparable to their native counterparts of disadvantaged socioeconomic background in their parenting, as well as their exposure to risk and protective factors. These findings are not entirely consistent with the stereotypes of immigrant mothers in Hong Kong presented in the literature. It is possible that there was a self-selection bias in which immigrant mothers with poorer adjustment did not volunteer to participate in this study. Alternatively, three major methodological differences between prior studies and the current study may explain why we did not find major differences between the two groups of mothers. First, mothers in our study were mostly recruited through kindergartens, whereas mothers in prior studies were often recruited through non-government organizations targeting immigrant mothers in need. Thus, the latter might not have represented very well the population of immigrant mothers, a limitation that was frequently acknowledged in reports from prior studies (e.g., New Home Association, 2014; SoCO, 2015).

Second, the length of time that immigrant mothers have lived in Hong Kong may be important. Yu et al. (2014) found that immigrant women reported more depressive symptoms than would be expected in the general population (Yu et al., 2014). Although this sample was likely to be representative because it was recruited in a Registration of Persons Office, where all immigrants had to visit to apply for the

Hong Kong Identity Card, recruitment and data collection took place when immigrants were applying for this document, which was mandatory within a month of arrival. In contrast, the average immigrant mother in our study had almost 7 years to adjust to their new environment, which might have explained why depressive symptoms were rare. Indeed, our findings that immigrant mothers were adjusting fairly well in Hong Kong are consistent with those from a study involving immigrant mothers who had lived in Hong Kong for more than 2 years on average (C. Leung et al., 2007).

Third, a substantial proportion of past studies focused exclusively on immigrant women mostly from disadvantaged backgrounds and did not involve a comparison group (e.g., Chou & Chow, 2009; Newendorp, 2010). As such, it is not possible to determine if the adjustment issues documented were due to these women's immigrant status or socioeconomic background given that the two were confounded. In our study, native mothers of disadvantaged background with children of the same age were recruited to serve as a comparison group, yielding valuable information about the lives and parenting of immigrant mothers. For example, immigrant mothers in our study engaged in a moderate level of controlling parenting, which was also the case for native mothers, with no group difference. Without a comparison group, one might have concluded that immigrant mothers were controlling with their children and attributed it to the stress that they experienced in adapting to life in the host society.

Although our study found that immigrant and native mothers were generally similar in their exposure to risk and protective factors, the few differences found were consistent with past studies. Compared to native mothers, immigrant mothers appeared to encounter more discrimination, experience more emotional distress over their inability to provide academic assistance to children, and receive less assistance from relatives.

An important contribution of this study is empirical evidence linking mothers' exposure to risk and protective factors, including their perceptions of child behavioral problems, marital discord, social support, and difficulties in sociocultural adaptation to their parenting practices. As a step toward understanding the underlying mechanisms, we found that the link between mothers' perceptions of behavioral problems in their children and their use of control a year later was partially explained by their feelings of anger. Moreover, mothers' dampened and enhanced positive emotions partially explained, respectively, why those experiencing marital discord became less involved in children's lives over time and those perceiving social support became more involved and autonomy supportive. These findings suggest that mothers' emotional functioning may be critical to their parenting: Whereas risk factors may contribute to controlling parenting by depleting mothers' emotional resources, protective factors may promote positive parenting by replenishing such resources. Importantly, these findings were evident across both groups of mothers, indicating that the risk and protective factors examined affected the two groups alike.

Future Directions

Despite the sizable population of Mainland Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong, empirical evidence on immigrant parents' adjustment and their parenting practices is sparse, yielding an obscure picture about their lives. The problem is aggravated by the fact that many studies to date are hampered by methodological shortcomings including cross-sectional design, small sample sizes, nonrepresentative sample, a reliance on self-reports, as well as a lack of a comparison group and statistical testing. Some studies, including our study, showed that some immigrant women were adapting well to life in Hong Kong, whereas others presented a relatively grim picture of their lives. Such a discrepancy may reflect differences in sampling strategies, as discussed above. Moreover, the reliance on self-reports as well as lack of statistical testing in many prior studies is worrisome, casting doubts on whether results reflect reporting biases and occurrence by chance. The prevalence of cross-sectional designs and lack of comparison groups in the literature also render unclear the direction of causality and the unique roles of immigrant status and socioeconomic factors in the adjustment of immigrant parents. In light of these issues, we call for more systematic investigations employing a longitudinal, multi-method approach with more representative samples of the Mainland Chinese immigrant population in Hong Kong, as well as native samples of similar socioeconomic background for comparison.

One fruitful direction for future research would be to construct theoretical models of immigrant parenting in Hong Kong based on local studies and the extant literature on immigrant parenting in the West. The next generation of research should advance an understanding of immigrant parenting in Hong Kong by elucidating the mechanisms by which different factors may shape immigrant parents' psychological functioning as well as their parenting practices, ultimately contributing to immigrant children's adjustment. Moving beyond the examination of unidirectional effects, research guided by a systems approach can additionally examine transactional as well as interactional processes among different contextual, parent, and child factors. This may contribute to developmental cascade models about the adjustment of immigrant families, which can inform policymakers about factors that may play critical roles in the adjustment of immigrant parents and children at specific time points, thereby facilitating the design of well-timed and targeted interventions for this population. Moreover, such research may elucidate the wide range of individual differences among immigrant parents in Hong Kong. Although immigrant parents from Mainland China in Hong Kong have been depicted as a relatively homogeneous group in the literature as well as public discourse, there are subgroups of these parents with specific challenges that warrant special attention. For instance, immigrant single parents, mostly mothers, likely differ from their married counterparts in a number of ways, such as household finances and social support. Immigrant families with some members residing in Hong Kong and others residing in Mainland China face other challenges, such as the difficulty of maintaining consistency in parenting across households.

The ultimate goal of the next generation of research on immigrant parenting in Hong Kong, however, would go beyond simply advancing an understanding of the lives of immigrant parents in Hong Kong to refining universal models of immigrant parenting. The study of immigrant parents in Hong Kong is particularly useful in understanding the immigrant experience per se because of their unique characteristics: Unlike many immigrant populations throughout the world, they largely share physical features, Chinese culture, and language with members of the host society; unlike migration within a country, their immigration to Hong Kong entails living in a host society with a different political, legal, economic, welfare, health, and education system. These characteristics of immigrant parents in Hong Kong facilitate the pinpointing of aspects of the immigration experience that influence psychological adjustment and parenting by addressing the inherent confounds of race/ethnicity, culture, and language in most prior studies of immigrant parents. The case of immigrant parents in Hong Kong, therefore, not only concerns the hundreds of thousands of immigrants in this small city but speaks to immigrant experience everywhere in the world.

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Chapter 10
Parenting Stress and Depressive Symptoms of Immigrant and Nonimmigrant Families in Italy

Radosveta Dimitrova

Over the last two decades, European countries have been experiencing unprecedented increases in immigrant families (Hernandez, Macartney, & Blanchard, 2010). Migration can represent a stressful life event with serious implications for children's mental well-being in relation to emotional and depressive symptoms (Stansfeld et al., 2004). Recent research, however, has been inconclusive as to whether migration represents a risk for poorer adjustment or not. The *migration morbidity* perspective supports the positive relations between migrant status and academic and behavioral problems in immigrant populations (Marks, Ejesi, & Garcia Coll, 2014; Speciale & Regidor, 2011). In contrast, the *immigrant paradox* contends that despite disadvantaged socioeconomic conditions, immigrants show positive psychological and educational outcomes and that their health outcomes decline over time, rather than improving, with long-term acculturation (Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto, & Virta, 2008).

One topic relevant to both migration morbidity and the immigrant paradox is how parental stress influences outcomes of immigrant children. Parenting stress refers to the experiences and feelings associated with a perception that the demands associated with being a parent exceed the personal and social resources available to meet those demands (Abidin, 1995; Crnic & Low, 2002; Crnic, Gaze, & Hoffman, 2005). Past research has shown the negative impact of poor maternal mental health on healthy child development, specifically parental stress (e.g., stress in the parenting role). For example, researchers have found that higher levels of parental stress were linked to poor child outcomes such as separation anxiety (Deater-Deckard et al., 1994), attention problems (DuPaul et al., 2001), and depression (Anastopoulos et al., 1992). High levels of parental stress were also associated with more negative parenting styles (Deater-Deckard et al., 1994) and poor behavioral, social, and

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emotional outcomes in children (Cappa et al., 2011). Other researchers have reported the detrimental effects of maternal depression on children's well-being. Specifically, children whose mothers are depressed had more difficulties reaching developmental milestones and achieving healthy social and emotional adjustment (Tronick & Gianino, 2006). Unfortunately, these children are at greater risk as they are more vulnerable to school maladjustment (Sanson et al., 2006), anxiety (Goodman & Brand, 2011), and depression (Beardslee et al., 2007). Similar to parenting stress, parents with depression were found to be less reliable and less responsive to their children (Goodman & Brand, 2011) and more likely to engage in negative parenting behaviors (e.g., neglectful or unpredictable; Shaw et al., 2009).

In this chapter, I investigate the relations among parenting stress, parental depressive symptoms, and children's depressive symptoms. I build upon past research by examining these links among immigrant families and by including fathers as well as mothers. A better understanding of how parents' stress and well-being related to children's psychological well-being in immigrant populations may contribute to the development of improved treatment strategies that will enhance the adjustment of all family members, including fathers.

Parenting Stress and Depression During Immigration

Immigrant families represent one of the fastest growing segments of several host nations across the globe, currently making up nearly 232 million people, a figure projected to grow due to high birth rates (United Nations, 2013). Immigrant parents and their offspring are particularly vulnerable to challenges related to discrimination, social exclusion, poor well-being, and adjustment (Garcia Coll & Marks, 2012). These patterns are concerning, given that immigrant parents may experience additional stress associated with parenting which, in turn, impacts their children's healthy development (Yoo, 2013; Yoo & Vonk, 2012). Immigrant parents are at greater risk for experiencing high levels of parental stress and depression because they are more likely to have social and economic burdens compared to nonimmigrant parents (Birkeland et al., 2005; Goodman & Brand, 2011; Ornelas & Perreira, 2011; Yoo, 2013). For example, compared to nonimmigrant parents, immigrant parents are at higher risk for discrimination and negative mental health outcomes such as depression (Ornelas & Perreira, 2011) and financial stress (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Yet, research focusing on mechanisms through which parenting stress relates to mental health outcomes for these parents and their children continues to be limited for immigrant populations.

Depressive symptoms in particular are a relevant public health issue due to the financial burden for the society and the profound impact on daily functioning (Beck, Brown, & Steer, 1989). Depressive symptoms are widely investigated as a key mental health outcome among immigrant populations because depression is the most prevalent mental health condition affecting immigrant populations (Potochnick & Perreira, 2010). The prevalence of depressive symptoms varies across geographic

regions and across immigrant populations; identifying depression has been a priority in the mental health screening of immigrant populations worldwide (Barnes, 2001).

The way in which depression for both mothers and fathers relates to parental stress and child depressive symptoms is not well understood and needs further investigation (Cabrera, Shannon, & Tamis-LeMonda, 2007; Chuang & Moreno, 2011; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013). Although family systems theory and empirical research indicate the important role of fathers in children's development (Feinberg, 2003), much of the parenting research has focused on mothers and in White, middle-class, families in the United States. Much less is known about fathering in ethnically and culturally diverse families, including whether it has similar predictors and consequences for child adjustment (Chuang & Moreno, 2011; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013). Given that family process and relations may be different in ethnically diverse families, it may be reasonable to expect that the roles of mothers and fathers may differ.

The present chapter examines parenting stress and depressive symptoms of parents and children based on Huang et al. (2013)'s study of African-American and Hispanic/Latina mothers in the United States (Huang et al., 2013). Specifically, Huang and colleagues developed a model that identified maternal depression as a key mediator of the relation between parental stress and social support and later child developmental outcomes. The present chapter extends this model to explore the joint influence of mothers and fathers' parenting stress on parental depression and child outcomes in Italy.

Albanian, Russian, Serbian, and Slovene Immigrants in Italy

Italy, like other European regions, has been experiencing marked immigrant flows since the early 1990s. Italy is a desirable European country in which to settle because of the need for immigrant labor and frequent regularization practices (e.g., facilitating official practices to document undocumented and/or irregular immigrants; Ceccagno, 2003). According to official statistics, the current number of immigrants in the country is close to 5 million out of the nearly 61 million national population (Caritas e Migrantes, 2014). The highest percentage of immigrants settle in Northern Italy, where this study has been carried out (35% out of the local population are immigrants; National Statistics Institute, 2013a, 2013b). Major migratory groups are from Eastern Europe, with the largest number of individuals emigrating from Albania, Romania, former USSR, and Serbia. These ethnic groups were selected for several reasons. Albanians and Serbians constitute major ethnic groups among Italian immigrants, especially in the North-Eastern region, representing 13% and 10% of the immigrant population, respectively (National Statistics Institute, 2010). Both Albanian and Serbian migration to Italy increased very rapidly because of close geographic proximity and rapid local economic growth that offer more labor opportunities and stable settlement for these immigrant families (Marra, 2002).

These communities are the largest immigrant groups, and they are well represented in the local social and economic context. They have settled in the past two decades with their families, creating a well-structured community with the tendency to recreate family groups (Piperino, 2002). Both Albanians and Serbians are disadvantaged immigrant groups, but they differ in their migration history and social status. Serbian immigration has a long-term history of migrating for economic reasons and family reunifications, whereas Albanian immigration is a more recent phenomenon in the early 1990s (Mai & Schwandner-Sievers, 2003). Thus, Serbians have had the longest time to adapt to the Italian society as their settlement is also supported by extensive social networks and a cohesive Serbian community. In contrast, Albanian migration is a more recent phenomenon characterized by severe discrimination and negative stereotyping because of the greater prevalence of undocumented refugees and delinquency making them an ideal target for racial prejudice and occasional exploitations by the media (King & Mai, 2009).

In addition to Albanian, Serbian, and Russian immigrant groups, immigrants with a Slovene ethnic background, a bilingual group residing only in the Northeastern Italy, were also explored. Slovenes hold a peculiar minority status compared to the mainstream Italian population and were included because they are integral part of the multiethnic composition of the local population (Brezigar, 1999). Slovenes are a bilingual minority, linguistically similar but ethnically diverse from the Italian majority and at the same time, a long-term acculturated community compared to Albanian, Serbian, and Russian immigrants.

Family Dynamics in Each Cultural Group

Parenting norms and family dynamics are quite different in Albanian, Serbian, Slovene, Russian, and Italian cultures, making it interesting to investigate the extent to which parenting is similar or different across groups. The traditional Albanian family is characterized by social norms of patriarchal values and obedience for authority (Doja, 2010). The father holds the highly respected position within the family. The Albanian family has a large extended structure, headed by an elderly male, usually comprising all of his sons and their wives and children, all living under the same roof (Gruber & Pichler, 2002). Similar to the Albanian family structure, ample evidence documents strong family features of the Serbian community such as family ties, intergenerational connections, and solidarity within and between families as well as the central role of the paternal figure (Brannen, Lewis, Nilsen, & Smithson, 2002; Wallace & Kovatcheva, 1998). There is a strong moral obligation for Serbian parents to support their children financially throughout their education in starting an independent household and in childcare (Tomanović, 2005).

Russian families are characterized by extended network including husband, wife and children, grandparents, aunts and uncles, brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces. The tradition that everyone should love their own home and protect their family is instilled into Russians since early childhood. Currently, the majority of young men

and women prefer not to enter into marriage quickly; instead, they first strive to receive a good education, find a decent job, and achieve the first successes in their careers (Saralieva, Petrova, & Egorova, 2015). By the time of marriage and the birth of children, the young families have their lives arranged and are able to support themselves financially (Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kagitcibasi, & Poortinga, 2006).

The traditional Slovenian community is oriented around the extended family, and young people have strong family attachment. However, recent trends show delayed parenthood and a low birth rate with the number of marriages declining steadily (Ule & Kuhar, 2008). The Slovenian family has a tradition of relatively high participation of women in the workforce and therefore a dual-earner model, with both parents working full time (Jogan, 2000). Although there is a trend toward a more active role for fathers in family life, the male's role in the family context tends to be limited to assistance, and the majority of childcare remains entrusted to women (Rener & Švab, 2005, 2006).

Finally, our sample includes nonimmigrant Italian mothers, fathers, and their children. The Italian family is also characterized by close familial relationships typical of Mediterranean cultures, where the importance of family bonds and values is still the focus of their society (Georgas et al., 2006). Children typically live with their families until early adulthood (Bonino, Cattelino, & Ciairano, 2006), and parental control plays a central role in Italian families (Ciairano, Kliewer, Bonino, & Bosma, 2008; Ciairano, Kliewer, & Rabaglietti, 2009). A distinctive feature of the Italian family model is the role of the mother, holding a highly respected position in the Italian society as the dominant figure in the family who keeps the family together and is the bond that unifies all family members (Manetti & Schneider, 1996).

In summary, despite commonalities in family bonds and values, Albanian, Serbian, Slovene, Russian, and Italian families differ in household composition and role models. Whereas Albanian and Serbian families put more emphasis on the paternal role, the mother is the dominant figure for Italians. Italian, Russian, and Slovene, compared to Albanian and Serbian families, have less traditional gender roles and fewer children. These cultural differences create an interesting opportunity to investigate whether parenting and parent–child relationships are similar or different among these cultures, as these differences are likely to affect family social integration and well-being within the host Italian context.

The present chapter had three primary aims. The first aim was to explore the extent to which immigrant mothers and fathers' depressive symptoms and parenting stress may differ from the native Italians' stress. Since immigrant families experience more difficulties in adjusting to a host context, in line with the migration-morbidity hypothesis, immigrant parents are expected to report higher depressive symptoms and more parenting-related difficulties than nonimmigrant Italian parents do. Moreover, since the Albanians represent the most severely stigmatized and oppressed minority, they were expected to report higher parenting stress and depressive symptoms than their Russian, Slovene, and Serbian counterparts.

The second aim was to explore the level of depressive symptoms among immigrant compared to nonimmigrant children in order to see if the results are consistent with the migration-morbidity hypothesis (immigrant compared to mainstream children will show higher depressive symptoms) or the immigrant paradox (lower depressive symptoms in the immigrant rather than the mainstream group). Further, similar to their parents, it was hypothesized that Albanian children would report higher depressive symptoms because they are believed to experience more severe discrimination and lower status compared to their Serbian, Russian, and Slovene peers.

Lastly, I investigated the relations between parenting stress and depressive symptoms as reported by mothers, fathers, and children in the overall sample of immigrant and nonimmigrant parent–child dyads. Consistent with prior work (Huang et al., 2013), I predicted that higher levels of parenting stress would be associated with more parental and child depressive symptoms for all groups. As there is no prior research on these constructs with the ethnic groups considered in this chapter, I did not predict any specific ethnic group differences in the relations among parental stress and depressive symptoms.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 390 children aged 7–13 years old ($M = 9.09$ years, $SD = 1.53$) and their parents (mothers mean age = 38.68 years, $SD = 6.97$; fathers mean age = 42.03 years, $SD = 6.82$) residing in North Italy. Demographic characteristics of ethnic groups are presented in Table 10.1. The sample was composed of children with Albanian (19%), Serbian (16%), Russian (8%), and Slovene (16%) immigrant background and Italian mainstreamers (41%). Children must have resided in Italy for at least 1 academic year to be eligible. Mothers and fathers' occupational status was categorized into low, middle, and high SES and combined in one score following the Italian National Statistics Institute occupational classification of professions (Scarnera, 2001). The ethnic groups showed significant age differences, with Italians being 1 year younger than all other ethnic groups, $F(4389) = 7.69$, $p < 0.001$. They also differed in terms of SES, $\chi^2(N = 388) = 112.62$, $p < 0.001$, with Italians having higher SES. No ethnic group differences emerged with respect to gender, $\chi^2(N = 390) = 4.25$, $p = 0.372$, and length of stay in Italy for the immigrant groups, $\chi^2(N = 130) = 3.51$, $p = 0.173$. All subsequent analyses controlled for SES and age effects.

Table 10.1 Descriptive statistics of the sample by ethnic group

	Albanian (n = 73)	Russian (n = 30)	Serbian (n = 61)	Slovene (n = 64)	Italian (n = 162)
Gender					
Male (%)	34	33	41	50	41
Female (%)	66	67	59	50	59
Age, M (SD)	9.56 (1.64)	9.63 (1.74)	9.48 (1.69)	9.11 (1.19)	8.63 (1.38)
Socioeconomic status, %					
Low	81	43	22	27	21
Middle	16	53	78	48	63
High	3	3	–	25	16
Length of residence, %					
1–5 years	70	96	48	–	–
5–10 years	–	4	–	–	–
CDI, M (SD)	10.36 (5.51)	10.03 (5.96)	9.42 (5.46)	8.55 (6.35)	9.25 (6.92)
PSI-SR mother, M (SD)					
Parental distress	36.06 (9.72)	28.20 (4.97)	26.20 (7.23)	25.06 (5.99)	25.75 (6.49)
Difficult child	38.84 (7.78)	21.00 (4.30)	23.07 (8.92)	22.73 (5.59)	21.58 (5.65)
Dysfunctional interaction	31.62 (8.18)	28.60 (11.32)	24.73 (7.86)	28.86 (6.52)	25.66 (7.15)
CES-D mother	29.70 (12.97)	36.60 (15.80)	24.80 (12.82)	29.25 (6.41)	20.30 (12.93)
PSI-SR father					
Parental distress	33.63 (8.19)	23.69 (6.73)	28.49 (7.93)	24.65 (6.53)	24.71 (7.48)
Difficult child	27.88 (6.59)	22.24 (5.13)	24.36 (6.49)	21.87 (7.25)	15.59 (5.73)
Dysfunctional interaction	29.22 (6.01)	30.53 (7.27)	27.47 (6.16)	24.89 (6.34)	25.17 (6.40)
CES-D father	26.23 (11.26)	20.55 (10.02)	25.18 (9.49)	27.88 (8.75)	17.94 (12.30)

Note: CDI Children's Depression Inventory, *PSI-SR* Parental Stress Index-Self Report, *CES-D* Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale

Procedure

Prior to data collection, consent was obtained from school authorities. Upon approval, teachers provided access to the children and classes. Concurrently, parents were sent a letter with a description of the project and asked to sign a consent form for their child to take part in the study. Children were recruited from nine elementary schools located in North Italy. The measures for the children were individually administered to each child in a separate room provided by the schools with the assistance of bilingual research assistants. The measures for mothers and fathers were sent to each family and were returned through the teacher in charge of the class. Measures were available in Italian only. Four bilingual research assistants contacted all consenting immigrant parents to assist them in completing the questionnaires.

Measures

Demographic and social characteristics, such as gender, age, ethnicity, time living in Italy, and family SES of each child, were measured using a series of closed questions.

The Children's Depression Inventory (CDI). Children's depressive symptoms were assessed with the Children's Depression Inventory (Kovacs, 1988). Children selected the sentences that best described the way they had been feeling over the past 2 weeks. Each item was scored from 0 to 2 with higher scores indicating a more severe degree of depression. Scores above 13 indicate significant depressive levels in the general school-age population (Poli, Sbrana, Marcheschi, & Masi, 2003). The item concerning suicidal ideation was omitted because of ethical concerns about its inappropriateness in a classroom setting (Samm et al., 2008; Santalahti et al., 2008). The questionnaire has been validated in Italy (Frigerio, Pesenti, Molteni, Snider, & Battaglia, 2001) and has shown good reliability across various ethnic groups of children (Kwak et al., 2008; Vuorenkoski et al., 1998). Internal consistency coefficients for the present sample across ethnic groups ranged from Cronbach αs of 0.74 to 0.85.

The Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Scale (CES-D). Mothers and fathers' depressive symptoms were assessed with the CES-D, which was developed by Radloff (1977) and validated in Italy (Fava, 1983). The 20 items on the CES-D assess affective, psychological, and somatic symptoms in the past 2 weeks such as "I felt depressed," "I felt that everything I did was an effort," and "I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor." In the current sample, internal consistencies across ethnic groups ranged from Cronbach αs of 0.86 to 0.95 for mothers and from 0.71 to 0.95 for fathers.

The Parent Stress Index-Short Form (PSI-SF). Parenting stress was assessed with the 36-item PSI-SF (Abidin, 1995). Items identify parent-child problem areas in parents of children ages 1 month to 12–13 years. The PSI-SF consists of three subscales: parental distress (parent's perception of child-rearing competence and stresses associated with life roles), difficult child (parent's perception that the child does not meet expectations and that dyadic interactions are not reinforcing), and parent–child dysfunctional interaction (parent's view of the child's defiance and demandingness), as well as a total stress scale. Subscale scores can range from 12 to 60, whereas the total score can range from 36 to 180. High scores indicate greater levels of stress. The Italian version of PSI-SF has excellent psychometric properties in addition to numerous studies supporting its use with ethnic minority groups (Golombok et al., 1996; Reitman, Currier, & Stickle, 2011). In the current sample, internal consistencies across ethnic groups ranged from Cronbach αs of 0.89 to 0.96 for mothers and 0.88 to 0.93 for fathers.

Analyses Plan

First, descriptive statistics for the main sociodemographic characteristics of ethnic groups were computed. Second, a set of analysis of covariance investigated ethnic group differences within children and parent samples. Finally, path analyses using Structural Equations Modelling (SEM; Arbuckle, 2009) with all child and parent variables examined associations among parenting stress, parental depressive symptoms, and children's depressive symptoms across groups. Model fit was tested with the comparative fit index (CFI, recommended value > 0.90) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA recommended value < 0.08) (Hu & Benter, 1999).

Results

Ethnic Differences of Parental Stress and Depressive Symptoms of Parents and Children

To address the first research question, two one-way MANCOVAs were conducted (one for mother report and one for father report) with ethnic group as the IV (5 levels), SES and age as the covariates, and parenting stress and depressive symptom reports as the DVs. There was a significant multivariate effect for ethnic group for mothers, which was accounted for by significant ethnic group differences in depressive symptoms, $F(4,388) = 22.92$, $p < 0.001$, as well as significant differences on all scales of parenting stress; parenting distress, $F(4,388) = 27.82$, $p < 0.001$; dysfunctional interaction, $F(4,388) = 22.85$, $p < 0.001$; and difficult child, $F(4,388) = 7.26$, $p < 0.001$. The results for fathers was similar, including a significant ethnic group multivariate effects and significant univariate differences in depressive symptoms, $F(4,388) = 22.55$, $p < 0.001$; parenting distress, $F(4,388) = 16.87$, $p < 0.001$; dysfunctional interaction, $F(4,388) = 15.91$, $p < 0.001$; and difficult child, $F(4,388) = 8.47$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 10.1 for the means). As expected, Albanian mothers and fathers reported higher levels of parenting stress and depressive symptoms compared to parents from other ethnic backgrounds.

Additional analyses were performed to compare mothers versus fathers' scores on parental distress and depression in a series of paired-samples *t* tests. These analyses were exploratory, designed to provide insight into mother–father differences. Results showed that across all ethnic groups, mothers scores significantly higher than fathers on parenting distress, $t(389) = 3.01$, $p < 0.001$, dysfunctional interaction, $t(389) = 4.82$, $p < 0.001$, difficult child, $t(389) = 3.19$, $p < 0.001$, and depressive symptoms, $t(389) = 4.03$, $p < 0.001$.

Differences in children's reports of depressive symptoms were examined by a 2 (gender) × 5 (ethnic group) ANCOVA with SES and age as the covariates. The results did not show significant ethnic group in depression across child samples, $F(4387) = 1.15$, $p = 0.33$. There were no significant gender differences either.

Associations Between Parental Stress and Children's Depressive Symptoms

Pearson correlations evaluated the relations between parenting stress and depressive symptoms among parents and their children. To facilitate immigrant versus nonimmigrant group comparisons, all immigrant groups (e.g., Albanian, Serbian, Russian and Slovene) were collapsed into one group and compared to the nonimmigrant Italian group. As shown in Table 10.2, there were significant positive associations between child depressive symptoms and parenting stress in both immigrant and nonimmigrant samples in two domains of the PSI: dysfunctional interaction and difficult child scales. These relations were significant for both mothers and fathers. Thus, more parenting stress related to dysfunctional parent–child interactions and parental perceptions of child difficulty were related to higher levels of depressive symptoms among children in all families. In addition, for nonimmigrant fathers, there was also a significant association between parental distress and children's depressive symptoms.

The results of these Pearson correlation coefficients are also useful for purposes of measuring nonindependence for immigrant and nonimmigrant dyads included in this study (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006). Table 10.2 shows the correlations between mothers and fathers' reports of parenting stress and depressive symptoms. These correlations show that parental stress as reported by mothers and fathers in both immigrant and nonimmigrant groups are significantly related but not completely overlapping. No significant relations were found between parent and child reports of depressive symptoms.

The relations among parenting distress, parental depressive symptoms, and child depressive symptoms were evaluated via SEM. The model included direct relations between parenting stress and child depressive symptoms and indirect relations between parental stress and child depressive symptoms mediated through parental depressive symptoms. As can be seen in Fig. 10.1, the model showed good fit, $\chi^2(55, N = 390) = 95.03$, $p < 0.01$, CFI = 0.936, RMSEA = 0.043. The parameters for the standardized coefficients for this model revealed significant positive relations between parental stress and depressive symptoms of mothers and fathers. However, depressive symptoms of parents did not mediate the relations between parenting stress and child depressive symptoms. Instead, for fathers, parenting stress was directly related to children's symptoms of depression.

Table 10.2 Correlations of parenting stress, depression, and child outcomes by group

	Immigrant group									Nonimmigrant group								
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Child																		
1. CDI	–									–								
Mother																		
2. PD	0.01	–								0.02	–							
3. DC	0.22*	0.39**	–							0.21**	0.30**	–						
4. DI	0.18**	0.55**	0.44**	–						0.16*	0.42**	0.48**	–					
5. CES-D	0.01	0.31**	0.24**	0.18**	–					0.15	0.19**	0.12	0.08	–				
Father																		
6. PD	0.09	0.51**	0.24**	0.37**	0.19**	–				0.22**	0.23**	0.25**	0.22**	0.03	–			
7. DC	0.15*	0.30**	0.39**	0.28**	0.15**	0.17*	–			0.16**	0.16*	0.26**	0.30**	0.05	0.28**	–		
8. DI	0.24**	0.30**	0.22**	0.43**	0.10	0.35**	0.25**	–		0.31**	0.20*	0.22**	0.22**	0.02	0.35**	0.27**	–	
9. CES-D	0.06	0.22**	0.08	0.15*	0.42**	0.17*	0.02	0.08	–	0.12	0.09	0.03	0.12	0.63**	0.12	0.02	0.08	–

Note: CDI Children's Depression Inventory, *PD* parenting distress, *DC* difficult child, *DI* dysfunctional interaction, *CES-D* Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale

$^*p < 0.05$

$^{**}p < 0.01$
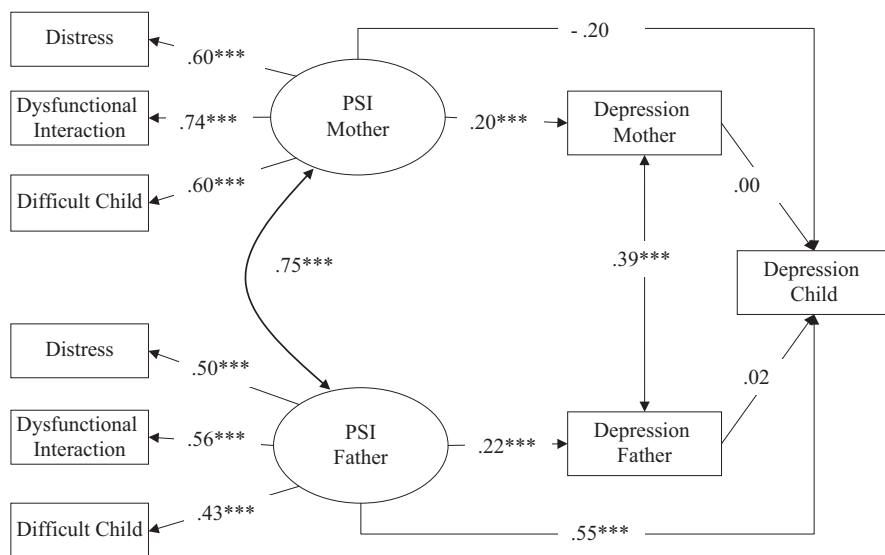
Fig. 10.1 Path model for parenting stress and depression of immigrant and nonimmigrant groups. *Note:* The parameters represent standardized coefficients for the structural covariances model, $\chi^2(55, N = 390) = 95.03$, $p < 0.01$, CFI = 0.936, RMSEA = 0.043. *PSI* parenting stress index. ***$p < 0.001$

Discussion

Although research on parenting of immigrant families are increasingly relevant in the United States and Canada (Cabrera et al., 2007; Chuang & Moreno, 2011; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013), this research is limited in Europe and specifically in Italy, which has turned from a traditional country of emigration to that of immigration. This chapter addressed this gap by investigating parenting distress and its relations to depressive symptoms of immigrant children and their parents in Italy. Specifically, it examined the impact of maternal and paternal depression and parenting stress in immigrant parents and their relationship to child outcomes. Not surprisingly, high levels of parenting stress among immigrant parents were associated with higher levels of parental depression and greater depressive symptoms in children. These finding suggests that the stress associated with parenting and specifically regarding the fathers, independently of family ethnic background, plays a significant role in determining the mental health status of immigrant children. This is consistent with literature and further highlights the importance of having a better understanding of parental distress to support and assist immigrant fathers in managing the stress of child-rearing (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013).

Of additional significance is the replication of the finding demonstrating the positive correlation between both maternal and paternal depressive symptoms within a sample of ethnic minority parents, especially since ethnic minority parents have an increased likelihood of experiencing depression (Ornelas & Perreira, 2011;

Yoo, 2013; Yoo & Vonk, 2012). These results also underscore the need for further research on the role of depression and its associated risks for this vulnerable population in order to determine ways depression and stress can be minimized for these parents and their children.

Findings of ethnic group differences in parenting distress and depression revealed that both Albanian parents report higher depressive symptoms and problems in their parenting experiences than their Russian, Serbian, Slovene, and Italian counterparts. The relatively compromised mental health outcomes and parenting among Albanian parents compared to all other ethnic groups are conceivable, given the severe marginalization and negative image of their community in Italy (King & Mai, 2009). This finding has significant implications for research that should pay greater attention to the cultural and contextual specifics of immigrant samples, as well as for intervention programs, to mitigate negative influences of high parental stress. Similar to past research and as expected, Albanian parents reported compromised parenting exemplified by difficult parent–child interaction and overall stressful experiences in raising their children in the host Italian culture. This finding is not surprising given the number of challenges immigration brings into parents' lives due to adjusting to the new sociocultural environment, language difficulties, and loss of social status (Guajardo, Snyder, & Rachel, 2009).

What emerged with respect to children's outcomes suggests that immigrant and nonimmigrant children show equal levels of depressive symptoms. Results are similar to past work supporting the lack of difficulties in immigrant populations (the so-called immigrant paradox) with regard to depressive symptoms. These findings reflect the complexity in outcomes of ethnic groups, since there seem to be adaptive effects that immigrant groups used. Accordingly, despite high-risk factors of stress and neighborhood disadvantages, many immigrant compared to nonimmigrant children and youths reported less emotional (Beiser, Hou, Hyman, & Tousignant, 2002) and behavioral problems (Georgiades, Boyle, & Duku, 2007). Such "healthy migrant effect" related to disadvantaged socioeconomic conditions of immigrant populations has also been reported in other studies in Italy, although findings are mixed. On one hand, there is evidence for the immigrant paradox in immigrant youth in Northeast Italy where Albanian and Serbian immigrants had lower emotional instability and aggression than their native peers (Dimitrova, 2011, 2014). On the other hand, there are also findings in line with the migration morbidity hypothesis in that immigrant adolescents report worse health status than their native peers in terms of acculturation outcomes (i.e., subjective well-being; they were also less satisfied about their life and less happy overall) (Vieno, Santinello, Lenzi, Baldassari, & Mirandola, 2009).

The complexity and diversity of these findings (counterintuitive in the case of the immigrant paradox) make them particularly interesting, as positive health outcomes of immigrants do not correspond to their lower socioeconomic status or the stresses associated with being an immigrant. A potential explanation of the lack of significant differences in depressive symptoms between immigrant and nonimmigrant children in this study may be that these children benefit from support systems (i.e., extended family, ethnic friends, and peers) that provide support and care, which may positively affect child development. Immigrant children are also likely to adjust faster

than their parents to the new country of settlement due to such multiple supports (Rose, 2013).

Finally, the present results only partly support the relation between parenting stress and children's emotional functioning. As hypothesized and in line with past research (Huang et al., 2014), higher levels of parenting stress were associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms for both immigrant and native groups. Significant associations were found for mothers and fathers' reports on two parenting stress domains (difficult relations with the child and dysfunctional parent–child relations) and child depressive symptoms. Although research on the relation between immigrant parenting and child outcomes is relatively sparse and limited, overall studies suggest that children's adaptation is closely related to their parents' experiences of stressful parenting (Cooper et al., 2009). This study extends current research on the influence of parental stress and children's depressive symptoms to a sample of school-aged children in the Italian context of immigration.

Of additional significance is the replication of this finding demonstrating the relations between parental stress and child outcomes with a sample of immigrant parents, especially since these parents have an increased likelihood of experiencing depression (Birkeland et al., 2005; Milan et al., 2004) and stress related to parenting (Huang et al., 2013). These results also underscore the need for further research on the role of parenting stress, and its associated risks, for this vulnerable population in order to determine ways in which stress can be minimized for these parents and their children.

Further test of a path model via SEM failed to support parental depressive symptoms as a mediator of the effects of parenting stress on children's depressive symptoms. Yet, a significant positive association was found between fathers' parenting distress and children's depressive symptoms. The stronger link between fathers' parenting stress and children' well-being compared to mothers' parenting stress is surprising in light of the different roles that mothers and fathers assume. Future research is needed on fathers' involvement in child-rearing in the specific contexts of all of the ethnic groups of this study. As in many countries, in Italy and specifically in the Northern regions where this study was conducted, immigrant mothers are primarily concerned with education and rearing of their children and tend not to work outside of the home, whereas fathers provide resources for the family and tend to be less intensively involved in child issues (National Statistics Institute, 2013a, 2013b). Future research needs to address the nuanced relations of parenting stress and child depression.

Limitations and Conclusions

Although novel in the inclusion of understudied immigrant ethnic groups of children and parents in Italy, the present study has some limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, this study examined the relations among the variables of interest for Albanian, Serbian, Slovene, Russian, and Italian parents and children

together. In order to gather culturally specific information about the experiences of parenting in immigrant families, it is critical that future studies continue to examine inter- and intragroup differences, while also including cultural factors (e.g., acculturation, social support network, ethnic identity). The second limitation is the relatively low numbers of immigrant children and parents within each ethnic group, which may limit generalizability. Due to the low numbers, it was not possible to run a multigroup path model for each ethnic group to verify whether associations among parent–child variables observed at immigrant and nonimmigrant group level show similar pattern in each cultural group of parents and children. Lastly, an important consideration is the influence of specific contexts such as a supportive community or accommodating school that has been shown to promote positive adaption outcomes in immigrant populations in line with the immigrant paradox findings (Beiser, Hou, Hyman, & Tousignant, 2002). Future research should include measures to assess these variables that possibly account for positive well-being among immigrant children.

Despite these limitations, the present chapter contributes to the existing literature by illuminating how parenting distress impacts parental depression and, in turn, child emotional outcomes in an immigrant context. In conclusion, this chapter adds to existing literature by providing data on immigrant children and parents in Italy, given that there has been very little consideration toward understanding these families in this country. The central finding is that parents belonging to a highly stigmatized and disadvantaged immigrant group show significant difficulties in adjusting to the Italian context, which is associated with greater parenting stress. Contrary to their parents, immigrant children fare relatively well compared to their nonimmigrant peers. Despite high stigmatization and disadvantaged social status, immigrant children showed similar levels of depressive symptoms as Italian mainstream children. This is a relevant finding for immigrant children in terms of preventive actions aiming to decrease the likelihood of mental health problems and maladaptive outcomes in these children. Such actions need to address the multiple challenges and strengths in acculturation experience of immigrant children and parents as to ensure benign adjustment conditions and enhance their well-being.

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Chapter 11
Family Solidarity: The Generation Gap in Immigrants in the Netherlands

Eva-Maria Merz

Processes of emancipation and secularization in Western Europe are reflected in considerable societal and demographic changes as well as changes in attitudes and behavior, emphasizing individualism and personal autonomy. Parallel but accelerated changes occur for non-Western immigrants moving to Western European countries, especially second- or higher-generation immigrants. At the same time, interdependent kin relationships and a strong group orientation still play an important role in immigrant communities (De Valk, 2006; Rooyackers, De Valk, & Merz, 2014). First-generation immigrants may turn to their children for support to compensate for the loss of the personal, the social, and the broader family network back in the country of origin, as well as to cope with the challenges associated with cultural differences in the host country (Rooyackers et al., 2014; Rooyackers, De Valk, & Merz, 2015). Because immigrants from the first-generation have experienced this separation from their existing social and family network, while second-generation immigrants have not experienced such a loss and grow up in a different culture, first- and second-generation family members might differ in their values and attitudes toward family solidarity. Differences between generations seem possible in various life domains but differences in values and attitudes toward the family and its responsibilities may be especially salient for immigrants because they threaten the very source of support they rely upon (Merz, Özeke-Kocabas, Oort, & Schuengel, 2009).

Immigration involves a permanent change not only in the place of residence but also and more significantly in the social and cultural environment. Whereas second-generation immigrants as part of the process of self-development for autonomy may more easily accept new cultural values and practices than their parents, older mem-

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bers of immigrant families may want to maintain norms and values of their culture of origin (Kwak, 2003). The challenge caused by having to adapt to a different culture for immigrant parents and the dilemma between the values of the culture of origin and the wish to adapt to the culture of the receiving society for children may lead to different attitudes toward family values and intergenerational solidarity between first-generation immigrants and their children born in the receiving country (Ying, 1999). However, it has also been found that immigrant children strongly internalize the norms and values of their culture of origin and show a preference regarding partner choice that is comparable to their parents' values and behavior (Lalonde, Hynie, Pannu, & Tatla, 2004). In developing this area of research, the current study examines differences in intergenerational solidarity and values among family members from four different non-Western immigrant groups and between first- and second-generation immigrants in the Netherlands, taking an attachment theoretical (Bowlby, 1969/1982) perspective.

Immigration and Acculturation

For immigrants, the contrast between often quite different cultural environments from the country of origin and the new country may lead to alienation from the original culture's behavior, norms, and values regarding family transitions (Stevens, Pels, Vollebergh, & Crijnen, 2004). Forming a socially accepted identity is a major task of adolescence and particularly challenging for immigrant children (Güngör & Bornstein, 2013). A major assumption in the cross-cultural literature is that children from immigrant families acculturate easier and quicker than their parents, who are more likely to cultivate values and traditions of their culture of origin (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). For example, a study on acculturation of immigrants in Canada among 116 parents from four countries (the Caribbean, China, Greece, and Italy) and their 133 children revealed that parents had a stronger identification with their country of origin and a more collectivistic acculturation orientation than their adult children, who had more liberal attitudes toward women emancipation and more favorable attitudes toward multiculturalism (Lalonde & Cameron, 1993). Similarly, Asian immigrant parents have been found to identify less easily with the Canadian host culture compared to their children (Pawliuk, Grizenko, Chan-Yip, Gantous, Mathew, & Nguyen, 1996). More recently, Chinese immigrant children in North America reported lower preference for conventional family behavior than their parents (Hynie, Lalonde, & Lee, 2006). In contrast, other studies have found that immigrant parents did not maintain cultural values and ethnic practices to a greater extent than their children (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). For example, Lalonde et al. (2004) found that second-generation Asian immigrants to Canada strongly internalized the values of their family and culture of origin, contributing to a preference for traditional mate characteristics.

Taken together, there is evidence about different intensity and pace of acculturation between immigrant parent and child generations. It is important to recognize

that balancing between two cultures is a significant task immigrant children and adolescents have to master, which may lead to potential conflicts and misunderstandings (Birman & Poff, 2011), and sometimes cultural behaviors may be more readily adopted than cultural beliefs (Güngör & Bornstein, 2013; Rooyackers et al., 2015). Acculturation is sometimes treated as a conflict between host and origin culture to be resolved by choosing one over the other. However, there also is the possibility that immigrants adopt some elements of the host culture while cultivating others stemming from the origin culture (Rooyackers et al., 2015), referred to in theories of selective acculturation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Family Values Among Non-Western Immigrants and Between Generations

In non-Western cultures, family obligation, filial piety, and respect for the elderly are relatively stressed more than individual autonomy and freedom to pursue personal interests (Kwak & Berry, 2001). Triandis (2001), Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990), and Triandis and Suh (2002) have described this as the difference between cultures with more collectivistic or more individualistic values. Dutch society has been described as relatively individualistic (Hofstede, 2001), with rather weak family ties (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007; De Valk, Liefbroer, Esveldt, & Henkens, 2001; Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986). However, these relative differences do not imply that people in a given culture ascribe exclusively to individualistic or collectivistic values. Rather than providing a whole new set of values, the effect of immigration might be a change in the balance between these two orientations.

Family solidarity in immigrant families has been found to be relatively high, especially in the first generation (Leyendecker & Lamb, 1999), although other studies did not find differences between generations (e.g., Leung, Pe-Pua, & Karnilowicz, 2006). A complex interplay among different family roles, that is, being an immigrant parent or child, stemming from either the first or second generation in combination with cultural differences between the societies of origin and receiving countries, influences family values and solidarity. At the same time, kin support and solidarity between family members from same and different generations within a new country can play an important role in immigrant families as buffers of stress (Bengtson & Martin, 2001). For example, non-Western immigrants to the United States have been found to strongly respect parental authority and parent-child hierarchies and to emphasize the normative and moral obligation of children toward their parents and family (Fuligni, 1998). However, there is also evidence that family to migrants is not only a safe haven but can be a source of conflict and negotiations as well (Foner, 1997).

Two recent Dutch studies compared types of intergenerational solidarity in mother-child dyads of non-Western immigrants to the Netherlands and immigrant

mother-child dyads across borders and Dutch natives. A similar five-class typology was found in all origin groups (i.e., Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, and Dutch) differentiating among reciprocal, downward, and upward full interdependent, emotional-interdependent, and independent mother-child relations. While full interdependence prevailed among the immigrant mother-child bonds, Dutch mother-child ties were more characterized by downward interdependence and emotional interdependence. Dutch mothers provided slightly more emotional support to their children compared to immigrant mothers (Rooyackers et al., 2014). In unique situations wherein immigrant ties have to be maintained across borders, affective ties, characterized by emotional interdependence and emotional support exchange, play an important role to create a feeling of looking after each other without the direct possibility of providing practical support to each other (Rooyackers et al., 2015).

