

**SOCIAL IMPACTS OF CHINESE SCHOOLS ON CHINESE AMERICAN
PARENTING**

by

Shan Jiang

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Human Development and Family Studies

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ABSTRACT

This study explored relationships between Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting to address the literature gap in Chinese American parenting. Two principle research questions were the foci of the study: 1) What were the relationships between Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting practices in the contexts of culture and social structure? and 2) How did Chinese American mothers make meaning of Chinese schools for parenting purposes? Twenty-five Chinese American mothers from three Chinese schools in the state of Alabama were surveyed in face-to-face interviews to address the research questions. During the interviews, these mothers recounted their experiences with Chinese schools. They shared their views on the social meanings of Chinese schools. They described how Chinese schools impacted their parenting strategies, childrearing ideologies, and family functioning.

Multiple common themes emerged in the contexts of parenting practices and the impacts of Chinese schools on parenting. The Chinese American mothers created a rich cognitive environment for their children to grow in. They had low levels of satisfaction with their children's academic attainment, despite their children's high achievements. These mothers constantly adjusted their parenting strategies under the influences of two cultures. They universally felt the influences of racial discrimination, although to different extents. Chinese schools carried multiple social

functions for the local Chinese American families. The schools provided to these Chinese American mothers strong social support, brought them various social resources, and acted as a bridge to larger society. The schools had dual roles for language-teaching and passing-down cultural values. Both roles of the schools led to positive developmental outcomes for the enrolled children.

Throughout their interviews, the participants demonstrated their strong desire to integrate with broader society, while preserving their cultural heritage. The participants felt a strong need for social support, as they were constrained with limited social networks and resources. Through language learning, cultural events, and social interactions at the schools, these mothers and their children established a sense of belonging. Subsequently, their ethnic identity was enhanced.

The current study examined a significant contextual factor in affecting Chinese American parenting, Chinese schools. It extended the current research scope in the literature by linking the social functions of Chinese schools with Chinese American parenting. The findings have broad implications for studying parenting practices of the Chinese American population, as well as those of other ethnic groups.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The current study aimed to understand an important factor in influencing Chinese American parenting, Chinese schools. As the central hubs of the Chinese American community, Chinese schools carry both symbolic value and practical meanings for Chinese Americans. This study explored Chinese schools as an important communal force in supporting Chinese American parenting. The measurements were collected through in-depth qualitative interviews. The impacts of Chinese schools on parenting in the bi-cultural context were one major area of investigation. The roles of Chinese schools in buffering against discrimination were explored. This study was conducted to promote community-based parenting education programs, which were sparse in the field for Chinese Americans.

Chinese Americans are the oldest Asian ethnic group in the United States. The first Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States during the California Gold Rush around the 1840s as low-wage mine laborers. For a century and a half, Chinese immigrants experienced tremendous sociopolitical changes influencing their legal status, family life, and economic conditions (Wong, 2006). The Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the first law targeting a specific ethnic group, practically stopped Chinese immigration to the United States (Kilty, 2008). The National Origins Quota Law of

1924, an even stricter law, excluded Asians from immigrating to the United States. Only after the passing of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and the Vietnam War in the 1970s, did new waves of Chinese immigrants begin flowing into the country (Kilty, 2008; Pew, 2013).

Demographics of Chinese immigrants have changed dramatically from poor laborers in the past to highly educated professionals in the present. Their residences have shifted from cramped Chinatown communities to affluent suburbs. Their reasons for immigration have changed from escaping poverty to seeking better opportunities in education or work. The growth rate of the Asian American population has surpassed that of the Hispanics since 2009 (Pew, 2013). Asian Americans have become the largest new immigrant group in the United States (Pew, 2013). Chinese Americans are the largest subgroup among Asian Americans (Pew, 2013). Chinese Americans represent about 24% of the adult Asian American population (Pew, 2013).

Chinese Americans have some unique demographic characteristics. About 74% of Chinese Americans are foreign-born (Pew, 2013). Many of their offspring, the second-generation Chinese Americans, have not reached adulthood yet. More than half of the first-generation Chinese Americans speak English fluently. Over 60% of them are married. Among those who came to the United States at the turn of the twenty-first century, over half of them have higher education degrees (Pew, 2013). Two U.S. states, California and New York, have about half of the Chinese American population. About one third, 31%, of Chinese Americans live in California and 20% in New York (Zong & Batalova, 2017).

Although Western and Northeastern states are still frequent destinations for Chinese Americans and immigrants, the new trend was that Chinese Americans start to spread all over the country (Pew, 2013). The old ethnic enclave, Chinatown, is no longer attractive to new immigrants. Many Chinese Americans reside in so-called “ethnoburbs” (Li, 2009), which are suburban neighborhoods with middle-class and upper-middle-class families of diverse ethnic backgrounds. The Central and Southern states have the smallest Chinese American populations (US Census Bureau, 2017).

The literature on Chinese Americans mainly investigated two types of phenomena: high academic attainment and Chinese-style parenting. Chinese American parenting with its unique characteristics drew attention in the general public as well as in scholarly work. Popular books, such as *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (Chua, 2011), sparked a surge of interest in Chinese American parenting. Early researchers intended to reveal correlations between Chinese American parenting and school performance (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Baumrind’s classic parenting typology was often applied. As such, misalignment between Chinese American parenting and child outcomes was observed (Chao, 1994). Under the so-called authoritarian Chinese parenting, studies reported that Chinese American children, regardless of family socioeconomic status, often outperformed their counterparts from other ethnic groups including African American, Hispanic, and even European American students in school (Hsin & Xie, 2014). Such misalignment suggested missing factors in play. Culture was examined as the first and the foremost factor to explain such

misalignment (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Ji, 2007; Lin & Fu, 1990). Other factors such as the duration of stay in the United States and immigration status were also studied (Chao & Kanatsu, 2008; Cheah, Leung, Tahseen, & Schultz, 2009).

The ecological framework suggests that we need to take a broader view to examine factors that may have impacts on Chinese Americans' parenting practices. Extra-familial factors such as ethnic communities and social structure are potentially important. However, these factors have not been investigated systematically in the parenting literature. As a core communal force, Chinese schools carry significant meanings for Chinese American parents and children. Limited studies investigated the Chinese schools' functions as supplemental education (Zhou, 2009; Zhou & Li, 2003; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Social functions were briefly discussed as "spillover effects" from the educational foci of Chinese schools in Zhou (2009), whose main objectives were not to focus on the social functions. The mentioned social benefits in Zhou (2009) included transmitting accessible resources to their members, generating social capital, and empowering ethnic individuals. Several studies covered different aspects of the Chinese school functions. For example, Chao (1996) and Liu (2010) surveyed the overall status of Chinese schools in the United States. Li (2005) analyzed parents' roles in supporting Chinese school operations. Thorpe (2011) reviewed roles of leaders in Chinese schools in the United Kingdom. Francis, Archer, & Mau (2010) used secondary qualitative data to understand the impacts of Chinese schools on

education and social identity in the United Kingdom. However, none of these studies extensively examined social functions of Chinese schools in the United States.

Research Questions

The following topics were investigated: parenting practices and strategies of Chinese American mothers, support from Chinese schools, parental involvement in Chinese schools, and ecological impacts on parenting in the current study. Two principle research questions of the study were:

- 1) What were the relationships between Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting practices in the contexts of culture and social structure?
- 2) How did Chinese American mothers make meaning of Chinese schools for parenting purposes?

Theoretical Frameworks

Acculturation theories and ecological theory were used in this study. Acculturation theories illustrated how Chinese Americans negotiated parenting practices and strategies based on their level of acculturation. Acculturation theories helped explain impacts of acculturation on family relationships and child development. Ecological theory shed light on the impacts of multiple factors on the parenting practices of Chinese Americans. Specifically, ecological theory stressed the

reciprocal forces between individuals and their direct environment, the latter of which was the Chinese community in the current study.

Acculturation Theories

Acculturation theories have been evolving during the past several decades. The assimilation theory has been a prominent sociological framework in studying immigration and immigrants' social behaviors (Zhou, 1997). The classic assimilation theory states that all ethnic groups follow a natural process to merge into mainstream culture and to gain equal access to the opportunities in the host society. Immigrants discard the culture of origin and behavior patterns in favor of the new ones in the receiving country. "The process moves inevitably and irreversibly toward assimilation" (Zhou, 1997, p. 3). The theory states a linear, unified, and unidirectional direction that all immigrants follow in the host society (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Assimilation has been referred to as a "melting pot" to describe what immigrants should do and what the host society expects them to do in their new environment (Zhou, 1997). The assimilation theory treats distinctive ethnic characteristics as disadvantages including ethnic languages, cultural values, and other traits (Zhou, 1997). It points to a unidirectional channel for social mobility and social acceptance in host countries.

The classic assimilation theory has been challenged by immigrants' adaptation outcomes. For example, immigrants who had a higher educational level and settled in

a middle-class neighborhood were often better off than those who had low education and assimilated well in inner-city ghettos (Zhou, 1997). Pre-immigration conditions, the duration of stay in the receiving country, and the immigrants' personalities influenced their adaptation in different ways. Divergent, multidimensional, nonlinear, and diverse paths overturned the concepts in the classic assimilation theory (Zhou, 1997).

The multicultural perspective argues that members of an ethnic minority group should be treated as part of the American population, not foreigners or outsiders (Berry, 1997; Schwartz et al., 2010). Their cultures are integrative segments of American society, not separated from it (Zhou, 1997). Berry's acculturation model is among the most prevalent ones in the field. Acculturation occurs when an individual enters into a new cultural environment. An individual assimilates, adapts, and adopts the values, beliefs, and lifestyles of the host country (Berry, 2005).

Berry's model reveals how cultural orientation, such as bi-culturalism or multiculturalism, affects an individual's psychological adjustment and behavioral changes in a new cultural setting. The model depicts how an individual's actions correspond to cultural influences and expectations. The model describes four adaptation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1997). The separation strategy refers to the case where an individual maintains his/her culture of origin, but avoids interactions with others in a new cultural setting. Marginalization refers to minimum interactions with both his/her own culture and the

host culture. In this case, immigrants neither maintain the culture of origin nor pursue involvement in the new culture. Individuals practicing assimilation strategies are often fully involved in the host culture, but avoid the culture of origin. Integration is an acculturation option, where some degree of cultural integrity is maintained. In this case, individuals seek to participate as an integral part of larger social networks (Berry, 2005).

Berry (2005) argued that reciprocal and bi-directional acculturation exists between immigrants and residents in the host country. Both groups of people inevitably experience acculturation, especially in today's multicultural society. Both the host and ethnic minority groups may maintain, modify, or change their ideologies during cultural contacts (Coll & Pachter, 2002). The effectiveness of intercultural interactions is largely determined by socio-cultural ideologies and openness toward multiculturalism in the dominant culture (Berry, 2005). The theory further states that globalization can be viewed "simply as contact that provides the starting point for acculturation" (Berry, 2008, p. 5). This refinement of the theory emphasizes the inevitability of acculturation globally and its impacts on every individual involved.

Berry (2008) stated that:

Assimilation when sought by the dominant group is termed the Melting Pot. When Separation is forced by the dominant group it is Segregation. Marginalisation, when imposed by the dominant group it is Exclusion. Finally, Integration, when diversity is a widely-accepted feature of the society as a whole, including by all the various ethnocultural groups, it is called Multiculturalism. (p. 5)

Acculturation has been linked with both positive and negative outcomes. Some studies, for example, Crane, Ngai, Larson, & Hafen (2005), correlated high acculturation levels with high school performance. Salant & Lauderdale (2003) reported that acculturation might increase help-seeking and use of professional health services. Meanwhile, acculturative stress was highlighted in the studies of Berry (1997), Qin, Rak, Rana, & Donnellan (2012), and Yeh (2003), as a major factor that affected parenting strategies and practices, parent-child relationships, and family communication. Acculturative stress is a reaction in response to life events in the experiences of acculturation, as well as to psychological difficulties to adapt in a new culture, customs, and social norms (Hernandez, 2009). Acculturative stress mainly comes from the process of acculturation across two cultures after immigration. Acculturation gaps often exist between parents and children in the process of psychological, sociocultural, and economic adaptation (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005). Acculturative stress may be caused by dissonant acculturation paces between parents and children. Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon (2009) discovered that acculturation gaps between the father-adolescent dyads in Chinese American families resulted in unsupportive parenting practices and depressive symptoms in adolescents.

Yeh (2003) expanded the understanding of the acculturation model by arguing that bicultural competence can benefit individuals through improved communication skills and knowledge in two cultures. Such cultural adjustment can help immigrants alleviate mental distress from culture clashes. Investigating inner-city Asian American

adolescents' depression issues, Wong (2000) found that cultural orientation predicted depression among the target group. Culturally separated adolescents experienced a higher level of depression than the assimilated ones. Integration was viewed as the best psychologically adaptive pattern (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). Integrated individuals experienced less acculturative stress and anxiety. They demonstrated fewer psychological problems than those who were assimilated, separated, and marginalized. Marginalized individuals suffered from the most psychological distress, including problems with self-identification and cultural alienation, which adversely affected their self-esteem (Hernandez, 2009; Farver et al., 2002).

Implications of Acculturation Theories

Acculturation occurs through intercultural interactions at each level among individuals, communities, and larger societies for ethnic groups. Chinese American parents and children experience significant impacts of acculturation on family functioning, parenting practices, and behavioral and psychological adaptation during the acculturation process (Coll & Pachter, 2002). Differences between individualistic cultures and collectivistic cultures may magnify acculturative stress and affect the selection of acculturation strategies. Parenting strategies and child outcomes are largely determined by how well they adapt in multiple socio-cultural contexts.

Ecological Theory

Ecological theory illustrates intra-familial and extra-familial factors in affecting parenting practices among Chinese American parents. The ecological environment can be conceived as a set of nested structures, where the functioning of one layer affects others (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Individuals, including children and parents, live at the core of the multiple systems. These multiple interconnected and overlapped contexts determine the course of child development and parenting practices (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). Children and parents are not isolated from each other in the system. Rather, they are embedded in these web-like interacting contexts. The immediate context of the ecological system is the microsystem. Face-to-face interactions occur in this immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Individuals receive direct influences from family, peers, and school in this layer. Parent-child interactions, parental discipline, and family communication all occur in this layer. These interactions have direct impacts on parenting strategies, as well as child developmental outcomes. The link between two or more settings containing children and parents makes up the mesosystem. In this system, the relations between home and school or home and community are the foci (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Parental school and home involvement, such as homework supervision, school volunteering, and participation in school events are examples in this system.

In the exosystem layer, at least one setting does not include the individual, but has indirect influences on that person. For example, the relationship between home

and parents' workplace has indirect influences on a child, but may affect parenting practices and parents' behaviors. Examples include the parents' work schedule and flexibility, as well as the employing company benefits related to childrearing. The macrosystem encompasses all the sub-systems. Culture, political forces, economic environment, and social norms are the major components of the macrosystem. Parenting strategies and practices are largely determined by the societal forces including the political environment, cultural norms and values, and economic conditions (Coll & Pachter, 2002). The chronosystem describes the change and continuity over time not only on individuals' characteristics, but also on the environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). For instance, new technology and novel social trends have had significant influences on childrearing ideology for recent decades. Therefore, parenting philosophies evolve with these changes, while maintaining a certain stability. These interdependent and interacting systems determine the developmental trajectory of children, as well as parenting practices (Bronfenbrenner, 1986).

Implications of Ecological Theory

Familial and parenting factors play central roles in exposing children to, or buffering them from, influences of environmental factors (Dwairy et al., 2009). Familial factors such as family income, parental education level, and family immigration status are main components of family social capital. These have profound impacts on parenting practices and child outcomes (Kao, 2004). Parenting factors

including parental warmth, discipline, family communication quality, and parental school and home involvement have critical impacts on a child's school performance and psychological adjustment (Chen, Chen, & Zheng, 2012). Community support and networks may generate extra-familial and intra-familial social capital. Such social capital is extremely vital for Chinese American parents. A large percentage of Chinese Americans are new immigrants who often have a weak connection with local communities. They lack social resources and networks. Ethnic communities may provide tangible and intangible support, such as information on employment and child education, emotional support, and a sense of belonging, for both parents and children (Bankston & Zhou, 2002).

Contextual factors in the macrosystem influence parenting strategies and practices as well. Cultures of origin and the host country have impacts on Chinese Americans' parenting beliefs and practices. Acculturation across the collectivistic and individualistic cultures produces challenges as well as opportunities for Chinese American parents and children. For example, bicultural strategies such as parental warmth, inductive reasoning, and close parental monitoring may alleviate dissonant acculturation in Chinese American families (Weaver & Kim, 2008). Political and economic environments also have significant impacts on Chinese Americans. Social stratification leads to social injustice, discrimination, racism, and prejudice (Coll & Pachter, 2002). Immigration policies may promote or hinder cultural diversity and sociological adaptation (Berry, 2005).

Acculturation theories and ecological theory can guide the direction of research. Both theories enrich our understanding of the topics in the current study. Acculturation theories stress the importance of cultural adjustment, adaptation, and negotiation. In the process, acculturation strategies, as well as acculturative stress, affect Chinese Americans. Ecological theory considers a wide spectrum of factors that can affect parenting practices and child outcomes for the current study. It provides a broad framework for examining societal forces and intra-familial factors that are important to parenting and child outcomes.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literature on the two topics that are essential to the current study, Chinese American parenting and Chinese schools. Classic parenting typology and mainstream parenting practices in the United States are also introduced.

Various aspects of parenting have been investigated in the scholarly fields of sociology, child development and family studies, developmental psychology, anthropology, and education. Many of research results have been incorporated in the field to support positive parenting, family functioning, and child development. For example, governments around the globe launched various parenting initiatives. The United Kingdom had programs such as the Parenting Fund and Sure Start (Edwards & Gillies, 2004). The Positive Parenting Program in Australia, also known as Triple Ps, demonstrated its effectiveness to “promote their children’s social competence and manage common developmental and behavioral problems” (Sanders, Turner, & Markie-Dadds, 2002, p. 1).

The history of parenting intervention programs in the United States dates back to the 1920s (Shaffer, Kotchick, Dorsey, & Forehand, 2001). Early studies on youth antisocial behavior concluded that “family environment, and parenting practices in particular, was perhaps the most important predictor of delinquent behaviors” (Shaffer

et al., 2001, p. 1). Parents were the primary targets for the intervention programs. Many programs achieved effective outcomes in promoting positive parenting behaviors and supporting children's socio-emotional development. However, most of these parenting programs targeted European American families. Naturally, the methodology was designed for this population (Shaffer et al., 2001). Parenting studies and intervention programs for ethnic minorities were limited.

Parenting practices of ethnic minority groups still deserve further investigations, although the recent years see steady increases in the academic studies in this direction. A clear deficiency in the research literature exists for minority groups. For example, parenting studies on African American families often focused on low-income families. Families in other socioeconomic statuses were rarely examined for this population (McAdoo, 2002). Investigation on social support in African American parenting mainly focused on kinship. Studies on ethnic communal support were very limited (McAdoo, 2002). Latino families in the existing parenting studies were mainly described in "problem-focused research" based on inner-city samples (Harwood, Leyendecker, Carlson, Asencio, & Miller, 2002, p. 22). Existing measures for European Americans were often applied to this population. For example, Knight, Tein, Shell, & Roosa (1992) examined several parenting measures on parental behaviors, parenting practices, and family interactions. These measures were developed based on middle-class European Americans. Their findings showed a poor model fit on hostile control and problem communication subscales among Hispanic

children. Knight et al. (1992) suggested that the “cross-ethnic measurement equivalence” was not guaranteed and, thus, the validity of these studies was jeopardized. Such ill usage of samples or measures had negative effects, enhancing negative stereotyping, and leading to public misunderstandings on minority groups.

Parenting studies on Asian Americans, specifically Chinese Americans, overwhelmingly emphasized the relationship between parenting practices and academic achievement (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Culture, as a significant factor, was analyzed thoroughly in a series of studies (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Ji, 2007; Lin & Fu, 1990). Important developmental characteristics, such as psychological well-being, socialization, and peer relationships, were rarely discussed in relation to parenting. Some concepts derived from Chinese culture were extracted, for example in Chao (1994), to understand Chinese American parenting. However, social support and stratification, which were discussed for African Americans and Latinos, were missing in studies of Chinese American parenting.

The literature review here includes two sub-sections. In the first sub-section, classic parenting typology and its usage in Western societies are discussed. Chinese American parenting with its unique characteristics is examined. Important factors such as culture, social capital, and social stratification and their impacts on parenting practices are discussed in depth. In the second sub-section, Chinese schools, which are

the main social agency and the major source of support for Chinese Americans, are examined. Studies on the impacts of Chinese schools are surveyed as well.

Literature Review on Parenting

Parenting among European Americans was often considered as the benchmark in studying ethnic minority parenting practices. Baumrind (1971)'s classic typology was often applied. In the following sections, applications of Baumrind's parenting typology to ethnic minority groups and their results are presented. Factors in affecting parenting practices in Chinese American families are discussed in detail. These factors included culture, social capital, and social stratification. Comparisons between Chinese American parenting with other ethnic groups are discussed. The summary of the literature on Chinese American parenting is given.

Parenting in Western Societies

Primary parenting purposes are universal across cultures. They were described in three different levels, which were first to ensure infant survival and growth, then to promote children's and adolescents' competence in social contexts, and finally to develop a child into a self-sufficient adult (Coll & Pachter, 2002; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Core tasks of parenting involved supporting children to function well and helping them learn skills for self-development (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). These parenting objectives were universal, although strategies and processes were decided by the socio-cultural contexts that parents and children were embedded in (Edwards & Gillies, 2004; Raj & Raval, 2013; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008).

Middle-class European American parenting was often considered as the “norm” of parenting practices in the United States in early scholarly literature as well as in the public view (Raj & Raval, 2013). Many parenting studies focused on European Americans and how their parenting styles and practices affected developmental outcomes, such as school performance, behavior control, and family relationships (Kaufmann et al., 2000).

Baumrind (1971) was the first to systematically classify parenting into four general styles, authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglecting. Authoritative parents provided a warm, rational, consistent, and non-punitive disciplinary environment through positive parent-child interactions. Such parents had firm rules on controlling children’s problematic behaviors, but they utilized reasoning and problem-solving practices while respecting children’s opinions (Baumrind, 1971). Authoritative parents valued both autonomy and independence at the same time. They encouraged children to speak out their problems and help them solve the problems based on the diverse needs of each child (Baumrind, 1971). In comparison, authoritarian parenting stressed obedience and absolute discipline standards (Baumrind, 1971). Parents used punishment and control to ensure that their children behaved in the way they preferred. Authoritarian parenting was associated with low levels of warmth, harsh discipline, and inconsistency. Permissive parents used reasoning and explaining to convey family rules and responsibilities, but they did not consistently sustain these parenting standards. Permissive parenting had a high level of responsiveness to

children's requests, but a low level of requirement for children's behaviors (Baumrind, 1971). Parents in the neglecting category often ignored the child's developmental needs in emotional and physical areas. They might not use harsh discipline as authoritarian parents do. They showed the lowest level of parental warmth and responsiveness (Baumrind, 1971).

The developmental outcomes of these four parenting styles were divergent since parenting practices had direct impacts on the academic performance, socio-emotional adjustment, and psychological well-being of children and adolescents (Chen et al., 2012). Authoritative parenting promoted positive social behaviors and psychological functioning as well as a consistent social competence (Chen et al., 2012; Kaufmann et al., 2000). In contrast, authoritarian parenting often led to deviant social behaviors and socio-emotional maladjustments, including anxiety, internalizing problems, and externalizing symptoms due to excessive control and monitoring from the parents. Permissive parenting provided an uncontrolled environment, where impulsive behaviors were often common, and self-regulation was absent. Neglecting parenting adversely affected both school attainment and psychological functioning. Aunola, Stattin, & Nurmi (2000) examined relationships between parenting styles and adolescent school achievement. Adolescents who received authoritative parenting showed more adaptive and fewer passive attitudes toward learning. Authoritative parents provided an encouraging and engaging environment for learning and growth. With positive support, these parents set appropriate challenges to promote self-esteem

and emotional regulation. In contrast, adolescents with parents who practiced the other three parenting styles displayed maladaptive behaviors with more passive attitudes and fears of failure. Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, & Keehn (2007) concluded that if both mothers and fathers practiced authoritative parenting, surveyed adolescents reported a higher level of self-esteem and life satisfaction. Maternal permissive parenting was associated with adolescent depressive symptoms.

Baumrind (2005) linked her parenting typology with adolescent autonomy. She pointed out that responsiveness and demandingness were the key concepts in parenting. Authoritative parenting had high responsiveness, high demandingness, and low intrusiveness. These parents had “firm behavioral control and monitoring with warmth and autonomy support” (p. 3). Adolescents who had authoritative parents were the most competent and the least maladjusted. Baumrind (2005) suggested that the parenting style of a parent was not static over time. Continuity and evolution of parenting styles might occur at the same time. Authoritative and democratic parents were more likely to be flexible in regulating a child’s behaviors than authoritarian, permissive, or neglecting parents.

Application of Baumrind’s Parenting Typology to Ethnic Minorities

Early studies on parenting of ethnic minority groups applied an assimilation “melting pot” model, which assumed that everyone agreed upon the same societal principles and ideologies after entering the United States (Zhou, 1997). Based on

parenting practices of the middle-class European Americans, early scholars viewed ethnic groups' parenting practices as deficient and dysfunctional (Coll & Pachter, 2002). Studying parenting without considering its socio-cultural roots was inadequate because the cultural background influenced social norms and beliefs and in turn, influenced human behavior (Coll & Pachter, 2002; Kotchick & Forehand, 2002).

These early studies failed to recognize that ethnic minority parenting was developed in a unique cultural, economic, and philosophical environment (Padmawidjaja & Chao, 2010). For example, parents from Latino families in the United States stressed close family interactions and cooperation, whereas middle-class nuclear European American families emphasized competition and individual achievement through social interactions (Baca-Zinn & Wells, 2000). Conclusions drawn based on mainstream ideology are problematic in capturing the essence of parenting among ethnic minority groups (Chao, 1994). Chinese American parenting was often viewed as authoritarian with high control and monitoring. Such a view should predict poor school performances and behavioral problems. However, high academic achievement of Chinese American students directly refuted such a view. The classic parenting typology failed to consider the cultural and contextual factors in studying ethnic minority populations (Chao, 1994; Ochocka & Janzen, 2008).

Benchmarking based on mainstream ideology may mislead field studies, policy-making, and effective intervention. Such benchmarking included using measures drawn from middle-class European American samples, applying predictors

of child outcomes by a certain parenting style, and assessing the appropriateness of parenting strategies based on the standards of the dominating culture. Lau (2012) pointed out that as an important parenting strategy in Western society, praise of child's behaviors might achieve improved trust between parents and children. However, this strategy did not work well among Chinese American parents in Lau (2012)'s study, as Chinese American families did not commonly use praise. Praise was considered as a pull-back force in Chinese culture since the child might stop working hard and become self-contented on the current achievements. Instead, parental encouragement motivated a child to work harder for better outcomes. Lau (2012) showed that combining encouragement with praise was an efficient technique in promoting desired behaviors among children.

Parenting Practices in Chinese American Families

Chinese Americans practice a distinct parenting style, different from not only other ethnic groups in the United States, but also Chinese people in mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The unique characteristics of Chinese Americans are listed as follows. First, Chinese Americans had a polarized distribution of education levels and income. A large number of Chinese Americans were new immigrants who arrived in the United States during the last two decades. Unlike earlier Chinese immigrants who served as low paid laborers with limited education, new Chinese immigrants had higher educational levels, worked in professional fields, and enjoyed a higher income than average Americans (Pew, 2013). At the same time, the overall Chinese American

population had a relatively high poverty rate among Asian American subgroups and in the general population. Secondly, across different socioeconomic statuses, Chinese Americans universally held a strong belief in the value of education (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Ji, 2007). Education was considered as the best and often the only way to achieve upward social mobility. Thirdly, since about 74% Chinese Americans were foreign-born (Pew, 2013) and came to the United States after completing college, their beliefs, ideologies, and value systems were shaped by Chinese culture. Meanwhile, they modified their belief systems when they adapted to living in the United States. For example, Ji (2007) reported that Chinese American parents, including those from the mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong modified, while largely maintaining, their ideologies about parenting and family relationships. They held on to some traditional values on education, filial piety, and family power structure. Meanwhile, they accepted some Western ideas, for example, the expressiveness of love to children, parent-child open communication, and use of reasoning to handle problematic behaviors.

It is noted that parenting styles and practices are two different concepts (Xu, 2007). Parenting style mainly refers to the ideology and philosophy parents hold, including attitudes toward children. Parenting practices describe the actualized practices in a specific environment or circumstance targeting certain children's behaviors (Xu, 2007). Therefore, parenting styles have indirect influences on child outcomes while parenting practices often exert direct impacts (Xu, 2007).

It is often inappropriate to fit the parenting practices of Chinese Americans into Baumrind's parenting typology. For example, Chinese parenting was traditionally viewed as an authoritarian parenting style with a high level of parental control and low level of parental warmth, at least on the surface (Chao, 1994). However, a number of studies revealed that individual parents customized their strategies towards individual children at different times for diverse behaviors (Chan, Penner, Mah, & Johnston, 2010; Cheah et al., 2009; Chen et al., 2012). Cheah et al. (2009) and Chen et al. (2012) both reported high responsiveness and warmth as well as moderate control on their children among surveyed Chinese American mothers.

Chinese American parenting was often studied in comparison with parenting in European Americans families. Such comparison was able to illustrate the difference and similarities between Chinese Americans and European Americans. Comparisons with Chinese people in mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong were also conducted (Chiu, 1987; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Jose, Huntsinger, Huntsinger, & Liaw, 2000; Lin & Fu, 1990). Chinese parenting had clear differences with European American parenting in terms of control, parental warmth, and autonomy. Chinese parents and Chinese American parents shared some childrearing ideologies and parenting beliefs. However, Chinese American parents fell somewhere in between Chinese parents and European American parents in the parenting spectrum.

The literature on Chinese American parenting discussed multiple parenting areas such as parental warmth, discipline, parental expectations, parent-child

communication, and parent-child relationships. Important factors affecting parenting practices and strategies were examined. These factors included culture, social capital, social stratification, and other factors such as the age of children, family socioeconomic status, and the duration of stay in the United States. In the following sections, these factors are surveyed to present an overview of Chinese American parenting research.

Cultural Factors

Cultural components such as beliefs, values, norms, practices, attitudes, and ideologies significantly influenced behaviors of individuals who were embedded in it (Coll & Pachter, 2002; Lerner & Ashman, 2006). Cultural differences between Eastern and Western societies, specifically on parenting and childrearing ideologies, had major impacts on Chinese Americans and immigrants during the immigration and acculturation processes (Lin & Fu, 1990). Originated from capitalism as an economic theory in Western society, individualism manifested itself as multifaceted values such as independence, autonomy, self-esteem, and self-expression (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Individualistic culture on parenting stressed personal choices, through which children pursued their goals instead of their parents'. Learning was for personal fulfillment with internal motivation. Self-esteem was highly valued in individualistic culture in which children were supposed to "feel good about themselves" (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Meanwhile, children were expected to achieve their full

potential as an individual. All these individualistic values ensured a child's future success in society (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008).

Chinese Cultural Beliefs on Parenting

In contrast, the collectivistic Chinese culture emphasized interdependence and interconnection of family kinships, family harmony, and cohesion (Fan, 2000; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). According to French sociologist Emile Durkheim's construct, collectivism referred to relationships that were built based on common bonds and obligations (Triandis, 2001). The needs and interests of larger groups often proceeded over those of individuals (Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002). According to Coll & Pachter (2002), the collectivistic culture was prevalent among ethnic minority groups in the United States such as African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans. Family kinship and support were important social components in the lives of African Americans. "Familism" was highly valued by Latino families. It referred to "feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity towards members of the family, as well as to the notion of the family as an extension of self" (Coll & Pachter, 2002, p. 27).

Family interdependence was essential to family functioning in Chinese American families. It was closely related to family obligations, parenting expectations, and parental roles (Costigan & Su, 2008). Taking care of elderly and younger family members, sharing household chores, spending time with family, repayment to parents for their care in early years, and sacrifice for offspring were important obligations in

communities with Chinese heritage (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Costigan & Su, 2008; Fuligni et al., 2002).

Core beliefs of Chinese societies were rooted in Confucianism developed in ancient China about two thousand years ago. Collectivism was a significant component of the ideology of Confucian societies (Fan, 2000). As the core of traditional Chinese culture, Confucianism emphasized hierarchical relationships such as father and son, husband and wife, and older siblings to younger siblings. A patriarchal system endorsed the elder male on the top of the hierarchical structure. Individuals at the lower social ranks paid respect and loyalty to those at higher ranks. Individuals at the top of the hierarchical pyramid were responsible for governing and caring for others (Chao, 1994; Fan, 2000). Lin & Fu (1990) reported that Confucianism was important to support traditional family values among the mainland Chinese and Chinese immigrants. These values included interdependence, filial piety, and high academic expectations.

Filial piety was considered as one of the highest moral responsibilities among Chinese people for thousands of years (Zhan & Montgomery, 2003). This core Confucian value included a wide range of behaviors. Children were supposed to treat parents with respect, obedience, and loyalty. Adult children should provide material and psychological support when parents aged (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Zhan & Montgomery, 2003). Success in school was often one of the most important parental expectations. It was a meaningful way to show filial piety toward parents in Chinese

culture (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Chen, 2013). In Chinese American families, academic excellence was important not only for children's own sake, but was also as a way to honor the family and contribute to society (Chen, 2013; Padmawidjaja & Chao, 2010). Academic success was often the most important measure that parents judged the success of a child's development, since education was considered the most important goal (Farver et al., 2002). Okagaki & Frensch (1998) compared parenting expectations on academic attainment among Asian Americans, European Americans, and Latinos. Asian Americans scored the highest in academic expectations among all three ethnic groups. Asian Americans parents were often involved in school activities and supervised their children's homework. These parents set high standards for their children's school achievement. Settles, Sheng, Zang, & Zhao (2013) reported that Chinese parents sustained high expectations on their children's academic performance. Parents invested time, effort, and financial resources in their children's education (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Pong, Hao, & Gardner, 2005). Chinese American parents acted in multiple roles including teachers, nurturers, and authority figures (Costigan & Su, 2008). Chuang, Moreno, & Su (2013) discovered that Chinese Canadian fathers had the same high involvement in their children's lives as caregivers, playmates, and nurturers as the mothers did. Chinese-Filipino fathers often represented the authority figures, stricter than the mothers (Shao, 2013). Huntsinger & Jose (2009) reported that Chinese American parents had higher levels of involvement in their children's homework than European American parents.

Culture is dynamic as it constantly evolves within its system. As Ji (2015) stated, cultural values, beliefs, and ideologies were in “rapid changes and stubborn continuities” (p. 1031). In mainland China, Chinese culture gave people their identity from generation to generation (Fan, 2000). The Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s destroyed a significant portion of Confucian doctrine in mainland China (Thompson, 2014). This disastrous event drastically changed the socio-cultural ideologies of gender roles, family relationships, educational expectations, and childrearing, for the sent-down generation and beyond. The sent-down generations were those who were sent to rural regions in their teenage years during the Cultural Revolution. These teenagers were relocated because of “the desire to alleviate urban unemployment and underemployment, the desire to cultivate Marxist ideology and communist ethics in youth, and the need to develop China’s rural areas and frontiers” (Xie, Jiang, & Greenman, 2008, p. 2).

Suffering greatly from the Culture Revolution, the sent-down generations experienced some of most drastic changes in Chinese social ideologies (Xie et al., 2008; Zhou & Hou, 1999). First, education was further strengthened as the central role of parenting. Many of the sent-down generations were deprived of opportunities to go to college. Some of them were delayed for years to attend college. Education opportunities, once lost, were appreciated even more after the Cultural Revolution. Secondly, the traditional patriarchal family structure was seriously weakened. The Chinese government denounced Confucian doctrine through sustained national

propaganda (Lu, 2004). Thirdly, women's roles changed in the family and society as a result of the anti-Confucius campaigns. Women were liberated with opportunities to work outside of the family circle (Zhou & Hou, 1999). At the same time, they were expected to take care of their husbands and children. Compared with mainland China, Chinese populations in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and elsewhere preserved more of the Chinese traditions.

The Open Door policy after the Cultural Revolution brought further changes in China during the past decades through influences of Western ideologies and economic reforms (Thompson, 2014). The boundary between individualism and collectivism were blurred (Cao, 2009). Family structure, individuals' attitudes toward life and self, individual human rights, and pedagogical ideas from Western societies were integrated into modern China (Cao, 2009; Ji, 2015; Liang, 2015). Chinese parents' appreciated independence and autonomy, as the major socialization goals, for children and adolescents in mainland China (Xu, 2007).

Some of the traditional Chinese values were preserved in contemporary China. For example, mothers were still expected to devote full-time care to their children's physical and emotional needs. This expectation remained even when Chinese women were asked to participate in both spheres of work and family (Ishii-Kuntz, 2000; Ji, 2015). Filial piety was promoted to a new height by the Chinese government due to aging of baby-boomers and insufficient health care for the elderly (Zhan &

Montgomery, 2003). Education survived as the most important parenting goal among Chinese people worldwide (Chao, 2000; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Lok-sun, 2013).

Chinese beliefs on gender roles, familial relationships, and parenting practices have a significant impact on Chinese Americans and immigrants worldwide. In addition to cultural factors of the country of origin, Chinese Americans and immigrants are influenced by American culture. In the following subsection, impacts of acculturation in shaping Chinese immigrants' values, beliefs, and ideologies are discussed.

Acculturation

Acculturation was a critical cultural force in affecting parenting practices and strategies among ethnic minority populations, including Chinese American families. Acculturation occurred when an individual faced a new cultural setting and the individual started to assimilate, adapt, and adopt the values, beliefs, and lifestyles of that culture (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005). Acculturation led to two types of changes, psychological and behavioral (Berry, 2005). Behavioral changes involved learning the language, sharing food preferences, and adopting social interaction rituals (Berry, 2005). Psychological changes referred to the changes in beliefs, norms, and values (Berry, 2005). Chinese American parents and children were often challenged by two contrasting cultures, individualistic versus collectivistic (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Tamis-

LeMonda et al., 2008). Both psychological and behavioral changes occurred among Chinese Americans during the acculturation process.

Pace and relative timing of adaptation within a family varied in a new cultural setting (Berry, 2005), leading to dissonant acculturation. Multiple studies (Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom, 2003; Kim et al., 2009; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe, 2009) revealed that children and adolescents often outpaced their parents in the acculturation process. Coll & Pachter (2002) discussed how children and adolescents in Latino families acted as interpreters and cultural brokers for their parents who had limited English proficiency and knowledge about American culture. Chinese American children and adolescents were influenced by Western ideologies on the world, life, and relationships (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). They had extended interactions with their peers at school. They were exposed to communication media, such as internet and TV, and other social contexts. These interactions heavily enhanced their values on independence, autonomy, democracy, and individualism (Buki et al., 2003). In contrast, parents of these children were mainly first-generation Chinese Americans and immigrants. They were strongly influenced by Confucian-based family values, principles, and beliefs (Weaver & Kim, 2008). The patriarchal family system, family obligation, filial piety, and family interdependence were essential (Chao, 1994). They still practiced the “Chinese” way for social interactions in American society. Qin (2008) studied two groups of high-achieving Chinese American high school students. One group of students had parents who highly valued education and set high

expectations on academic achievement. These parents maintained strict control and monitoring over their children's daily life. Parent-adolescent communication was very low. Although with academic success, these adolescents experienced psychological distress and constant family conflicts.

Chinese American parents often modified childrearing ideologies, leading to shifts in parenting roles and social meanings of parenting (Costigan & Su, 2008). Contemporary acculturation theories suggest that immigrants might hold onto their cultural heritage and accept new concepts in the new environment simultaneously (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005). Chinese culture shaped the parenting styles and practices of first-generation Chinese immigrants. At the same time, Western parenting ideologies played a role in modifying their parenting philosophies. Such modifications were often necessary for immigrants and their children to socialize effectively in a multicultural context (Costigan & Su, 2008). For example, Qin (2008) had another group of parents, which were labeled as non-distressed. Parents in this group recognized the differences of parenting ideologies between the two cultures. They adjusted their parenting strategies. Their parenting strategies contained reasoning, open communication, adjusted academic expectations, and caring about emotions of their children. Adolescents reported healthy psychological well-being, fewer family conflicts, and still high academic performance.

Acculturative stress occurred when an individual tried to adapt to a new cultural context that was different from the culture of origin (Berry, 2005).

Acculturative stressors included language barriers, identity crisis, alienation, lack of social support, and discrimination (Berry, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Forces from these two contrasting cultures harmed Chinese American children and adolescents. They constantly modified their beliefs and behaviors (Padmawidjaja & Chao, 2010). Stress from such a process often accumulated. Goto, Gee, & Takeuchi (2002) argued that predictors of discrimination included language barriers, language accent, physical appearance, and ethnicity. They were the significant stressors affecting the psychological adjustment of Chinese Americans and immigrant adolescents. Feelings of “otherness” from peers brought about negative consequences on these adolescents (Qin et al., 2012).

A subjective sense of belonging to a group or culture was considered a fundamental task for adolescent development (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992). Similar to four acculturation strategies, four types of ethnic identities emerged in the scholarly literature. They were integrated identity, separated identity, assimilated identity, and marginalized identity. Ethnic identity that an adolescent chose was largely determined by socialization goals of the family, the ethnic community, and the sociopolitical environment in the larger society (Phinney et al., 2001).

Acculturative stress might be amplified when parents and children had dissonant acculturation. Intra-familial variations in acculturation might create conflicts between parents and children (Buki et al., 2003). Dissonant acculturation was reported

to correlate strongly with ineffective social problem-solving, poor family communication, low adaptability, and low family cohesion (Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2009; Crane et al., 2005; Lee et al., 2001; Qin, 2008; Qin et al., 2012; Wu & Chao, 2005; Yeh, 2003). Dissonant acculturation significantly affected parenting skills. It was correlated with depression in adolescents and low-level engagement in social activities. Kim et al. (2009) reported that acculturation discrepancy between Chinese American parents and adolescents introduced unsupportive parenting, distant parent-child relationships, high level of adolescent depressive symptoms, and low self-esteem of adolescents. Weaver & Kim (2008) argued that biculturalism created a buffer against depression among Chinese American families. In this case, parents and children had least cultural distance because they held similar values and beliefs. Such biculturalism supported family functioning in the modern society. These parenting strategies included parental warmth, inductive reasoning, and monitoring. If parent-adolescent dyads were bicultural, for example, both speaking the same language, holding similar cultural norms for behaviors, and agreeing on the same family obligations, parent-adolescent conflicts were less intense, resulting in fewer depressive symptoms. In contrast, the Chinese-oriented parents with Americanized adolescents displayed high levels of conflicts and psychological difficulties.