An Attachment Perspective on Immigration and Solidarity Between Generations

People at any age and with any cultural or ethnic background may want to turn to a trusted figure when faced with personal challenges or during stressful life events, a phenomenon that is explained by attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969/1982) as an evolutionarily selected and inborn tendency (Ainsworth, 1991; Cassidy, 1999). Immigration may be such a stressful experience, where individuals are confronted with insecurities about the availability of their family and social network in their country of origin. Insecurity about relationships with important people in our lives limits our trust in the world, and the risks we are prepared to take to explore it. The underlying assumption about attachment across the life span is that seeking and providing security are activities salient throughout life (Colin, 1996). Being embedded in a family network can be a great source of security and comfort. However, migration may lead to the dysfunctionality of this personal network and cause challenges to one's own capacities and, at the same time, an increasing need to turn to and rely on a trusted figure.

Studies on intergenerational solidarity have shown that strains of immigration may lead either to further family solidarity or disintegration (Leyendecker & Lamb, 1999). Immigration involves a permanent change not only in the place of residence but also and more significantly in sociocultural environments. These changes require adaptations that invariably generate stress for individuals and families (Lowenstein & Katz, 2005). While immigrant children, usually born in the receiving countries, as part of the process of self-development for autonomy, may more easily accept new cultural values and practices than their parents, immigrant families may experience more difficult intergenerational relations due to greater disagreements in family socialization (Kwak, 2003). Furthermore, children born in the receiving country have fewer problems with integrating and acculturating and can therefore function as a source of advice and support for their parents leading to an earlier reversal of

direction of attachment than in nonimmigrant families. Specifically, first-generation immigrants may want to rely more on their children for support and care compared to majority parents, because of their restricted networks in the host country and their increased security needs because of stressful circumstances, such as language difficulties, social isolation, and financial and existential concerns. Second-generation immigrants, that is, children of immigrants born and raised in the host country, may direct their attachment and security needs to a broader network they have built in the host country, because they have more easily integrated into the new culture (Merz et al., 2009).

Attachment theory has stimulated much research with respect to infant, child, and adolescent development. However, research on attachment relationships between generations in adulthood has been limited (Magai, 2008; Magai & Considine, 2004) as has attachment research within the context of migration. Many studies have been conducted on cross-cultural patterns of attachment and the universality of attachment theory (see Van IJzendoorn & Sagi, 1999; Van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008 for reviews), but less research has been done on the relation between attachment and migration. This is unfortunate because immigration implies the (partial) loss of a social network immigrants used to have in their country of origin, which may be an important source of security and comfort for individuals. Attachment theory may provide a possible theoretical framework to explain intergenerational solidarity and value differences between generations of immigrants.

Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Antilleans in the Netherlands

The majority of non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands stem from one of the following four countries: Turkey, Morocco, the Republic of Suriname, or the Dutch Antilles. Many of the migrants with Turkish or Moroccan background are children from the generation of immigrant workers coming to the Netherlands in the 1960s. The Surinamese and Antillean immigration is largely tied to the Dutch colonialism history. The Republic of Suriname used to be and part of the Antilles still is part of the Dutch Kingdom. Immigration from these countries to the Netherlands provides immigrant parents with the opportunity to allow their children a better education (De Valk & Billari, 2007) and better economic opportunities.

Van de Vijver (2007) has described several differences among these four groups, in particular between the Turkish and Moroccan group (also referred to as the Mediterranean group) on the one hand and the Antillean and Surinamese group (also referred to as the Caribbean group) on the other hand and between these groups and nonimmigrant families. Turks and Moroccans tend to be less familiar with the Dutch language and culture in general. They came to the Netherlands as low skilled or unskilled labor workers, mostly from rural areas (Den Exter, 1993), usually without the intention to stay in the Netherlands. Religion plays a prominent

role in the lives of many Turks and Moroccans; they mostly identify themselves as Muslims (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007). Antilleans and Surinamese have been exposed more to the Dutch language and culture because of their more than 300 years of colonial history. Therefore these groups show smaller cultural distances to the Dutch society than Turks and Moroccans (Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver & Hoogsteder, 2004; Van de Vijver, 2007). Among the Surinamese, a variety of religious denominations is found including Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam, whereas most Antilleans identify themselves as Christians (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007).

There are also considerable differences in family values and traditions among these four countries. Turkey and Morocco are countries with a strong patriarchal orientation, whereas in countries like the Republic of Suriname and the Dutch Antilles, mothers and women in general play a more important role (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007). Furthermore, marriage plays a less important role in the Caribbean countries than in Turkey and Morocco, and unmarried cohabitation is quite widespread (De Valk & Billari, 2007). On the whole, in Turkish and Moroccan society, more collectivistic family values are accentuated, and conformity goals such as obedience and respect are stressed (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Marriage is still the most common type of union and less of an individual but more of a family occasion. Having children is highly socially rewarded.

Family life in the Surinamese and Antillean communities is characterized by a relatively high incidence of unmarried cohabitation, and women occupy a central position in family relations and tradition resulting in extended households of female family members (De Valk, 2006; De Valk et al., 2001). Parenthood is a much more important life course transition than marriage, and in Caribbean countries, different alternative partner arrangements exist. Women often combine motherhood and participation in the labor market (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007).

Immigrant groups are distinct not only as a result of their migration but also because of their religious identification as part of their cultural background. Not only do immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, the Republic of Suriname, and the Dutch Antilles migrate from societies in which religious affiliation is widespread to a highly secular society as the Netherlands (Van Tubergen, 2007), but different religions might stress family values in different ways. Islamic traditions are guided by specific prescriptions regarding family life, gender roles, and marriage, strongly emphasizing the importance of the family group. Sharia, the Islamic law, comprising the Quran and the Sunnah, includes a set of laws that govern family matters and covers general rules, principles, and moral obligation that structure and guide the lives of religious Muslims (Korteweg, 2008). Caribbean countries entertain religious diversity, with a preponderance of Christian affiliations (Koffman & Higginson, 2002). The Christian tradition stresses family values too but with a less strong emphasis on detailed prescriptions, tied to sanctions. At the same time, there is a coexisting diversity of religions which might lead to a more liberal attitude regarding aspects of family life.

Generally, it has been found that these four groups of immigrants endorse more collectivistic and family-oriented values than the Dutch with their more individualistic society (Hofstede, 2001) and rather weak family ties (De Valk & Liefbroer,

2007; De Valk et al., 2001; Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986). In the Netherlands, the independence of family members is emphasized, egalitarian relations within and between generations are accentuated, and support for (older) family members is more often taken over by the state, whereas in the immigrant communities, generally more strong values are attached to family traditions, support, and solidarity. Especially older kin members have an important say in family life in the immigrant communities compared to the Dutch where acceptance of guidance by older kin is much lower due to a stronger emphasis on the autonomy of the individual (De Valk, 2006).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

An important assumption in cross-cultural family research has been that the values and norms of non-Western communities tend to shift toward more Western family values and norms. However, this assumption has not been substantiated much by research (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2006). Additionally, it remains unclear how the situation is for former members of non-Western societies now living in Western countries and for different generations if migrants (i.e., born in the sending or receiving country). The current study was aimed at exploring whether the values of members of four non-Western immigrant groups in the Netherlands (i.e., Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Antilleans) regarding intergenerational family solidarity conform more to collectivistic orientations, probably stemming from their home countries or conform more to an individualistic family pattern. That is, I evaluated whether members from the four groups put high emphasis on family solidarity, reflected by norms of having to care for older parents, support family members whenever needed, and look after grandchildren. In particular, I expected members of the Caribbean immigrant group (i.e., Surinamese and Antilleans) to ascribe less strongly to collectivistic family norms reflected by lower value attached to solidarity than members of the Mediterranean group (i.e., Turks and Moroccans).

Because migration history, background, and the time spent in the receiving society may influence family expectations and attitudes toward solidarity, there might also be a difference in values on intergenerational solidarity between first- and second-generation immigrants and among family members. Previous research tended to focus on family norms and values from the perspective of the younger immigrants (De Valk & Schans, 2008). The current study investigated values toward family solidarity among different family members and different generations. We hypothesized that second-generation immigrants value family solidarity from a more individualistic perspective and score lower on family solidarity than their first-generation parents. Because members of different generations share the same family context and ethnic background, the present study attempted to quantify the effects of this shared family context on individual family values by accounting for the dependence in family values between parents and their children. Furthermore, I

tested whether religious identification would add significantly to the explanation of family values after country of origin had been accounted for.

Methods

Procedure and Participants

The data for the present study stem from the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS; Dykstra, Kalmijn, Knijn, Komter, Liefbroer, & Mulder, 2005). The NKPS is a large-scale survey among individuals living in the Netherlands (N = 9563). Within the NKPS, one of the main foci was to investigate family relations among immigrant groups in the Netherlands. Therefore members from the four largest immigrant groups (i.e., Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Dutch Antilleans) were over sampled to obtain a large enough N for purposes of comparison. Data collection for the migrant sample took place in collaboration with the data collection for the Social Position and Use of Welfare Provisions by Migrants survey (SPVA, Sociale Positie en Voorzieningengebruik van Allochtonen), a repeated survey commissioned by the Dutch Minorities Integration Policy Department (DCIM). All SPVA respondents were considered potential NKPS respondents and were sent an introductory letter, an adapted version of the one used in the SPVA survey. The new version had references to family life. Moroccan respondents received a letter in Dutch and Arabic, and Turkish respondents, one in Dutch and Turkish.

After sending the introductory letter, interviewers made visits to the homes of potential respondents and, if contact was successful, determined the number of eligible sample members aged 18 years or older. If possible, male interviewers interviewed male respondents, and female interviewers interviewed female respondents. In case of several eligible family members, the interviewer selected the person who would first have his or her birthday. The NKPS questionnaire was administered together with the SPVA questionnaire. The migrant questionnaires were administered in Turkish, Arabic, and Dutch as appropriate and were comparable to the questionnaires used in the main study. Data collection with computer-assisted personal interview (CAPI) schedules and questionnaires took place from April 2002 to June 2003. Respondents were interviewed on various solidarity and family issues, on their migration history and experiences with the host country, the Netherlands. A total of 1402 immigrant respondents answered the questions; they are referred to as main respondents. Family members, including partner, parents, siblings, and children, filled in a shortened questionnaire including similar variables. This resulted in a total of 2028 respondents for the present study (1111 women and 917 men) from 1394 families, including 1–3 members. The mean age of the respondents (including both main respondents and his/her family members) was 40.94 years (SD = 12.84; range 15–83).

Measures

Values toward family solidarity. An index of family solidarity values was computed on the basis of 11 items regarding attitudes toward intergenerational support, solidarity, and reliability of the family. The items were part of the *family solidarity/ opinions about family relationships* set within the NKPS questionnaire. The measure was a combined scale based on items created by the NKPS team and the filial responsibility expectation scale (Seelbach & Sauer, 1977), a widely used attitude measurement (see Van der Pas, Van Tilburg, & Knipscheer, 2005). Item response options ranged from 5 = *strongly agree* (i.e., high family solidarity, collectivistic values, family-oriented attitude) to 1 = *strongly disagree* (i.e., low family solidarity, individualistic attitude). Solidarity scores were computed by taking the average across items for each family member. Cronbach's alphas ranged from 0.74 to 0.91 for the different family members and were 0.81 for the Turkish, 0.82 for the Moroccan, 0.82 for the Surinamese, and 0.78 for the Antillean subgroup. An overview of the included items can be found in Table 11.1.

Independent variables on the individual level. Variables on the individual level included information on the country of birth, indicating if respondents were first- or second-generation immigrants and the religious denomination of the respondents. Of our participants, 1671 were born outside of the Netherlands and considered first-generation immigrants. Of the first-generation immigrants, 431 were born in Turkey, 398 were born in Morocco, 395 were born in the Republic of Suriname, and 407 participants were born on the Antilles. The remaining 40 respondents were born in another country, i.e., neither in Turkey, Morocco, the Republic of Suriname, the Antilles, nor in the Netherlands. There were 357 second-generation immigrants; those respondents were born in the Netherlands. A total of 998 participants identified themselves as Muslims, 550 as Christians, and 142 as Hindus. A total of 338 participants did not ascribe to any of these religious self-denominations. Position in

Table 11.1 Overview of the items used to operationalize family solidarity

Items
• Children should look after their sick parents
• Grandparents should be prepared to look after their grandchildren regularly
• If one is troubled, family should be there to provide support
• I prefer to discuss problems with my family rather than with friends
• In old age parents must be able to live with their children
• It's quite normal if parents provide financial help to adult children who are facing major expenses
• One should always be able to count on family
• Children who live close to their parents should visit them at least once a week
• Family members should be ready to support one another, even if they don't like each other
• I place greater confidence in my family than in my friends
• Parents should take their adult children in if their children ask them to do so

the family consisted of being the main respondent in the study or the partner, the parent, the sibling, or the child of the main respondent.

Independent variables on the family level. Of the families, 511 had a Turkish and 464 had a Moroccan background. To the Surinamese group did 508 families belong and 545 to the Antillean group. The other family-level predictor was year of migration of the main respondent.

Multilevel modeling. Multilevel regression analysis was used to investigate the statistical effects of family and individual characteristics on values toward family solidarity, as well as to account for the extent to which family values are shared within families. By using multilevel modeling with a two-level approach, data were analyzed with regression-like hierarchical models in which units from the level 1 of analysis (i.e., individual family members) were treated as nested within groups at the level 2 of analysis (i.e., families) (Nezlek & Allen, 2006). The model correctly describes that participants are nested within families. Analyses were conducted by using the mixed-model procedure in SPSS. The aim of multilevel analyses was to estimate variance at the two levels of effects (i.e., individuals and families). The estimation of variance at level 1 is an indicator of how individuals differ in solidarity values. At level 2, variance estimation indicates variation in solidarity values between families. The ratio of level 2 variance to total variance is called the intraclass correlation and represents here the extent to which members from the same family are similar in their family values.

To compare nested models and to test whether adding predictors to or removing predictors from a model improves the model fit to the data significantly, a χ^2 test of deviance (-2 log likelihood) differences with degrees of freedom equal to the difference in parameters between the two compared models was performed.

Results

Descriptive Results

As can be seen in Table 11.2, there was considerable ethnic variation in terms of sex, age, year of migration, religious denomination, and family solidarity. In the Surinamese and Antillean subsample, significantly more women participated in the study. Respondents from these two groups were older compared to the Moroccan and Turkish respondents. Surinamese immigrants came significantly earlier and Antillean immigrants significantly later to the Netherlands than members of the Turkish and Moroccan group. More than 95% of Turks and Moroccans identified themselves as Muslims, whereas 65% of the Antillean and 38% of the Surinamese immigrants reported a Christian background. Of the Surinamese respondents, 28% considered themselves Hindus. Regarding intergenerational solidarity values, citizens from Moroccan descent reported the highest values, followed by citizens from Turkish, Surinamese, and Antillean descent.

Table 11.2 Sample characteristics broken down by ethnic group

Variable	Entire sample (N = 2028)	Turkish background (TB) (n = 511)	Moroccan background (MB) (n = 464)	Surinamese background (SB) (n = 508)	Antillean background (AB) (n = 545)	χ^2 or F df = (3,2024)	Ethnic post hoc comparison
Sex (% female)	54.78	49.71	49.78	62.78	56.33	23.69***	SB > AB > TB, MB
Age, M (SD)	40.94 (12.84)	39.87 (11.79)	39.68 (12.46)	43.78 (13.75)	40.40 (12.89)	11.44***	MB, TB, AB < SB
Migration year, M (SD)	1982 (10.19)	1983 (9.03)	1983 (9.46)	1978 (8.66)	1986 (11.54)	54.78***	SB < TB, MB < AB
Islam (% yes)	49.21	95.89	97.41	8.27	2.57	1691.94***	MB, TB > SB > AB
Christianity (% yes)	27.12	0.01	0.00	37.80	64.95	775.98***	AB > SB > TB, MB
Hinduism (% yes)	7.00	0.00	0.00	27.56	0.00	439.88***	SB > all
Solidarity, M (SD)	3.96 (0.73)	4.02 (0.58)	4.12 (0.57)	3.42 (0.73)	3.27 (0.62)	229.60***	MB > TB > SB > AB

Notes. ***p < 0.001; Sex, Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism are dummy coded such that 1 = female, belonging to Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism

Table 11.3 Sample characteristics broken down by generation

Variable	First generation	Second generation	χ^2 or t $df = (2026)$
Sex (% female)	53.56	60.50	5.73*
Age, M (SD)	42.92 (12.31)	31.69 (11.18)	16.92***
Islam (% yes)	52.42	34.17	39.20***
Christianity (% yes)	27.59	24.93	1.05
Hinduism (% yes)	7.90	2.80	11.74**
Solidarity, M (SD)	3.75 (0.71)	3.42 (0.77)	7.33***

Notes. *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$; Sex, Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism are dummy coded such that 1 = female, belonging to Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism

As can be seen in Table 11.3, there were also differences between first- and second-generation respondents in terms of sex, age, religious denomination, and solidarity. Second-generation immigrants were younger, considered themselves less often being Muslim or Hindu, and subscribed less to family solidarity compared to first-generation immigrants.

Correlations

Table 11.4 presents the zero-order correlations among the study variables. Several demographic variables were associated with intergenerational family solidarity. Generation was negatively correlated with family solidarity: specifically, second-generation immigrants valued family solidarity less than first-generation immigrants did. Islamic denomination was positively associated with intergenerational solidarity, whereas Christianity and Hinduism were negatively related to family solidarity values. These correlations were also reflected in the associations between ethnic background and family solidarity (see Table 11.4).

Multilevel Modeling

Within our multilevel analyses, several models were tested to estimate the best combination of independent variables to predict intergenerational solidarity. In Table 11.5, only the models are displayed which significantly improved fit of the data over earlier models. The first model is what is called a *totally unconditional* model or *intercept-only* model (see Model 1 in Table 11.5) to determine the effect of belonging to the same family on family values. The size of statistical dependency at this level also determines whether a multilevel approach is parsimonious given the structure of the data. With this model, the variances can be partitioned into the within-family variance (level 1) which was 0.24 and the between-family variance

Table 11.4 Correlations between demographic characteristics and intergenerational solidarity

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Age	–										
Sex	-0.08***	–									
Generation	-0.33***	–	–								
Islam	-0.06**	–	–	–							
Christianity	0.07**	–	–	–	–						
Hinduism	0.07**	–	–	–	–	–					
Turk	-0.05*	–	–	–	–	–	–				
Moroccan	-0.05*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
Surinamese	0.13***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
Antillean	-0.03	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Year of migration	-0.39***	0.05	-0.17***	0.04	0.08**	-0.05*	0.02	0.03	-0.26***	0.21***	–
Solidarity	0.04	-0.09***	-0.17***	0.49***	-0.22***	-0.07*	0.26***	0.32***	-0.21***	-0.35***	0.05*

Notes. $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$; Sex, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Turk, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean are dummy coded such that 1 = female, belonging to Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism, being Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean

Table 11.5 Fixed effects and variance-covariance estimates

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Estimate	SE	Estimate	SE	Estimate	SE	Estimate	SE
Fixed parameters level 1								
Intercept	3.71***	0.018	3.32***	0.07	3.46***	0.07	3.46***	0.09
Age			0.049**	0.02	0.28***	0.05	0.39***	0.06
Sex			−0.04	0.03	−0.04	0.03	−0.04	0.03
Second generation			−0.11**	0.04	−0.24***	0.05	−0.25***	0.06
Partner of main respondent			0.04	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.04
Parent of main respondent			0.04	0.08	0.10	0.08	0.02	0.10
Sibling of main respondent			−0.04	0.07	−0.04	0.07	0.01	0.08
Child of main respondent			0.23***	0.06	0.16**	0.06	0.13	0.07
Main respondent (reference)								
Islam			0.85***	0.04	0.83***	0.04	0.21*	0.09
Christianity			0.23***	0.04	0.22***	0.0	0.19***	0.05
Hinduism			0.32***	0.07	0.30***	0.07	0.25**	0.08
No religious denomination (reference)								
Interaction terms								
Age*generation					−0.21***	0.04	−0.26***	0.05
Fixed parameters level 2								
Turkish background							0.69***	0.09
Moroccan background							0.72***	0.09
Surinamese background							0.12*	0.06
Antillean background (reference)								
Year of migration							0.06**	0.02
Random parameters								
Individual level variance	0.24***	0.01	0.25***	0.01	0.25***	0.01	0.22***	0.01
Family level variance	0.28***	0.02	0.13***	0.02	0.13***	0.02	0.13***	0.02
Deviance (−2 log likelihood)	4212.18		3722.44		3695.65		2428.79	
χ^2 Difference test	489.74 (10), $p < 0.001$		26.79 (1), $p < 0.001$		1266.86 (4), $p < 0.001$			

$^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.001$

(level 2) which was 0.28. The intraclass correlation based on these variances was 0.54, indicating substantial within-family similarity. In other words, multilevel modeling seems to be the adequate approach in analyzing the present data (Snijders & Bosker, 1999).

In a next step (see Model 2 in Table 11.5), predictors on the individual level (level 1 predictors) were added to Model 1 as fixed effects. These fixed effects demonstrate the association between the predictors and the dependent variable (values toward family solidarity) and can be interpreted as regression coefficients (Jenkins,

Rasbash, & O'Connor, 2003). Model 2 shows which individual characteristics (i.e., age, sex, country of birth, position in the family, religious denomination) predicted family solidarity. Age was positively associated with values toward family solidarity, whereas sex was not a significant predictor. Independent of age, second-generation immigrants showed lower intergenerational solidarity than members of the first generation. The effect of being a child of the main respondent disappeared when level 2 predictors were added to the model (see Model 4; child of main respondent is related to both country of origin and year of migration and the "real" effect on the dependent variable comes from these two level 2 predictors). Independent of country background, individuals considering themselves as Muslims showed the highest values toward family solidarity, followed by Hindus and Christians. Persons not considering themselves as belonging to these religious groups (reference category) had the lowest values on family solidarity. Adding predictors on the individual level improved the model fit significantly, compared to the totally unconditional model; $\chi^2(10) = 489.74$, $p < .001$. In this model the explained variance on the individual level was 0.27. On the level of the family (level 2), the explained variance was 0.32, based on 1.5 respondents per family, which was the mean of family members in the present data (see Snijders & Bosker, 1999 for the calculation of explained variance).

In a following step, interaction terms were added to the model. None of the interactions with sex were significantly associated with values toward solidarity. Although there were no main and interaction effects of sex, the variable was kept in the model because of the sex differences among the immigrant groups. Checking the interactions with age revealed one significant term, namely, age with generation. Probing this interaction effect revealed that, for respondents with younger age, no effect of generation was found, whereas for older age groups, there was a difference between first- and second-generation respondents. All other interaction terms were removed from the model. This led to Model 3 (see Table 11.5). The model fit had significantly improved compared to Model 2, $\chi^2(1) = 26.79$, $p < 0.001$. Model 3 explained an additional 2% variance at the individual family member level and 3% variance at the family level compared to Model 2.