Parental closeness, warmth, and intimacy, which were highly valued in Western culture, were not demonstrated in the same way in Chinese culture. Chinese American parents demonstrated love and affection toward children through

instrumental support and sacrifice, especially for education (Wu & Chao, 2005). Expressing feelings and affection openly were often considered as immature and inappropriate in the broader Asian standards of expressiveness. In Chinese culture, love to others was not expressed by words, but by actions toward the individual. Love was expressed through anticipating and meeting needs of others (Wu & Chao, 2005). It was not necessarily true that Chinese American parents showed less affection toward their children. Instead, love and respect formed the fundamental development of filial piety, family harmony, and childrearing ideology among Chinese Americans (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009). Chao (1995) reported that Chinese immigrant mothers provided love to foster close, enduring relationships with children whereas European American mothers provided love to promote self-esteem in their children. Cheah et al. (2009) concluded that Asian immigrant mothers provided love and intimacy to their preschoolers to enhance interdependence and family harmony. For example, these mothers provided comfort when their children were upset, explained consequences of children's behaviors, and spent quality time with their children.

Cultural factors were the fundamental components in discussing ethnic minority parenting. Shaped by the culture of origin and the process of acculturation, Chinese American parenting demonstrated its uniqueness in terms of parental warmth and love, responsiveness and demandingness, parent-child relationships, and family communication. Acculturative stress was identified as a significant factor that interfered with efficient parenting practices.

Social Capital

Social capital originated as an important sociological concept. It was later developed in multiple scholarly disciplines. Woolcock & Narayan (2000) discussed four perspectives on social capital in connection with economics. They represented four types of scholarly views on social capital. The communitarian view focused on the community only and considered only positive parts of social capital. The networks view connected the community with larger society. It acknowledged both positive and negative aspects of social capital. The institutional view comprised a broader macrosystem such as political, economic, legal, and institutional environments. In this perspective, social capital was considered as a dependent variable embedded in multiple layers. The synergy view combined components in both micro- and macro-systems, which included supportive relations and connection of all components.

Coleman's influential theory on social capital stated that "it is defined by its function" (Coleman, 1988, p. 98). Major components of social capital were relations and resources (Coleman, 1988). Social capital could only be obtained by exchanges among relationships in the form of resources (Coleman, 1988). The importance of social capital lied in its "creation" of human capital (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998). In other words, the increase of social capital from both within the family and outside of the family had profound effects on the accumulation of human capital for next generations. In the following subsection, social capital within the family and outside of the family is discussed.

Social Capital within Families

Each family had three types of capital including financial capital, human capital, and social capital (Coleman, 1988). Financial capital referred to a family's wealth and income. Human capital indicated the skills and capabilities that individuals possessed. Within a family, it referred to parents' education, socioeconomic status, and the cognitive environment parents provided (Kao, 2004). The accumulation and promotion of social capital might be achieved through family financial and human capital. Social capital within a family referred to parent-child relationships (Kao, 2004; Pong et al., 2005). Manifestations of this type of social capital included concepts such as expectations, obligations, trustworthiness/communication, information channels, and social norms (Coleman, 1988; Kao, 2004; Pong et al., 2005). Yosso (2005) described aspiration capital in which parents maintained high aspirations and expectations for their children's future despite current hardships. For example, Pong et al. (2005) discussed that parental expectations and norms facilitated social goals while trust between parents and children sustained parent-child relationships. All these positive family social capitals were closely connected with supportive parenting and high academic performance.

Significant investments of financial and human capital in children produced positive outcomes in child school performance. Financial resources with human capital ensured cognitively stimulating environments for children including educational resources, such as books and computers, extracurricular activities, and

parental guidance on school work (Sun, 1998). Chinese American parents tended to invest heavily in financial, human, and social capital because of their relatively high income and emphasis on education (Pong et al., 2005; Sun, 1998). A Chinese metaphor described education of children as the cultivation of young trees that needed constant “trimming” and caring (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Chinese American parents were often actively involved in supervising homework, arranging after-school activities, and tutoring course subjects to provide the best learning environment (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998). High expectations and aspirations ensured school attainment for Chinese American children. As a result, Chinese American children often outperformed their peers academically. Such a supportive social relationship enhanced positive child developmental outcomes (Sun, 1998).

Culturally oriented social capital had significant influences on family relationships, children’s school performance, and parents’ socialization goals (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Jose et al., 2000; Pong et al., 2005). This type of social capital referred to virtues that Chinese American parents held, including persistence, restraint of emotion, filial piety, intra-familial harmony, and self-improvement. In her serial study on parenting, Chao (1994, 1995, 2000, & 2003) introduced two key concepts in Chinese American parenting, training and “guan.” Training represented the way that parents taught children socially and culturally approved behaviors. “Guan” had multiple implications, containing the meaning of care, love, involvement, and discipline. Parental warmth, care, and involvement coexisted with control and

discipline. The concepts of training and “control” were considered a mixture of authoritarian and authoritative practices. They represented a combination of high parental involvement, responsiveness, and control (Chao, 1994; Chao, 2000). High levels of responsiveness and strictness in parenting behaviors often were accompanied by high levels of involvement and parental warmth (Chen et al., 2012).

These specific types of social capital in Chinese American families were beneficial to children, especially in school performance. Chinese American students often obtained high grades from elementary school to college. High school completion rates and college enrollment rates were higher than other ethnic groups (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Lim et al. (2009) suggested that parental love and warmth mediated adolescent stress symptoms and intergenerational conflicts from mismatched acculturation. Jose et al. (2000) presented that Chinese American parents practiced authoritative parenting combined with a high level of warmth and control. Children were reported to have a lower level of internalizing problems when they obtained a higher level of parental acceptance and warmth. Pong et al. (2005) reported that adolescents who had closer relationships with their parents often achieved higher GPAs. High parental expectations and trust were the most important predictors for high academic achievements.

Social capital could be harmful in some contexts (Coleman, 1988). Chinese Americans encountered challenges when passing down family social capital, for instance, cultural norms and traditions to the next generation. Kao (2004) stated that

negative forms of social capital drew less attention in academic research. It was not clear how specific Chinese acculturation factors devalued social capital for Chinese Americans. The contemporary research did not conclude whether there existed any psychological cost associated with high academic achievement due to high parental expectations.

Social Capital from Outside of Families

Social capital does not merely originate and accumulate through interactions within a family. Social capital may be obtained from outside of families including communities, schools, churches, and the workplace (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998). Resources, an important component in social capital, may be acquired from relationships between individuals and broader social contexts (Coleman, 1988). Three functions of social capital include social control, family support, and extra-familial network (Portes, 1998). Social control focused on “rule enforcement” created by linked networks among parents, schools, neighborhood, and local communities (Portes, 1998). Enforcement of rules aimed to maintain proper discipline and enhanced compliance of children. Parents might watch children in their community to ensure proper social behaviors and prevent delinquency.

Schools played a significant role in a child’s socio-emotional, cognitive, and academic development (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Kao, 2004). However, Pong et al. (2005) reported that Chinese American parents were less likely to “join a PTA,”

“volunteer at school,” “speak to teachers,” or “attend class events” than European American parents. Outstanding school performance of Chinese American students was not aligned with supposed outcomes of insufficient school involvement. While Chinese American parents did not engage in behaviors that were customary markers of parental investment in educational attainment through school-based activities, they likely engaged in high levels of behaviors that facilitated school success within the context of family interactions, as described above (Pong et al., 2005).

Extra-familial networks provided a social function beyond immediate families, offering resources and relationships in nurturing families and fostering child development (Portes, 1998). Cattell (2001) showed positive links among social networks, school performance, and aspiration in Mexican American families in a disadvantaged neighborhood. Goyette & Conchas (2002) investigated how peer groups, student-teacher relationships, and school officials provided social capital and affected school outcomes for Vietnamese and Mexican students. The students who had more hard-working friends and fewer drop-out friends often worked harder themselves. They had better study behaviors and pursued high levels of education than those with under-achieving friends in both ethnic groups. Positive student-teacher relationships were associated with strong support, high motivation of study, and close guidance. Yosso (2005) examined social capital from both social networks and community resources. Positive social networks and community resources provided

both “instrumental and emotional support” (p. 12) to their members and in turn, the ethnic communities obtained support from these social networks.

The act of immigration detached Chinese Americans from their relationships, resources, and networks in their country of origin. Although Chinese Americans, many of which were new immigrants, invested tremendously in human capital and financial capital within the family, such discontinuity of extra-familial social support limited their access to broader resources (Berry, 2005; Sun, 1998). Building new social relationships and connections in a new socio-cultural context became the necessary process to support child development and family functioning. Bankston & Zhou (2002) pointed out that volunteer-based community centers offered a link to their members by acting as an information channel, a social norm sanctuary, a connection to larger society, and a vehicle to social support. The community centers generated social capital.

Community centers for ethnic minority groups included churches, temples, ethnic organizations, and language schools (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Min, 1992; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Participation in ethnic communities compensated for disadvantages many immigrants experienced, such as low English proficiency, low communication skills with schools, low levels of involvement in public school, and unfamiliarity with local culture and customs (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Kao, 2004). For example, African Americans often had a strong affiliation with churches. Hispanic communities offered

significant support such as child care, information on school and education, and employment (Kim & McKenry, 1998).

Chinese schools played a significant role in many families' daily life (Wang, 1996). Large portions of Chinese Americans and immigrants were not affiliated with religious groups based on the Pew (2013) report. Chinese schools became the central place where socialization, communication, and connection with co-ethnic people were achieved (Wang, 1996; Zhou, 2009). Zhou & Kim (2006) reported that a substantial amount of social capital from outside of the family was obtained at Chinese schools. A trustworthy social environment was essential to allow for social capital exchange (Coleman, 1988). Chinese schools gathered resources and disseminated them to the members. An essential obligation of Chinese schools was to serve as a major information channel for the community. Parents often received and exchanged information about schools, education, and parenting from interactions with co-ethnic individuals at the schools. Social norms and cultural traditions were maintained in the community. Children created their co-ethnic peer group for support and encouragement, which enhanced their ethnic identity (Zhou & Kim, 2006; Zhou, 2009).

The combination of intra- and extra-familial social capital not only supported effectiveness parenting practices, but also promoted positive child development. Social capital might accumulate from both sources, which can enhance each other. School performance of children was closely associated with a strong family

attachment, a connection with the school and teachers, and high levels of parental expectations and aspirations. It was especially critical for ethnic minority children and adolescents (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Kao, 2004).

Social capital might bring negative side effects to individuals. Portes (1998) argued that negative consequences might occur from the processes and outcomes of social capital. Intense social networking and interactions in the same community produced demands for conformity and restraints on individual freedom (Kao, 2004; Portes, 1998). For example, parents in Chinese schools compared their children's school performance with others, set high expectations based on other children's achievements, and created pressures on their own children (Zhou, 2009). Such negative effects have not been studied for Chinese Americans in the parenting literature (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Zhou & Kim, 2006; Zhou, 2009).

Social Stratification

Social stratification described the ways that individuals were ranked by hierarchical "social, cultural, and economic attributes" such as income, education, and occupation (Muntaner, Ng, Vanroelen, Christ, & Eaton, 2013). More specifically, social stratification referred to "a social process that creates a hierarchical position," in which valuable social resources were unequally distributed among social groups based on race, gender, and social class (Coll & Pachter, 2002; McLeod, 2013). Social structures, including discrimination, racism, and prejudice, complicated such

distribution process (Coll & Pachter, 2002). Social stratification greatly limited upward social mobility, school attainment, and family socialization goals (Hong, 2013). Discussions on social stratification were abundant when the target populations were African American and Hispanic in the sociological, educational, and psychological literature (Coll & Pachter, 2002; Kao & Thompson, 2003; Muntaner et al., 2013).

Social stratification had a direct impact on parental mental health, which affected parenting practices and influenced child outcomes. Parents were the first and primary socialization agents for their children. Based on ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), children were embedded in the center of the different layers of systems. Parent-child interactions and relationships formed the microsystems, in which parenting had an immediate impact on child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Parenting practices might facilitate or impede the developmental growth of young children in areas of social competence, self-esteem, resilience, and academic achievement (Coll & Pachter, 2002). For example, African American parents often conveyed to their children messages of social mistrust and preparation for biases in the future (Coll & Pachter, 2002). They prepared their children to face the negative stereotypes and consequences of being African American (Marshall, 1994). In the same study, the African American children whose parents addressed race in the parenting practices often expedited the process of identity formation. Quintana & Vera (1999) claimed that ethnic identity provided psychological resources to buffer

Mexican American adolescents from ethnic prejudice. Parental ethnic socializations for discrimination might foster an understanding of racial difference and social stratification.

Social stratification and discrimination existed since the first arrival of Chinese immigrants in the United States over a century ago. However, only limited studies were conducted to examine the impacts of discrimination, racism, and inequity on Chinese American parenting and child outcomes (Coll & Pachter, 2002; Qin et al., 2012). As the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States, Asian Americans were stereotyped as the “model minority” with low crime rates and high achievements. The stereotyping painted a group of quiet, high-achieving, and rule-following people in mass media, even some academic papers. Studies on Asian Americans heavily concentrated on academic achievement and cultural uniqueness.

The perceived “otherness” in the society provided explanations for discrimination and racism toward Chinese Americans in the current literature (Coll & Pachter, 2002; McLeod, 2013). Due to the unique cultural heritage and physical appearance, being stereotyped as a “model minority,” coupled with peer resentment for high academic achievement, Chinese Americans were placed out of the research landscape of racial discrimination. Lok-sun (2013) analyzed how Australian-born Chinese were stereotyped by Western hierarchical stratification and in-group hierarchical stratification. They were often categorized by physical appearance into a collectivistic thought of otherness in Australia. Their identity as “Chinese” was

questioned when compared to Chinese people in mainland China. They were still considered “others” who were different from “the real” Chinese in mainland China.

Other Factors

Additional factors also played roles in shaping parenting practices and strategies in Chinese American families. These factors include the age of children, family socioeconomic status, and the duration of stay in the United States (Chao & Kanatsu, 2008; Cheah et al., 2009). They were often coupled with the major factors that affected family relationships, family functioning, and child developmental outcomes. In the following subsection, each of these factors is discussed.

Family socioeconomic status was often closely related to parenting practices and strategies. Family socioeconomic status referred to the combined condition of family income, parental education level, and parental occupation. Maternal education and family income were the two key indicators in examining parenting efficacy and efficiency (Cheah et al., 2009). The maternal educational level was positively associated with authoritative parenting, which predicted the use of reasoning and inductiveness (Cheah et al., 2009). Mothers with higher education were often involved more in schools. They provided more cognitive stimulations and emotional support (Ji, 2007). Children who had mothers with higher educational level were often reported as being autonomous, self-regulated, and having fewer behavior problems (Chao, 1995, Cheah et al., 2009). Chao & Kanatsu (2008) reported that as the fathers’ education

increased and the number of siblings decreased, parental warmth toward adolescents increased among Asian American families. Chao (2000) suggested that mothers' education and ethnicity were predictors to understand parenting practices for Chinese immigrant mothers in the United States. Mothers with a higher educational level were often willing to devote effort to self-development, which improved their parenting practices. However, Chen et al. (2012) revealed that Chinese immigrant mothers not only showed a high level of parental psychological and behavioral control, but also showed a high level of responsiveness to children's various needs, regardless of family socioeconomic status.

Parenting practices also varied based on children's age. Cheah et al. (2009) reported that Chinese culture had tolerance toward infants' and toddlers' behaviors. There was a consideration that the young children needed to be guided and gently corrected. Chinese parents tended to be more lenient and affectionate to infants and toddlers than to older children. When children reached approximately six years old, which was believed to be the age of understanding, parenting became stricter on behavior (Cheah et al., 2009). The duration of stay in the host country was an important factor in determining parenting goals and strategies. Ji (2007) argued that mothers who lived longer in the United States set lower academic expectations than those who lived for a shorter period. These mothers who stayed longer in the United States emphasized other kinds of success, for example in athletics and character traits (Ji, 2007).

Comparison with Other Ethnic Groups

Comparison studies on parenting ideology, practices, and strategies between Chinese Americans and other ethnic groups, mostly middle-class European Americans, illustrated major characteristics of Chinese American parenting. Chinese American parenting shared the universal purpose of parenting in the areas of children's physical and mental health, social capacity, and future success. Distinctive differences existed in specific parent goals, socialization goals, and manifestations of parenting attributes (Chao, 1994; Chen et al., 2012; Chiu, 1987; Lin & Fu, 1990). First, parenting purposes were actualized divergently in different ethnic groups. Middle-class European American parents stressed self-esteem and self-confidence through consistent and unconditional love. Enjoying life was an important aspect in the development of autonomy and self-esteem. In contrast, the purpose of Chinese American parenting emphasized family interdependence and education. Love and parental warmth aimed to foster self-reliance of children. Education was set as the ultimate goal. Parents often sacrificed their leisure time and even career goal for the sake of their children (Chao, 1995).

Secondly, socialization goals through parenting practices were actualized in different ways. European American parents valued independence and individualism. Children were unique, as "their own individuals from parents" (Chao, 1995; Chao, 2000). Self-expressiveness and verbalization were appreciated and encouraged. Although Chinese American parents were receptive to these mainstream ideas, the

Confucian ideologies were deeply rooted in daily interactions with children in multiple social contexts (Chao, 1994). Socialization goals of Chinese Americans focused on filial piety, honoring the family name by one's success, and educational achievement. Such socialization goals reflected the collectivistic culture value of interdependence (Chao, 1995; Chao, 2000).

Lastly, parenting attributes of Chinese Americans such as love, warmth, discipline, and communication manifested themselves in a unique way. Lin & Fu (1990) reported that there was no difference in the level of affection toward their children between Chinese American parents and European American parents. Love was expressed in a subtle way as parents met an individual child's needs since reservation of emotion was a virtue in Chinese culture (Chao, 1994). Open expression of one's feeling such as kissing or hugging was not commonly applied by Chinese parents. Wu & Chao (2005) reported that Chinese American adolescents had fewer behavior problems if they perceived more parental warmth than they expected. Chinese American parents were often more involved in homework. They provided structural and instrumental support for their children. Goals of communication included passing down cultural values and beliefs, enforcing parental authority, and maintaining family harmony (Chao, 2000).

Summary of Literature on Chinese American Parenting

The consensus from the current literature is that Chinese American parenting is distinctively unique and it does not fit into Baumrind's parenting typology. Multiple studies utilized cultural factors to explain the apparent misalignment between the so-called authoritarian Chinese parenting and high academic attainment in this population (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Costigan & Su, 2008; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009). Indeed, Chinese cultural influences could explain a range of parenting issues and developmental outcomes in this population. Particularly, Chinese culture shaped the purposes and goals of Chinese American parenting. This point of view supported that family interdependence and education were highly valued in Chinese American families, leading to high academic performance. Through the lens of culture, researchers were able to explain why Chinese American children suffered from acculturative stress (Kim et al., 2009) or benefited from biculturalism (Weaver & Kim, 2008).

The literature lacks systematic investigations of the influences of communal forces in Chinese American parenting. The impacts of social capital and social structure on Chinese American parenting have not been fully examined. The power of social capital has been discussed as a buffer for cultural isolation and social stratification (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Goyette & Conchas, 2002; Pong et al., 2005). However, in-depth investigations on community support are needed to gain a holistic understanding of Chinese American parenting.

Chinese Schools as an Important Communal Force

Community support and networks are critical in supporting ethnic minority groups. Chinese schools play a significant role in imparting the cultural heritage to next generations, generating social capital for its members, and assisting its members and larger society for cultural compliance (Zhou, 2009). A brief history of the Chinese community and the Chinese schools is discussed. Characteristics and functions of the current Chinese schools are presented in the context of Chinese Americans' daily life, specifically in the parenting context.

History of Chinese Community Organizations in the United States

The history of Chinese community organizations started in the late 1840s when the first Chinese immigrants came to the country as low paid mine laborers. As the oldest and largest ethnic Asian group in the United States, Chinese Americans had experienced tremendous difficulties and challenges (Zhou, 2009). To escape from poverty and overpopulation at home, the first arrival of Chinese immigrants in the United States were poor, illiterate farmers. They clustered in the gold fields in California during the Gold Rush period. They later spread into railroad construction sites while more Chinese immigrants entered the country. There were no reported Chinese communities or organizations at that time. Co-ethnic merchants who were also labor brokers played an important role in Chinese workers' lives. They sold ethnic merchandise, delivered mails for workers and their families in China, searched

for jobs for workers in urban areas, and helped their relocation. Their stores became informal organizations for Chinese workers to socialize (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

After completion of the transcontinental railroad west of the Rockies, Chinese workers dispersed into other labor areas and regions. In the 1870s, a string of ethnic conflicts took place because of poor economic conditions, racial discrimination, and resistant local workers (Zhou, 2009). In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted. It was the first legal exclusion on a specific population based on race in the history of the United States (Kilty, 2008). Chinatown was built as a refuge to resemble homeland for Chinese Americans at this adversarial time of legal and institutional exclusion (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

In the late 1800's, Chinese schools were developed to respond to the needs of the Chinatown community. They became an essential part of the social structure for the Chinese immigrants in the United States (Zhou, 2009). During the exclusion and racial segregation period, children of Chinese immigrants were deprived of the rights to use the public education system. The first Chinese school appeared in San Francisco in 1884 to provide basic Chinese literacy for immigrants and their children to learn language, culture, traditions, and customs. The original goals of these schools were to prepare the second-generation Chinese immigrants to find jobs in Chinatown and to eventually reunite with their families in China (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Chinese schools were funded by tuition. Local churches, co-ethnic businesses, and family associations provided support as well (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

After World War II and the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the structure and functioning of Chinatowns and related organizations experienced significant changes (Zhou & Kim, 2006; Zhou, 2009). An increased number of Chinese and other Asian immigrants entered the United States. Previously isolated Chinese organizations in Chinatowns slowly opened up to mainstream society. After the long-term isolation, upward social mobility, and connection with larger society were challenging for these old Chinese organizations. Slowly, Chinese Americans initiated broader connections. They began to integrate with larger society and to influence public policies (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

The post-1965 era welcomed a new surge of Chinese immigrants. They had various socioeconomic backgrounds ranging from unskilled workers to professionals (Li, 2009). Especially in the recent decades, the country experienced a significant increase in Asian immigrants including Chinese people from the mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. These new immigrants were different from their predecessors. The new immigrants held higher educational levels and had higher incomes than the general population in the United States (Pew, 2013; Zhou & Kim, 2006). The new Chinese American population spread all over the country (Pew, 2013). Many Chinese Americans gathered in so-called “ethnoburbs” (Li, 2009), which were suburban neighborhoods with middle-class and upper-middle-class families of diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Functions of Contemporary Chinese Schools

Chinese schools functioned as the core of the Chinese community for preserving language and cultural heritage, tying people of the same ethnicity, and connecting the ethnic group with larger society (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001; Zhou, 2009). These schools promoted children's academic success. Chinese schools were not merely a place for language learning and passing-down culture. Wang (1996) stated that Chinese schools were "loci of community, viability, creativity, and identity" (p. 71).

Establishing a Chinese school was often treated as the top priority when a Chinese organization was formed. Zhou & Kim (2006) pointed out that worldwide, wherever there were Chinese people, there was a Chinese school. The United States alone had about 6,000 Chinese schools, enrolling about 83,000 students (Peyton et al., 2001; Liu, 2010). These schools not only offered classes for language learning, but also provided programs as a supplement to formal education (Chao, 1997; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Some of the schools had programs such as tutoring, enrichment, and college preparation. Some schools offered Chinese calligraphy classes, Tai-chi classes, dancing lessons, and various workshops for parents and children (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Chinese schools often hosted celebrations and festivities on important Chinese holidays, such as the Chinese New Year, the Mid-Autumn Festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. Participation in these events fostered children's cultural understanding and, therefore, reaffirmed their ethnic identity (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Meanwhile,

teachers in these schools often emphasized filial piety, being respectful, and working hard. Such an intensive educational and cultural environment enforced children's self-esteem and ethnic pride that helped fend off discrimination and racism (Zhou & Kim, 2006). In addition, Chinese schools made educational resources available and accessible for co-ethnic individuals (Zhou, 2009).

Chinese schools had an important function as a venue for social support. The Pew (2013) data showed that about 74% of Asian Americans were new immigrants. Therefore, it was apparently challenging for these new immigrants to seek social support. Chinese schools, as hubs of the Chinese communities, provided Chinese Americans and immigrants a safe and comfortable place for socialization with their co-ethnic group (Li, 2005). Social capital might be generated through interacting with other parents in Chinese schools. These interactions helped develop ethnic community identity and compensated for the lost ties with families far away (Bankston & Zhou, 2002). Attending Chinese schools often met psychological and social needs for both parents and children (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Social ties were established among co-ethnic individuals. Such ethnic ties eased social isolation and facilitated connection with mainstream society for richer and better social lives (Zhou, 2009).

Characteristics of Chinese Schools

Chinese schools were often organized and administered by parents who had children in the school (Li, 2010). These parents were also community leaders. Many

of these schools were non-profit and funded mainly by tuition. Parental involvement in these schools was extremely high and intense. Parents were reliable and affordable for these schools. Li (2010) described these schools as “magnets,” drawing power from co-ethnic individuals and people from other ethnic groups in the local community. The power referred to human capital including a full package of cultural values, practices, norms, skills, contacts, attitudes, and traits. Social capital in this context included social networks, social support, information exchange, social control, and community engagement (Cattell, 2001). Chinese schools served as the driving force for community events and activities. These schools often played a significant role in connecting with other Chinese organizations such as local businesses, churches, and temples (Li, 2010; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Members felt a sense of belonging at Chinese schools (Li, 2010).

Similar to other ethnic community organizations, Chinese schools faced tremendous challenges. Lack of funding was a typical problem for many Chinese schools (Peyton et al., 2001). Teachers, who usually were parents of the enrolled children, received minimal payments. Board members and school administrators often did not draw salaries. Such financial constraints often impeded the expansion and development of the schools.

Li (2005) pointed out that burnout and high turnover rates of parents were the main problems. Parents engaged in high frequencies in the schools’ events and activities. The school’s future was largely determined by parental involvement. In

addition, only a limited number of teachers at Chinese schools held an education degree or had teaching experiences in Chinese. Therefore, quality of teaching and classroom instructions varied. Teaching materials and textbooks were limited. Curricula might be not well designed.

Chinese schools might bring negative impacts on parenting and child outcomes. One of the issues was that parents might promote already-high expectations through comparison and competition. This phenomenon was elaborated in multiple papers (Li, 2005; Wang, 1996; Zhou, 2009; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Parents shared education resources at Chinese schools. They compared school performances of their children and created heightened pressure on education outcomes. Such pressure might promote positive competition among peers and achieve better academic achievement. However, as stated in Zhou (2009), the overemphasis on educational achievement might be problematic. Pressure on both the parents and children might lead to intergenerational conflicts, alienation from families, and rebellious attitudes and behaviors. Both the parents' and children's psychological well-being might be negatively affected.

Summary of Literature Review

The surveyed literature addressed three major factors that influenced Chinese American parenting: culture, social capital, and social structure. We identified a strong need to study the link between Chinese American parenting and the functions of

Chinese schools. Investigations on communal support are largely absent in the literature of Chinese American parenting. As the core of the Chinese communities, Chinese schools carry multiple social functions beyond their educational roles. Chinese schools have not been explored as an important force in providing social support to Chinese American parents. Their important functions, as an information channel, social control, and networking support, deserve further investigations, especially in the parenting context. Therefore, this study aims to identify what functions Chinese schools carry in impacting Chinese American parenting practices. This study also focuses on the perceptions and experiences of Chinese American mothers with their local Chinese schools.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this study was to explore the impacts of social functions of Chinese schools on Chinese American parenting. The literature had a limited number of studies on Chinese schools. Most of the studies focused on the schools' functions on language learning and culture education. Social functions of the schools were not examined in detail. The impact of Chinese schools on Chinese American parenting was not systematically investigated in the literature. This study bridged the gap in the literature by investigating the social support provided by Chinese schools toward Chinese American parenting. The following topics were explored in this study: parenting practices and strategies of Chinese American mothers, support from Chinese schools, involvement in Chinese schools, and ecological impacts on parenting. Two principle research questions were:

- 1) What were the relationships between Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting practices in the contexts of culture and social structure?
- 2) How did Chinese American mothers make meaning of Chinese schools for parenting purposes?

Study Design

This study aimed to collect a breadth of information on how Chinese American mothers made meaning of Chinese schools and what social and practical functions the schools carried in affecting Chinese American parenting. This study was designed and implemented based on qualitative methods. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to capture the experiences of the participants and their interactions with Chinese schools.

In this chapter, the rationale of this study is discussed first. Then the personal position of the researcher is explained. The study contexts, sampling, participants, and recruitment, as well as data collection procedures, are presented in detail. Ethical considerations are discussed to protect the participants' rights and privacy. Finally, data analysis methods are provided.

Rationale

Parenting is a personal experience. For ethnic minority groups, this experience is shaped by social, political, economic, cultural, and ethnic factors, as they struggle daily in a bi-cultural context (Coll & Pachter, 2002). Based on ecological theory, multiple determinants from different layers of systems have direct and indirect impacts on individuals and families (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). These impacts are often reciprocal. Therefore, to understand the unique parenting experiences of Chinese Americans, a researcher's best tool is to interact with the individual parents, their families, and their communities. The core communal component, Chinese schools, is a

key to gaining insight into the socio-cultural context of Chinese American families (Zhou & Li, 2003).

Emerging from feminism, the transformative paradigm provides “a framework of the belief system” (p. 1) that speaks for under-represented people and empowers socially disadvantaged populations for active participation in social changes (Mertens, 2007). The transformative paradigm recognizes multiple realities in society, politics, culture, and economics that influence the constructs of the reality for research. The transformative paradigm also states that researchers should fully engage with participants and build trustful relationships (Mertens, 2005; Mertens, 2007). The research participants and their community should be involved during the entire span of the study, including planning, conducting, analyzing, interpreting, and actualizing implications (Mertens, 2005). Therefore, the transformative paradigm supports the use of qualitative methodology in this study. Personal experiences and self-constructed subjective meaning of the world are at the core of qualitative studies (Miller, 2011). That position is the underlying support that knowledge is obtained through interactions with families and their socio-cultural environment.

Personal Position in the Study

Creswell & Miller (2000) advocate that researchers engage in self-disclosure in relation to their pertinent personal beliefs, values, biases, and positions. An insider’s view may provide significant advantages for researchers, while leading to some

subjectivity, according to the transformative view (Dwyer, Grenfell, & Buckle, 2009). Trust between the researcher and participants may help obtain a deep understanding of the research topic, due to the shared identity and language (Dwyer et al., 2009). The key to obtaining participants' trust and openness to questions is acceptance, especially at the starting point (Dwyer et al., 2009). Communication with research participants is easy for an insider. An insider's perspectives may give voices to an underrepresented population.

As to the bias or subjectivity of the insider, Dwyer et al. (2009) states,

Being a member of the group under investigation does not unduly influence the process in a negative way. Disciplined bracketing and detailed reflection on the subjective research process, with a close awareness of one's own personal biases and perspectives, might well reduce the potential concerns associated with insider membership. . . . The core ingredient is not insider or outsider status but an ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one's research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience. (p. 6)

I considered myself both an insider and an outsider in this study. I am an insider from two perspectives. First, I am a Chinese American mother. I constantly adjust my parenting strategies to meet the needs of my two children. On a daily basis, I try better ways to communicate with them, to grow with them, and to inspire them. Second, I witness collective experiences of the local Chinese American community, thanks to my positions as a Chinese language teacher and a board member of a local non-profit organization, the Chinese Sisterhood of Tuscaloosa. In addition, my children are enrolled in a Chinese school. With these positions, I have great

opportunities to serve the local Chinese community. My responsibilities are to build connections with local schools, socialize with other parents, and nurture the next generation. I understand my fellow Chinese Americans' concerns and worries. I share similar challenges and struggles with them.

In my professional role, I am also an outsider. My position as a doctoral candidate in the Department of Human Development and Family Sciences provides me with a rich background in the areas of parenting, immigration, and culture. I have received training on various social issues and have been empowered with analytic skills. I am aware of the bias that comes with my personal experiences and my involvement in a Chinese school. Such professionalism enables me to separate my personal experiences from those of my participants. Therefore, I place myself in a space between insiders and outsiders, but not necessarily being a complete insider or outsider. Such reflections allow me to reap benefits of both insider and outsider memberships.

Grounded Theory

This study used qualitative methods in data collection and analysis. Mertens (2005) discussed how a “researcher is the instrument” (p. 247) in a qualitative study. Qualitative methods help the researcher gain insight on research questions and speak for the studied group. Through qualitative methods, researchers can obtain an in-depth knowledge of social phenomena on the lives of individuals, groups, or communities

(Creswell, 2002). For the current study, qualitative methods helped the researcher understand and interpret social meanings of Chinese schools for Chinese American mothers.

Grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) was used as the guiding principle to conduct data collection and analysis for this study. Distinctive characteristics of grounded theory include concurrence of data collection and analysis, consistency of emerged concepts, use of purposeful sampling to recruit participants, and systematic data coding to ensure robust analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Mertens, 2005). The analysis begins with the first set of collected data for cues. The concurrence of data collection and analysis enables researchers to capture relevant themes during the research process. This concurrence deepens researchers' understanding of research topics. It may expedite research progress for more potential venues (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Basic units of analysis, common themes, and universal concepts of the topic emerge during data collection and concurrent analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 1998; Mertens, 2005). In the current study, several interview questions were modified based on participants' responses. For instance, questions on involvement in public schools were added after initial interviews. Such modifications helped the researcher gain a better understanding of the participants' experiences.

Purposeful sampling can help researchers obtain rich information about participants and their community (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Creswell, 2002). For the current study, the researcher intentionally chose samples and locations because she

was able to obtain rich information from these subjects and locations. Since social impacts of Chinese schools on Chinese American parenting was the focus, Chinese American mothers who had children enrolled in local Chinese schools were recruited. Such purposeful sampling helped the researcher retrieve important information on the research topics.

Systematic data coding was used to ensure robust analysis results. The open-coding method was used to extract meanings out of the transcript, dissect the transcript into segments, and group segments into categories and subcategories. Common themes emerged from categories and subcategories. Overlapping and redundant codes were removed. Aggregated codes that appeared multiple times in transcripts were assembled into themes.

Questionnaire

An interview questionnaire was designed for this study. The researcher first identified constructs to develop an interview questionnaire from both the literature review and existing theoretical frameworks. These constructs were acculturation, social capital, social stratification, parenting practices, community involvement, and the development of an ethnic community. Based on these constructs, the researcher implemented a set of interview questions by operationalizing these concepts.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first part contained demographic and acculturation questions. Demographic topics included questions

regarding the time of arrival in the United States, the reason for immigration, the highest educational degree attained, profession, marriage status, relocation experiences, and satisfaction with their neighborhood. Acculturation questions included self-identified ethnicity, language usage, and holiday preferences. The second part of the questionnaire focused mainly on questions about parenting practices and ideology. For instance, basic information of children such as age, sex, and school grade was collected. Parenting questions covered a variety of areas. Parental expectations and satisfaction with school performance, Chinese learning, and social abilities were discussed. Questions also covered how mothers spent quality time with their children, mother-child communication, and what disciplinary strategies the mothers applied. The third part of the questionnaire focused on the functions of Chinese schools. Three essential areas were the functions of Chinese schools on parenting in the bi-cultural context, the social support provided by Chinese schools, and the functions of Chinese schools on parenting under the effects of racial discrimination. Parental involvement in Chinese schools, social interactions with other parents, and their expectations for parenting education was also included in the questionnaire. These were open-ended questions that allowed the respondents to bring in the ideas of their own.

An additional set of questions were designed specifically for school principals. These questions focused on four aspects: their vision for the school, goals for students,

goals for parents, and community service plans. The school principals also answered the questionnaire for mothers. Both questionnaires are shown in Appendix A.

Study Contexts

Data collection took place in the state of Alabama where the researcher lived. Three Chinese schools were selected to recruit participants because of the convenience of location and sampling. Rich information was obtained. It should be noted that there were no interviews conducted at the schools. Only participants were recruited from the three schools. Two schools were located in a large city and one school was in a college town. All schools were registered as 501(c) non-profit organizations. All the school principals and administrators worked as volunteers without salaries. Teachers received payments for their time in classrooms. All the schools operated on either Saturday or Sunday. In the following section, the three schools are introduced.

School S1

School S1 was a new school founded in 2015. There were about 40 students enrolled in the school year of 2017-2018. Students were divided into four grades. Each grade had about ten students. The students' ages ranged from five to fifteen. This school only accepted children who had at least one parent speaking Chinese. The student's families came mostly from mainland China. School S1 operated for two hours every weekend during school semesters. Students took three language exams

during a school year. On its website, non-heritage Chinese class was planned in the future for families who had no members speaking Chinese.

School S2

School S2 was founded in 1993. It had about sixty students, whose ages spanned from four to fifteen. Students were divided into five grades based on their age. The school offered classes for both Chinese and non-Chinese families. Students in the heritage track came mainly from families who migrated from mainland China. The school operated for four hours on the weekends throughout the academic semesters. Students had the choice to register either two early hours or two late hours in the afternoon. The students were required to take multiple language exams during a school year.

School S3

School S3 had a history of over 25 years, the longest among the three schools. Students and families immigrated from multiple regions, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other South Asian countries. The school offered four grades including Elementary, Intermediate One, Intermediate Two, and Multi-level. The school operated for two hours on weekends. At the time of data collection, School S3 had experienced a dramatic decrease in its student enrollment. The school principal explained reasons for such an enrollment drop. The recent new immigrants, most of who came from

mainland China, preferred interacting with mainland Chinese immigrants. Therefore, these new Chinese immigrants enrolled their children in a nearby Chinese school operated by parents from mainland China. Differences in language teaching, especially phonics, were also the reason for the new immigrants' choice of the other Chinese school.

Sampling and Participants

A purposeful sampling method was used in choosing the survey location and participants. Recruiting was conducted at Chinese schools or with the help of the school principals. Creswell (2002) asserted that the standard used in choosing participants or sites is to focus on “information rich” sources. In other words, in purposeful sampling, researchers intentionally choose samples and locations because they may obtain rich information from these people and locales (Creswell, 2002). The current study focused on Chinese American parenting and Chinese American mothers' experiences with their Chinese schools. The Chinese American mothers who had children enrolled in the three Chinese schools were chosen as subject candidates. Different sampling strategies were used at the three Chinese schools. In School S1, the subjects were mindfully chosen to represent different educational levels, professions, times of arrival in the United States, and ages of children. Snowball sampling was utilized in recruiting participants in School S2. The initial recruiting started from the school principal and administrators. Recruitment letters were distributed at School S2. In Appendix A, a sample letter is shown. A description of the current study and the

interview process was thoroughly presented to school administrators. All of them were supportive of the research. They referred several mothers from their school to the researcher. After initial interviews, either the school principal or the interviewed mothers referred more participants. School S3 had very limited student enrollments in fall 2017. Therefore, only one mother was referred by the school principal.

A total of twenty-five Chinese American mothers were recruited in the study. Four school principals were included in this sample size. Creswell (2002) discussed a general guideline for sample size selection in qualitative studies. For grounded theory studies, twenty to thirty subjects are often adequate. A primary reason for the sample size of twenty-five was the consideration of data saturation. Data saturation refers to a condition where the collection of new data may not bring further useful information and new knowledge (Mason, 2010). In this study, common themes emerged during the first fifteen interviews. These common themes repeatedly appeared in later interviews, which did not generate new themes. Therefore, it was believed that data saturation was achieved at the current sample size.

School principals were included to obtain a broad view of Chinese schools for the history, operations, and vision. Without a doubt, the vision of the principals impacted school functioning. Their vision determined the school's trajectory of development and future directions. Meantime, these principals were mothers with children enrolled in their schools. Their perspectives as both a parent and principal were unique. Such unique perspectives enriched understandings on the central issues

of Chinese schools and their roles in the communities. Their position as school principals provided them opportunities to interact with parents at schools and the larger community. They had a deeper understanding of how Chinese schools functioned in a larger social context. Therefore, data from them increased the reliability of the study.

All participants were first-generation Chinese immigrants. All of them were married at the time of interview, except one who was a widow. The reasons for coming to the United States varied. Two participants immigrated with their parents as a teenager when arriving in the country. One came to the country as a young adult with her parents. Eleven participants accompanied their husbands, who pursued doctoral degrees in the United States at the time of entry. Eight out of eleven participants obtained their own masters or doctoral degrees after coming to the United States. Seven participants were admitted to universities for Ph.D. studies in the United States. Twenty-three out of twenty-five participants had a bachelor or higher degree. Table 1 displays the demographic information.

Data Collection Procedures

Data were collected through face-to-face interviews with the recruited Chinese American mothers and school principals. The data collection started in August 2017 and ended in October 2017. The participants chose the interview location and time. Ten interviews were conducted at a public library. Nine interviews were at the

participants' offices or workplace. The rest of the interviews were conducted at either the participants' home or a local civic center.

Table 1 Demographic Information of the Surveyed Mothers.

Time of arrival	Reasons for immigration	Marital status	Highest degree
2001	With husband	Married	Master's
2000	With husband	Married	Master's
2003	Study	Married	Ph.D.
1997, 1999	With husband	Married	Master's
2001	With husband	Married	Master's
1983	With mother	Married	Master's
2001	Work	Married	Master's
2000	Study	Married	Ph.D.
1995	With parents	Married	Bachelor's
2010	With husband	Married	Bachelor
2010	With husband	Married	Master's
1998	With husband	Married	Master's
2000	With parents	Married	8 th -grade graduate
2003	With husband	Married	Ph.D.
2003	Study	Married	Ph.D.
2002	With husband	Married	Ph.D.
1999	With husband	Married	Bachelor's
2002	Study	Married	Ph.D.
1999	Study	Married	Ph.D.
2001	With husband	Married	Master's
1998	With husband	Married	Master's
2001	With husband	Married	Ph.D.
2012	Through marriage	Widowed	Bachelor's
2001	Study	Married	Ph.D.
2000	Study	Married	Ph.D.

During each interview, the researcher went through the consent form with the participant. Each participant was given a brief introduction of the study including its purposes and goals. Participants were informed about why they were chosen and what they were expected to do for the study. They were told that interviews would be audio-recorded for the research purposes. Risks and benefits were presented to each participant. The researcher then explained how confidentiality would be maintained. For example, participants were assured that the audio-taped files were stored safely in a password-protected personal laptop. The researcher was the only person to access the files. Participants' rights were described. Participants were given time for questions. Signed consent forms were obtained after the introduction and explanation.

The interviews were semi-structured, after the initial introduction. The researcher asked both specific questions and open-ended questions. The pace of the interview was largely led by the interviewees, who often decided the order of the answers to questions. The researcher gave some prompts to guide the conversation back to the research topics. Some of the participants expressed nervousness and mild discomfort when the interview started. They were assured that they could stop if they did not want to continue. The researchers brought up some general topics, not related to the research questions, to ease the anxiety. Their nervousness faded as the interview proceeded. There was no case in which the participant stopped or withdrew during the interviews.

Interview duration varied from thirty minutes to more than one hour. All interviews were audio-recorded. Interviews were exclusively conducted in Mandarin Chinese. Several participants noted that they felt more comfortable conducting interviews in Chinese rather than in English. Although they used some English expressions, the conversations were carried mostly in Chinese. The feedback and overall sentiment of the interviewees were positive. The participants' availability determined the order of the interviews. The school principals were interviewed along with other mothers.

Based on the methods from ethnographic studies (Mulhall, 2003), a field journal was utilized to record observations during interviews and to add supplements for data analysis afterward. During each interview, the field journal was kept to record starting and ending interview times. Key conversation points, interruptions, reactions or facial expressions of the interviewees were recorded. Reflections of the researcher were added right after each interview. The field journal also recorded modifications of interview questions based on the participants' responses. This was useful information for later data analysis and interpretation. The field journal supported clear understandings of the recorded conversations and a truthful interpretation of the transcripts.