In the next step, predictors on the family level (level 2) were added (i.e., ethnic background, year of migration of *main* respondent). The results of this model can be found in Table 11.5 (see Model 4). Of the level 2 predictors, ethnic background and year of migration showed significant statistical effects. Families with a Mediterranean (i.e., Turkish or Moroccan) background showed higher values toward family solidarity than members from the Caribbean group. Year of migration was positively associated with values toward family solidarity. The fit of this model was compared to Model 3, and the χ^2 test revealed a significant improvement of the final model; $\chi^2(4) = 1266.86$, $p < 0.001$. The final model explained another 7.9% variance on the individual level compared to Model 3. On the family level, the additional explained variance was 6.3%.

Discussion

The current study extends prior knowledge on intergenerational solidarity between generations of immigrants by investigating values differences regarding intergenerational solidarity in a large and diverse sample of immigrants in the Netherlands. Specifically, I used an attachment theoretical perspective to shed light on solidarity patterns among immigrant families and possible differences and conflicting expectations between generations. Consistent with expectations, first-generation immigrants placed higher values on family solidarity compared to second-generation immigrants. Immigrants considering themselves as belonging to a religious denomination emphasized the importance of family solidarity more strongly compared to respondents without a religious denomination, especially immigrants with an Islam background. Independent from the effect of religious denomination, immigrants stemming from Turkey and Morocco reported higher family solidarity values than immigrants from the Republic of Suriname and The Antilles, areas that have a much longer history of interaction with the Dutch culture than Turkey and Morocco. I will discuss these results more fully below, considering different acculturation processes for the different ethnic groups and generations, discussing the role of attachment and religion with respect to intergenerational family issues, and offering some directions for future research.

Ethnic Variation and the Role of Religion in Immigrant's Family Solidarity

Consistent with prior work (Chao & Tseng, 2002), first-generation non-Western immigrants placed higher value on intergenerational family solidarity than their second-generation children. This finding can be explained by the effects of immigration. More than the second generation, first-generation immigrants may react to the stresses of immigration itself and the loss of their social network in the country of origin. Therefore, they may place higher emphasis on intergenerational solidarity. The second generation, on the other hand, may place less emphasis on family values as they might be more prone to adopt the values of Dutch society.

In the present study, the host culture was the Dutch, which has been characterized as strongly emphasizing autonomy, individualism, emancipation, and gender equality (Oppenheimer, 2004). It was found that immigrants to the Netherlands who had a Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds scored higher on intergenerational family solidarity values than immigrants from the Republic of Suriname and the Antilles. This result is in line with the general cultural orientation within these countries. Morocco and Turkey, with their strong patriarchal orientation, emphasize collectivistic values and norms. Countries such as the Republic of Suriname and the Antilles shared this collectivistic orientation but have a more matrifocal organization of family issues (De Valk, 2006). These differences between immigrants with a

Mediterranean and Caribbean background may be strengthened by the different migration histories between these two groups of countries. Antilleans and Surinamese have been exposed to the Dutch culture for several hundreds of years, and this familiarity may have eased the acculturation process for the Caribbean immigrants and may have led to greater identification with and integration into the Dutch society as compared to the Mediterranean group of immigrants. To benefit from the educational and economic possibilities of the Netherlands requires a certain extent of adaptation, possibly reflected by an easier acculturation process and stronger identification with Dutch values and the Dutch culture.

Religious denomination was a significant predictor of higher intergenerational family solidarity. Turning to and maintaining contact with a religious institution may be a possibility to compensate for the loss of a supporting network, especially for first-generation immigrants. Especially for individuals identifying themselves as Muslims, religious denomination was strongly positive associated with intergenerational family solidarity. It should be noted that the proportion of persons with a Turkish and Moroccan background not identifying themselves as Muslim was very small. In the multivariate analysis, however, the effect of religious denomination was still significant when country of origin was taken into account. This means that the effect of religious background is mainly due to differences between religious groups in the Caribbean subsample. A positive association, but less strong, was also found between Hinduism and family solidarity and Christianity and solidarity. Previous research suggested that in addition to factors such as health and marital and parental status, religious beliefs are associated with support between the generations. Generally, religion is strongly tied to family solidarity and commitments, no matter how liberal or conservative the religious group is regarding family issues (Myers, 2004). For example, adults affiliated with the Catholic and more conservative Christian Churches have been found to strongly emphasize children's obedience toward their parents and put less emphasis on children's autonomy and independence (Mahoney, 2005). Stronger values toward family solidarity associated with religious beliefs are in line with these previous findings.

In most Western countries, especially the Netherlands (Van Tubergen, 2007), the influence of religion is diminishing in times of secularization and laicism. For immigrants, affiliations with religious groups may support group identification and solidarity. The findings indicate that religion might function as a counterweight against acculturation into the receiving society (Van Tubergen, 2007) and therefore stimulate more group-oriented behavior toward the family and the religious community. For example, a study on non-Western immigrants to the United States has suggested that religious beliefs became more important for immigrants in the host countries than in the immigrants' nations of origin because of the role religious beliefs have in preserving the immigrants' ethnic identity (Cadge & Ecklund, 2007). Our results confirm these earlier findings and contribute to the assumption that religious beliefs and family solidarity are strongly related, especially in immigrant communities.

An Attachment Perspective on Immigrant's Family Solidarity

Generally, attachment theory may be a useful framework for explaining family issues also in the context of migration because it has suggested a balance between the universality of the need of a secure base and a safe haven and culture- and context-specific determinants (Van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008). Particularly, it is suited to explain the differences in attitudes toward family solidarity between immigrant generations. Migration is one example of a contextual determinant and at the same time is a stressful transition for individuals in which a secure base and a safe haven may be of particular need. Being embedded in a family or social network of trusted figures then is a great source of security and comfort. However, migration often leads to less availability of this personal network and at the same time increases the need to turn to and rely on a trusted figure because of personal, educational, language, and occupational challenges most often caused by immigration.

More (recent) attachment research has suggested expanding the common dyadic to a broader social network perspective (Fiori, Consedine, & Merz; 2011; Tavecchio & Van IJzendoorn, 1987). Second-generation immigrants in particular may direct their attachment and security needs to various persons, including their parents but also members of the majority culture such as peers or teachers, whereas first-generation immigrants, having more limited networks in the host country, may be forced to direct their needs to their children only. Their limited network may lead to a strong endorsement of filial solidarity norms within the first generations. Children of the first generation have grown up in the host country, internalized its norms and values with respect to family solidarity, and have broader networks to rely on because of more acculturation. Discrepancies in the availability of trusted figures between generations may put pressure on the intergenerational relationship between the generations because the bond between parents and children is the source of tensions and value disagreements on the one hand and the wanted and needed source of security and support for the older generation on the other hand.

Implications

Immigration can be a great challenge to family life, and the impact should not be underestimated. The different situations and experiences of first- and second-generation immigrants may lead to alienation among family members, especially as values toward intergenerational solidarity, family life, and transitions become more differentiated within families. It is likely that the pressures are strongest when culture of origin is most foreign to the host culture. Not only the direct familial and social environment but also the broader cultural environment of a country may exert socialization influences on values and norms of immigrants.

Additionally, it seems imaginable that immigrants with different ethnic backgrounds face different challenges before, during, and after their immigration to the

Netherlands. Based on earlier research (see De Valk & Schans, 2008) and the present results, immigrants from the former Dutch colonies seem to be more adapted to the Dutch majority culture than immigrants from the Mediterranean countries. Especially parents and their children from Mediterranean, Islamic backgrounds may therefore be prone to experiencing that the second generation may be less counted upon as sources of support than the first generation expects. This effect may be compensated to a certain extent by adherence to the Islam in the second generation.

Limitations and Concluding Remarks

Results from the present large-scale survey data, sampled from the major non-Western immigrant groups in the Netherlands, underscore theoretically predicted variations in value regarding family solidarity among and within culturally defined groups. By applying a multilevel approach to the present data, I also was able to show that despite differences between generations, values regarding intergenerational solidarity are, to a considerable extent, shared among family members.

These strengths noted, the current study is not without limitations. Four groups of non-Western immigrants to the Netherlands do not allow generalizations referring to all non-Western immigrants in Western countries. In addition, no specific gender perspective was applied to the current data, although gender may be an important aspect adding to the complexity of immigration, family ties, and cultural norms and expectations (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013). Another limitation was that religion and country of origin were not completely independent. Religion effects were therefore largely based on variation within the Caribbean group. Future research should explore whether similar effects can be found in samples from Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds that are more diverse in religious affiliation. Another limitation worth noting was the absence of a direct acculturation measure. Only factors associated with acculturation were used as proxies, such as generation, immigration year, and cultural group. Religiosity too was not directly operationalized; instead considering oneself belonging to a religious group was used as a proxy measure of religiosity.

In sum, the current study offers an extension of previous research linking immigration, generation, and family solidarity. Specifically, it confirms results from earlier research stating that second-generation immigrants internalize sociocultural values of the host country more strongly than their parents. Although the data are complex, they are clear in suggesting that these effects hold for the four different groups of immigrants. This study explicitly dealt with immigrant groups experiencing specific histories as they live in the Netherlands. Comparing other types of immigrant groups in Europe and the Western world would assess the general applicability of our results. Given the increasing numbers of immigration to Western societies and the endemic struggle with balancing between maintaining the culture of origin and adapting the host culture, research detailing when, and how, familial

value is influenced by various acculturation attitudes and patterns is important not only for cross-cultural psychology but also to underlie a better understanding of the challenges faced by immigrant families among policy makers in host societies.

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Chapter 12
Comparing the Acculturation Goals of Parents and Adolescents in Chinese Canadian Families

Sarah Rasmi and Catherine L. Costigan

Every year, millions of people leave their home country in pursuit of economic and social opportunities, as well as political and religious freedom. Many of these migrants, such as Chinese immigrants to Canada, are challenged to adapt to a settlement country with considerably different attitudes, values, and practices (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 2006). For many immigrants, these personal acculturation processes occur in the context of family relationships, which creates additional challenges (Berry, Phinney, Kwak, & Sam, 2006). Although many studies have investigated acculturation within the family context, few have examined whether family members have similar preferences and goals for engaging with the settlement society and/or preserving their ethnic culture. To address this gap, we explored the *acculturation goals* of mothers, fathers, and adolescents in immigrant Chinese families in Canada to gain a better understanding of family members' preferences for holding on to their ethnic culture and embracing the new culture. We also investigated whether parents have acculturation goals for their adolescents that differ from their own and if adolescents accurately perceive their parents' acculturation goals for them.

We address these issues among immigrant Chinese families in Canada. Canada attracts a large number of immigrants (United Nations, 2009); over 20% of the Canadian population is foreign-born, which is one of the highest rates in the world (Citizenship & Immigration Canada [CIC], 2014a). This is due, in part, to Canada's official multiculturalism policy (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2006) and the extensive network of settlement agencies and support services that are offered

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(Chuang, Rasmi, & Friesen, 2011). Although people in Canada report over 200 ethnic origins (Statistics Canada, 2008), the People's Republic of China has been one of the top source countries for immigrants since the 1990s (CIC, 2001, 2014b). According to the most recent census, about 10% of all immigrants (i.e., 122,000 people) came to Canada from China (Statistics Canada, 2011). This consistent stream of immigration has led Chinese youth to become the fastest-growing segment of the school population in Canada's major metropolitan areas (Li, 2009). Chinese immigrants to Canada encounter many cultural differences, and practical challenges such as language barriers can negatively affect their sociocultural adaptation.

Acculturation Goals

Acculturation is a complex process that can involve changes to one's attitudes, behaviors, and cognitions as a result of sustained intergroup contact (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, & Wong, 2002). Early unidimensional conceptualizations of acculturation that suggested that individuals abandon their ethnic culture as they acquire the settlement culture have given way to bidimensional models in which ethnic culture maintenance and settlement culture acquisition reflect separate, orthogonal dimensions (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). In the bidimensional model, acculturation centers around two choices: the extent to which an individual wishes to preserve their ethnic culture and the extent to which an individual wishes to interact with and acquire the settlement culture (Berry, 2003).

Most recently, acculturation research has expanded further to evaluate additional "cultures" with which a person might identify. For example, Ferguson, Bornstein, and Pottinger (2012) proposed a tridimensional (3D) acculturation model to acknowledge that Jamaican immigrants to the United States orient toward Jamaican, African American, and European American cultures. The 3D model highlights that for some individuals, there is more than one dimension to the settlement culture. Tridimensional acculturation reflects the growing multicultural nature of many societies and is one example of a movement toward examining the ways in which multiple identities intersect. Interviews with immigrant parents, however, revealed that the contrast between the heritage culture and new culture remained quite salient (e.g., Ochocka & Janzen, 2008). Therefore in this chapter, acculturation goals are explored in these two core dimensions (i.e., the Chinese ethnic culture and the Canadian culture of settlement).

Acculturation goals are distinct from acculturation itself. *Acculturation goals* refer to individuals' preferences and desires regarding acculturation—their aspirations regarding how they will acculturate. Acculturation itself, on the other hand, is typically assessed in terms of the actual behaviors, identity, or values that are currently held (e.g., what languages they read, how they identify themselves ethnically). This distinction reflects the difference between what people *do* and what people *want to do* (Berry, 2003). For example, a Chinese immigrant in Canada may

face difficulty maintaining their traditions if certain heritage food items are not readily available. Similarly, immigrants living in a community with a large co-ethnic population may not desire English language fluency as much as those who do not. This distinction between an individual's actual acculturation and their acculturation goals is largely overlooked in the literature. As a result, very little is known about immigrants' *goals* for their own cultural retention and cultural adoption. In addition, little research has systematically evaluated immigrant parents' goals for their *adolescents*' acculturation.

Acculturation Goals Within the Family

Acculturation is an individual process that is experienced within the context of the family. Adolescents in immigrant families must negotiate developmental demands in a bicultural context (Costigan, Su, & Hua, 2009), whereas immigrant parents are challenged to undergo their own acculturation process while they simultaneously socialize their children (Bornstein & Cote, 2006). Often, but not invariably, parents are more oriented to the ethnic culture than their children, whereas their children are more oriented to the settlement culture (Fuligni, 2012; Kwak, 2003). Immigrant parents, who have been socialized in their country of origin, may have a more innate sense of belonging and understanding about the ethnic culture compared to their children. The children of immigrants, on the other hand, are influenced by peers, teachers, and the media in the settlement society and therefore may have more opportunity and demands to embrace the new culture (Costigan & Dokis, 2006a; Schönpflug, 2001).

This basic expectation—that parents will be more orientated toward the ethnic culture and adolescents will be more orientated toward the new culture—underlies the assumptions of the acculturation gap-distress model (Kwak, 2003; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). The acculturation gap-distress model argues that differences between immigrant parents and their adolescents create distress within the family, such as greater parent-adolescent conflict (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009; Telzer, 2010). The research evidence for the acculturation gap-distress model has been mixed. Some empirical studies of Chinese immigrant families have supported the links between parent-child acculturation gaps and distress (e.g., Tardif & Geva, 2006; Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008). Other researches, however, have not found the expected gaps between parents and their adolescents and/or have not found that acculturation gaps predict poorer adjustment. For example, Costigan and Dokis (2006b) found that large differences between immigrant Chinese parents and their adolescents with respect to English language use and the adoption of Canadian values were unrelated to family conflict or adolescent adjustment. Similarly, Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, and McCabe (2009) found that acculturation differences between Chinese American parent-child dyads regarding both Chinese and American culture were not associated with physical or psychological symptoms.

Parents' goals versus adolescents' goals. A better understanding of parents' and adolescents' goals for their acculturation may shed light on the contradictory findings related to the acculturation gap-distress model. For example, gaps in which parents are less oriented toward settlement culture than adolescents may not predict distress within families if these differences are desired (e.g., if those cultural orientations reflect parent and/or adolescent acculturation preferences). An implicit assumption in the acculturation gap literature is that uniformity in acculturation among family members is a desirable and sought-after goal. However, this may not be the case. A first step in evaluating the potential role of acculturation goals is to clarify acculturation dynamics within immigrant families by examining whether parents' and adolescents' acculturation goals are similar or different.

Parents' goals for self versus adolescent. It is also important to explore whether parents differentiate between the goals they have for themselves and the goals they have for their adolescents. The goals that parents hold for themselves may be especially likely to differ from the goals they hold for their adolescents with respect to the settlement culture. This is consistent with studies that have found that some parents actively socialized their children with behaviors and values that were inconsistent with their own, in order to prepare them for a successful life in their cultural environment (e.g., Chen & Chen, 2010; Tam, Lee, Kim, Li, & Chao, 2012).

Parents' self-goals and their goals for their adolescents may not be as disparate with respect to the ethnic culture. Parents can simultaneously encourage their children to adopt the settlement culture and retain their ethnic culture, as these two dimensions are orthogonal. In addition, first-generation parents actively transmit their ethnic culture values (Knight et al., 2011) and behaviors (Costigan, Hua, & Su, 2010) to their children. This ethnic culture socialization may be facilitated by the official multiculturalism policy in Canada, which promotes the right for its citizens and residents to maintain any of cultural beliefs, values, and traditions that do not violate civil or criminal laws (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997).

Adolescents' perceptions of parents' goals. Although no studies have examined adolescents' perceptions of parents' acculturation goals for them, past research has shown that adolescents' perceptions of their parents' acculturation (Merali, 2002) and their parents' values (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003) did not always match parents' reports. Misperceiving or misinterpreting parental value messages may be particularly likely in immigrant families, as parents tend to be less clear and consistent as they undergo their own acculturation process (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). These unclear and inconsistent messages, in turn, can compromise transmission (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994).

The Present Study

The aim of the present study was to explore the acculturation goals of immigrant Chinese fathers, mothers, and adolescents in Canada. Our first goal was to evaluate the factor structure of a measure of acculturation goals. We expected that a

two-factor structure, in which Chinese and Canadian goals are differentiated from each other, would best represent family members' acculturation goals. Second, we compared parents' and adolescents' self-goals. We expected that adolescents would hold stronger Canadian acculturation goals than their parents, whereas parents were expected to hold stronger Chinese acculturation goals than their adolescents. Third, we evaluated the similarity between parents' acculturation goals for themselves and their goals for their adolescents. We expected parents to hold stronger Canadian acculturation goals for their adolescents than for themselves but to endorse equally strong Chinese goals. Finally, we compared adolescents' perceptions of their parents' acculturation goals for them to parents' actual reports. We expected that adolescents would underestimate how much their parents want them to adopt the Canadian culture and overestimate how much their parents want them to retain the Chinese culture.

Within each set of analyses, we also evaluated whether expected differences were larger for newcomer families (e.g., those who have resided in Canada for a shorter period of time) or for families that had been living in Canada longer. These analyses were exploratory. Our analyses included both mothers and fathers, although no hypotheses were made about differences in the self-goals of mothers and fathers or mother-child versus father-child differences.

Methods

Participants

Data were collected from 182 immigrant Chinese families (165 fathers, 179 mothers, and 181 adolescents), as part of a larger study of the adaptation and adjustment of Chinese Canadian immigrant families. To be eligible, families had to self-identify as ethnically Chinese and had to include at least one adolescent between the age of 12 and 17 years old. In addition, parents had to have immigrated as adults so that their core socialization took place outside of Canada.

On average, fathers were 47.16 years of age (SD = 5.71), mothers were 44.79 years of age (SD = 4.74), and adolescents were 14.95 years age (SD = 1.70). Parents had lived in Canada between 2 and 36 years (fathers M = 11.07 years, SD = 7.12; mothers M = 10.66 years, SD = 6.57). We created a family-level length of residence variable by categorizing participants into recent immigrants (<8 years in Canada; 48.9%) and more established immigrants (> 8 years in Canada; 51.1%) groups. We selected this cutoff based on previous research suggesting that achieving settlement language fluency typically occurs around 8 years (Cabrera, Shannon, West, & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Cummins, 1984).

The families emigrated from either the People's Republic of China (66.1%), Taiwan (20.4%), or Hong Kong (13.5%). In terms of adolescents' generational status, slightly more than half of the adolescents (54.1%) immigrated at the age of 6 or

older (first generation), whereas the remaining adolescents (45.9%) were either Canadian-born or immigrated prior to the age of 6 (second generation or 1.5 generation). There were approximately equal numbers of female (51.9%) and male (48.1%) children. Many mothers (46.3%) and most fathers (60.3%) had completed a 4-year university degree or higher. The majority (79.2%) of the parents were employed at the time of recruitment (88.5% of fathers and 69.8% of mothers).

Procedure

Families were recruited from a mid-sized city and a large metropolitan area in British Columbia, Canada. Approximately two-thirds (67.0%) of the participants were recruited randomly through a survey research center. The remaining participants (33.0%) came from referrals primarily from families who had participated. All but one of the participating families chose to complete the study in their own homes versus at the university. Two research assistants, at least one able to speak the family's native language, attended each data collection session. Each family member (father, mother, and adolescent) independently completed a package of self-report measures. The majority of parents chose to complete the measures in Chinese script, whereas all of the adolescents completed the measures in English. The measures were originally developed in English and then translated into Chinese by a team of bilingual individuals from Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The Chinese versions were then back-translated by a different team of bilingual individuals to ensure cross-language equivalency. All families received small monetary compensation for their participation. The project received approval from a university human ethics research board.

Measures

Demographic information. Parents and adolescents provided background information including age, immigration and education history, and current employment status.

Acculturation goals. The measure of parent and adolescent acculturation goals was developed in our lab as part of the larger study. This measure assessed acculturation goals in the Chinese and Canadian dimensions. We assessed self-goals, parents' goals for the child, and children's perceptions of parents' goals separately. All items were rated on a scale from one (*not important at all*) to five (*of great importance*). A total score for each construct was calculated by averaging the scores for each individual item. Higher scores reflected stronger acculturation goals.

Self-goals. Participants individually answered nine questions with respect to their own personal goals (i.e., "How important is it to you that YOU…"). *Chinese* self-goals included four items: to identify strongly as Chinese, to participate in

Chinese traditions, to continue to speak Chinese, and to follow traditional Chinese values. *Canadian* self-goals included five items: to develop a strong identity as Chinese, to have good relationships with Canadians, to participate fully in Canadian culture, to adopt the values of Canadian culture, and to understand the way most Canadians think. Strong internal consistency coefficients were found across the board: alphas (α) of 0.84 for all three family members in the Chinese dimension and 0.89, 0.86, and 0.87 for fathers, mothers, and adolescents, respectively, in the Canadian dimension.

Parents' goals for the child. After rating their self-goals, parents completed the same nine questions, this time with respect to how important it was to them that their child achieve each goal (i.e., "How important is it to you that YOUR CHILD…"). Cronbach's alpha coefficients were strong for fathers and mothers on the Chinese (0.86 and 0.85, respectively) and Canadian dimensions (0.92 and 0.86, respectively).

Children's perceptions of parents' goals. After rating their self-goals, adolescents completed the same nine questions, this time with respect to how important it was to their parents that they achieve each goal (i.e., "How important is it to YOUR PARENTS that you…"). Adolescents were asked about their parents' goals collectively (rather than mothers and fathers separately). Cronbach's alpha coefficients were strong for the Chinese (0.87) and Canadian dimensions (0.89).

Results

Evaluating the Theorized Two-Factor Model of Acculturation Goals

We compared the proposed two-factor model for the nine-item acculturation goal scale (Chinese and Canadian dimensions) to a one-factor model using AMOS 22.0. The one-factor model specified that all nine items load on a single latent variable. The two-factor model specified that four items loaded on a Chinese latent factor and five items for the Canadian latent factor. We evaluated three separate models: a multiple-group analysis of self-goals (fathers, mothers, children), a multiple-group analysis of parents' goals for their children (fathers, mothers), and an analysis of adolescents' perceptions of their parents' goals for them. All items loaded significantly on their respective latent factors (see Table 12.1).

Evaluation of model fit was based on the chi-square goodness-of-fit test, the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), and the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger, 1990). Good model fit is indicated by a χ^2/df ratio less than 3.0, a CFI of 0.95 or greater, and an RMSEA of less than 0.05. Adequate fit is indicated by a CFI value between 0.90 and 0.95 (Kline, 2011) and an RMSEA between 0.05 and 0.08 (Byrne, 2010).

Table 12.1 Standardized loadings for the two-factor models of acculturation goals

Items	Father	Mother	Adolescent
Chinese self-goals			
Identify as Chinese	0.75	0.77	0.77
Participate Chinese traditions	0.86	0.83	0.87
Speak Chinese	0.67	0.69	0.60
Follow Chinese values	0.77	0.75	0.75
Canadian self-goals			
Identify as Canadian	0.74	0.77	0.73
Good relations with Canadians	0.79	0.76	0.71
Participate fully in Canada	0.86	0.81	0.85
Adopt Canadian values	0.79	0.78	0.80
Understand how Canadians think	0.77	0.60	0.66
Parents' Chinese goals for child[a]			
Identify as Chinese	0.82	0.80	0.87
Participate Chinese traditions	0.91	0.88	0.83
Speak Chinese	0.56	0.62	0.66
Follow Chinese values	0.81	0.80	0.82
Parents' Canadian goals for child[a]			
Identify as Canadian	0.76	0.76	0.83
Good relations with Canadians	0.87	0.78	0.73
Participate fully in Canada	0.94	0.76	0.74
Adopt Canadian values	0.79	0.77	0.76
Understand how Canadians think	0.78	0.63	0.75

Note: All factor loadings significant at $p < 0.001$
[a]Father and mother columns are parents' reports of their goals for their children; adolescent column is adolescents' perceptions of their parents' goals for them

For the analyses of self-goals, as shown in Table 12.2, the one-factor model (Model 1) demonstrated a poor fit to the data. In contrast, as expected, the two-factor model (Model 2) showed good model fit. Invariance analyses were used to compare the baseline model (Model 2) with a constrained model (Model 3) in which all nine factor loadings and the latent factor covariance were constrained to be equal among fathers, mothers, and adolescents. The constrained model showed a good fit to the data (see Table 12.2). A comparison of the constrained model to the baseline model indicated that the two models were not significantly different ($p = 0.81$), $\chi^2_{\text{DIFF}}(16) = 11.01$, suggesting that the strength of the factor loadings and covariance for personal acculturation goals are of similar magnitude among family members.

Similar analyses were conducted to examine the factor structure of fathers' and mothers' reports of their acculturation goals for their children. As before, all items loaded significantly on their respective latent factors (see Table 12.1), and the two-factor model (Model 5) showed an adequate fit to the data and significantly better fit than the one-factor model (Model 4; see Table 12.2). Invariance analyses were again used to evaluate whether the item loadings or covariance between the two latent

Table 12.2 Goodness-of-fit indicators for models of acculturation goals

Model	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	CFI	RMSEA
Self-goals					
Model 1: One factor	876.35***	81	10.82	0.64	0.134 (0.127–0.143)
Model 2: Two factor	215.47***	78	2.76	0.94	0.057 (0.048–0.066)
Model 3: Constrained	226.48***	94	2.41	0.94	0.051 (0.043–0.059)
Parents' goals for the child					
Model 4: One factor	1343.05***	54	24.87	0.62	0.181 (0.173–0.190)
Model 5: Two factor	166.13***	52	3.19	0.93	0.078 (0.065–0.091)
Model 6: Constrained	175.32***	60	2.92	0.93	0.073 (0.060–0.086)
Adolescents' perception of parents' goals					
Model 7: One factor	362.17***	27	13.41	0.63	0.27 (0.24–0.29)
Model 8: Two factor	77.52**	26	2.98	0.94	0.11 (0.08–0.13)
Model 9: With one modification	40.57*	25	1.62	0.98	0.06 (0.02–0.09)

$^*p < 0.10$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{***}p < 0.01$

factors was significantly different between fathers and mothers. A constrained model (Model 6) in which all nine factor loadings and the covariance were constrained to be equal between fathers and mothers showed good fit to the data (see Table 12.2). This model was compared to the baseline model (Model 5), and the results indicated that the two models were not significantly different ($p = 0.33$), χ^2_{DIFF} (8) = 9.19, suggesting that the strength of the item loadings and covariance regarding parents' goals for their children's acculturation are of similar magnitude among fathers and mothers.

For adolescents' perceptions of their parents' goals, the one-factor model (Model 7 in Table 12.2) showed poor fit to the data. The two-factor model (Model 8) was significantly better, although the RMSEA was higher than desired. AMOS' modification recommendations suggested that fit could be improved by manually correlating the residuals of two items related to Canadian goals: to participate fully in Canadian culture and to adopt the values of Canadian culture. These residuals were allowed to correlate because theoretically the items share considerable conceptual overlap (Byrne, 2010). Specifying this error term as a free parameter resulted in adequate model fit (Model 9).

Collectively, these analyses support the hypothesized two-factor structure of acculturation goals. The relations between Chinese and Canadian acculturation goals were significant and positive in each model. Specifically, with respect to self-goals, Chinese and Canadian goals were correlated 0.35, 0.40, and 0.48 for fathers, mothers, and adolescents, respectively. For parents' goals for their children, Chinese and Canadian goals were correlated 0.39 for fathers and 0.35 for mothers. Finally, adolescents' perceptions of their parents' goals were correlated 0.47. All of these associations were significant at $p < 0.001$. A comparison of Chinese and Canadian acculturation goals showed that fathers, F (1, 155) = 30.43, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.16$, and mothers, F (1, 171) = 12.31, $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.07$, held stronger Canadian self-goals than Chinese self-goals (see Table 12.3 for means). The difference between adolescents' Chinese and Canadian acculturation self-goals was not significant ($p = 0.707$).

Table 12.3 Means and standard deviations of main study variables

	Canadian dimension M (SD)	Chinese dimension M (SD)
Father self-goal	3.56 (0.77)[a]	3.13 (0.89)[b]
Mother self-goal	3.39 (0.69)[a]	3.12 (0.84)[b]
Adolescent self-goal	3.40 (0.78)[a]	3.37 (0.86)[a]
Father goal for child	3.90 (0.70)[a]	3.15 (0.86)[b]
Mother goal for child	3.74 (0.66)[a]	3.08 (0.88)[b]
Adolescent perception of parents' goal	3.34 (0.82)[a]	3.88 (0.84)[b]

Note. Rows with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$

Family Member Comparisons: Preliminary Analyses

The within-group analyses comparing acculturation goals among family members are based on the 159 families for whom complete data from fathers, mothers, and adolescents were available. Prior to conducting the within-family comparisons, we examined the associations between demographic factors (i.e., adolescent gender, adolescent generational status, parent and adolescent age, parent education, parent region of origin) and acculturation goals. There were no differences in the acculturation goals for mothers or of fathers (for self or for their adolescents) based on region of origin (Mainland China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong); Fs ranged from 0.06 to 1.26 for mothers and between 0.07 and 1.41 for fathers; p values ranged from 0.25 to 0.94. Similarly, there were no differences in adolescents' acculturation goals or perceptions of parents' acculturation goals based on adolescents' generational status; Fs ranged from 0.00 to 0.16 and p values ranged from 0.69 to 0.99. There were also no differences based on adolescent gender; Fs ranged from 0.79 to 3.15 and p values ranged from 0.08 to 0.37. Correlations between acculturation goals and age and education were low in magnitude, ranging from $r = -0.12$ to $r = 0.22$. Only mother age was consistently related to acculturation goals. Specifically, mother age was associated with self-goals on the Chinese dimension ($r = 0.22$, $p = 0.007$) and on the Canadian dimension ($r = 0.21$, $p = 0.01$). Therefore, we included mother age as a between-subjects factor in the main analyses when examining mothers' Chinese and Canadian self-goals.

Comparison of father, mother, and adolescent self-goals. Repeated measures ANOVAs were used to determine if parents and adolescents differed in their average acculturation self-goals. Family member (father, mother, adolescent) was included as the within-subjects factor, and length of residence (shorter, longer) and mother age were the between-subjects factors (see Table 12.3 for means). In order to explore mothers' age, as suggested by the preliminary analyses, mothers were classified into three age groups: younger (<42 years old; $n = 48$), middle (42–46 years old; $n = 70$), and older (>47 years old; $n = 61$) based on a tertile split. In the Canadian dimension, contrary to our hypothesis, there was no main effect for family member, F (2, 153) = 2.83, $p = 0.062$, $\eta^2 = 0.036$. Thus, Canadian acculturation goals did not differ

for fathers, mothers, and adolescents. In addition, there were no main effects for length of residence or mother age or significant interaction terms.

In the Chinese dimension, the results showed a significant main effect for family member, $F(2, 152) = 3.47$, $p = 0.034$, $\eta^2 = 0.044$. Contrary to our hypothesis, post hoc comparisons showed that adolescents held significantly stronger Chinese acculturation self-goals than fathers ($p = 0.05$) and marginally higher Chinese acculturation goals than mothers ($p = 0.063$). There was also a significant interaction between family member and mother age, $F(4, 306) = 4.66$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.06$. Adolescents reported higher Chinese self-goals compared to younger mothers and mothers in the middle age group, but not compared to the oldest group of mothers. Length of residence was unrelated to differences in the Chinese dimension.

Parents' goals for self versus adolescent. Repeated measures ANOVAs were also used to determine whether parents' acculturation goals for themselves differed from parents' goals for their adolescents. Family perspective (parent self-goal, parent goal for child) was included as a within-subjects factor, and length of residence (shorter, longer) was included as a between-subjects factor. These analyses were conducted separately for father-child and mother-child dyads. For all analyses involving mother data, mother age was also included as a between-subjects factor.

In the Canadian dimension, a significant main effect was found for family perspective for father-child dyads, $F(1, 160) = 73.37$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.31$, and mother-child dyads, $F(1, 172) = 72.84$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.30$. Consistent with our hypothesis, fathers and mothers held significantly weaker Canadian acculturation goals for themselves than their adolescents (see Table 12.3). There were no significant main effects or interactions with length of residence; mother age was also unrelated.

In the Chinese dimension, consistent with our hypothesis, fathers, $F(1, 160) = 0.17$, $p = 0.684$, $\eta^2 = 0.001$, and mothers, $F(1, 167) = 0.34$, $p = 0.558$, $\eta^2 = 0.002$, reported similar goals on the Chinese dimension for themselves and their adolescents (see Table 12.3). Length of residence and mother age were unrelated to Chinese acculturation goals.

Adolescents' perceptions of parents' goals for them. We conducted two repeated measures ANOVAs to determine whether adolescents accurately perceived their parents' acculturation goals for them. Family member (father goals for child, mother goals for child, adolescent perception of parents' goals) was included as a within-subjects factor, and length of residence (shorter, longer) was included as a between-subjects factor.

In the Canadian dimension, a significant main effect was found for family member, $F(2, 156) = 23.82$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.23$. Consistent with our hypothesis, adolescents underestimated the extent to which their fathers and mothers wanted them to adopt the Canadian culture. Adolescents' perceptions of parents' Canadian goals were significantly lower than parents' actual goals for their children (see Table 12.3). Fathers' and mothers' goals for their adolescents did not differ. Length of residence was unrelated, as either a main effect or an interaction with family member.

In the Chinese dimension, a significant main effect was found for family member, $F(2, 151) = 45.37$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.375$. Consistent with our hypothesis, adolescents' perceptions of their parents' Chinese goals for them were significantly

higher than parents' actual goals. That is, adolescents overestimated the extent to which their fathers and mothers wanted them to retain the Chinese culture. There were no differences between fathers' and mothers' Chinese goals for children. In addition, there were no significant relations with length of residence.

Discussion

This study extended our understanding of acculturation goals in several ways. First, we confirmed that the factor structure of our measure of acculturation goals was consistent with a bidimensional acculturation model (e.g., Berry, 1997). Second, we identified some key differences among family members in their acculturation goals, which enhances our understanding of the acculturation process for immigrant Chinese mothers, fathers, and adolescents living in Canada. For example, we found that the mothers and fathers in our study held stronger Canadian acculturation goals for their children than they did for themselves and that adolescents tended to misperceive the strength of their parents' acculturation goals for them (underestimating parents' Canadian acculturation goals and overestimating their Chinese acculturation goals). In addition to deepening our understanding of acculturation processes, these findings have the potential to shed light on inconsistent findings within the acculturation gap-distress literature.

Measuring Acculturation Goals

One of the major contributions of this study is an empirical validation of the bidimensional theory of acculturation goals. Our analyses confirm that acculturation goals can be assessed reliably among parents and adolescents. In addition, we confirmed that acculturation goals within ethnic and settlement cultural dimensions are distinct. That is, acculturation goals in the settlement culture dimension were conceptually independent of acculturation goals in the ethnic culture dimension for all family members. These results support the bidimensional model of acculturation at the level of goals: immigrants' aspirations to maintain an ethnic identification do not necessarily interfere with their desires to integrate into Canadian culture and vice versa. Indeed, correlations between Chinese and Canadian acculturation goals were positive and significant for all family members, arguing for the compatibility of Chinese and Canadian acculturation goals from the perspective of fathers, mothers, and adolescents.

Canadian Acculturation Goals

A pattern emerged across analyses which highlights the strength with which both parents and adolescents in immigrant families desire to adopt features of the Canadian culture. First, both mothers and fathers had stronger aspirations to adopt Canadian culture than to retain the Chinese culture. In addition, mothers, fathers, and adolescents did not differ in the strength of their Canadian acculturation goals. Thus, adolescents did not report a stronger desire to engage with Canadian culture than parents. Parents also held strong Canadian goals for their children. These goals were higher than the Canadian goals that they held for themselves and higher than the Canadian goals that children perceived their parents to hold for them.

The strong endorsement of Canadian goals for their children among immigrant parents is consistent with previous research suggesting that parents socialize their children for success in their new cultural environment, even if it means emphasizing behaviors and values that are not consistent with their own (Peterson, Steinmetz, & Wilson, 2003; Tam & Lee, 2010). Thus, even though parents and children often differ with respect to their engagement in the host culture (e.g., Costigan & Dokis, 2006a), these differences in actual cultural orientations are not reflected in family members' acculturation goals.

Together, these findings contradict the stereotype that immigrant parents are slow or reluctant to embrace the settlement culture (Kwak, 2003). Instead, the findings suggest that for parents, there may be a disconnect between their Canadian acculturation goals and their actual engagement with Canadian culture. Although individuals who immigrate in adulthood may face challenges in cultural adoption, the results of this study suggest that, on average, their desires to do so are strong. This suggests that more efforts to address barriers to engagement in the new culture are needed so that immigrant parents can meet their acculturation goals. For example, immigrants will have difficulty fully engaging in Canadian society in communities where English language learning opportunities are scarce (Isphording & Otten, 2014). Barriers related to labor market participation, experiences of discrimination, and policies that make it difficult to engage in education and employment courses (e.g., lack of child care) may also interfere with immigrant adults' ability to turn their acculturation goals into their reality (e.g., Guo, 2013; Sethi, 2015).

These findings related to Canadian acculturation goals also challenge stereotypes that parents are wary of their children's engagement with the new culture of settlement, as is implied in the acculturation gap-distress model (Telzer, 2010). Immigrant parents may object or fear specific aspects of the new culture, such as values related to adolescent assertiveness or adolescent dating and substance use (Ochocka & Janzen, 2008). But these results suggest that at a broad level, parents are supportive of their children's engagement with the new culture.

Chinese Acculturation Goals

Family members all endorsed strong goals to retain the Chinese culture. In fact, for adolescents, Chinese acculturation goals were as high as Canadian acculturation goals. These findings are consistent with the ethnic identity literature, which highlights the strength with which ethnic minority youth identify with their ethnic heritage (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2014). Interestingly, and unexpectedly, adolescents' self-reported desire to retain their Chinese culture was stronger than their parents' self-reported Chinese acculturation goals. In addition, adolescents' Chinese acculturation goals were as strong as their parents' goals for them; there was no evidence of a disconnect between parents' strong desires for their children's ethnic culture maintenance and their children's goals for themselves. In fact, adolescents overestimated the extent to which parents desired them to retain the Chinese culture. Thus, the picture that emerges is one in which adolescents are strongly motived to retain the Chinese culture, more strongly than their parents are, and on par with their parents' desires for them.

It may be more important to adolescents than their parents to feel connected to the Chinese culture. Adolescents are at an age of active identity exploration (Pahl & Way, 2006) and are growing up in a multicultural context. Adolescents in immigrant families have daily experiences in which their ethnicity is made salient (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Thus, they may need to put forth greater effort in learning or maintaining their Chinese heritage and may strongly prioritize the maintenance of their ethnic culture as an important personal goal. Their parents, in contrast, were fully socialized in their ethnic culture and may have more of an internalized sense of their Chinese heritage. As a result, parents' sense of being Chinese may be taken for granted and not viewed as an important priority.

These differences in Chinese acculturation goals share some similarities to comparisons of actual Chinese identity among mothers, fathers, and adolescents in Chinese families. For example, in a separate sample of immigrant Chinese families, Costigan and Dokis (2006a, 2006b) found that adolescents tended to endorse measures of ethnic identity more strongly than their parents. Parent-child differences in which children are more oriented toward the ethnic culture than parents are often associated with family conflict and poorer adolescent adjustment (e.g., Telzer, 2010). The current finding that some adolescents hold stronger desires for ethnic cultural retention than their parents suggests that these adolescents may need additional support as they navigate their cultural identity in a multicultural society. Further research is needed to understand how parents view their children's desires to maintain the ethnic culture and how families navigate forward when cultural maintenance is a greater priority for children than adults.

Parents' Goals for Their Children: Clarifying the Acculturation Gap-Distress Model

Overall, the results add to the growing literature that calls into question the assumption that parents are more oriented to the ethnic culture than their children and children are more oriented to the settlement culture (e.g., Birman, 2006). While this dynamic exists within some families, it does not capture acculturation-related dynamics for many immigrant families. This is an important finding because it may help explain why some acculturation gaps do not translate into distress (e.g., Rasmi, Chuang, & Hennig, 2015). Specifically, acculturation gaps in the settlement dimension can arise in two ways. Some parents encourage their children to be more oriented to the settlement society so as to facilitate their sociocultural adaptation. In effect, these parents are contributing to the development of an acculturation gap. However, this gap is consistent with parents' acculturation goals for their children and therefore may not be associated with distress. In other families, children's strong orientation to the settlement culture may be against their parents' wishes. In this case, acculturation gaps can more easily translate into distress. Thus, we propose that parental goals for their children's acculturation may exacerbate or mitigate the effects of acculturation gaps on adaptation. Parents with high Canadian adoption goals for their children hope that their children become well integrated into the new culture, whereas other parents may feel threatened by their children's interest in the new culture; these different reactions may be associated with relatively inconsequential acculturation gaps in the former case and problematic gaps in the latter.

Unlike the Canadian dimension, we would expect that parent-child acculturation gaps in the ethnic dimension, in either direction, may more consistently translate into distress. Here, too, however, parents' goals for their children's ethnic cultural retention are expected to play an important role in identifying when acculturation gaps will be problematic and when they will be benign, with violations of parents' acculturation goals for children leading to distress.

The findings regarding children's perceptions of their parents' goals for them may also help us understand why some acculturation gaps are linked with distress. The results showed that adolescents underestimated the extent to which their parents wanted them to adopt the Canadian culture and overestimated how much their parents wanted them to retain Chinese culture. If children believe that their parents hold a certain set of goals for them (high ethnic orientation, low settlement orientation), then regardless of whether they are accurate, children may interpret parents' actions in that light. For example, they may frame any rule or restriction a parent sets as stemming from a set of acculturation goals that the child is not living up to and react with distress (guilt) or oppositionality. If children accurately perceive their parents' acculturation goals for them, then there is less opportunity for misunderstanding. Future research should explore how adolescents' perceptions of parents' goals shape their responses to everyday issues encountered in the parent-child relationship.

Limitations and Future Directions

Our findings can only be generalized to Chinese Canadian immigrant families with adolescent children. Expanding the study of acculturation goals beyond these parameters represents an important direction for future research. First, it is possible that acculturation goals may differ as a function of developmental stage. For example, immigrants in late adulthood may be less motivated to engage with the settlement society than those in younger age groups, given that they are less likely to be employed or in school. Further, parents may hold stronger settlement culture goals for children who are transitioning into adulthood, compared to younger children, in light of the importance of intercultural contact at school, in their workplace, and the broader community. On the other hand, ethnic culture goals may be prioritized for younger children who spend more of their time in the family home. Second, there may be variation in the extent to which various ethnocultural groups, on average, hold ethnic and/or settlement culture goals, depending on factors such as the cultural distance between the two cultures and the size of the ethnic community. Third, immigrants in Canada may hold stronger ethnic culture goals than immigrants in other countries that do not have an official multicultural policy. Fourth, in today's multicultural world, parents and/or adolescents may seek to orient toward additional cultural groups, beyond Chinese and Canadian dimensions. Future research should examine how acculturation goals in these two dimensions fit into a larger matrix of cultural orientations.

We speculated earlier that a key area of disconnection may be between parents' Canadian acculturation goals and their actual Canadian cultural orientation. Future research should systematically examine the link between acculturation goals and actual behaviors, as well as how their compatibility relates to psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Future research should also test our hypothesis that parental acculturation goals moderate the link between acculturation gaps and distress. This may greatly extend our understanding of the acculturation gap-distress model. Specifically, it may explain why some studies have failed to find a link between acculturation gaps and distress, despite empirical, anecdotal, and clinical evidence (Fuligni, 2012).

Overall, the construct of acculturation goals may clarify the acculturation process in myriad ways. Our findings suggest that there is considerable diversity in how families approach the acculturation process, among individual family members and as broader family systems; there is not one standard way in which to resolve the challenge of navigating two cultural worlds. Future research should seek to understand these within-group nuances and be careful not to perpetuate broad assumptions about their homogeneity.

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Chapter 13
Parenting Immigrant Parents: Role Reversal, Language Brokering, and Psychological Adjustment Among Immigrant Adolescents in Israel

Olga Oznobishin and Jenny Kurman

It is a common claim that immigrant children and adolescents acquire the new language faster and accept the new norms and values more easily than their parents, so that the parents turn to them for assistance in understanding the new language, practices, and mores (e.g., Jurkovic, 1997). Consequently, children often become language and culture "brokers" for their parents. This may include translation and interpretation of a variety of documents, such as financial statements, medical forms, and welfare applications (Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003). Language brokers are often involved in complex and delicate adult interactions, such as negotiating purchases, relaying sensitive medical information, and acting as "advocates" for their parents (Buriel, De Ment, Chavez, & Moran, 1998; Valenzuela, 1999). The aim of the present research was to investigate the changes in family roles after immigration—namely, role reversal between immigrant parents and their adolescent children—and to examine the relations between this phenomenon and adolescents' adjustment.

Some researchers have suggested that when children assume the power to communicate and speak for their parents, the traditional authority position of the parents may be suppressed, and they may become dependent on their children (e.g., Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Umaña-Taylor, 2003). Therefore, among immigrant families, family roles are at risk of reversal.