The insider position helped the researcher interpret cross-cultural meanings of the interview transcripts (Temple & Young, 2004). Temple (2002) stated translation is "a truly associative process, an ongoing appeal to memory and to a private thesaurus, a

ping-pong of potentially infinite rebounds” (p. 4). In other words, the roles of the researcher and interpreter helped produce meaningful transcripts based on the subjects’ perspectives because the cultural meaning was fully received.

Ethical Considerations

Before the data collection, a research protocol was submitted to the University of Delaware’s Institutional Review Board. The proposal outlined the research objectives, intended participants, research methodology, data collection plan, and privacy protection plan. The informed consent form, as shown in Appendix B, was submitted. The proposal was approved with an exemption letter in July 2017, which is shown in Appendix C.

Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden (2001) outlined three ethical principles for qualitative research. These principles are autonomy, beneficence, and justice. For the first principle, informed consent of the current study ensured the autonomy of participants that they could voluntarily accept or refuse to participate in the study. The informed consent form was read through with each participant before the interview in Mandarin Chinese. A signature on the informed consent form was obtained after a thorough understanding of the form from the participants.

The second principle, beneficence, recommends anonymity. To protect participants from any harm, confidentiality of participants was strictly enforced. Each participant was assigned with an ID, for example, M15, without any reference to her

identity. Audio documents, transcripts, and field notes were saved in the researcher's personal laptop with password protection. As the primary ethical consideration, confidentiality was ensured.

The third principle, justice, should be confirmed by “recognizing the vulnerability of the participants and their contributions to the study” (Orb et al., 2001, p. 4). The consent form was explained in Mandarin Chinese for this purpose. The interviews were conducted in the same language. This ensured that participants fully understood their rights. They were able to respond to the questions based on their own free will. The researcher was fully aware of the sensitivity of some topics during the interview, such as racial discrimination and worries about being a Chinese American. All the participants were clearly informed that they may skip the question or decline to answer, if they so choose.

Trustworthiness

The quality of a qualitative study can be judged by its trustworthiness (Flick, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Mertens, 2005). The trustworthiness refers to credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. The four tenets of the current study are discussed as follows.

Credibility measures how accurately researchers interpret and reflect participants' perspectives on issues (Mertens, 2005). In other words, credibility examines alignments of perspectives on research questions between researchers and

research participants. As described earlier in this chapter, the researcher had an insider position, being a Chinese American mother, which was the same as the participants. With shared experiences and a similar cultural background, the researcher and the participants had no communication barriers. The researcher had a natural position to understand the views of the participants. At the same time, professionalism of the researcher, gained in doctoral training, helped reduce personal bias.

Transferability in qualitative studies, as external validity in quantitative studies, ensures generalizability. Creswell (2002) stated that qualitative studies are not designed to allow generalization of their findings in large populations. Instead, researchers conduct in-depth investigations on certain populations with objectives to gain an in-depth understanding on a specific population or certain social phenomenon. Researchers also advocate for underrepresented groups. The current study aimed to investigate how Chinese American mothers made meaning of their Chinese schools on parenting. The goal of the study was to gain an in-depth understandings of the functions of Chinese schools in relation to Chinese American parenting.

Dependability, equivalent to reliability in quantitative studies, refers to how reliable the findings can be replicated. Mertens (2005) argued that the research findings should be stable and consistent over time. “Change is expected. But it should be tracked and publicly inspectable” (Mertens, 2005, p. 257). Dependability was ensured through careful processing of the interview audio and transcripts. Audio

transcribing was checked multiple times to rule out human errors. The field journal of the interviews was used to ensure the accuracy.

Confirmability refers to objectivity, meaning that researchers should minimize their judgments on the issues. Lincoln & Guba (1985) suggested utilizing a reflective journal to remind a researcher of her stance on the research. As discussed earlier, the personal position of the researcher and the field journal served this purpose for the current study.

Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative studies is an iterative and inductive process along with data collection (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The nature of qualitative studies allows researchers to iterate existing ideas with emerging themes to identify convergence and divergence (Creswell, 2002). In this study, data analysis began once the first set of data was collected. Caution was made to avoid drawing early conclusions when patterns and themes were still emerging.

Data analysis included multiple steps: organizing and backing up measurements, transcribing audio files, immersion in the transcripts, open coding, and translation into English. These steps are described in detail as follows.

Collected data, audio files, and the field journal were first organized and then saved in a backup hard-drive. The field journal recorded details of the interview process, including the interviewee's facial expressions, gestures, or other visible cues.

After initial data organization, the audio files were transcribed. Transcribing the audio was a major task after the interviews. The audio was manually transcribed by the researcher, with some help from the automated software. The software had poor recognition of conversations in Chinese. The researcher had to type most of the sentences manually. The researcher conducted multiple rounds of checks on each word to ensure the accuracy of the transcription.

Suggested by Creswell (2002), after transcribing, the first significant act in data analysis is to be immersed in the data and to “read the transcripts in their entirety several times, immerse yourself in the details, trying to get a sense of the interview as a whole before breaking it into parts” (Agar, 1980, p. 103). The researcher dutifully followed these suggestions and fully immersed herself in the transcripts.

Coding was applied after the transcript immersion. The open-coding method was used to break the transcript into discrete segments (Mertens, 2005). Based on Creswell (2002), coding was applied to make meaning out of the transcript. The transcript was divided into segments, which were grouped into subcategories and categories. The categories and subcategories were sorted into emerged common themes. Overlapping and redundant codes were removed.

Dialogues related to themes were translated into English only after coding. Since the interviews were conducted in Chinese, the transcripts needed to be translated into English. The word for word translation was not adopted. It would not only be time-consuming, but also result in loss of meaning since the transcripts in the original

language contain the complete meaning. The translated dialogues, which were quotes from the participants, were selected to illustrate the themes or categories in Chapter 4.

Referring back to the research questions was crucial in directing data analysis toward the right track. During data analysis, efforts were made to ensure that data analysis was applied to identify answers to the two central research questions: the relationships between Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting practices and the meanings of Chinese schools to Chinese American parenting.

Chapter 4

RESULTS

This study examined Chinese American mothers' views on their own parenting and its link to the Chinese schools. Chinese schools played a significant role in the life of these Chinese American families. The meanings and social functions Chinese schools carried for these Chinese Americans were the central foci of the study. The interview questionnaire was designed to primarily ask open-ended questions, except for the demographics. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese so that the participants felt comfortable. The participants largely led the conversations. School principals were interviewed. They were asked by an additional set of questions, regarding their vision and goals for their schools.

The interview questions covered three contexts, which were demographic information and acculturation, functions of Chinese schools, and parenting practices. Interviews school principals were the additional context, as the principals were asked with an additional set of questions. The study results are organized based on these four contexts, see Table 2. Each context is further divided into multiple sub-contexts to organize the results. The two contexts, the functions of Chinese schools and interviews with school principals, have a number of themes.

Basic demographic information is described in Chapter 3. In this chapter, three sub-contexts are discussed in the context of demographics and acculturation. These sub-contexts are relocation experiences and satisfaction with neighborhood, self-identity and language usage, and holiday preferences. There is no theme in this context.

Functions of Chinese schools were the major context in the study. This context included three sub-contexts: 1) functions of Chinese schools on parenting in the bi-cultural context, 2) social support provided by Chinese schools, and 3) functions of Chinese schools on parenting under the effects of racial discrimination. Nine themes emerged from these three sub-contexts. These themes included 1) platform for communication and networking, 2) promoting positive character development, 3) negative influences, 4) reinforcing ethnic identity, 5) providing social resources, 6) creating volunteering opportunities, 7) a sense of belonging, 8) unifying Chinese Americans, and 9) a voice for the Chinese American community.

The context of parenting practices included four sub-contexts: parenting in the bi-cultural context, parenting under the effects of racial discrimination, parental expectations, and quality time, mother-child communication, and discipline. Results in this context were not presented in these forms of themes. During data analysis, there were a plethora of sub-categories and categories. Therefore, sub-categories and categories were consolidated into sub-contexts for clear description.

Table 2 Contexts, Sub-Contexts, and Themes.

Contexts	Sub-contexts	Themes
Demographics and Acculturation	Relocation and neighborhood	
	Self-identity and home language usage	
	Holiday preferences	
Chinese School Functions	Functions of Chinese schools on parenting in the bi-cultural context	Platform for communication and networking
		Promoting positive character development
		Negative influences
	Social support provided by Chinese schools	Reinforcing ethnic identity
		Providing social resources
		Creating volunteering opportunities
	Functions of Chinese schools on parenting under the effects of racial discrimination	Sense of belonging
		Unifying Chinese Americans
		Voice for the Chinese American community
Parenting Practices	Parenting in the bi-cultural context	
	Parenting under effects of racial discrimination	
	Parental expectations	
	Quality time, mother-child communication, and discipline	
Interviews with School Principals		School roles beyond language learning
		Both high hopes and great challenges
		Learning Chinese as the goal for students
		Expectations for more parental involvement

Four themes emerged in the fourth context, interviews with school principals. The themes were school roles beyond language learning, both high hopes and great challenges, learning Chinese as the goal for students, and expectations for more parental involvement.

The overall structure of the contexts, sub-contexts, and themes is shown in Table 2. This chapter largely follows Table 2 to describe the study results. Relevant quotes from the interviewed mothers are shown within each sub-context or theme to support the results.

Demographics and Acculturation

The section presents demographic characteristics of the participants and their acculturation. Acculturation is discussed in the areas of self-identity, language usage, and holiday preferences.

Relocation and Neighborhood

The participants shared their numbers of family relocations and what impacts their moving experiences brought to their social networks. Family relocations particularly referred to moving to a different state and excluded moving within a state. Six participants never moved after their arrival in the United States, so they maintained their social networks. The rest of the participants had at least one relocation experience. Among the participants who experienced relocation, they were largely positive about the effects of the relocation. They all acknowledged some

impacts on their social networks. A mother (M6) discussed her family relocation experience. She noted,

Through these multiple moving experiences, I know American society better. I know myself better. I am open-minded, and it is so because I have been living in so many different places. I get to know the country better. I make friends at different places. I am easy-going. It is my personality. I always encourage others, "Don't be afraid to move." You may have new experiences in a different area in your life. But it is true that the first couple of years are difficult in a new place. I keep in touch with old friends. I think the overall experience of relocation is positive for me.

Some of the participants had relocated more than three times. They recognized initial difficult transition times, but they were positive about the impacts. After multiple relocations, another participant (M14) shared her views. She stated,

Moving has impacts on my social networks and my relationships with friends, but it is positive. It extended my networks and expanded my friendship circle. I keep in touch with good old friends. And I made new friends at the new place.

Two participants explicitly discussed relocation impacts and how they handled the adjustment. A participant (M12) had to unwillingly give up old friendships due to long distance. However, her outgoing personality helped her to rebuild friendships and networks in the new place. Another participant (M21) discussed her view on family relocation. She noted,

I think there were impacts. You may have some transition time during the first couple of months. But after one year, you are all settled down and your social network is set (again). I think family relocation has impacts on your networks and friendship circle. But there are always

changes to the networks along with the change of your life situation. For example, our friends were all young students when we first came here as young students. Then we had friends at the workplace after graduation. And now, we make friends through our kids' activities or programs. You always make new friends at different stages of your life.

For the interviewed mothers, relocation in the United States was described as generally positive. They acknowledged difficulties during the period of adjustment. As a common strategy, they used positive perceptions to cope with transition impacts. Three participants stated that making friends at Chinese schools reduced early transition discomfort and shortened the period of adjustment. A participant (M12) stated that wherever they moved, the first thing they did was to look for a local Chinese school.

All the participants expressed satisfaction, although to different extents, with their neighborhoods from “It is okay living there” to “I love it so much.” All of them, except one, bought a house or a condominium. The majority of residents in their neighborhoods were Caucasians with limited ethnic minorities. The participants reported multiple reasons for choosing their residence and satisfaction with the neighborhood. The mothers mentioned diversity as one of the most important reasons they liked their neighborhood. A participant (M18) shared her reasons. She noted,

I like our neighborhood so much. . . . Many of our neighbors are not local, and they moved from many other places. So people are open here, and most of them have kids. We have common topics to chat about. The whole neighborhood is in harmony. . . . It is quite diverse including Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis, and many others. People are relatively young here with kids.

One mother (M7) agreed with the importance of diversity as a reason she lived in the current neighborhood. She said,

We chose this neighborhood because one-third of the families are Chinese here. One-third families are from India. The rest one-third are Caucasian families. And our house is relatively new that many Chinese would choose it.

Nine participants stated that being around with other Chinese families was important to them. A participant (M1) spoke about why she chose her neighborhood.

There are a lot of Chinese people living in this neighborhood, and I love it!

A mother (M24) discussed the benefits of being around other Chinese families. She connected the benefits with ethnic identity. She noted,

I like our neighborhood a lot. It is safe and quiet. There are many Chinese families. It matched my parenting ideology. I hope my kids have recognition of their cultural background. They are proud of being Chinese. And they can live well in American society as well. There are many Chinese families here. I think it is a positive influence. They get connected with two different cultures. They experience American culture at schools, and they get to know Chinese culture when interacting with the Chinese (American) kids in the neighborhood.

Six participants used safety and quietness as the criteria to choose their residences. Seven participants mentioned kind neighbors to explain their satisfaction with their neighborhood communities. A participant (M15) noted,

No other Chinese family lives in this neighborhood. But our neighbors are very nice. Our next-door neighbor is an old couple. They always

leave some fruits or veggies grown in their yard at our door or on car windows. They are very sweet.

The participants also listed convenience to work and shopping malls as reasons for their satisfaction with their neighborhoods.

In general, most of the participants had at least one relocation experience. General experiences on relocation were positive. Reasons for choosing the current residence were consistent among the participants. Diversity and living closer to other Chinese families were the most important criteria, followed by safety, kind neighbors, and convenience.

Self-Identity and Home Language Usage

The participants were asked to identify themselves as “Chinese,” “Chinese American,” or “American.” Only one mother responded that she was Chinese American. All the mothers considered themselves Chinese, instead of Chinese American or American. About five participants stated they taught their children that they were Chinese as well, “No matter where they were born.” All the participants strongly insisted on speaking Chinese at home. They also emphasized learning Chinese culture at home. Two mothers, whose husbands were not Chinese, reported that they read Chinese books to their children to promote Chinese learning at home.

Holiday Preferences

Participants were asked to rank the significance of three holidays including the Chinese New Year, Christmas, and Thanksgiving. The Chinese New Year is a traditional Chinese holiday. Christmas is a religious holiday as well as an official holiday in the United States. Thanksgiving is a traditional American family holiday. Participants ranked these three holidays differently. They provided varied reasons for their preferences.

Eleven participants considered the Chinese New Year the most important holiday. The Chinese New Year held high symbolic importance for them. They treated the Chinese New Year as a cherished tradition. The celebration of the Chinese New Year was considered a way to impart the cultural heritage to their children and reconnect with their families living afar. A participant (M11) noted,

The Chinese New Year gives ceremonial importance to my family and me. We call our families in China. We ask our kids to say “Happy New Year” and bow to their grandparents. We dress them in traditional Chinese holiday outfits, decorate our home, and cook a feast.

A mother (M7) explained her ranking of the holidays with strong sentiment. She stated,

I would say the Chinese New Year is more important than the other two holidays from the bottom of my heart. . . . Our families in China would have a huge family gathering on the Chinese New Year. Although I don’t feel the holiday atmosphere for the Chinese New Year here, I see friends’ posts (about the Chinese New year) on Wechat (The researcher’s note: Wechat is a messaging App that allows people to connect with family and friends online. It is widely used in Asian

countries). I can feel the holiday atmosphere online. I want my kids to know, to sense, and to understand the Chinese New Year. So, I talk a lot to them about the holiday.

She continued,

But, in fact, there is no holiday break for the Chinese New Year here. The Chinese New Year is somehow neglected. So Christmas and Thanksgiving naturally become important holidays in my life. But I like Thanksgiving more. I think the main idea of Thanksgiving is closer to my Chinese cultural beliefs. I feel like Thanksgiving is more like Mid-Autumn Festival (a family reunion holiday in China) for me. Christmas is just a break for me.

Since all participants were first-generation Chinese immigrants, they all discussed the Chinese New Year in their narratives. When not ranking it as the most important holiday, these participants provided an explanation. One mother (M20) explained her reasons for ranking.

When I was in China, the Chinese New Year, of course, was the most important one. I have been living in the United States over ten years and I follow the traditions here. In addition, I am a Christian. So Christmas and Thanksgiving are important for me. The Chinese New Year is not as important to me. I have to go to work on the Chinese New year. . . . If the New Year happens to be on the weekend, we may have dinner with friends. We have the Chinese New Year party at our church, and we make dumplings. If it falls on a weekday, we don't do anything special.

Nine out of twenty-five participants considered the local Chinese community, specifically the Chinese schools, as a facilitator to promote Chinese culture and reinforce holiday traditions for Chinese immigrants in the United States. One participant (M1) stated,

There are various opportunities for children and families to get involved and participate in the Chinese New Year celebrations at our Chinese school. We (parents) helped out on setting-up, decoration, advertising, and cleaning up afterward. Our kids did all kinds of performances such as a dragon dance, folk dancing, and a fashion show. It is a great way to reinforce Chinese cultural traditions for both the first and second generations (of Chinese immigrants) here.

The same participant discussed how participation in the Chinese New Year celebration boosted her child's confidence and self-esteem. A mother (M22) expressed her appreciation to the local Chinese community, which was the Chinese school. She noted,

If there were no local Chinese community, we would not celebrate the Chinese New Year. Many Americans don't even know about the Chinese New Year. Now we have the Chinese school, our community. We get together on the Chinese New Year and hold the New Year's party. Our kids understand that the Chinese New Year is a holiday.

Another participant (M24) provided similar comments on the importance of the local Chinese community to celebrate the Chinese New Year. She said,

For our family, we are busy, and we have to work during the Chinese New Year. Kids have school too. So, we don't have a special celebration. We celebrate with the local Chinese community. The local Chinese community promotes the significance of the Chinese New Year, which carries a ceremonial significance to us.

Fourteen participants ranked Christmas as the most important holiday. Five of them stated religion as the reason. A participant (M6) noted,

I would rank Christmas, the Chinese New Year, and then Thanksgiving. We are Christian, although we don't go to church now.

My husband's and my own family are Christians. My father's family is very faithful. My mother grew up in a Catholic school. So, Christmas is important to me. The Chinese New Year is in our roots. But we don't celebrate it. But our kids know the importance of the Chinese New Year to us.

Other participants (M5) who ranked Christmas as the most important holiday stated their reason as "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." A participant (M22) explicitly explained,

The order is obviously Christmas, Thanksgiving, and then the Chinese New Year for me. Why? We live in the United States. We celebrate their holidays, and the whole country celebrates them. Christmas is definitely the biggest holiday. Kids are off from school. They expect presents. Thanksgiving is a big holiday too. It is not how I rank them. It is how the whole society ranks them. Kids get the impression that Christmas is the most important holiday. They have long breaks from school on both holidays. . . . The social environment in this country ranks the importance of these holidays.

Another participant (M12) had a representative non-religious reason to rank Christmas as the most important holiday. She noted,

It is difficult (to rank). Christmas is more important because of the long break. Thanksgiving is the second. The Chinese New Year is the third because we have no break from work and the kids have to go to school. . . . We are not Christian. During the Christmas break, we take a break from our busy schedules. We have a Christmas tree. The kids get presents. That's it. It is not about religion. We actually don't celebrate Christmas and Thanksgiving. It is just fun and we relax. We can also get together with friends (during the break).

Only six out of twenty-five participants discussed Thanksgiving. The rest did not mention this holiday. Among the six participants, two of them viewed

Thanksgiving as shopping time. Others enjoyed a week-long break from work and school during Thanksgiving. One mother (M11) explained that she lacked a connection with Thanksgiving. She noted,

Thanksgiving? We don't follow such a tradition like cooking a turkey. We don't have other family members here.

Two participants appreciated the meanings behind Thanksgiving, although they did not treat it as a holiday to celebrate. One mother (M18) stated,

Thanksgiving is related to American history. I think it is a good opportunity to educate the kids that they need to be thankful and appreciate what you have. And there is a long break on Thanksgiving, too.

In summary, less than half of the mothers, eleven in number, ranked the Chinese New Year as the most important. Slightly more than half, fourteen, of the twenty-five mothers ranked Christmas as the most important holiday. Thanksgiving was ranked as the least important. Collectively, Christmas was ranked higher than the Chinese New Year among the participants.

Table 3 *Acculturation Responses of the Surveyed Mothers.*

Identity	Language usage	Most important holiday
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Mostly Chinese	Christmas
Chinese	Mostly English	Christmas
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Mostly English	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Mostly Chinese	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Chinese New Year
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas & Thanksgiving
Chinese American	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Chinese home, English elsewhere	Christmas
Chinese	Mostly English	Christmas

Summary of Demographics and Acculturation

A lot of similarities existed in the demographic characteristics of the interviewed mothers, specifically in terms of immigration reason, educational level, marital status, and family housing option. Although all interviewed mothers except

one claimed themselves as “Chinese” instead of “Chinese American” or “American,” only eleven of them rated the Chinese New Year, the traditional Chinese holiday, as the most important holiday for them. Multiple reasons existed to explain the contradiction. First, these Chinese American mothers were first-generation immigrants. Most of them came to the United States after the completion of their college education. Their nationalism, often formed during the adolescent years of identity development, was still Chinese. Secondly, some of the participants were not U.S. citizens yet, although they had stayed in the United States for many years. Their Chinese citizenship generated a delayed acknowledgment on their self-identity as Chinese Americans. Finally, Chinese Americans had a unique set of physical features, different from Caucasians. Feelings of “otherness” towards Chinese Americans prevented them from identifying themselves as “Americans.”