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Role Reversal: Definitions and Conceptualizations

Role reversal refers to a parent-child relationship in which a child adopts parental behaviors (e.g., caretaking, supporting, nurturing) while the parent acts helpless, seeks reassurance, and engages in other dependent behaviors (Lopez, 1986). "Parental" children may take on parenting roles with their parents by defending or consoling them. They may also assume a spousal role, acting as confidants or decision-makers to their parents (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Earley & Cushway, 2002). Further, functional or instrumental roles can be differentiated from emotional or expressive ones (e.g., Jurkovic, 1997). Instrumental roles demand assuming responsibility for concrete functional tasks, such as helping with running the household or taking care of siblings. Emotional roles that include counseling, providing comfort, or mediating family conflicts require that the child serves the parents' emotional needs (Hooper, 2007).

Parent-child role reversal can be conceptualized as consisting of two parts: the child taking the role of parent, spouse, or peer in relation to a parent and the parent assuming the complementary role of a child in the family. Although the parent expects to receive support and affection from the child, no attention is paid by the parent to the child's own needs for parental guidance and support (Fullinwider-Bush & Jacobvitz, 1993). This situation points to another distinction addressed in the present research: the distinction between children's obligations to their parents and parents' obligations to their children. The research on role reversal has concentrated on the first component, what children provide for their parents. The other component concerning the role of the parents as perceived by their children has been relatively neglected.

A need to distinguish between the support children provide for their parents and the support they receive from the parents was supported in a study on emerging adults from the former Soviet Union (FSU) in Israel and their Israeli-born peers (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2009). In this study, we conceptualized role reversal as two dimensions. The first factor focused on the dominance of the child in the family—family leadership (e.g., acting as an advisor and decision-maker in emotional and instrumental issues). The second factor was somewhat ambiguous, generally reflecting perceived family support. Family support appeared as the most important factor related to better adjustment for immigrant and nonimmigrant participants. These findings confirmed the importance of differentiating children's roles in the family from what they may or may not receive from the family in return to better understand the relations between role reversal and adjustment.

Role Reversal and Adolescent Adjustment

The vast majority of theoretical and empirical studies on traditional role reversal, not immigration-related, reported adverse consequences for individual adjustment. Specifically, adopting parental roles was found to be related to emotional, behavioral,

and somatic problems in children (Johnston, 1990), to externalizing and internalizing behavior in adolescents (Peris, Goeke-Morey, Cummings, & Emery, 2008), as well as to depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem in young adults (Jacobvitz & Bush, 1996; Williams & Francis, 2010). Adults who were "parentified" as children demonstrated defeatist personal traits, such as shame proneness, a tendency to be overcontrolling, and fear of failure (e.g., Castro, Jones,& Mirsalimi, 2004).

Despite this quite negative picture, children's adoption of parental functions has not always been problematic. For example, Jurkovic (1997) has argued that parental responsibilities that are appropriate and fair can facilitate children's development by teaching them important social skills that can enrich their self-worth. Walker and Lee (1998) found more rapid individuation and higher self-esteem among parental children. The question that arises from these contradictory findings is whether role reversal in immigration has the same implications as role reversal that is not related to immigration.

Although there is significant attention to role reversal among immigrant families, the adjustment outcomes of this phenomenon for children and adolescents are yet not well understood. Most studies on the roles assumed by children and adolescents in immigrant families have focused on language brokering among Latinx immigrants in the USA. These studies have reported mixed implications of language brokering for adolescent adjustment. Some have demonstrated language brokering as a stressor and a factor that promotes symptoms of depression (Buriel, Love, & De-Ment, 2006; Sy, 2006). At the same time, positive implications such as social self-efficacy, personal empowerment, and academic performance have been reported (e.g., Acoach & Webb, 2004; Buriel et al., 1998; Weisskirch, 2013).

The few studies that investigated role reversal among young immigrants were also contradictory, demonstrating both positive and negative adjustment outcomes. Among immigrant adolescents from the FSU in Germany, instrumental roles were linked to feelings of self-efficacy, whereas emotional roles were associated with higher levels of burden and stress (Titzmann, 2012). In contrast, emotional roles were related to better coping with stressful events among immigrant adolescents from the FSU in Israel (Walsh, Shulman, Bar-On, & Tsur, 2006). These divergent results lead to a question regarding protective and risk factors which may explain positive versus negative correlates of role reversal with adolescent adjustment. The current research investigated family relations and emotional experiences relevant to immigrant families from the FSU in Israel that might account for the inconsistent findings reported in both role reversal and language brokering literature.

Moderating Factors in Role Reversal

Several factors have been suggested as distinguishing between adaptive and maladaptive role reversal. Specifically, the problematic aspects are considered to result from excessive burden in an unsupportive environment. It is seen as healthy and appropriate that the child meets their parents' needs to some degree; however, this

must be balanced by the care that child receives from the parents (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Jurkovic, 1997). Previous studies have shown that familial environments may facilitate or complicate the role reversal situation and the psychological development of children. For example, in a study on Chinese adolescent immigrants in Canada, more language brokering was associated with poorer psychological health among adolescents who perceived their parents as high in psychological control (Hua & Costigan, 2012). The present research focused on the emotional tone of the parent-adolescent relationship, namely, parental support and emotions experienced by adolescents in the role reversal situation.

Parental support and warmth that children experience is a major component of family relations (e.g., Bowlby, 1969/1982), and it is highly relevant to adolescents' adjustment (Jurkovic et al., 2004). Immigration may put traditional parental support for their children at risk, as parents have their own struggles in adjusting to the new country and culture. Parental support and supervision have been found to serve as a protective factor that enables adolescent immigrants to maintain higher levels of well-being (Harker, 2001). Accordingly, we assumed that a supportive environment would help adolescents to cope with various demanding tasks.

The type of feelings and emotions associated with family responsibilities may act as an additional moderating factor. Dealing with broader responsibilities and adult issues may teach decision-making skills and lead to empowering experiences, which in turn instill confidence and self-esteem, but only as long as the young person feels good about having these responsibilities. Negative feelings toward the responsibilities, on the other hand, may result in family conflicts and problems in self-perception. This situation may accentuate the stress inherent in greater responsibility and lead to negative psychological consequences. In support of this assumption, in a study on language brokering among Latinx adolescents, positive emotions when language brokering (e.g., proud and useful) were positively correlated with self-esteem, whereas negative feelings (e.g., nervous or uncomfortable) were negatively correlated with self-esteem (Weisskirch, 2007).

In the current research, we examined the moderating role of adolescents' perceptions of parental support and their negative emotions toward family roles in the relation of dominance in the family and language brokering to psychological adjustment. As the research focuses on adolescents whose families immigrated to Israel from the former Soviet Union (FSU), it is important to take into account the specific context of this immigration.

Immigrants from the FSU in Israel

The FSU immigrant group is the largest immigrant population residing in Israel. Since late 1989, over one million immigrants from the FSU have entered Israel and now constitute more than a fifth of the Jewish population. Overall, this particular wave of immigrants was motivated more by "push" factors (i.e., a desire to leave the FSU because of economic and social conditions) than by "pull" factors (i.e., an

attraction to Israel or the seeking of a homeland) (Lemish, 2000). The FSU immigrant group stands out by its large percentage of highly educated people and professionals with many years of experience in science, technology, culture, and education (Remennick, 1998). This level of education and concomitant social status may provide endorsement of the heritage culture and language (Abu-Rabia, 1999). Indeed, a large part of the FSU immigrants after many years of living in Israel are attached to and proud of the Russian culture; they continue to speak Russian at home and with their friends, read Russian literature, and expect their children to know the Russian language (Ben-Rafael, Israel, & Konigstein, 2006).

These tendencies have challenged the assimilation ideology prevailing in Israel. According to this ideology, immigrants are placed under great pressure to assimilate into the Israeli society (e.g., Shamai & Ilatov, 2001). They are expected to devote maximum efforts to studying Hebrew and to affiliate smoothly and fully with native Israelis at work and school (Horowitz, 1996). Immigrants from the FSU do perceive this pressure (Roccas, Horenczyk, & Schwartz, 2000), which may induce children to assume a more active role in aiding the adaptation of their families. An additional factor that may encourage role reversal is the tremendous reduction in family resources after immigration, including an increase in the number of single-parent households (Strier & Roer-Strier, 2005).

The Present Research

In the present research, we explored the features of role reversal and their adjustment correlates in the Israeli context. Role reversal was operationalized as child dominance and language brokering, as both child dominance and language brokering involve children assuming an adult role in assisting their parents. Psychological adjustment was assessed in terms of psychological distress and self-perception (i.e., feelings of self-efficacy and self-esteem).

We proposed a theoretical model posting that the relations between the role reversal aspects—child dominance and language brokering—and adolescents' psychological adjustment depend on the familial context, including adolescents' perception of parental support and emotional experience of role reversal. To test this model, two studies were conducted. Study 1 examined the moderating role of perceived parental support in the relation of child dominance and language brokering to psychological adjustment; in Study 2, the moderating role of negative emotions was assessed.

Study 1

The main purpose of this study was to explore the factors of the two sides of role reversal which were previously identified: child's support to parents (i.e., child dominance and language brokering) and parents' support to the child. To increase

the differentiation between the two factors, we assessed parental support using a scale that was independent of the role reversal scale, focusing on specific parental characteristics as perceived by children: support, warmth, and involvement. Assuming that emotional support provided by parents may serve as a protective factor, we tested the notion that the negative correlates of child dominance may decrease or even become positive when the child is supported by the parents.

The main hypotheses of Study 1 were that (a) adolescent immigrants would adopt a more dominant role in their families and would experience less parental support than their Israeli-born peers; (b) relations between child dominance in the family (as well as language brokering among the immigrants) and adjustment would be moderated by parental support so that under low support, child dominance and language brokering would be negatively related to adjustment. Under high parental support, these relations may be weaker or become positive.

Methods

Participants and Procedure

The sample was comprised of high school students from a city in the south of Israel with a relatively large immigrant population. The immigrant group included 80 adolescents in immigrant families from the FSU (33 males, 47 females), aged 15–19 years ($M = 16.73$ years, SD = 0.94). Their age at arrival in Israel varied from 1 to 16 years ($M = 7.57$ years, SD = 4.71), and they had been living in Israel 1–16 years ($M = 9.32$ years, SD = 4.18). The control group included 100 Israeli-born adolescents (43 males, 57 females), also ranging in age from 15 to 19 years ($M = 16.25$ years, SD = 0.80). After receiving approval of the Israeli Ministry of Education and school administration, a member of the research team recruited participants by going to classes and explaining the study to the students. Students participated on a voluntary basis (97% participation rate) and were required to bring signed parental consent forms. The self-report questionnaires were administered during the class. All questionnaires that had no prior Hebrew and/or Russian versions were back-translated by two bilingual speakers of the relevant languages. The Israeli-born participants completed the questionnaires in Hebrew, and the immigrants were able to choose between Hebrew and Russian (23% of them preferred questionnaires in the Russian language).

Questionnaires

Child dominance. This scale was based on the 15-item dominance scale that emerged in a previous factor analysis of a role reversal scale (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2009). Ten additional items that evaluate dominant roles of the child in the family

were added from other role reversal questionnaires (e.g., Herer & Mayseless, 2000; Mika, Bergner, & Baum, 1987) to strengthen the factor. The new scale consisted of 25 items referring to child's emotional roles in the family (nine items, e.g., "I'm the mediator or "go-between" when a conflict arises between my parents"), instrumental roles (six items, e.g., "I go shopping, pay the bills, and run different errands for members of my family"), and general responsibility (10 items, e.g., "I am responsible for most what's going on in my family"). Participants rated the degree to which each item describes their relationships with parents on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Cronbach αs were 0.89 and 0.91 for immigrant and Israeli-born adolescents, respectively.

Language brokering. The language brokering scale was a modification of measures assessing translation among Latinx adolescents in the USA (e.g., Weisskirch, 2005). The scale was adapted for the immigrant population in Israel and consisted of 15 items, reflecting frequent daily tasks that children may perform for their parents (e.g., translating notes or letters from school, conversations in government offices, etc.). Participants were asked to rate how often in the past year they have translated for their parents what is described in each item, using a rating scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*all the time*). Cronbach α was 0.91.

Parental support. The parental support scale was developed from scales measuring different dimensions in the parent-child relationship: the Perceptions of Parents Scale (POPS; Robbins, 1994) and the Parenting Characteristics Inventory (PCI; Stewart et al., 1998). The combined scale included 14 items (e.g., "My parents put time and energy into helping me"; "My parents clearly show their love for me"). Participants indicated to what degree each item describes their relationships with parents in general on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Cronbach αs were 0.88 and 0.82 for immigrant and Israeli-born adolescents, respectively.

Psychological distress. The adapted version of the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983) was used. In the original inventory, participants rate the degree to which they experienced each of 53 symptoms during the previous month (e.g., nervousness, loneliness, sleep difficulties) on a scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*very much*). The inventory was shortened to 27 items to adapt it to adolescents; irrelevant and extreme items (e.g., items measuring phobic anxiety, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism) were deleted. Cronbach αs were 0.94 for both research groups.

Self-perception. The Self-Liking and Self-Competence-Revised (SLCS-R), developed by Tafarodi and Swann (2001), was used to measure feelings of self-esteem and self-efficacy. Participants were asked to rate how much they agree with each item on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). An example for self-esteem was "I am very comfortable with myself" (eight items; αs = 0.84 and 0.86 in the immigrant and Israeli-born groups, respectively) and for self-efficacy "I am highly effective in things I do" (eight items; αs = 0.67 and 0.70 in the immigrant and Israeli-born groups, respectively).

Results and Discussion

We conducted a MANOVA to test the differences between immigrant and Israeli-born adolescents, with immigration (yes or no) as the independent variable and child dominance, parental support, and all adjustment variables as the dependent variables. The analysis showed a significant multivariate effect of immigration, Hotelling's $T = 0.07$, $F(5, 174) = 2.52$, $p < 0.03$, $\eta^2_p = 0.07$. The results of the univariate analyses are presented in Table 13.1.

As hypothesized, immigrant adolescents assumed more dominant roles in the family and experienced less parental support than their Israeli-born peers. The frequency of language brokering was related negatively to number of years in Israel ($r = -0.34$, $p < 0.003$) and positively to age at immigration ($r = 0.35$, $p < 0.002$). It seems that the need to translate for parents decreases over the years of residence in Israel and that elder children tend to broker more for their parents than younger ones. Additional participants' demographic variables (e.g., gender, birth order) were not associated with language brokering and child dominance.

Correlations among child dominance, parental support, and psychological adjustment variables were computed for immigrant and Israeli-born adolescents (see Table 13.2). Of the predictors, parental support was more strongly related to immigrant adolescents' adjustment than the perception on being in a dominant role. It correlated with a lower level of psychological distress and higher feelings of self-

Table 13.1 Means, standard deviations, and F tests of Study 1 variables by immigration status

Variables	Immigrants ($n = 80$) M (SD)	Israeli-born ($n = 100$) M (SD)	F (1, 178)	η_p^2
Language brokering	2.63 (1.33)			
Child dominance	2.44 (0.64)	2.22 (0.63)	5.09*	0.03
Parental support	3.67 (0.81)	3.91 (0.63)	5.23*	0.03
Psychological distress	2.17 (0.77)	1.99 (0.71)	2.74†	0.02
Self-efficacy	3.42 (0.63)	3.57 (0.64)	2.24	0.01
Self-esteem	3.70 (0.88)	3.83 (0.92)	0.92	0.01

†$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

Table 13.2 Correlations among Study 1 variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Child dominance			0.14	0.10	0.07	0.15
2. Language brokering	0.25*					
3. Parental support	0.19†	−0.02		−0.17†	0.29**	0.27**
4. Psychological distress	0.19†	0.07	−0.41***		0.50***	0.57***
5. Self-efficacy	−0.01	−0.37**	0.39***	−0.50***		0.55***
6. Self-esteem	0.04	−0.31**	0.46***	−0.55***	0.72***	

Note: Correlations for immigrants are below the diagonal ($n = 80$); correlations for Israeli-born are above the diagonal ($n = 100$)
†$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$

efficacy and self-esteem. These findings are in line with the notion that parental support may play a pivotal role relative to positive individual development and well-being. Child dominance was related neither to self-efficacy nor to self-esteem. The positive correlation of this factor with psychological distress was marginally significant. Similar trends were revealed for Israeli-born adolescents.

As expected, the frequency of language brokering was found to be related to dominance; however, its relation to adjustment was somewhat opposite: language brokering was not related to psychological distress, but it was negatively related to self-perception. Specifically, the more the immigrant adolescents reported translating for their parents, the lower were their feelings of self-efficacy and self-esteem. This finding does not correspond to the claim that language brokering enhances feelings of self-confidence because of the experience of communicating in two languages (e.g., Buriel et al., 1998).

To examine a possible moderation of the relations between role reversal and adjustment variables by parental support, we studied the interactions of dominance and language brokering with parental support (Aiken & West, 1991). Multiple regression analyses were conducted, with dominance, language brokering, parental support, and the relevant interactions as predictors, as well as number of years in Israel and age at immigration as covariates. The regressions were conducted only for immigrants, as child dominance was relevant to adjustment only among immigrants and language brokering is relevant only for them. As seen in Table 13.3, only one interaction was found significant, the interaction between language brokering and parental support, predicting self-efficacy.

To further explore this interaction, regression lines were computed for high and low parental support (defined as the mean plus or minus 1 standard deviation). As shown in Fig. 13.1, when parental support is low, more frequent language brokering is associated with lower levels of self-efficacy. On the other hand, when parental support is high, self-efficacy is not related to language brokering frequency. Hence,

Table 13.3 Predicting adjustment by role reversal factors, parental support, and their interactions for immigrant adolescents ($n = 80$)

Variables	Psychological distress			Self-efficacy			Self-esteem		
	B	β	t	B	β	t	B	β	t
Age at immigration	0.07	0.41	1.16	−0.03	−0.25	−0.74	0.06	0.29	0.87
No. of years in Israel	0.04	0.20	0.55	−0.03	−0.17	−0.52	0.05	0.24	0.72
Child dominance	0.68	0.57	0.95	−0.81	−0.82	−1.47	0.56	0.41	0.71
Language brokering	0.67	0.84	1.66	−1.09	−1.65	−3.51**	−0.87	−0.95	−1.97[†]
Parental support	0.20	0.22	0.39	−0.68	−0.87	−1.69	0.55	0.51	0.92
Child dominance × parental support	−0.10	−0.44	−0.52	0.21	1.15	1.46	−0.14	−0.56	−0.70
Language brokering × parental support	−0.19	−1.02	−1.83[†]	0.23	1.47	2.85**	0.15	0.71	1.34
R^2		0.29			0.39			0.36	

[†]$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.01$
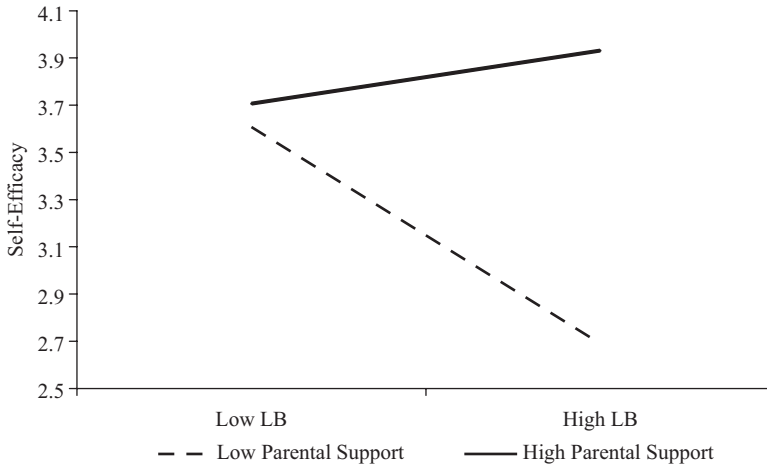
Fig. 13.1 Self-efficacy as a function of language brokering (LB) and parental support

the hypothesis that high parental support moderates the relationship between child's family roles and psychological adjustment was supported for language brokering and self-efficacy. Nevertheless, these results show that, at least in the present context, the frequency of language brokering has such a powerful negative relation with self-perception that even parental support cannot render it into a positive experience. It is possible that negative emotions and attitudes toward language brokering explain the negative associations between language brokering and self-perception.

Negative attitudes toward language brokering may be more prevalent in the Israeli context than in other countries. The main reason for that may be the assimilation pressure that exists in Israel as part of its "melting pot" ideology, which may be reflected in negative attitudes of Israelis toward parents who do not learn Hebrew proficiently as well as toward the use of the Russian language in public. Another reason for negative attitudes toward language brokering may be a dramatic status decline experienced by parents after immigration, given their relatively high status in the FSU (Remennick, 1998). Thus, parents from the FSU, mostly highly educated people, who were authority figures for their children in their homeland, may negatively experience their dependence on children to translate and speak for them. The frustration of parents may also contribute to a negative atmosphere involved in language brokering.

Last, in compliance with the pressure to learn Hebrew as soon as possible, immigrant children may try to avoid using the Russian language, so that their language competence in Russian may be quite low, especially for those who immigrated at a young age. Indeed, most of the immigrant adolescents in our study preferred to complete their questionnaires in the Hebrew language. Difficulties communicating with parents while translating for them decrease adolescents' feelings of self-efficacy because the children feel inadequate personally and because their parents are dissatisfied with them (Weisskirch, 2007). Under such circumstances, language

brokering in Israel may result in children's feelings of failure and embarrassment, which may be detrimental to their self-perception.

The above explanations of the negative feelings toward language brokering may be also relevant for the negative reactions toward another aspect of role reversal—child dominance. For example, in light of assimilation pressure, a continuous need to provide support and advice for parents in various situations may result in feelings of shame and frustration for immigrant adolescents. Children's involvement in family matters that are parents' prerogative may be negatively experienced by immigrant parents, also leading to a negative tone in parent-adolescent relationship. To examine the role of emotions associated with language brokering and child dominance in adolescents' psychological adjustment, Study 2 was conducted.

Study 2

In this study, we aimed to investigate whether the two role reversal aspects, child dominance and language brokering, are associated with high levels of negative emotions. As already noted, adolescents' feeling overburden by family responsibilities may accentuate the stress inherent in having greater responsibility and lead to additional negative psychological consequences. In contrast, assuming adult-like responsibilities may be beneficial for child's feelings of usefulness, maturity, and self-efficacy when the responsibility does not exceed the child's ability, namely, it does not overburden the child. Therefore, we examined whether negative emotions moderate the relations between child dominance and adjustment as well as between language brokering and adjustment.

We hypothesized that (a) a higher level of child dominance and language brokering would be related to negative emotions; (b) relations between child dominance (and language brokering) and adjustment would be moderated by emotions so that under conditions of negative emotions, negative relations would be found between child dominance (and language brokering) and adjustment. Under low negative emotions, these relations may be weaker or become positive.

Methods

Participants and Procedure

The sample was comprised of 129 immigrant adolescents from a city in the north of Israel, who immigrated with their parents from the FSU (55 males, 74 females), aged 15–19 years ($M = 16.14$ years, SD = 0.93). Their age at arrival in Israel varied from 1 to 9 years old ($M = 3.12$ years, SD = 2.92), and they had been living in Israel from 7 to 17 years ($M = 13.27$ years, SD = 2.95). The control group included 136

Israeli-born adolescents (67 males, 79 females), aged 15–18 years ($M = 16.11$ years, SD = 0.82), whose parents were born in Israel. The procedure of administration was similar to that in Study 1. Participation rate was 90%. All participants completed the questionnaires in Hebrew.

Questionnaires

The child dominance and the language brokering scales were used. In the present sample, Cronbach αs were 0.85 and 0.76 for child dominance in the immigrant and Israeli-born groups, respectively, and 0.91 for language brokering in the immigrant group.

Negative emotions. This scale included six items, which were adapted from the scale that assesses feelings about language brokering (Weisskirch, 2005). The items referred to feelings of shame, frustration, and burden when assisting parents (e.g., "Sometimes I feel that helping my parents is a burden"). Participants rated their agreement to each statement on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach αs were 0.75 and 0.63 in the immigrant and Israeli-born groups, respectively.

For the assessment of psychological adjustment, we used the same scales as in Study 1. Cronbach αs were as follows (immigrants/Israeli-born): 0.95/0.90 for psychological distress, 0.72/0.69 for self-efficacy, and 0.85/0.81 for self-esteem.

Results and Discussion

We conducted a MANOVA to test the differences between immigrant and Israeli-born adolescents, with immigration (yes or no) as the independent variable and child dominance, negative emotions, and all adjustment variables as the dependent variables. The analysis showed a significant multivariate effect of immigration, Hotelling's $T = 0.09$, $F(5, 259) = 4.69$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.08$. The results of the univariate analyses are presented in Table 13.4.

The table shows that immigrant adolescents report higher levels of child dominance and negative emotions toward family roles than their Israeli-born peers. These findings replicate Study 1 findings regarding the difference in child dominance between immigrant and nonimmigrant youth. Among the covariates, only age at immigration was positively related to language brokering ($r = 0.28$, $p < 0.005$).

To test our hypotheses regarding the associations among child dominance, language brokering, negative emotions, and adjustment variables, we conducted Pearson correlations for the relevant variables (see Table 13.5). As expected, language brokering was related to negative emotions among the immigrant adolescents. Child dominance was associated with negative emotions among both immigrant and Israeli-born adolescents. These findings imply that high amount of

Table 13.4 Means, standard deviations, and F tests of Study 2 variables by immigration status

Variables	Immigrants ($n = 129$) M (SD)	Israeli-born ($n = 136$) M (SD)	$F (1, 263)$	η_p^2
Language brokering	2.49 (1.22)			
Child dominance	2.38 (0.74)	2.02 (0.55)	20.39***	0.07
Negative emotions	2.14 (0.79)	1.82 (0.71)	12.08**	0.04
Psychological distress	2.28 (0.81)	2.13 (0.59)	2.81†	0.01
Self-efficacy	3.61 (0.64)	3.67 (0.66)	0.59	0.002
Self-esteem	3.91 (0.85)	4.02 (0.72)	1.43	0.01

†$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$

Table 13.5 Correlations among Study 2 variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Child dominance			0.49 ***	0.09	0.08	0.03
2. Language brokering	0.43***					
3. Negative emotions	0.49***	0.33**		0.26**	−0.06	−0.05
4. Psychological distress	0.21*	0.31*	0.41***		−0.39***	−0.44***
5. Self-efficacy	0.04	−0.08	−0.14	−0.48***		0.59***
6. Self-esteem	0.02	−0.02	−0.13	−0.51***	0.60***	

Note: Correlations for immigrants are below the diagonal ($n = 129$); correlations for Israeli-born are above the diagonal ($n = 136$)
*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$

roles and responsibilities normally reserved for adults may lead to feelings of burden, frustration, and embarrassment.

Similar to the findings of Study 1, child dominance was associated with a higher level of psychological distress only among the immigrants, but it was not related to self-perception. Differing from Study 1, language brokering was positively related to psychological distress. This discrepancy can be attributed to differences between the two studies in demographic characteristics of immigrant adolescents. In Study 2, adolescents had been living in Israel for significantly more years than adolescents in Study 1, $t (207) = 6.51$, $p < 0.0001$, $d = 0.23$. Given the assimilation pressure in Israel described above, the need for brokering after a long period of time is in contradiction to the norms of the majority group as well as the expectations of the children and therefore may be generalized into psychological distress.

Regression analyses were computed to examine whether negative emotions moderate the relations between the role reversal aspects—child dominance and language brokering—and adjustment variables. Child dominance, language brokering, negative emotions, and the relevant interactions were entered as predictors; number of years in Israel and age at immigration were added as covariates. The results of the regression models predicting psychological distress and self-efficacy for the immigrant adolescents are presented in Table 13.6. The regression model predicting self-esteem was not significant, $F(13, 115) = 1.43$, ns, and therefore was omitted from the results. For the Israeli-born adolescents, none of the predictors was related to

Table 13.6 Predicting adjustment by role reversal factors, negative emotions, and their interactions for immigrant adolescents ($n = 129$)

	Psychological distress			Self-efficacy		
	B	β	t	B	β	t
Age at immigration	0.04	0.16	0.55	0.04	0.20	0.64
No. of years in Israel	0.05	0.20	0.70	0.05	0.22	0.70
Child dominance	−0.16	−0.15	−0.57	0.48	0.55	2.83**
Language brokering	0.39	0.47	2.76**	0.10	0.17	0.75
Negative emotions	0.22	0.19	0.73	−0.42	−0.52	2.08*
Child dominance × negative emotions	0.09	0.36	0.79	−0.19	−0.94	−2.42*
Language brokering × negative emotions	−0.07	−0.27	−1.42†	−0.05	−0.25	−0.94
R^2		0.27			0.13	

†$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$
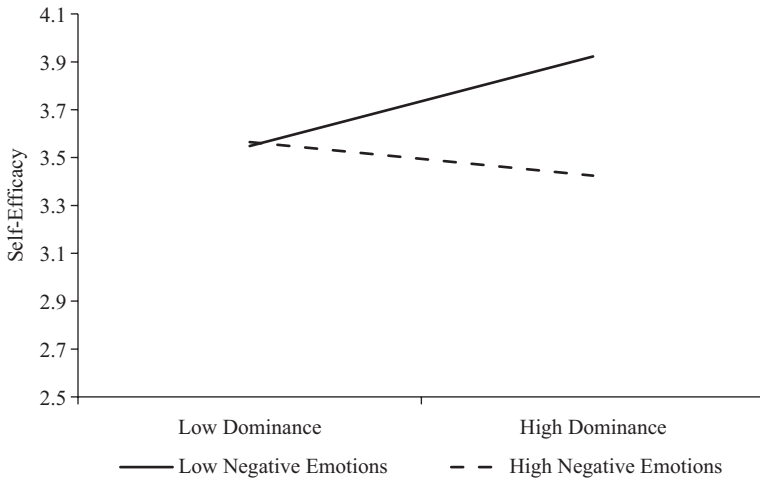
Fig. 13.2 Self-efficacy as a function of child dominance and negative emotions

psychological distress, although the overall regression model was significant, $F(3, 132) = 3.88$. Regression models predicting self-efficacy and self-esteem were not significant, $F(3, 132) = 0.82$, ns; $F(3, 132) = 1.55$, ns.

As seen in Table 13.6, a significant interaction between child dominance and negative emotions, predicting self-efficacy, was found. To further explore this interaction, regression lines were computed for high and low negative emotions (defined as the mean plus or minus 1 standard deviation). As shown in Fig. 13.2, when negative emotions are high, dominance in the family is not related to self-efficacy. On the other hand, when negative emotions are low, dominance is associated with higher self-efficacy. Hence, the hypothesis that emotions toward family roles moderate the relationship between the roles and self-efficacy was supported. This finding implies that when the child does not feel burdened by family responsibilities, assuming a dominant role in the family may be an empowering experience.

General Discussion

Research on adolescent immigrants and the phenomena of role reversal and language brokering has received significant attention. However, the findings regarding the relations between the phenomena and adolescents' psychological adjustment are inconsistent, showing both positive and negative adjustment outcomes. The purpose of the present studies was to investigate facets of parent-child role reversal and their relations with psychological adjustment among immigrant adolescents from the FSU in Israel. Exploring the moderating factors may provide a more comprehensive understanding of the implications of adult role-taking for young immigrants' development. We examined the emotional atmosphere in the parent-adolescent relationships, specifically, parental support and emotions experienced by adolescents in the role reversal situation.

Role reversal can be viewed as including two sides: not only does the child take on the parental role but also the parent assumes the complementary role of a child in the family, but does not provide the child with parental guidance and support. In the present research, we evaluated the roles of the child by investigating child dominance (i.e., child acting as a family leader, advisor, and decision-maker for the parent) and language brokering. We also examined perceptions of support provided by parents and emotions toward family roles. This differentiation is consistent with a distinction between children's roles and the concept of "fairness"—whether the child's contribution to the family is recognized and the obligations are assigned only as much as he or she can handle (Jurkovic, Thirkield, & Morrell, 2001). In the present research, perceived parental support and feelings of burden may indicate perceived fairness. The findings pointed to the importance of relationships with parents and emotional experiences for adolescent adjustment, suggesting that both of these factors may contribute to the feelings of fairness.

The present studies consistently indicated that FSU immigrant adolescents assumed parental roles in their families. Immigrant adolescents also reported experiencing less parental support and higher feelings of shame, frustration, and burden toward adult role-taking than their Israeli-born peers. These findings may reflect the Israeli context of assimilation pressure. For instance, immigrant adolescents may expect their parents to be adjusted to the new country, so they may become resentful when the parents still need their help. In addition, immigrant adolescents may feel overburdened as not only do they have to be responsible for their own adaptation, since they receive less parental support, but also assist their parents' adaptation.

The findings that child dominance and language brokering were associated with psychological distress may imply that immigrant adolescents are negatively affected by their family roles. Furthermore, nonsignificant relations between dominance in the family and self-perception together with negative relations between language brokering and self-perception were found. These findings do not corroborate the claim that children's self-esteem and self-competence may increase as a result of broader responsibilities and dealing with adults' issues (e.g., Barnett & Parker, 1998; Walker & Lee, 1998). A possible explanation for nonsignificant relations

between child dominance, burden, and adjustment among Israeli-born adolescents may be their low levels of dominance and emotional burden, as well as less challenging changes in family roles. However, our research design does not allow causal inference, as the studies were not longitudinal. Future studies should further explore these issues.

Adopting adult roles in the family may be stressful for immigrant adolescents, however, not the roles alone as much as the emotional atmosphere around them and relationships with parents are crucial to their adjustment. The findings of both studies suggest that parent-adolescent relationship and emotional atmosphere have importance beyond the changes in family roles. It has been argued for the importance of an equitable balance of give-and-take in families for child and family development and functioning (e.g., Jurkovic, 1997; Jurkovic et al., 2004). Accordingly, we examined whether perceived parental support and emotional experiences of family roles moderate the relations between the roles and adolescent adjustment. The moderating role of parental support was confirmed: Parental support moderated the relations between language brokering and self-efficacy, as the overall negative relations disappeared among immigrants who receive a high level of support. Thus, parental support protected children from negative effect of language brokering on self-efficacy.

The importance of the emotional reaction in the role reversal situation was demonstrated by its moderating effect on the relations between child dominance and self-efficacy. For immigrant adolescents who experienced low level of negative emotions, dominance in the family was positively related to their feelings of self-efficacy. Thus, emotional reaction to role reversal appeared as a factor that can lead to positive role reversal implications for immigrant adolescents.

Further research is needed to identify additional factors that can lead to a positive role reversal and language brokering experiences for immigrant children and adolescents, either within the family or in the context of the absorbing society. It is important to investigate the potential moderation of the relations between language brokering and adjustment by perceived assimilation pressure. It is possible that the pressure to assimilate to the new culture, which creates general psychological difficulties (e.g., Berry, 2007), can eliminate possible psychological gains of language brokering and other family responsibilities. In addition, it should be noted that our results are based on only one source of information—the children. It would be interesting to explore how immigrant parents, especially parents from the FSU, experience and respond to the roles assumed by their children.

The theoretical relations uncovered in the present research may have practical implications. It seems that, although the roles immigrant adolescents assume in their families may be problematic, the most important factors for their adjustment are how they experience their roles and to what extent they perceive their parents as supportive. Thus, social workers and clinicians should consider planning and conducting direct interventions that will support parent-adolescent relationship and increase positive emotional experiences of family responsibilities. We hope that the results of this research can help in monitoring and identifying family features that may serve as risk or protective factors in immigration and in subsequently applying them in relevant interventions.

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Chapter 14
Parenting in Global Perspective: Progress and Prospects

Ross D. Parke

As the contributors to this volume illustrate, parenting and parent-child relationships can only be appreciated through an international lens. Parenting processes are a ubiquitous phenomenon that occur in all cultures in spite of the disproportionate amount of scholarly and policy attention that has focused on Western societies (Arnett, 2008; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). However, national boundaries have become increasingly porous, and there is so much intercountry movement due not only to natural immigration processes but also due to conditions which have increased the number of families who become displaced from their homelands due to economic pressures, persecution, or war.

Both scholars and practitioners have begun to explore the implications of these international trends in immigration for adults and children. These chapters illuminate the universal and the culture-specific aspects of immigration and also enhance our understanding of the process of immigration itself. This progress is evident in the major advances evidenced by the contributors to this volume. The aims of this closing chapter are to highlight recent theoretical, methodological, and policy progress and to propose new directions for research and policy that could guide next steps in our collective effort to better understand the interplay of parenting and child development in the context of international immigration patterns.

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Theoretical Progress

Not Just a Few Groups of Immigrants but Many Groups from Many Countries

The first and perhaps most important contribution of this volume is the reminder that immigration is and has always been an international phenomenon. In part due to Western ethnocentrism, especially among North American scholars (Rogoff, 2003), a few immigrant groups such as Asians and Latinos have garnered the most attention. However, more recently, scholars and practitioners alike have expanded the focus to include populations from wide-ranging countries of origin, ethnicities, and socioeconomic contexts. As the chapters in this volume illustrate, along with other entries in this series (Chuang & Moreno, 2008, Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013) and in other recent compendia (e.g., Dimitrova, Bender & van de Vijver, 2013; García Coll & Marks, 2011; Masten, Leibkind, & Hernandez, 2012), children and adults from many countries across the globe have become the focus of recent research efforts.

In the chapters in the current volume, for example, immigrants from many different countries are represented, in addition to those from China and Latin America. Immigrants from other countries such as the Dominican Republic, Turkey, the Antilles, Morocco, Korea, Suriname, the Former Soviet Union, Taiwan, Albania, Serbia, India, and Slovenia are included as well. On the host country side, we have witnessed an expansion as well. Not only has attention been directed to the usual host countries of Canada and the United States, but European countries such as the Netherlands and Italy and non-European destinations such as Israel are represented as well. This broadening of the range of sending and receiving countries is part of a larger trend in international immigration patterns that is receiving much deserved scrutiny by policy makers and researchers as well (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

There are notable advantages associated with this widening of our sampling lens to embrace a wider range of ethnicities from varying originating and host countries. First, it allows a clearer test of the generalizability of our findings and second, it helps define the boundaries of our generalizations by revealing the differences as well as the similarities across immigrant samples. Third, these findings can be useful for social policy which respects the needs and values of different immigrant populations (Parke & Chuang, 2011).

Moreover, as Bornstein (2015) has advocated, it is important to recognize the specificity principle in our deliberations about immigration and parenting, a principle which underscores the uniqueness of the experiences and adaptation of individuals depending on the sending and receiving countries. Finally, the current volume's focus on parenting and immigration in international perspective allows an examination of how variations in the countries of origin and in host countries shape the ways in which adults and children manage the challenges of immigration.

The Match/Mismatch Problem

Recognition of the variations across sending and host countries is only a first step in understanding the implications of this variability. There are wide differences in the degree to which the customs, language, religious beliefs, attitudes concerning gender roles, and child rearing attitudes/practices of the sending and host countries are compatible. Several chapters in this volume illustrate this issue. For example, Merz (this volume) notes a variety of differences across individuals from four countries (Turkey, Morocco, Antilles, and Suriname) who moved to the Netherlands as immigrants. Each group arrived with different language skills, religious practices, cultural orientation (collectivist vs. individualistic), and prior familiarity with Dutch traditions. Relative to the other groups from Mediterranean countries of Turkey and Morocco, those from the Antilles, a former Dutch colony, as well as those from Suriname, another Caribbean country, who were steeped in Dutch history and culture, shared in the practice of Christianity and were familiar with the Dutch language. These groups had an easier route to becoming acculturated to Dutch society. In contrast, those from Turkey and Morocco who valued a collectivist orientation, a patriarchal family structure, and Muslim religious beliefs experienced a larger gap to bridge in acculturating to Dutch norms.

To provide a further illustration, Raval and colleagues (this volume) notes that Indian American families may be advantaged relative to other groups in their ease of acculturation to American culture due, in part, to their prior knowledge of English as a result of British colonial rule. Finally, the study by Dimitrova (this volume) on the adjustment of parents and children in Italy who moved from a variety of countries (Albania, Russia, Serbia, and Slovenia) provides a further example of the mismatch problem. The Albanian immigrants had the most difficulty in adjusting in Northern Italy due, in part, to the negative views of this ethnic group and the resulting discrimination and marginalization by their host country. In contrast, the other ethnic groups had a longer history of migration to Italy, and well-established ethnic enclaves already established in this host country which aided their adaptation. Clearly the myriad of ways in which sending and receiving cultures overlap and diverge needs to be recognized as determinants of the degree of challenge posed by assimilation to a new culture.

Not All Host Countries Are Alike: Recognizing the Heterogeneity of Policies and Opportunities

Some countries may simply be better and more welcoming hosts as reflected in the cultural attitudes and government policies concerning immigrants. In recent years, this is evident in the degrees to which different European countries have developed open versus restrictive policies concerning the admissibility of refugees from other parts of Europe and the Middle East. Germany, for example, has been highly

receptive to receiving refugees in addition to Sweden and Holland (Kirk, 2015). Not surprisingly, according to the Reach Assessment Report (2015) on destination targets of Syrian refugees, the overwhelming majority of Syrians intended to travel to Germany, due to the presence of family and friends, the availability of services and support, and the opportunity to work. When asked about their second and third destinations of choice, Sweden and Holland were commonly reported due to high expectations about the level of assistance and on the swift family reunification processes. Other countries such as France, Turkey, Greece, as well as Jordon, Lebanon, and Iraq have either taken in significant numbers of refugees or served as the staging area for other final destinations. Other potential receiving European countries such as Hungary, Romania, Poland, and many others have favored more restrictive policies to limit the acceptance of refugees into their countries (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

Similarly in North America, there are stark contrasts between the official policies regarding immigrants, especially refugees, between Canada and the United States. Even though both countries are based on historical patterns of immigration from other countries, Canada has explicitly embraced multiculturalism as a national policy (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2006), whereas the United States has been less welcoming and embracing of cultural diversity in its immigration policies.

Another important resource available to new immigrants in a host country is the presence of enclaves of earlier and now settled immigrants who share a similar ethnic and geographical heritage (Massey & Denton, 1993). The availability of clusters of individuals who share a common cultural background who are already knowledgeable about the social and economic systems of the host country can ease the transition and adjustment of new arrivals. However, the presence of earlier waves of fellow countrymen may not always be positive. While these earlier groups may be helpful, these same groups may resent the competition posed by newcomers for scarce educational, social, and economic opportunities (Gielen, Lei, & Palumbo, 2012). Thus, policies aimed at enlisting the support of already established immigrants who often share a similar cultural background in aiding the new waves of immigrants need to be carefully developed and evaluated.

Not All Immigrants Are Alike: Multiple Profiles of Immigrants Are Needed

It is not only variations in country of origin and host country which distinguishes immigrants from one another, but the fact that immigrants move to a new country for very different reasons, with different goals and different expectations. One of the fundamental errors guiding early research on immigration has been the failure to recognize the heterogeneity of immigrants including differences in the experiences of mothers versus fathers and male versus female children, differences in the roles assumed by different genders in both family and work contexts, differences in prior educational achievement and current employment opportunities, as well as the voluntary versus involuntary nature of immigration.

One prior limitation, which is increasingly and more consistently being addressed, is the roles of both fathers and mothers in the immigration process. Several chapters in this volume and in earlier volumes in this series (Chuang & Moreno, 2008; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013) include fathers as well as mothers as part of their sampling strategy. For example, Dimitrova (this volume) found different paths between maternal and paternal stress, depression, and child depression, while Rasmi and Costigan (this volume) included both parents in their assessment of acculturation goals. In their work, Chuang and Zhu (this volume) corrected our misconceptions about Asian fathers. Consistent with a family systems view of the immigration process, it is likely that fathers will increasingly be a focus in future studies of immigration (Parke & Buriel, 2006).

Recognition of gender of parent differences is only a first step in revealing the variability among immigrant families. A small minority of immigrants are skilled and educated, attracted by job opportunities in technology sectors, and their entry is often facilitated by special visa quota systems to meet corporate needs (e.g., Immigration Canada, 2017). Others are asylum seekers or refugees who leave their home countries to escape poverty and seek economic betterment in a new country. Some adults seek better educational and economic opportunities for their children even though migration may involve sacrifices for themselves. Still others migrate in order to escape religious, political, gender, or ethnic prosecution (Este, 2013).

Not all immigrant families are intact two parent, heterosexual, and same race couples. Some families are separated during the immigration process, resulting in single parents without their partners, making the journey to a new country or in the case of refugees even minor children making the immigration journey alone (Phippen, 2015). Moreover, in cases of transnational parenting, mothers or fathers may migrate alone for economic reasons leaving their partners behind in the country of origin (Cookston, Boyer, Vega, & Parke, 2017). For example, numerous studies have documented the exodus of Filipino women who have migrated to Europe or North America as caregivers for either children or the elderly (Nagasaka & Fresnoza-Flot, 2015). Similarly, recent work on Mexican transnational fathers who leave their home country for work in the United States have begun to receive recognition and serious evaluation (Cookston et al., 2017; Dreby, 2010).

Couples in mixed race or mixed religion marriages or partnerships may face unique problems as immigrants due to lingering prejudice rooted in our cultural commitment to racial and religious homogenous pairings (Villazor, 2011). More attention needs to be given to the unique challenges of these couples and their families. To a large extent, we have ignored sexual minorities including same gender parent families in our studies of immigration, in spite of the fact that many leave their country of origin in order to avoid discrimination and persecution and even incarceration due to their gender preferences (Wilets, 2008). For example, in the United States, there are nearly 300,000 undocumented and another 600,000 documented LGTB immigrants (Gates, 2013). While immigration laws have gradually changed in Canada, the United States, Europe, and Australia to accommodate LGTB individuals and same-sex partner families, lesbian, gay, and transgender immigrants still face not only the usual challenges but unique ones as well. For example, in spite

of the fact that many European and North American countries are more tolerant and respectful of these individuals and families than some countries such as parts of Africa and Russia (Human Rights Campaign Foundation, 2014), there is still prejudice and discrimination to confront in Western countries as well.

Moreover the difficulty of finding minority friendly communities and like-oriented others in a new country is a further challenge. Neither our scholarly base nor our policies have kept pace with these groups of immigrants. Much further work is needed on the immigration challenges and adaptation of these non-typical individual and families. In sum, it is inappropriate to group immigrants of different genders, of different sexual orientations, of different cultural and educational backgrounds, and who arrive for different reasons into a single group. Doing so simply makes our task of solving the puzzle of how adult and child immigrants manage the challenges of immigration more difficult (Parke & Chuang, 2011).