Chinese School Functions

During the interviews, nine themes emerged from three sub-contexts: 1) functions of Chinese schools on parenting in the bi-cultural context, 2) social support provided by Chinese schools, and 3) functions of Chinese schools on parenting under the effects of racial discrimination.

Three themes emerged in the sub-context, function of Chinese schools on parenting in the bi-cultural context: 1) platform for communication and networking, 2) promoting positive character development, and 3) negative influences.

Platform for Communication and Networking

In multiple respondents' words, Chinese schools were not only a platform for "communicating with other mothers," but also a platform for "connecting with mainstream." The participants talked about how they received and shared information on language learning, parenting, after-school programs, and other child-related topics through interactions with other parents at the Chinese schools. A participant (M24) summarized her understanding of the functions of the Chinese schools. She stated,

I think our Chinese school has two functions as a platform. One is a platform for language education and cultural heritage learning. The other is a platform to connect with mainstream communities. Both of the platform functions are critical for our children and us.

A mother (M12) connected her family relocation experiences with the platform function of Chinese schools. Her comments were typical among those who relocated with children. She said,

We look for Chinese schools first whenever we moved to a new place. We get connections and feel a sense of belonging at a Chinese school since it feels so good to speak Chinese freely there. I didn't know anyone when we first came here. But I got to know almost all the Chinese members in town when we came to the Chinese school.

Another participant (M20) shared similar comments on this function of Chinese schools. She stated,

We share parenting ideas at the Chinese school. Because we share similar backgrounds, culture, immigration experiences, and others, we may face similar situations at many life moments. We communicate with each other. We get useful information from each other. Kids get

immersed in the learning environment with their peers. They (the kids) get more resources.

Chinese schools bridged the Chinese community with other communities.

Social networks with broader society were extended. One participant (M8) noted,

Before having a Chinese school, I only know a few people in town. Now I know almost all the Chinese people in the town and many non-Chinese as well. Such networks may extend to the workplace. . . . As first-generation (Chinese Americans), we came from another country. We don't have strong roots and wide networks here. We were isolated. The Chinese school is a platform to connect us with more people. We are able to get involved in the local communities.

The participants gave examples to illustrate the platform and network functions of the Chinese schools. They shared stories about their interactions. A participant (M1) talked about her daughter's procrastination issues. She utilized an idea from another mother, who used a timer for time management. Another participant (M15) learned to use a special dictionary for her child to study Chinese. They learned parenting skills from mothers who had older children. They exchanged educational information and connected with people in other communities.

Promoting Positive Character Development

Several participants reported that their children developed positive characters through attending Chinese schools. The participants admitted that learning Chinese was a difficult task for second-generation Chinese Americans. Chinese schools often operated on weekends or after school. Children and parents needed to commit to

attending classes and doing homework. A mother (M6) said, “When other kids are playing or sleeping in on weekends, they are studying Chinese at a Chinese school.” Throughout the learning processes, the participants believed that their children developed positive characters such as perseverance, confidence, diligence, and self-discipline. These qualities were highly valued in Chinese culture (Chao & Tseng, 2002). The participants hoped that their children would become more confident. One participant (M1) was very enthusiastic when talking about the benefits of attending the Chinese school. She noted,

I love the school. My child is very, very shy. She couldn't talk to strangers or speak in public. But she made new friends who share a similar background and physical traits with her at the Chinese school. She became more confident and open. I encouraged her to participate in her school activities and speak in front of her class. I told her, “You did a great job in all performances at Chinese school with over hundreds of people in the audience. You can do the same in your class.” She is more open and confident. I can see that.

Another mother (M15) also shared the same experience that her child “enjoys himself and friendships at the Chinese school.” Such friendship motivated these children to go to Chinese school.

Negative Influences

Around ten participants brought up their concerns and worries. All of the identified problems about Chinese schools centered around social isolation. One participant (M6) stated,

For some Chinese families, I can see that they need such a place for networking and social connections because they feel comfortable here. They can make more friends and get resources. It was one of the reasons that we formed this school. However, some people just feel that their social needs have been fulfilled. They don't reach out and get connected with larger society. They are isolated.

Another participant (M8) had concerns about her own parenting practices. She noted,

I may consider some parenting practices are normal when they are not because others (in the Chinese school) all do the same. For example, Chinese parents do not pay much attention to leadership development for the kids. They overbook their kids with extracurricular activities. And everyone (in the Chinese school) does it. Kids don't have enough time to play with their peers. How can they develop leadership capabilities this way?

The participants were worried that such isolation might affect their children's social ability and skills. They were concerned that they might not make friends at other places, for example at their regular school. A mother (M24) stated,

Their (children's) social needs are fulfilled at the Chinese school. They feel comfortable staying in the tight circle with people from the same ethnic group. They avoid reaching out to their peers at regular school. It deteriorates their social life and social abilities. It is very serious.

In this sub-context, Chinese schools were described as platforms to connect with fellow Chinese Americans. The schools bridged the Chinese community with the larger society, so that social networks were extended. Chinese schools promoted positive character development for the children through the learning process and

interactions with peers. Concerns about the negative influences of Chinese schools focused on social isolation.

Chinese schools were usually considered the venues for language learning. The participants expressed how Chinese schools helped and motivated their children to learn Chinese language and cultural heritage. Most of the participants confessed that teaching their own children Chinese at home was extremely difficult. They stated that both parents and children had low commitments when the children learned Chinese just at home. Reasons included 1) Children had too many extracurricular activities, so learning Chinese was considered a secondary obligation; 2) Parents often gave up when children became upset or threw temper tantrums during Chinese learning; and 3) motivation and inspiration were low as their children did not use Chinese anywhere except at home.

Most of the participants thought that sending their children to Chinese schools for language learning was the optimal solution. They stepped down from supervisors to gatekeepers. Their children obtained language learning and homework from Chinese schools. Parents saved time and energy as they just followed the school schedule and teachers' assignments. Meanwhile, the children treated learning Chinese as an important task in a school environment. Teachers and peers provided learning motivation. A participant (M4) expressed satisfaction with her son's learning progress. She expressed,

We went back to China for a visit before he attended the Chinese school. He refused to talk with his grandparents and other relatives because he didn't understand them. He felt embarrassed that I had to be the interpreter for him. After he took lessons at the Chinese school, his speaking ability increased tremendously. He enjoyed talking to his grandparents and cousins when we visited China during the summer. He is proud of himself for his language skills.

Aside from functions on language and culture learning, the participants identified multiple social functions of Chinese schools. Three themes emerged in this sub-context, including 1) reinforcing ethnic identity, 2) providing social resources, and 3) creating volunteering opportunities.

Reinforcing Ethnic Identity

The term ethnic identity was not well-known among the participants. Only one mother used this term. However, the concepts around ethnic identity were frequently brought up by them. A mother (M19) noted,

I didn't think about ethnic identity before enrolling my child in the Chinese school. I just learned this term, identity (laugh). I never thought about this concept (of identity). I came to the United States. I followed mainstream (ideology). I didn't even think about what I should do to maintain my heritage. At the Chinese school, we try and integrate well with mainstream society. And at the same time, our kids may realize they are Chinese Americans, and they are a part of the United States. I think these kids are doing meaningful things. And they did a good job. It is great!

Three participants discussed the “symmetry between body and identity” (Francis et al., 2010, p. 111). They noted the connections between the physical characteristics of Chinese people and their associated ethnic identity. A participant

(M9) said, “They (the Chinese American children) look like Chinese. It is weird if they do not speak Chinese.” The participants applied their own identity to their children’s. One participant (M8) made a strong statement.

Your parents are Chinese. You will always be Chinese. You have to learn Chinese. It is not an option.

A participant (M24) discussed the roles of the Chinese school in promoting ethnic identity and self-reliance. She noted,

I know some parents who don’t teach kids Chinese. They told their kids, “You are an American. You don’t have to learn Chinese.” Their kids don’t know anything about China. I don’t agree with such parenting. No matter how much you deny your ethnic identity and how less you know about China or Chinese, you have an Asian face! You cannot change this! In the beginning, I thought my kids could learn some Chinese and would be better for their future. As we go deeper with Chinese learning along with the growth of the Chinese school, we hope our kids can recognize and accept their ethnic identity and be proud of their heritage. These influence my parenting. . . . I hope kids do not just learn Chinese at the Chinese school, but will also be proud of their cultural heritage. It is an important task for all Chinese parents: how do we do to promote their recognition and acceptance of ethnic identity and be proud of the cultural heritage through learning Chinese?

The participants stated that learning Chinese was a way to impart cultural values and beliefs to their children. Textbooks and teachers emphasized cultural values at Chinese schools. Combined with cultural activities such as the Chinese New Year celebrations and the Mid-Autumn Festival event, the children were immersed in a Chinese culture environment. They were exposed to the cultural heritage, thereby reinforcing their ethnic identity. A mother (M14) considered learning Chinese as a

way to appreciate the cultural heritage and to promote self-esteem, both of which enhanced ethnic identity. She stated,

I tell him (my child) more about China since he was enrolled in the Chinese school. I want him to be proud of himself as a Chinese American. It is a shame not knowing your heritage language. . . . American society is like a plate of salad. All ingredients mix together, but they all keep their freshness. Such freshness refers to maintaining your ethnic characteristics. Language is the best way to keep such “freshness.” It is very necessary for him to learn Chinese.

Six participants reported that one of the major reasons they sent their children to Chinese school was to “Let them know where their roots are.” A mother (M6) elaborated with “If you don’t realize who you are and you are not proud of your heritage, you won’t be happy later in your life.”

Providing Social Resources

Providing parenting resources was another frequently discussed role of Chinese schools. All participants stated that they conversed with other parents at Chinese schools on a wide range of topics. The conversations took place at either drop-off or pick-up time, as well as during the class sessions. Information, advice, and suggestions about parenting were exchanged during these conversations. A participant (M6) described this function. She noted,

We share our life stories. We ask for others’ opinions. Others may come to ask us for opinions. We immigrated to the United States and moved to this town at different times. Some came earlier and some came later. We have different experiences. So we get different perspectives. But on the other hand, we understand each other because

we share similar cultural backgrounds. For example, many Chinese families have three generations living together. It is not easy to deal with conflicts among the grandparents, parents (us), and children. Only Chinese people can understand such complicated family relationships. And only Chinese friends can give you proper advice because (average) Americans don't have such experiences.

Other participants voiced similar statements. A mother (M3) recalled an experience at the Chinese school. She noted,

I remember at the beginning of the semester, a mother who just moved here from another place. She asked us a lot of questions such as where the kids played soccer, where they had drawing classes, etc. For new families here, they may get all kinds of information they need at the Chinese school because we share the same culture, ideologies, values, and beliefs.

She continued,

I do chat a lot with other parents at the Chinese school. I ask the parents who have older kids about children's education, activities, mental health, and more. I want to see if there is anything I can learn from their experiences since they have already been there. I get a lot of useful information on parenting through these interactions at the Chinese school.

A few participants also mentioned that they constantly received help from other parents whom they knew at Chinese schools. The help included babysitting their children, picking-up or dropping-off children from school or other activities, and even assistance with some family chores.

When asked about the need for parenting education, twenty-three out of twenty-five participants agreed on such a need. One participant (M8) described the need,

We grew up in China. Our parenting ideologies, values, and beliefs may change more or less in the processes of acculturation. But we are still not familiar with American philosophy and ideologies on parenting. Our kids were born here and they are Americans. They are strongly influenced by American culture, rather than Chinese culture. They don't have cultural conflicts. But as parents, we do. I think parents need to be trained and educated on parenting in the two-culture setting. We have to be open-minded, to interact with the larger society because our children are a part of it. Parents need parenting training in the multicultural society.

The participants detailed their expectations on parenting education. Some of them preferred seminars or workshops in parenting education. Some believed panel discussions with experts or experienced parents might be helpful. Both general parenting issues and specific techniques were of interest. General parenting topics included what parents should be aware of at different developmental stages, how the public education system worked, how to promote social and emotional development, how to motivate children's interests on learning especially the Chinese language, how to communicate with teenagers, and how to communicate effectively with family members. The participants also wanted seminars or workshops that focused on the development of certain positive personality traits such as grit. One mother (M15) spoke in an urgent voice. She stated,

I think it is very, very, very necessary to have parenting education seminars or workshops at the Chinese school. I think every parent needs parenting resources. But everyone is not on the same page and we don't share the same ideologies. Seminars may focus on child safety, anti-bullying, mental health, and psychological traits of developmental stages. Even sex education can be discussed. Through seminars, parents get a chance to know characteristics of child development in a low-pressure environment with proper guidance.

Two participants strongly suggested to hold parenting seminars about bullying in the public school. One participant (M21) noted,

When we lived in Dallas, the Chinese school we attended held a seminar on bullying. A mother who was a community leader talked about bullying. She used her experiences to illustrate how to handle it. We grew up in China. Our time and social environment were so different from our kids' in the United States. It is impossible to use our standards to provide proper solutions to problems they face. I think it would be great if we have seminars on how to handle conflicts.

The participants proposed suggestions on possible candidates for the seminars. They suggested having Asian American college students and their parents to share their experiences. One participant (M3) stated,

I may not know American culture very well, especially the college campus culture. For instance, kids are teased at school or bullied. What should we do? Our methods may not be the one they agree on. So, if we invite some older Chinese American kids, college kids or college graduates back and let them give us a seminar, they may share their experiences and talk about their coping strategies from their current perspective. Or (we may invite) mothers with older kids who have experiences in handling these issues. My kids are too young. I don't have such experiences.

Chinese schools were important venues to help Chinese American mothers obtain parenting information and social resources. It was clear that there was a strong need for parenting education. The mother hoped that their Chinese schools would address the need.

Creating Volunteering Opportunities

Although public schools provided abundant volunteering opportunities for parents, just two interviewed mothers reported that they volunteered on a regular basis at their child's regular schools. Multiple reasons contributed to such a low level of involvement including work schedule, family obligations, lacking language abilities, and low confidence levels. A participant (M5) explained her reasons. She stated,

I am involved a lot at the Chinese school, but not much at his public school. First, the Chinese school is a volunteer-based place, but public school is not. Second, I don't feel comfortable interacting with American parents in English. I have nothing to talk with them. My English is not good enough.

One participant (M12) said she felt "I don't feel I'm needed at my son's (regular) school." She reasoned,

I am involved a lot at the Chinese school because as a non-profit organization, parental involvement and enthusiasm ensure its growth. I don't feel I'm needed at the public school. I want my involvement to show to my kids how seriously I treat Chinese learning. They should treat it as a real school, not for playing.

One mother (M20) explained her differential involvement levels at the Chinese school and her child's public school. She noted,

For language reasons, I don't get involved in my child's (regular) school much. I rarely communicate with his teacher. I volunteer at the (regular) school even less. I have a full-time job. I don't feel confident at his school or doing things there. I volunteer more at the Chinese school, such as monitoring class sessions and helping performances at the school event. My knowledge and confidence are higher at the Chinese school. We communicate in Chinese. I feel comfortable.

Chinese schools primarily relied on volunteers to operate. Parent volunteers served as teachers, school administrators, or school counselors. They were the backbone of Chinese schools. Regardless of their involvement levels at Chinese schools, these mothers all realized the importance of volunteering at Chinese schools. They understood the benefits of volunteering for both themselves and children. A participant (M8) noted,

Involvement at Chinese school broadened my vision. I pay more attention to the development of social responsibility for my child. As a result, my child feels responsible for the school and the events. He gives us his opinions. He feels a sense of belonging and becomes responsible.

The participants who had significant Chinese school involvement gained benefits. One participant (M18) noted,

I get involved in all events and do volunteering. I do see the influences of my volunteering experiences on my parenting. I hope she (my daughter) can contribute to the community. It is also good for her, such as developing positive character traits. I want to be her role model. You get benefits and your contributions benefit others (through volunteering

experiences). I think the volunteering spirit is absent in Chinese culture. We are too practical. I think volunteering experiences are meaningful. I will keep doing it. I hope my child will do it too.

Another participant (M11) made similar comments. She indicated,

I think my involvement is meaningful for my children. I want them to be open-minded. I should be their role model. I try to interact more with other people and participate in more activities. I think my son is encouraged in some way by my involvement. He is willing to participate. He enjoys his participation in these activities with his friends. His confidence has increased and he is proud of himself. I am very happy with this.

In this sub-context, social functions of Chinese schools went beyond language education and culture recognition. The participants broadly discussed that attending Chinese schools reinforced ethnic identity, helped obtain social and parenting resources, and provided volunteering experiences. As discussed earlier in the literature review, Chinese American parents provided great structural and instrumental support at home to promote school success. Such effort somehow compensated for limited public school involvement.

In this sub-context, the functions of Chinese schools under the impacts of racial discrimination, the discussed functions were categorized into three themes: 1) a sense of belonging, 2) unifying Chinese Americans, and 3) a voice for the Chinese American community. Each of the themes is discussed as follows.

Sense of Belonging

For first-generation immigrants, it is not uncommon to feel alienated and isolated in a place far from their hometown. A few participants stated that they felt comfortable, had a sense of belonging, and heavily engaged in their Chinese schools as a community. One participant (M22) reflected,

The Chinese school provides us a sense of belonging to the community. My child meets other children who have a similar background and speak two languages like him. They play together well. It is very important for me. Learning Chinese characters is a secondary function of the Chinese school, I think. As a minority with an Asian face, I think our children do not get equal opportunity to represent their schools in public. They don't get many chances to practice public speaking at his regular school either. But we (the Chinese school) create opportunities for our kids that they don't get in their public schools. They get opportunities to speak on stage at least twice a year at the Chinese school's recitals and other events. These experiences they have at the Chinese school may be more than three times they get in their public schools.

Another participant (M11) recounted her recent experiences. She noted,

I think the Chinese school provides a sense of belonging to a (Chinese) community. For instance, we had our first Mid-Autumn Festival celebration this year. We might just eat some mooncakes at home and call our families in China if there was no Chinese school. Instead, we hosted this huge event. We were even on the news (local newspaper). It had tremendous impacts on the larger community. People may, at least, know us better. As I said earlier, there are two reasons leading to discrimination. One is the language ability. The other is lack of understanding (of our culture). If people know our culture better and understand there are positive essentials in it, they will have better ideas about Chinese people. I think it is great. We invited a family whose child is a friend of my son. The family was thrilled (about the festival celebration). They said they really enjoyed the festivity. They thought it was quite meaningful.

The Chinese schools provided a community that empowered its members. The participants stated that they felt secure that they had a community to rely on and to trust. This sense of belonging to an ethnic community boosted self-esteem and confidence to fend off potential racial discrimination.

Unifying Chinese Americans

Chinese schools unified Chinese Americans and provided psychological and physical support. These functions were important to Chinese Americans, as an ethnic minority. One participant (M7) voiced her comments with confidence and hopes.

I think the Chinese school unifies Chinese overseas (Researcher's note: Chinese overseas refer to Chinese Americans here). You can only be accepted (by mainstream) if you are powerful and confident. When you exist as a high-level social class, people will accept you easily. . . . There are so many Chinese at the Chinese school today. We should be more confident and be psychologically stronger. We are role models for our children. We have an obligation to pass down Chinese culture and values. They (the kids) should be proud of being an American as well as being Chinese. We should encourage them to be proud of themselves as Chinese. I think Chinese schools can serve these purposes.

A mother (M14) explained this function of Chinese schools from another angle. She stated,

I think you can see clearly through racial discrimination that you are weak, as a foreigner and an immigrant, first-generation. When you are discriminated or possibly being discriminated, you feel lonely without support. But if there is a community, many people have similar experiences. We unify together, face the problem together, and find ways to solve it together. You become stronger. So, we are motivated

to gather our kids together, learn Chinese, and be stronger mentally. The Chinese school promotes such unification as a community against racial discrimination.

Voice for the Chinese American Community

Depicted as a group of quiet, high-achieving, and rule-following people in mass media and some academic papers, Chinese Americans rarely had their voices heard in public. One participant (M25) expressed her thoughts.

Chinese people have a voice through Chinese schools as a Chinese community. People will pay attention to our community. Through our outreach programs, they may understand us better. It is the Deep South. You can feel the difference outside of the university campus. . . . I think in San Francisco, Boston, those big cities, people are open-minded. The population is diverse. Situations would be different and it would be better there.

Another participant (M23) noted,

As a community, we all get together to discuss problems and try solutions. If you are alone, you feel isolated without help. As a strong community, we can apply pressure to promote problem-solving. We can speak out our concerns.

As a result of such supportive function of Chinese schools against racial discrimination, most of the participants felt the impacts on their children in a positive way. One mother (M1) stated,

They don't devalue themselves (as being Chinese Americans). They build self-esteem and confidence. They are not alone. All their Chinese American friends are excellent.

Another mother (M18) shared similar comments. She noted,

My daughter would feel more confident if others tease her about her ethnicity. She has a sense of community, our Chinese school. It is a support system. Almost all the Chinese kids at her school go to Chinese school. They are friends. They support each other.

In the participants' narratives, Chinese schools provided psychological protection for Chinese Americans against racial discrimination. As a subtle and sensitive subject, racial discrimination might not be openly discussed between the participants and their children. They reserved their emotion and restrained their thinking on negative influences. Chinese schools buffered such impacts by fostering a sense of belonging, unifying Chinese Americans, and advocating for the Chinese Americans.

Summary of Functions of Chinese Schools

As a significant part of the mesosystem in ecological theory, Chinese schools at the center of the Chinese community acted as a critical social force for Chinese Americans. Their roles included promoting ethnic identity, fostering a sense of belonging, and serving as a platform for communication and networking within and beyond the Chinese community. Chinese schools brought tremendous resources that supported the Chinese American mothers on parenting. Volunteering at Chinese schools raised their awareness on developing civic responsibilities for both parents and children. Children received benefits through building friendships and networks. Support from parents, co-ethnic peers, and Chinese schools promoted the development

of positive characters such as confidence, perseverance, self-reliance, and being open-minded among enrolled children.

Parenting Context

In this context, four sub-contexts illustrated 1) parenting in the bi-cultural context, 2) parenting under the effects of racial discrimination, 3) parental expectations, and 4) quality time, mother-child communication, and discipline. Each sub-context is discussed in detail in the following subsections.

Parenting in the Bi-Cultural Context

Contemporary acculturation theories claimed that immigrants might simultaneously hold onto their cultural heritage and accept new cultural concepts in a new environment (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005). The interview narratives were highly aligned with this theory. All surveyed mothers except one agreed that both Chinese culture and American culture had significant impacts on their parenting ideologies, strategies, and practices. As first-generation Chinese immigrants, more than half of the mothers had their first children after arriving in the United States. Their parenting styles and practices were influenced by Chinese culture they grew up with in China. At the same time, Western parenting ideologies played an important role in shaping their parenting philosophy (Costigan & Su, 2008). Such modification introduced by the two cultures resulted in divergent statements from the interviewed mothers on

what types of impacts the two cultures brought to their parenting. These statements covered supporting, complementary, and conflicting roles of the two cultures.

The participants who shared their arguments on the supportive roles of two cultures discussed benefits and connections between the two cultures. A participant (M3) stated,

Exposure to the two cultures gives me more choices on parenting. I can choose the best parts of each culture and discard the negative parts. . . . For example, I don't force my daughter to play the piano if she doesn't want to. But I know many Chinese parents would do that. I think it is unnecessary. She (my daughter) doesn't learn enough at school, especially in math. So, I teach her some math skills. She was frustrated in the beginning. But once she gets it, she will build her own logical system. She will appreciate the help (in math) later.

Another participant (M7) shared similar statements. She stated,

I think the two cultures are connected. There are a lot of similarities between the two cultures, such as similar goals on child education, family obligation, etc. I once thought American way of parenting was loose and parents were quite relaxed on child education. But I was wrong. I witnessed my colleagues in my lab spent so much time with their kids, took them to after-school activities, set reading time each day. They were truly proud of their (kids') progress. . . . I think Chinese parents are a little bit pushy. But basically, fundamental concepts on childrearing are the same in the two cultures.

The participants made a wide range of comments on the supportive and complementary roles of the two cultures. They identified that some fundamental ideologies on parenting between the two cultures were very similar. For example, both Chinese parents and American parents expected good behavior, respect, and

responsibility from their children. A mother (M11) learned the volunteering spirit, which she considered deficient in Chinese culture, from public schools. A participant (M20) compared the two cultures with the following statements.

But I would prefer American way of parenting. For example, Chinese parents always compare their own kids with others. Some families are patriarchal and kids are required to be obedient. They emphasize too much success and being an elite. On the other hand, I think American parents are more relaxed (on children's academic success). They respect their kids and listen to their kids. They treat each individual as unique. If you do your best, that is great.

Another participant (M8) expressed her concerns and thoughts on the bi-cultural impacts on her parenting. Her comments manifested how acculturation influenced parenting in the bi-cultural environment as described by acculturation theories. She stated,

The impacts (of the two cultures) are significant. If we stayed in China, we wouldn't think about things this way. We are anxious and worried because the differences (between the two cultures) are so big. We didn't grow up in the (American) system, so we don't know whether we do it (parenting) in a correct way. So, we have to reflect every day.... The two cultures complement each other in parenting. We make choices and modify them each day. We have changed our parenting ideologies and strategies over the years. I think raising a child is like re-educating parents.

Three participants confessed about their struggles and confusion in parenting. They explicitly voiced their concerns about cultural conflicts. On the one hand, they expected their children to integrate well into American society. On the other hand, they hoped their children understood and appreciated Chinese culture. Achieving both

goals was difficult. Such acculturative stress due to two contrasting cultures reflected in a mother (M14)'s comments. She noted,

Conflicts, um, I would say confusion. My mom is my role model. Her parenting has great influences on me. When I had my child, I thought I didn't need to do anything and just let him be happy and enjoy his life. But I gradually realized I was wrong. The American style of parenting is different from the concepts in Chinese culture. I am still searching and trying to improve my parenting skills.

Filial piety had been considered as one of the highest moral responsibilities among Chinese people for thousands of year (Lin & Fu, 1990). Young children were expected to be obedient and respectful. Adult children should provide material and psychological support when parents were old. A participant (M17) used filial piety as an example to illustrate parenting conflicts between the two cultures.

Americans emphasize independence and prefer a small family size. Chinese families are interdependent and we prefer living in large families, with extended family members. It is our tradition. We have grandparents living with us all the time, either my parents or my husband's. It is hard for my daughter (a 12 years-old) to understand why we cannot live as other American families. I have to explain to her the importance of filial piety in Chinese culture. I told her how grandparents raised us when we were young. And now that they are old, they need our care. It is time to pay back for their early years of caring. I hope she can understand someday.

A mother (M12) recognized, "The United States is a multicultural society. The earlier the kids get in touch with multiple cultures, the better off they are in the future."

Parenting under the Effects of Racial Discrimination

The participants discussed their worries or concerns when asked about discriminatory experiences as a Chinese American. Several mothers showed hesitation in disclosing their feelings. During the interviews, they were briefly silent before talking about this topic. Five participants stated they were not worried and their children handled conflicts well. They claimed there was no impact of racial discrimination on their parenting, “I just told him to be respectful.” About one-third of the participants said that discrimination existed everywhere no matter where you were. “Parents have to teach kids to avoid conflicts and risks,” stated by a mother (M16). A participant (M21) stated,

I told my kids the world is different from your fairy tales. There are unfair and unjust incidents, although we hope for an equal and justified society. You should not harm others, but you have to be cautious and be prepared for what might happen in your life.

The majority of the participants expressed concerns about school bullying, discrimination toward Chinese Americans, ethnic identity, and children’s future. One participant (M15) compared her child’s past experiences in Houston with those in the current environment. She stated that multiple bullying incidents happened to her child. The frequency of incidents was much higher in Alabama than that in Houston. Another participant (M23) stated she had to transfer her child out to another school because of the bullying incidents encountered. She talked about ways to help her child cope with possible discrimination at school. She noted,

My son is very sensitive. Whenever he hears someone saying “Chinese,” he thinks that person is a racist. I told him you could not judge if he is a racist just by saying ‘Chinese.’ He might be curious about China or Chinese culture. I deliberately pack Chinese food for his lunch like fried rice or dumplings. His classmates loved the food he brought to school. They asked him if he could bring more. I said, “See, they mentioned Chinese, but they are not racists.” Now he is proud that his mom can make delicious Chinese food. He can share with his friends at school. He made some new friends this way. So, I think discrimination depends on how you view it and how you handle it. Being positive and having positive thoughts may make things better.

Three participants talked about ethnic identity related to racial discrimination. They discussed that ethnic identity might protect children from discrimination. They also discussed possible solutions that they provided to their children. A participant (M24) noted,

I do have concerns. We are a minority in this country. I think discrimination exists, but sometimes it might just be the feeling of being discriminated. So, I think, rather than changing others, you have to change yourself (your thinking). When people ask me, “Are you Chinese?” I say yes. I don’t feel it is shameful. So, I think children should recognize their ethnic identity. If you are proud of your ethnicity, others will not hurt you by attacking it. On the other hand, Chinese culture is different from American culture. People may just feel unsure or uncomfortable interacting with you. It is not discrimination. You have to be open-minded, to interact with other racial groups, and let people get to know you better.

Feelings about racial discrimination were subtle. When facing racial discrimination, parents “struggled with whether kids should be told about it,” said a mother (M3). Such uncertainty and avoidance of this topic caused feelings of self-inferiority among Chinese Americans. One participant (M8) offered a representative opinion about racial discrimination. She stated,

I think racial discrimination has a tremendous impact on Chinese American parenting. You may not really be discriminated, but you feel you are discriminated. Parents may subconsciously feel they could be discriminated because of being Chinese (Americans). They may subconsciously convey that idea to their children that being Chinese is problematic. As a result, it may affect children's confidence and self-esteem. Chinese American parents may look confident and don't talk about discrimination. But if there is anything (related to discrimination) happening, they are scared. It is a big issue. We don't have proper ways to solve it. I think our support system is not working well.

Other than racial discrimination, several participants expressed their worries about their children's future including constrained career opportunities and limited marriage choices. They were worried that the "glass ceiling" might prevent Asian American children from being promoted to high career levels. One mother was worried that her son might have limited choices for a marriage partner as a Chinese American. Stereotyping might limit their children's career choices. A participant (M21) provided an example of stereotyping that her son brought up in their conversations. She noted,

I am worried that stereotyping may hurt my children. For example, Asian kids are considered being excellent in math, but not cool enough. I told my son that daddy and I came to the United States in our twenties. We work hard and do well in our jobs. Many Chinese people around us live a wonderful life and they are excellent in different areas. Being cool is not about how many jokes you can tell and what tricks you can play. It does not matter which race you are in. It does matter how hard you work. It is about your whole set of skills and knowledge.

The impacts of racial discrimination may have long-lasting effects. These effects were destructive on self-esteem and confidence as a participant (M10) was worried about. Another participant (M3) was concerned that possible racial

discrimination might not be direct or obvious in the first place. They feared that the general public might form negative images of Chinese Americans. She provided an example that her child's school janitors often wiped tables and chairs that Asian students sat at because "they sweated a lot." She stated, "it might not be discrimination, but such acts hurt our feelings."

Parental Expectations

As one of the core values embedded in Chinese culture, parental expectations were often discussed in the parenting literature. In the current study, each of the participants gave an extended narrative on parental expectations. Their responses occupied the longest duration among all the parenting questions. All participants displayed similar patterns of expectations including high academic achievement, high parental expectations, and low parental satisfaction. These patterns are presented for three aspects: academic performance, social abilities, and Chinese language skills.

Aligned with the literature, all mothers except one reported that their children received good grades and teachers provided very positive feedback toward their children's learning. One participant (M19) noted,

Her academic records are pretty good. I don't expect more from her because she is already on top. She gets straight As. Her math skills have reached the highest level.

The participants provided the reasons behind the high level of school performance. Three of them thought that hard work and extra homework assignments contributed to excellent academic outcomes. One participant (M4) stated,

I think he works too hard. He wants to do everything perfectly. He works too hard. . . . He gives himself too much pressure. I want him to relax a little bit.

Another participant (M14) provided similar comments on her child's academic performance such as "well-established learning habits." A participant (M15) described her child as "an independent learner and he handles his school well."

Did such high achievements meet the mothers' expectations? Answers varied. One participant (M20) voiced her opinions on parental expectations, which were typical among the interviewees. She noted,

I think all Chinese parents set high expectations for their children and want a bright future for their kids. We set higher expectations than American parents do. I think my son does well. But I always feel he is able to do better. And I hope he can do better.

Another participant (M21) shared similar comments. She noted,

I think math is way too easy at his school. So, he shouldn't make any mistakes and he should make 100% correct. Reading might not be his strength. But he works hard and he is smart. He should stay above average too. I think he should be on top. It is easy. Homework and tests, he should be on top. He is on a math team. He has extra homework from his math team. These math questions are really tough. Even for me, I have to think about them for a while.

After a long narrative on how she handles her son's C on the report card, one participant (M23) stated,

I have expectations for him. He has talents. Everybody who knows him says so. He gets positive pressure from these people. He can do better.

Four participants claimed they did not set high expectations for their children's academic performance. One of them (M11) stated,

Your expectations change all the time, right? You may want him to do something now and to do something else later. I don't set a clear academic goal for him. He brings home report cards, so we know how he does at school. He has some extra reading, Chinese school homework, and piano (lessons). He meets my expectations. I don't have high expectations. But sometimes he is stressed out like not wanting to play the piano. I need to comfort him. In the meantime, as a parent, I have to be persistent. If he can keep his interests, I will be happy with it.

Three participants claimed their children had reached their academic expectations. One participant (M5) spoke in a happy tone.

My son reached my expectations. I cannot help him on reading. I don't think my English is good enough to teach him. He learns all from school. He does well.

A participant (M6) explained her expectations on diligence that she valued. She stated,

I want my kids to know that it is not about how I am satisfied with your academic performance. It is how you are satisfied with your own academic achievements. You take charge of it. You push yourself to your maximum and give yourself a chance. It does not matter what

grade you get. It is about how hard you work to achieve your goals. If you set a low goal for something less, you don't have to work hard. But if you want something high to achieve, it is not easy. No pain, no gain. . . . I try not to build up my expectations for my kids. They have to explore their own lives. Don't live under others' expectations. Don't push them too hard. It will hurt their confidence. I think parents should guide and lead them to build up their confidence. That is our biggest goal.

Five participants emphasized their expectations on developing good learning habits. One mother (M3) noted that good learning habits might prepare her child for the future “when she wants to achieve more in academics.”

When addressing Chinese language skills, all the mothers, explicitly and implicitly, stated their expectations. Their expectations included being able to communicate with families in China, being able to read and write in Chinese, developing certain positive traits like persistence, and knowing Chinese culture. Six participants claimed that they had no expectations on their child's Chinese language skills. But they had some “hopes.” One participant (M14) noted,

I don't have a clear expectation on his Chinese. I have a hope or an idea. He has no problem communicating with us in Chinese. But if he can only make daily conversations, he is not going to deeply enjoy the beauty of the Chinese language such as poems, prose, and other forms of literature. I know such “hope” is very difficult to achieve. If he can read classic books as we read before, I would be really, really happy. If he can text me in Chinese, it would be great too.

Another participant (M2) explained her “no expectations” with reasons.

You have to be realistic. There is no Chinese learning environment. They even speak English at the Chinese school. I don't set expectations

for their Chinese learning. I don't have time to assist them to learn Chinese. My son forgets easily what he learns. Some Chinese characters have to be memorized. Memorization is a weak point for my son.

Among participants who did state their expectations on Chinese skills, their expectations varied. They provided their reasons for their expectations. One participant (M5) discussed her expectations. She stated,

I have expectations on their Chinese. I told them, "The reason I send you to Chinese school is to let you know that you are Chinese. So, you have to learn Chinese." My daughter gave up when her friends dropped out. Then she dropped out too. Kids don't know the benefits of learning Chinese at this age. She felt bored and didn't like doing extra homework. So, she quit. My son attends the Chinese school. He has friends there. He is happy. I changed my son's studying schedule from cramming all homework on weekends to doing a little bit Chinese homework every day. It works well.

A participant (M22) claimed she had "low expectations" for her child's Chinese learning, but she had hopes as well.

I think he is okay. I know how much time you have to spend on learning a foreign language. It is hard to learn without a learning environment. For us, we learned it (a foreign language) for exams. For our kids, they learn it because their parents want them to learn. So, they don't have an inner motivation. He has learned some from the Chinese school. But his favorite part at the Chinese school is playing with other kids. He reached my expectations for Chinese learning. I don't set a high standard on his Chinese. He can understand Chinese and write some characters. If he needs to use Chinese later in his life, he can quickly pick it up because he has a foundation. . . . When he realizes Chinese is important and he needs it, he will have motivations. Then he will learn it himself. It is a low expectation.

Five participants set high expectations on Chinese skills. One of the participants (M24) talked about her expectations on two levels. She hoped her children would appreciate Chinese culture and heritage through language learning. She noted,

I do have expectations for the Chinese learning. At a lower level, I hope they can read and write Chinese characters. Only when they are equipped with reading and writing abilities, they are able to learn Chinese culture. I think the more they get to know Chinese, the more they feel comfortable using it. For example, we stayed in China for a long period this summer. My son blurted out some Chinese words that surprised me. They were not easy words for him and he used them correctly in a correct scenario. I think cultural recognition and understanding are developed through such immersion in language. The Chinese school is a platform to provide some immersion with Chinese language and its culture. At the higher level, learning Chinese would be to know the culture deeply, not just knowing some Chinese characters.

All the mothers had high expectations on their children's academic performance, even for high-achieving students. The result was aligned with the literature (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Education had always been viewed as one of the most important parenting goals for Asian American parents. The findings here supported this common view.

To further investigate the participants' academic expectations, their satisfaction with child's school achievement was surveyed. Interestingly, only one participant responded that she was fully satisfied with her child's school achievement. The participants who claimed they were satisfied often added some modification to their evaluation. For example, one participant (M9) noted,

I am satisfied with their academic performance. But there is room for improvement and they can do better.

The participants showed dissatisfaction with learning habits, motivations, and attitudes rather than the actual academic performance. One participant (M12) compared two of her children and she explained her dissatisfaction with one of her children. She noted,

I am satisfied with their academic performance. But my daughter makes 100% effort to achieve the best. My son is the opposite. If he can put minimum effort to achieve success, he won't bother to do a bit more. He is smart and his academic performance is good. . . . My daughter exceeds our expectations. She reaches her own expectations. My son doesn't have expectations for himself. He is too lazy. He is not persistent. He has no plans.

Another participant (M19), whose child was a high achieving student and reached the highest level of academic standard in the school, had similar remarks.

But she doesn't have motivations to do even better, like planning to attend the Ivy-Leagues. Her attitude on learning is not good. She can do her homework well. But she doesn't like doing work I give her. I don't really expect a result. I want her to have a good learning habit. If you do something, you need to sit there calmly and do whatever you need to do. She is reluctant to do the work.

Lack of motivations and poor learning attitudes were the reasons for a mother (M21)'s dissatisfaction. She expressed,

If I give a score to my satisfaction with their academic performance, it would be somewhere between 85% and 90%. . . . I think they lack positive attitudes and strong motivations to explore knowledge deeply. If they have interests in something, they should spend more time, solve

problems, and dive in depth. They may be too young to have such positive traits. They are lazy sometimes. They just finish homework and do a little extra work. I am not satisfied with their attitude toward learning.

Each of the participants discussed the reasons for her dissatisfaction with her child's academic performance. They stressed that learning habits and motivations were more important than the good grades, the latter of which were mandatory. About ten participants expressed their dissatisfaction with math teaching at their children's regular school. They stated that American schools teach "easy math." As a result, some children were given extra math homework.

Social abilities in the current study were about interactions with peers and interpersonal personality traits. Note that there were fewer discussions on social abilities than those on academic performance about Chinese American children in the literature. The discussed interpersonal personality traits included shyness and being an introvert or extrovert. The participants evaluated their children's social abilities based on personality and the ability to make friends. Their mothers considered outgoing children as "kids with good social abilities." These mothers had high levels of satisfaction. One mother (M16) described her child as "an extrovert, easygoing, and caring, so she has many friends."

The participants who described their child as an introvert or being shy had lower levels of satisfaction with their children's social abilities. Being open-minded and confident were valued by the mothers as important character traits for their

children. Two of the surveyed mothers self-criticized their own social abilities. One participant (M19) with a high achieving child in academic records noted,

I am not satisfied with her social ability. She is very self-centered. She doesn't initiate interactions with peers. I am not an open person. I don't like interacting with people, especially with Americans. I sometimes don't understand what they are talking about. Although I have been living in the United States for a very long time, I don't like talking with Americans. I don't have opportunities to chat with Americans about family, life, and other things.

Another participant (M11) reflected on her own social abilities with similar comments, but in a positive tone.

I am not satisfied with his social abilities. I am not happy with my own social abilities either. He is an introvert. I ask him to say hi to his teachers or friends. He looks very stressful. It is even worse if I am around. I don't know if my expectations are too high. I need to improve mine too.

One participant (M20) reflected on her own parenting with some concerns on racial isolation. She noted,

I think he has very good social skills. But we are not, as parents. My son is an introvert. But he gets along with all the kids in his class and at other places. He is welcomed at everyone's home because he is not naughty, does not make trouble, does not bully others, and treats little kids well. But I think we arrange too many extracurricular activities for him. He has no chance to play with other kids, especially with non-Chinese kids. We live in a Chinese circle. We have Chinese friends. Play dates are with Chinese kids too. I think it somehow prevents his social life from a diverse groups of kids. . . . I think he feels more comfortable playing with, or being friends with, kids who have Chinese heritage.

Two participants (M18) and (M25) discussed their children's progress in social abilities. One of them (M18) stated that attending the Chinese school improved her child's social ability. She noted,

Her social abilities are much better now. When she was in daycare and Kindergarten, she didn't play with other kids. Instead, she waited for others to come to play with her. She was very shy. She is sensitive. I think she knows she is different from other kids racially. Being a minority may affect her confidence. It also might just be her personality. But her social skills have improved since she was enrolled in the Chinese school.

Using the longest discussion time among all questions, the participants elaborated their perspectives with personal stories on parental expectations. These participants set high expectations for their children's school performance and social abilities. Their goals for Chinese learning were somewhat realistic. Good learning habits were discussed as an important expectation. However, most participants were dissatisfied with their children's learning habits, although these children were high achievers.

Quality Time, Mother-Child Communication, and Discipline

In the study, each participant was asked about how she and her children spent time together and what their favorite activities were. Questions were asked about how the mothers monitored their children's well-being, especially their psychological well-being. The participants were asked about what situation they might punish their children and what consequences their children received. They were also asked about

how close they felt with their children. The responses to these questions were highly dependent on children's age and personality.

In all three areas, children's age was the key factor in determining how the mothers spent quality time with their children, how smooth the mother-child communication was, and how they practiced discipline. Reading together was considered one of the favorite activities the participants enjoyed when the children were young. As one of the favorite activities, visiting the parks was more frequent in families with younger children. One participant (M11) who had a toddler and a six-year-old stated:

There are two things I like to do with my kids. One is playing like crazy (laugh). Another one is reading. They pick books and I read to them. We sing and dance together.

Reading together with older children was only for Chinese books. A participant (M3) noted,

We read together. But I read Chinese books to my daughter because she reads fast in English and I cannot keep up with her.