Beyond Stereotypes: Updating Our Views of Different Ethnic Groups

A major impediment to acceptance of immigrants by their host country is the outdated stereotypes which often color their views of new arrivals. In place of the views that have characterized many discussions of immigrant families as hierarchical and patriarchal in which men and women are cast in highly traditional gender roles, new and more nuanced portrayals are emerging. For example, Chuang and Zhu (this volume) challenge stereotypes of Chinese fathers as distant and aloof by showing that immigrant Chinese Canadian and Mainland Chinese fathers are actively involved in their young children's lives. "Chinese fathers have been found to be more child–centered and are no longer influenced by Chinese traditional parenting roles" (Chuang & Zhu, this volume). These men view their roles as multidimensional in which fathers are not merely economic breadwinners, but caregivers, playmates, and even as participants in household chores. As in the case of earlier studies (Lamb & Lewis, 2010; Tamis-LeMonda, 2004), Chinese fathers in both Canada and Mainland China tend to devote more time to play with their 3-year-olds than in child caregiving, especially Mainland Chinese fathers. At the same time, Chinese Canadian fathers spent more time doing household chores (cooking, cleaning) than did Mainland Chinese fathers. In part, this may reflect a shift toward more egalitarian distribution of household responsibilities under the influence of Canadian culture. Or perhaps the lack of extended family support among Chinese Canadian families may contribute to the greater sharing of household responsibilities between mothers and fathers. Clearly the stereotype of the uninvolved and aloof Asian father is no longer valid, although the forms of involvement are constrained by the unique cultural contexts of China and Canada. While the social, economic, and historical conditions that have led to these changes are not yet clear, this work suggests that the same patterns involving shifts toward more overlapping parental roles for both

mothers and fathers that have been documented in Western societies may be taking place in China and among Chinese Canadian immigrants as well. This revised pattern has been described as "the dual earner/dual caregiver" model of contemporary parenting since it recognizes work and care roles for both mothers and fathers (Gornick & Meyers, 2008). Whether these shifts are evident throughout China, especially in rural agricultural regions, or only in industrialized cities, merits further examination.

Another stereotype open to challenge is the view that all Chinese mothers are tiger moms who are devoted to promoting their children's academic achievement (Chua, 2011). At the same time, Latino parents are often (incorrectly) viewed as less devoted to children's achievement and instead are more focused on familial loyalty and support (Moreno & Valencia, 2002). In their chapter, Sonnenschein and her colleagues (this volume) examine these stereotypes by comparing parental beliefs and practices concerning children's mathematical development. Contrary to expectations, there were marked similarities in the Chinese and Latino mothers' attitudes and practices. Both groups of mothers were engaged in math activities with their children at home and encouraged their children to complete homework assignments. Moreover, Latino children engaged in more math activities, math homework and math-related games, and had higher enjoyment of math activities than did their Chinese peers. However, these authors found that Chinese mothers developed more systematic plans for fostering children's math learning and were more likely to foster their children's interest in math. In turn, these teaching strategy differences across the groups may, in part, account for often observed differences in the math achievement of Chinese children in comparison to other groups (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992).

Both Cultural Variations and Universalism Merit Recognition

The history of the social sciences is replete with efforts to discover universal laws of human behavior (Brown, 1991). In fact, over the past several decades under the influence of Vygotsky (1978) and Rogoff (2003), there has been a rebuke of this effort as the field has increasingly recognized the role of culture as an important factor in our accounts of human activities (Bornstein, 2010). This volume and others in this series are prime examples of our increasing appreciation of the role of culture in our scholarly dialogue. As in the case of any corrective action, however, the pendulum often swings too far and oversimplifies the complex nature of human behavior by assuming that culture is dominant to the exclusion of universal similarities across diverse individuals and groups.

Evidence from several chapters underscore the need to continue to recognize the universality of some aspects of human behavior while also recognizing the role of culture. For example, as Cote and Bornstein (this volume) demonstrated, the patterns of contingent interaction are common among most parent-infant dyads with parents showing responsiveness to infant signals in early life. These patterns are based on

the universal sensory and perceptual capacities of infants that enable and constrain the nature of their understanding of both their physical and social worlds. In turn, these patterns permit infants to become participants in parent-infant interactions. Moreover, these culturally universal mother and infant patterns are evident for both person- and object-oriented behaviors in the first 6 months of life (Cote & Bornstein, this volume). As Cote and Bornstein noted, person- and object-directed behaviors have been observed among mothers and infants around the world in the first 6 months of life, and the existence of these behaviors is believed to be culturally universal and developmentally significant.

However, Cote and Bornstein also reported that in spite of the universality of these mother-infant patterns, there are distinctive cultural differences in their prevalence, meaning, and developmental sequelae. Mothers across and within cultures specialize in the types of interactions (object- vs. person-oriented) in which they engage. Across cultures, mothers specialize as indicated by the limited associations between the two types of mother-infant interactions; this is another type of universality. At the same time, in some cultural groups such as Japanese Americans and European-Americans, there were positive links between maternal and infant responsiveness to object-oriented interaction, whereas in other cultures such as South Korea, these patterns were weak. Similarly, the links between early mother-infant interaction exchanges in early infancy and later outcomes varied across cultures. For Japanese American dyads, positive links were evident between mother-infant person-oriented and object-oriented interactions and later symbolic play and communication skills, but these links were less evident among other cultural groups.

Perhaps other outcome measures would have detected cross-time links for other cultural groups as there may also be cultural specificity in the domains that are altered by mother-infant interactions. In contrast to Japanese American infants, the benefits of mother-child interaction among European-American infants may be more evident in language measures than play measures (Bornstein, 2000). In sum, there are universal patterns of mother-infant exchanges that coexist with cultural and parent specialization.

Not by Culture Alone: The Role of Biology in Immigration

In spite of recent advances in the role of genetic, hormonal, and neurological factors in our accounts of development (Feldman, 2016), this work has not been fully incorporated into our dialogue about immigration issues. Across cultures, these universal biological influences are evident and need to be recognized as part of the explanatory network concerning immigration processes. Although biology does not mean immutability, predeterminism, or non-plasticity, biology may account for individual differences in our responses to stress-related immigration challenges. We know relatively little about the ways in which variations in stress regulation capacities, which may, in part, be determined by genetically linked temperamental differences, alter the immigrants' adaptation to a host environment (Rothbart, 2012).

Consider gender as an example of a biological constraint that may be an important factor in understanding how immigration processes differentially affect women and men (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013). Women still give birth and lactate. Men do not. Nursing mothers showed an increase in oxytocin, often called the "love" hormone, in response to infant crying and displayed more positive behavior toward their infant than bottle-feeding mothers (Carter & Altemus, 1997). Mothers with high levels of oxytocin during pregnancy bond better with their babies (Feldman, 2016; Feldman, Gordon, Schneiderman, Weisman, & Zagoory-Sharon, 2010). Do mothers who are separated from their children as a result of their move to another country show decreased responsivity to their offspring as a result of hormonal changes (i.e., decreased oxytocin) due to lack of stimulation provided by their children? Are these hormonal processes which are involved in mother-child relationships impaired if mothers leave their children in search of better economic prospects?

At the same time, modern conceptualizations of gender cast biological and cultural influences as mutually influential processes rather than as competing ones. Recent work concerning the shifts in hormones, not just in women but in men as well, around the birth of an infant is illustrative. Just as women prepare for caregiving by a set of hormonal changes during pregnancy and childbirth, men show a drop in testosterone during the transition to fatherhood (Storey & Walsh, 2012) which is associated with greater responsiveness to the infant's signals. However, this drop was most evident for men who were highly involved with their partners' pregnancy, which underscores that both social and biological factors are important to consider. How are father-child hormonal patterns altered by segmented immigration patterns in which men migrate alone without their partners and children? In view of evidence that suggests that paternal hormonal patterns are maintained by interaction between fathers and children (Feldman, 2016), sojourner or lone migrant fathers may be less biologically prepared to be responsive caregiver as a result of this immigration-linked separation. As interest in immigrant fathers increases, the biological aspects of the father-child relationship deserve more attention.

Acculturation: A Multidimensional and Multi-Actor Construct

Although acculturation has long been recognized as an important concept for understanding the process by which immigrants reconcile their own cultural history with the culture of the host country (Berry et al., 2006), the term has evolved in recent years. It was often viewed as an individual level construct whereby each individual immigrant followed their own independent acculturation path toward integration into the host culture. However, acculturation is a socially constructed construct which is, in turn, best understood within the context of the family and community (Sam & Berry, 2016; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Members of the same family may follow separate acculturation tracks. Fathers and mothers may vary in their speed of acculturation depending on the nature of their outside

employment and the opportunities to acquire the language of their new culture. Similarly, children, especially of school age, will often acculturate more rapidly than their parents due to the intense exposure to the language of their host culture in school settings and in peer contexts. Moreover, acculturation may be slower if individuals and families are isolated into ethnic enclaves composed of members of the country of origin rather than in more heterogeneous communities of both host and immigrant individuals.

This recognition of the socially embedded nature of acculturation has led to active examination of the acculturation gap, especially between children and parents but also between husbands and wives and between grandparents and later generations (Telzer, 2010). Much progress has been made in our understanding of the conditions that alter the impact of this gap on parent-child relationships and children's adaptation. While the acculturation gap is often detrimental to parent-child relationships, it is not inevitably a source of intergenerational conflict or a precursor of poor child outcomes. For example, although acculturation gaps with fathers were found to be related to later father-child conflict as well as internalizing and externalizing outcomes, these effects were moderated by the child's report of the quality of the relationship between the child and his or her father. Father-child acculturation gaps were associated with negative outcomes only when children reported a poor relationship with their fathers (Schofield, Parke, Kim, & Coltrane, 2008). Attention to the moderators of acculturation gap effects is a worthy goal for future studies in this area.

Moreover, the multifaceted nature of cultural identity has received recognition beyond biculturalism including concepts of tricultural acculturation and remote enculturation (Ferguson, Costigan, Clarke, & Ge, 2016; Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014). According to tricultural acculturation, Jamaican immigrants to the United States, for example, orient toward Jamaican, African American, and European American cultures. Similarly, immigrants from Central or South America may view themselves as Guatemalan, Hispanic American, and American. As Rasmi and Costigan (this volume) noted, the tricultural model includes more than one dimension to the host culture for some individuals. Thus, tridimensional acculturation emphasizes the multicultural contexts of many societies and provides researchers on way of exploring how multiple identities intersect.

Religion for many is a central aspect of their identity, and it is likely that migrants from Muslim countries such as Libya or Syria who settle in western European or Australian countries where Christianity is the dominant religion may continue to identify not only as participants in their host culture and their culture of origin but also as Muslim. While these represent profitable new directions for work with immigrant families, they also caution us against the embrace of binary categories for classifying immigrants. That is, adults and children may have multiple cultural/ethnic identities simultaneously by being loyal to a country of origin, to the host country, and to one's racial and religious identity. Finally, the challenges of managing even bicultural identity can be stressful. As Cheah and Kim noted (this volume), bicultural management difficulty has been linked to poorer individual adjustment and family functioning (Kim, Shen, Huang, Wang, & Orozco-Lapray, 2014).

However, the burden of management of a tricultural identity and the impact of this challenge on individual adjustment are poorly understood but clearly warrant more scrutiny by the field.

Another understudied form of acculturation, namely, remote acculturation, involves the adoption of a cultural identity, attitudes, and behaviors of a distant culture based on indirect and/or intermittent exposure to this culture (Ferguson, 2013). Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) illustrated the concept of remote acculturation in the form of "Americanization" in Jamaica, where there is a heavy emphasis on US tourism development coupled with the pervasiveness of US-produced media. They found that 33% of urban Jamaican adolescents on the island adopt a part American identity, American entertainment behaviors, and American family values (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015). In addition, these "Americanized" Jamaican island youth experience more parent-adolescent conflict associated with an acculturation gap. Taken together, remote acculturation studies across countries show that "Americanization" is more prominent in the urban Caribbean (Kingston, Jamaica) than in rural areas (Rural Haiti) due to lower exposure to American culture and media (Ferguson, 2013). This presents a new way to understand the psychological impact of cultural globalization, especially on Caribbean youth. Remote acculturation has given rise to a new type of bicultural Caribbean youngster on the island of Jamaica who resembles Caribbean emigrants living in the United States. Evaluation of this remote acculturation process in other parts of the globe such as Europe would be worthwhile. As Western societies continue to become more heterogeneous in view of changing patterns of refugees and immigration, this topic will continue to be an important focus of research and theory building.

A further advance toward appreciating the complexity of the acculturation process is highlighted by Rasmi and Costigan (this volume) in their work with Chinese immigrants in Canada. In contrast to earlier studies of acculturation where the focus has been primarily on language use and behavioral indices of enactment of culturally appropriate aspects of the host culture, these scholars have distinguished between behavioral aspects of acculturation and the goal-based nature of acculturation. In recognition of the distinctiveness of acculturation goals for different family members, they measured maternal and paternal acculturation goals for both themselves and their adolescents. Moreover, they assessed adolescents' own acculturation goals and their perceptions of the goals which parents have for them. In addition, they wisely assessed the goals for maintaining identification with China, their country of origin, as well as the host country of Canada. Mothers, fathers, and adolescents all strongly endorsed Canadian acculturation goals and were similar in their level of embracing of these goals. However, their finding that adolescents misperceived (i.e., underestimated) the goals that parents had regarding their wish that their children acculturate to the Canadian cultural context underscores the value of the concept of acculturation goals and also suggests that perceived goals rather than actual acculturation may be one source of potential conflict between parents and their offspring. The acculturation gap, in short, may be better understood when perceptions or, in this case, misperceptions of other family members are recognized. The search for the determinants in these cross generational perceptions of accultura-

tion goals would be worthwhile not only to better understand the processes underlying these subjective aspects of the acculturation puzzle but as a guide to reducing the level of misperceptions within families.

Adults and Children Are Active Agents in the Immigration Process

Members of immigrant families are not passive but instead play active roles in socially constructing and shaping their immigrant experiences for themselves as well as having an influence on the acculturation process of each other. One example of this recognition is the work on children as cultural and language brokers and family counselors and decision-makers. In this capacity, children serve as liaisons between the family and the wider community in part due to the linguistic limitations of the parents: "With responsibility as interpreters of the new culture and language, immigrant parents are often in a position with no one to translate or interpret for them. Traditional intergenerational authority relationships change and the child also becomes involved in the worries and concerns of the family, such as hassles with landlords, arranging for medical care, and dealing with the legal system" (Olsen & Chen, 1988, p. 31).

In addition to dealing with outside institutions, immigrant children often experience family role reversals and organize aspects of the household, care for siblings, and act as mediators of family conflict. While these experiences can be empowering for children and lead to greater self-efficacy (Weisskirch, 2013), it can also lead to intergenerational conflict between parents and children or to depression and stress for the child brokers (Love & Buriel, 2008; McQuillan & Tse, 1995).

Conceptually, the focus of many prior studies has been on the child's role in the brokering or decision-making process with little attention to the support provided by parents to the children who are assuming these responsibilities. As Oznobishin and Kurman (this volume) argued, the role reversal/brokering process needs to be re-cast in dyadic terms so that the roles of both child and parent are recognized. Their work on Russian immigrants in Israel revealed important moderators of this role reversal scenario by casting the issue in a dyadic framework. When there was a balance between adolescent assistance on behalf of their parents and support from their parents in return, adolescent adjustment was positive. When the adolescents had positive attitudes toward their parental responsibilities, they were more well-adjusted. When children were language brokers on behalf of their parents, the effects on adolescent' self-efficacy were positive if parental support was evident. Similarly among Chinese adolescent immigrants in Canada, more language brokering was associated with poorer psychological health among adolescents but only when the adolescents perceived their parents as high in psychological control (Hua & Costigan, 2012), a further illustration of the importance of a dyadic casting of this issue. The effects of role reversals and language brokering in immigrant families are

best understood in a family systems framework in which the actions of all participants—parents and adolescents—are recognized (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007; Parke, 2013). Similarly, Hou and Kim (this volume) echo a similar dyadic sentiment with their advocacy of the actor-partner interdependence model (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006) in which the actions of both partners and actors are recognized. Only by doing so can the positive and/or negative effects of these activities by children on behalf of parents be fully appreciated.

Although some researchers have explored brokering within various sociocultural contexts, more attention is needed to variations in both intra- and extrafamilial brokering in different immigrant groups. Some groups such as Asian and Latino immigrants place a high value on family obligations and family work which would include brokering roles for children (Telzer, Gonzales, Tasi, & Fuligni, 2015). Since familial assistance is part of the norms within these cultures, children and adolescents may be more buffered from the negative effects of these added responsibilities than in more individualistic-oriented cultures. Future work needs to select groups where there are cultural variations in family roles assigned to mothers and fathers as well as boys and girls (i.e., hierarchical versus egalitarian family structures), for example, to assess how brokering operates within these traditions and how brokering alters family processes in different types of families.

Methodological and Analytic Issues

Many Methods and Analytic Models Are Needed to Understand International Parenting

One of the refreshing aspects of the chapters in this volume is the wide range of methods used to address the questions of interest. While interviews, questionnaires, and self-reports remain a mainstay of this area, many other approaches are evident as well.

Observational strategies can be a useful approach as illustrated by Cote and Bornstein's (this volume) study on of mother-infant interactions. Other methods such as the use of time diary recall methods add greater precision to estimates of parental activities (Chuang & Zhu, this volume). Other methods need more attention as well, including the use of stories, narratives and photographic records of the immigrant experience. Clearly, both qualitative and quantitative methods have a role in the work in this area.

In addition to a range of methods, there is a growing sophistication in the analytic approaches that are being used. Instead of merely descriptive approaches, investigators are using multivariate approaches in their search for more process-oriented answers by focusing on the moderators and mediators of various effects. For example, in their work on behavioral problems among immigrant children, Ng and colleagues (this volume) showed that increases in parental control in response

to behavior problems were linked with greater parental control across 1 year, but the effect was mediated by maternal anger. Similarly, social support was related to less parental control, but again emotions played a mediating role. In this case, the positive emotion of love played this mediating role. Finally, Dimitrova (this volume) examined mediating pathways among parental stress, parental depression, and child depression through the use of an SEM model. Other investigators note moderators in their models. Hou and colleagues outlined a series of individual (coping strategies, ethnic identity), demographic (age, SES), and social resource (family conflict, cohesiveness) factors that may serve as moderators of acculturation stress. Similarly, Ng et al. (this volume) showed that discipline led to distress, but only when social support was low. Clearly we have moved well beyond the descriptive phase into a more sophisticated search for the mediating and moderating factors that help us explain the observed outcomes. As this field matures, such approaches will become increasingly common and indeed necessary for meaningful progress in this area.

At the same time, there is still limited use of longitudinal designs that permit us to track cross-time patterns from the beginnings of the migration process to the actual journey itself and the unfolding process of settlement in new contexts. Finally, as noted earlier greater use of neuroscience assessments as well as hormonal, psychophysiological, and neurological measures to index acculturation-related stress can be usefully added to the mix of methods for understanding immigration-related issues (see Fuligni, 2015).

Is Poverty or Immigrant Status the Cause of Stress?

In many studies of the immigration process, it is challenging to disentangle the reasons for the difficulties encountered by new immigrants. Multiple factors may contribute to poor adaptation including language barriers, unfamiliarity with norms and customs, discrimination, and poverty. One promising design strategy for addressing this issue is Calzada and colleagues' study (this volume) that compared Dominican Republic mothers of varying levels of income in both the United States and the Dominican Republic. By using this strategy, these investigators were able to demonstrate the separate effects of immigration, independent of the challenges of poverty. Other investigators could usefully adopt this approach as a way to better understand the effects of immigration. In a complementary approach, Ng and colleagues (this volume) found that immigrant Chinese mothers who moved from Mainland China were similar to Hong Kong natives in terms of self-esteem, positive emotionality, and self-efficacy, in part, due to the similarity of language and cultural traditions. However, the immigrants worried more about finances due to lower income and less full-time work than nonimmigrants. In this case, it suggests that poverty again may play a role in adaptation once the challenge of a new culture is taken into account. Together, these two types of studies are valuable ways of beginning to separate the acculturation-related stress of immigration from the

poverty-related aspects of this process. In turn, this suggests that host country policies need to provide better economic support for new immigrants even if the usual tasks of familiarizing oneself with the new culture are less daunting.

Policy Concerns: Research and Policy as a Package Deal

One of the aims of this volume and others in this series is to underscore the policy implications of research on immigrant families as a guide to improving the lives of families and children. As the contributors note in their chapters, research and policy are no longer viewed as separate, but instead mutually inform each other. In contrast to earlier eras, researchers are no longer treating policy implications of their scholarship as an afterthought. However, we still have a distance to go. Researchers often fail to articulate the policy implications of their findings in their publications. Policy makers often view research findings as too qualified in their conclusions to serve as reliable guides for designing policies on behalf of immigrants (Parke & Leidy, 2013). Efforts to make research findings more accessible and relevant to policy makers are needed to bridge the gap between research and policy.

A valuable step would be comparative global studies not just of immigration policies in different countries but across cities and across continents. Many studies have identified differences in policies concerning rules and restrictions governing immigration into a country and the types of immigrant-friendly policies in those countries (Dell-Olio, 2004; Moore, 2010).

As Martiniello (2013) noted, "there are huge differences between welfare provisions and the social security systems in the United States and in the EU even though a process of relative convergence has probably started. In some EU countries, unemployment benefits are provided for a long period of time. Access to health services is easier and cheaper than in the United States. The same holds for access to education from preschool to university. These differences have an impact both on the economic integration of immigrants and also on the attitude of the local populations toward immigrants. In the EU more than in the United States, immigrants are often unfairly accused of taking advantage of the welfare system" (p. 18–19).

We know less about the impact of these variations in policy on the immigration experience and the resulting adaptation of immigrants across cities, countries, and continents. However, some recent work comparing mortality rates across countries with variations in the degree of supportive/nonsupportive policies toward immigrants suggests that this could be a valuable approach (Ikram, Malmusi, Juel, Rey, & Kunst, 2015). These natural experiments in international policy would be useful approaches to assessing the effects of policies not only on mortality, but on parenting processes and child outcomes as well as on the relative success of their integration into the culture of the host country.

Other types of international policy experiments can be instructive. Natural immigration experiments such as the adoption of infants reared in Russian or Romanian

orphanages by North American or European families or refugee immigrant children in foster care allow tests of social policy decisions that may affect immigrant children's welfare. Simultaneously, these natural experiments allow evaluation of theory concerning the effects of childhood trauma on children's adjustment in different social contexts (Zeanah et al., 2005).

Greater effort is needed to truly integrate research and policy spheres, from our graduate training to our journal editorial policies. In our enthusiasm to train competent generations of young scientists, we often lose sight of the larger goal of our scientific efforts, namely, to not only understand process issues but to inform and guide policy makers as well. We need to teach graduate students that the research enterprise and the policy process are "a package deal" rather than separate domains. This would be a step toward viewing research and policy as both equally valuable and avoid the assumption that policy and applied aspects of our work are somehow inferior to basic science efforts.

Graduate students need to learn about the constraints of real-world research as well as how they can ask the types of questions in their own research that are applicable to policy makers. Along these lines, the journal and book publishing enterprises needs to recognize that applied research reports, despite their limitations, still merit publication. While in some applied settings, a researcher may have control over features of the study design, in many cases the researcher cannot control specific aspects of the study design; nonetheless, the results are still meaningful. Finally, authors should be required to note the policy implications of their research as part of the publication process. Recognition of the interdependence between research and policy is an imperative as we move forward as a science and as societies.

Final Thoughts

As this volume so clearly shows, we have made significant progress in our search to understand the effects of immigration on children and families. The range of contexts and countries that are represented underscore the international scope of this issue.

The challenge is to continue this cross-country focus with the goal of discovering through these international comparisons not only what factors and conditions facilitate better adaptation among immigrant families but also what international policies are most successful in assisting immigrants in successfully settling in their new settings. Only by learning from our partner countries across the globe will we be able to collectively move forward in both better understanding of the immigration process and in easing the burden of immigrant families as well.

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