Another participant (M20) shared similar comments. She stated,

We don't read together anymore. I just remind him to read. His English ability is higher than mine. He sometimes says, "Mom, I need to check the grammar in your email." He corrects my language mistakes in English.

Each participant had favorite activities when their children were young. When the child grew older, they spent less time together. The children were busy with school activities and extracurricular activities. Or the children spent time with their own friends. The participants provided some reasons from their side too, for instance having multiple kids or working with a full-time job. One participant (M21) discussed her favorite activities with her son and daughter. She noted,

It (the favorite activity) changes for different ages and different genders. For my son, when he was little, he loved science museums. He went to the museum, which was related to my work, frequently, every month. He recited all the phases in a documentary film at that museum. We visited military museums and aerospace museums wherever we went. He is older now. He focuses more on social issues. He asks for our opinions. The questions are very interesting. And some questions are not easy to answer. For example, he asked how you think about different racial groups. (He asked about) our opinions about a political incident or our international political views. My daughter likes making crafts. I help her make some crafts.

With teenagers, the participants expressed their frustrations in arranging “together time” with them. They talked in a slightly upset tone. One participant (M12) shared her responses about spending time with two older children. She stated,

What do we do together? I don't know. I am their driver. I take them to different activities. Besides that, I don't know what we do together. My daughter is very independent. She comes to us when she needs help. Other times, she does her own thing and she is busy (as a 12th grader). We swim with our son. My husband sometimes read with him. But most of the time they arrange their own time. We are together at home, but we do our own business.

Another participant (M19) who had a teenager shared similar comments. She noted,

We used to spend a lot of time together and had a lot to do (together). We used to read together, but not anymore. Sometimes, if I am willing to spend time with her, she doesn't want to stay with me. I have to wait until opportunities come. Or I have to create opportunities to stay with her. For example, I initiated taking a walk together. She likes it. She walks beside me. But if I want to talk with her, she walks far away from me. So, we just walk, no talking (laugh). . . . We don't go to the parks anymore. We barely visit museums because she has no interests. But we travel together.

The participants with fewer children often spent more time together with their children. One of them (M14) had one child and she still spent quality time together although her child was a pre-teen.

I enjoy playtime with him. We go hiking, exercise, watch football, and go to parties. If he has no stress, we are happy. We read bedtime stories together. I used to read English books to him. Now he can read himself. I read him Chinese books. I enjoy reading time with him. We visit parks and museums. We want him to be more open. So, we have more outdoor activities with him such as hiking. We play at the parks, too. We travel a lot.

A participant (M17) expressed her despair of not spending enough time together with their children. She noted,

If we stay home, we don't have many interactions. We are all very busy. I have to do all the house chores since my husband has a tight work schedule. My daughter is busy with all kinds of activities. We don't have time reading together, or go to the parks, or visit the museums. She has extracurricular activities every day except Sunday. But we still have a lot to do on Sunday.

Traveling together or going on family vacations often was the only common activity for the families. All the participants stated that they had at least one family vacation trip each year. The families with older children traveled more and further. Families with younger children spent time locally. China was frequently mentioned as a family vacation destination. Through family travel, both parents and children were “relaxed and happy,” said a participant (M1). “The children can learn and get experiences,” said another participant (M6).

Children’s age was also the key factor in determining what kind of discipline strategies was applied, in what situation their children received punishment, and what consequences their children received. In terms of consequences, younger children often received time-outs or sometimes talking through. Older kids were reprimanded or deprived of privileges, mostly usage of electronic devices or screen time. Only three participants reported physical punishment such as spanking when their children were young. Two of them stopped spanking when their children grew older.

A participant (M24) linked her discipline strategies with the responsibility she valued. She stated,

Every parent emphasizes different aspects of child behaviors and certain personality traits. Two things are important to my family. One is prioritizing. They have to know how to arrange their time, i.e., what you do first and what you do later. For example, they should do homework when they get home. But if they play before finishing homework, they will get punishment. Another one is punctuality. They go to bed at nine, get up at six thirty, and come to breakfast at seven. They should be on time for these. They have their responsibilities. They do their own laundry on weekends. I don’t remind them. If they forget

to do laundry and no clean clothes to wear on Monday, they have to wear dirty clothes to school. It is their responsibility. We have clear boundaries on responsibilities. I want them to be responsible. I set high expectations for them. If they break it, they lose entertaining time for the day. They have to sit there reading or doing nothing.

The participants punished their children for the following reasons, behavioral problems, not studying, and playing excessive video games. Some strategies worked well, while some barely made a difference, according to the participants. One participant (M14) discussed her strategies and solutions. She noted,

I punish him mostly on his misbehaviors. For example, he is not polite. He breaks his promises, but finds a lot of excuses. Punishments are limited at his age. If he doesn't do what he is supposed to do or promised to do, he will get reduced electronic time as punishment. I used to use time-outs when he was little. We don't spank him. . . . I think talking is a better way than spanking. Reducing his electronic time or taking away something he cares about is more useful.

The participants often punished children due to problems related to studying. Aligned with high expectations and low satisfaction with academic performance, it was not surprising that studying related problems were stressed by the mothers. A participant (M20) talked about how she disciplined her child. She noted,

We discipline him when he doesn't work hard or when he backs down on difficulties. For example, he joins a math team. It is quite hard. When he meets a difficult question, he starts a temper tantrum, getting frustrated and becoming very upset. (But) I expect him to put more effort thinking about the question and trying to solve it. We punish him when these behaviors happen. Another scenario is doing Chinese homework. When he is tired or encounters a difficult character, or he doesn't want to write, he starts a temper tantrum or cries loud. He deliberately writes Chinese characters incorrectly. Then we will discipline him. We reprimand him. He will get reduced game time. He

has limited game time each week. If he acts really terrible, he loses his game time. It works. He knows the consequences and pays attention to his behaviors. He doesn't want to lose his game time.

One participant (M21) shared a similar story about discipline on her children.

She stated,

I usually discipline them about studying. They are lazy. They feel satisfied with being just above average. They don't have the ambition to be on top. My parents used to tell me to work hard and be the top of the class when I was little. They (my children) don't like doing school-related work after school. I am frustrated. Why can't my kids do better than other kids? How come other kids can do so well, but not mine? I sometimes reflect on myself. I should not push them to the same level as other kids. Every child is different and they have different interests and talents. . . . I used to give time-outs when they act out. Now they are older kids. They are embarrassed and uncomfortable if I say something harsh. Especially my son, he will go to another room and feel depressed. So, I don't give them punishment. They can realize what they do wrong.

Three participants described the evolution of their discipline strategies. They realized that their previous strategies were ineffective. They tried different ways to alleviate parent-child tensions and promote open communication. One participant (M15) noted,

I think I did not act fairly to my older one. I was a new mom. I reprimanded him often. I set high expectations. I realized that I should not always scold them. I use prizes instead. So, from last year, I started drawing icons to represent the things he does for that day. If he plays soccer, plays piano, and does Chinese homework, he got fifty cents for each work. He saves money for something he wants to buy. It works very well. If he does something wrong, the consequence is losing his icons. He has to work extra hard to earn them back.

A mother (M23) provided a long narrative on her experiences to describe how the parent-child dyad worked on the problems. She stated,

Discipline him, I wasn't doing well on it. I can easily get emotional. I would yell and ask why he does such things. I learned from friends that dealing problems with emotions may make things worse. I need to calm myself down and find ways to solve the problem. I reflect on myself. Yelling is wrong. It can only make things worse and affects his confidence. I try to minimize such situations. . . . Both my husband and I talk in a sarcastic voice (if we are upset). It is a mean way to communicate. My son learned it from us. I try to use a positive and kind tone to talk with him. I want him to be positive, be loving, and not hurt others. It is important for his social life and friendship. . . . He is much better now. He used to purposefully provoke me to yell. Now he knows I try hard to work on our relationship. We both work hard on it. Our relationship is getting better.

Children's age was a determining factor on how the participants spent time with children and how they practiced discipline. In general, all participants enjoyed spending quality time with their children. It was not the mothers, but teenagers reluctantly spent time with their mothers. The participants with teenager children expressed certain difficulties on mother-child communication. They talked about their efforts to improve relationships with children, including more conversations, non-punitive discipline, and finding more time together.

These findings aligned with the literature on family quality time and discipline (Wu & Chao, 2005). It is worth noting that non-punitive discipline and talk-through were common strategies in authoritative parenting style in Baumrind's (1971) parenting typology. The current findings on parental discipline contradicted with the claims that Chinese American parenting was authoritarian in early literature.

Children's personality, along with age, played a key role in determining how well the mother-child dyad communicated and in what way the mothers monitored children's well-being, specifically psychological well-being. Younger children were generally more open and responsive to parents' questions on school, friendships, and problems than teenagers. Children who were extroverts communicated more to their mothers than introverts did. The participants with young children articulated that their children were too young to hide anything. Young children always "have a lot to talk about and are willing to share everything with me," said one participant (M11).

Older children who were in or close to adolescence were reported as being more difficult to communicate with. It would probably be a sign of increased autonomy at that specific age. The participants claimed that they tried different tactics to get to know their children's thinking. One participant (M12) shared her approach. She noted,

They won't tell me anything even if I ask. So, I talk with them while driving, casually. What happened in school? What do you think about the book we read? My husband subscribes to The New York Times. So, we discuss social issues together. My daughter likes topics on humanity. My son prefers natural sciences. We talk about articles in the newspaper. That is the way I get to know what they are thinking.

A participant (M13) who had a high school child and a pre-teen child voiced frustrations about communication with her children. She noted,

It beats me. I don't know. I don't know what they think. It is difficult. My son is in high school. He has changed a lot. He never said sorry to me before. Now he is older and he says sorry if he makes mistakes. He

sometimes shares what happens in school. But my daughter doesn't say anything. Even when I ask, she doesn't say a thing. If I push harder, she gets mad. So, both of us have to go to our own rooms to calm down. Then the case is closed and I still don't know what she thinks.

Children's personality affected how the mothers obtained information on their well-being in several families. One participant (M14), whose child was an introvert, struggled with communication. She noted,

I observe him. He doesn't talk much. I have to ask his friend who talks everything out. If I know some clues and then I ask him about it, he would tell me. If there is no clue, I probably get zero information.

Another participant (M10) experienced a similar situation. She and her child found a way to communicate. She shared her parenting experience. She noted,

There was a trail nearby. My husband ran and the two little ones rode bikes. The older one walked with me. He said, "Mom I want to talk with you." He told me how many kids were in his class, whom he played with, what activities they had, who the naughtiest kid was in the class and so on. I realized he told me a lot during the chat that he didn't tell me before. I think how to talk to kids is very important. You cannot always order them to do things.

One participant (M21) shared her tactics to identify her children's well-being. She stated,

I know their well-being through what friends they have. It is indirect. But you can see the difference over time. I also communicate with them. You will see changes in their attitude, the way they talk, what they like, and what they focus on. Parents should guide kids and direct them to the right track. . . . We talk a lot at the dinner table. We ask each other questions such as "How was your day in school?" and "How was your work?" I ask if they eat well in school, learn anything new, or

take any exams, and so on. They have many activities. We talk in the car and listen to music. We are not just talking about school work. They ask me questions, or we ask them questions like friends.

A participant (M22) reviewed her communication experiences with her son with a very warm tone. She noted,

Our closeness comes from unselfish love and unlimited encouragement since he was little. When he feels warm and safe, he tells everything. When he hesitates to tell me something, I encourage him to talk. Then he tells me and waits for my reaction. My instant response would be, "You shouldn't have done that." But I don't blame him first. I encourage him and guide him to the right track. Then he is relaxed and he knows it is not that bad. He knows he can communicate with me and I do not overreact. He will tell me everything. . . . He is older now. He may not tell as much. But during bedtime, my child may want me to stay with him a little bit longer. He may ask if I have questions or want to talk with him. We talk or find topics to talk. I don't want there to be many secrets at such a young age. He talks to me and trusts me.

All the participants stated that they closely monitored their children's well-being. They created opportunities for open parent-child communication. They used a variety of methods to observe their children's well-being, even when children were not always cooperative. It is clear that the surveyed mothers learned from American parenting to have open communication. The literature suggested that Chinese American parents had no difference in the level of affection toward their children as European American parents. Their affection manifested as high expectations, love, warmth, and caring (Chao, 1994; Lin & Fu, 1990; Wu & Chao, 2005). Chao (1994) discussed how Chinese American parents expressed love in a subtle way when the parents met individual child's needs. The participants in the current study paid

attention to their children's well-being. It fostered positive communication for the mother-child dyad.

All the participants, except two, felt close to their children. These two mothers had teenager children, and they reported poor parent-child communication. They said, "He/she used to be close to me when he/she was little." The participants with younger children often had strong parent-child attachments. The participants who claimed that they spent more time with children demonstrated strong ties with their children. There were exceptions. For example, a participant (M5), a mother with a teenager child, was positive about their relationship. She stated,

We are fine. I am close to my kids. My daughter is a teenager. You know, she is like a typical teenager, rebellious. She doesn't listen to us. I talked her to set priorities and make plans. She doesn't listen. I remember I didn't listen when I was a teenager. Now I realized what my parents told me was right. So, I will keep telling her, and she will eventually understand me.

The majority of the participants described parent-child relationships in affectionate sentiment. A mother (M22) with two children spoke with smiles. She noted,

We are very close. It is the nature of a mother's love. I am very happy just by seeing them. I want to hug them or kiss them. I encourage them a lot. My older one is satisfied with my love, and he trusts me. Then he tells me everything. . . . We are very close, and we have good relationships.

Summary of Parenting Context

Parenting practices and ideologies of the participants in the study were affected by both Chinese and American cultures. Social stratification, such as racial discrimination and injustice, played an important role in affecting their parenting. Most of the mothers appreciated more choices on parenting in two cultures. They adopted many components from American parenting. They maintained some aspects of Chinese parenting. Such balancing act occurred across multiple parenting contexts, for instance, parental expectations, quality time, mother-child communication, and discipline. The mother enjoyed spending time with their children. They made effort to understand and communicate with their children. Generally they utilized mild and non-punitive discipline strategies. All the mothers set high academic expectations, despite already high academic achievement of their children. They valued diligence, which was an important component of Chinese culture, through extra homework.

Subtle feelings on racial discrimination had an impact on their parenting. The participants had worries about their children's future including constrained career opportunities and limited marriage choices. One participant discussed possible injustice on her child's college admission. She encouraged her child to accept such injustice through positive thinking. The mothers often disciplined their children because of academic-related issues such as study habits and attitude toward learning. One explanation was they expected their children to achieve upward social mobility to minimize the impact of racial discrimination and injustice.

Interviews with School Principals

Chinese school leaders were critical in determining the growth and future of the schools. All school principals worked as volunteers without salary compensation. They were also parents with children enrolled in the school. All the school principals were asked with all the questions for the mothers. In addition, they answered questions regarding their schools. The additional set of questions focused on four aspects: their vision for the school, goals for students, goals for parents, and community service plans. During data collection period, one school changed its principal. Hence, there were four principals interviewed in the study. Four common themes emerged: school roles beyond language learning, both high hopes and great challenges, learning Chinese as the goal for students, and expectations for more parental involvement.

School Roles beyond Language Learning

All the principals shared their vision and plans for the schools. They were all very positive towards the future of Chinese schools. One principal stated, “Chinese schools needed to be long-lived. We hope to run it in for a very long-term.” A principal stressed the importance of her Chinese school. She noted,

Our Chinese school is a community. We set up the school with high expectations. It is not just a language learning school. It is meaningless (if just for language learning). Our goal is to professionalize our school, staff, and teachers. The school can only do well when it is professional.... It is a way to give a sense of belonging to our kids. It also enhances their group ethnic identity.

Integration and communication with other local communities, provision of community services, and development of Chinese schools were the common goals for all the school principals. When asked about how the principals would implement these plans, they all agreed that “It is a great idea and they should be executed” and “We can do it if there are opportunities.” One principal recounted her experiences. She noted,

We have our website. Through the website, we get random phone calls to ask for some help on information or consulting services. For example, a company asked us for an interpreter to help their business. I always try my best to help. It is great if we, as a Chinese community, are able to provide such service. We will be viewed as a positive group of people and have positive images in this country.

Other principals agreed on the high values of serving the Chinese community and integrating with other communities. One principal noted,

We can publish books. . . . There are so many classic Chinese books, but the books are rarely translated into English. . . . It is impossible to let everyone learn Chinese to read valuable (Chinese) literature. But if we have them translated, more people will read, and will be able to understand and accept our culture. The Chinese school is a platform to disseminate Chinese culture.

A principal expressed related thoughts about fulfilling civic duty such as “organizing kids at the Chinese school to do volunteering work in senior centers.” She also pointed out that the children from her Chinese school were highly involved in cultural activities at local public schools.

Both High Hopes and Great Challenges

With a grand vision, the principals did have their worries. One of the schools experienced a drastic loss of students. The principal noted,

So, we have to transform. We may not focus on heritage families. We may switch our focus on mainstream American families. . . . We have to make effort to design the future of our school. . . . Chinese schools are prosperous with more Chinese immigrants joining in. . . . We are in discussion about our future. We want to make our school bigger.

A principal of a newly founded Chinese school stated,

We have several stages (during the development of the school). Now we are in the starting stage. . . . The school runs smoothly now. We used to solve problems as they appeared, like patching a hole when there is a leak. Those were painful experiences. We solved a lot of problems. I know we will meet more problems. But we are positive. We can work it out, and we can do better.

All the principals acknowledged that opportunities and risks coexisted when moving forward. They acknowledged the problems in the process. They talked in a positive and hopeful tone for their school's future.

Learning Chinese as the Goal for Students

The principals set clear goals for their students. They mainly focused on attracting students to attend Chinese schools, while maintaining learning interests. One principal expressed a simple goal for her students. She stated,

My goal for the students is to have them like the school and come to school. This goal motivates me to run the school. I hope they do not

hate learning Chinese. Every child has a different pace of learning. I think Chinese education is an education of love.

Another principal shared her goals with some ambition. She noted,

I want them to be able to communicate with others in Chinese. If they go to China, people should be able to understand them. Otherwise, when they talk, they can be recognized quickly as non-native speakers. It is okay to have an accent since they grew up in the United States. But they should be able to communicate with others fluently. . . . If they know Chinese in addition to English, they are capable of doing work across countries.

One principal stated her goals in a broad context that extended to child development. She noted,

Learning Chinese is a goal. But it is not the only goal. Language carries meaning in religion and art. It is a bigger concept. The Chinese school is a community. So, we have community activities and services. It is a way to improve a sense of belonging for our kids. It also enhances their ethnic identity.

Learning Chinese was considered only part of Chinese schools' functions by all four principals. Imparting the cultural heritage to next generations was equally important. Two principals talked about cultural lessons at their schools. One principal stated,

We added half an hour cultural lessons when I became the principal. We not only learn Chinese here, but also learn traditions such as holidays, food, and other related aspects.

Similar to this narrative, another principal noted,

I want to start new classes. Our Chinese American kids do well in school. So, there must be some essential and valuable element in the Chinese educational culture. I wanted to start (culture) lessons. . . . I hope kids are willing to come and learn Chinese at the Chinese school. I want them to learn step by step, until they can speak fluent Chinese.

Language learning was the primary goal of Chinese schools. It was one of the main reasons that these Chinese schools existed. Moreover, Chinese schools served as the central hub of Chinese communities. Passing down the cultural heritage was equally important.

Expectations for More Parental Involvement

All the principals were generally satisfied with parental involvement on school operations and activities. One principal discussed her goals for parents. She noted,

We lived in a well-structured system (when we were) in China. There is no structure for us to follow in the United States. You have to build your own community. You have to get involved in community activities. It feels different. For parents, I hope the Chinese school boosts parents' leadership spirit and their sense of belonging to the community.

Three of the four principals encouraged parents to help Chinese learning at home and to keep up with the school learning progress. Two principals talked about their specific goals for parents. A principal talked about her goals for both parents and students. She stated,

I hope our kids can follow the progress of our curriculum. Our school administrators and teachers communicate with parents on a regular basis. Our goal is to ask the parents' help to supervise their kids to learn

Chinese at home. Keeping up with the learning progress can ensure student retention. And they can progress from one level to the next. If they don't keep up with the progress, they may give up halfway. . . . We hope parents can help and encourage their kids to learn Chinese at home. Most of the parents are actively involved. . . . A few kids cannot catch up with others. There are various reasons. Parents may have limited time to help the kids or they haven't realized the importance of learning Chinese at home.

Another principal had more specific goals for the parents. She expressed,

I hope parents can communicate with me for their needs and suggestions, and communicate with me promptly. I hope they can talk to me if they have suggestions on Chinese learning or operations of the Chinese school. . . . They are supportive. If we need them to do anything, they will do it.

Summary of Principal Interviews

All the Chinese school principals were volunteers without monetary compensation for their work. They devoted their time and effort to the operations of Chinese schools. They were both a mother and school principal. As a parent, they experienced similar struggles in parenting. They discussed social impacts of Chinese school on parenting and child outcomes. They observed difficulties in parenting in the two-culture setting. They felt impacts from racial discrimination. As a school leader, they heard voices of other parents. They were able to observe important issues from a leader's perspective. They were positioned to act on the issues.

With their dual roles as a leader and parent, the school principals had a panoramic lens to understand the meaning of Chinese schools for Chinese American

mothers. Their narratives were both insightful and broad. Their narratives enriched the current study.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

This study explored relationships between the social functions of Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting. The two research questions are reiterated here: 1) What were the relationships between Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting practices in the contexts of culture and social structure? and 2) How did Chinese American mothers make meaning of Chinese schools for parenting purposes? Findings of the study provided direct answers to the research questions.

This study revealed that Chinese schools carried multiple social functions in Chinese American parenting. Chinese schools created a physical location as a platform for fellow Chinese Americans to socialize with each other. Through school events and cultural activities, these parents were connected with larger society. They built upon social networks to obtain tangible and intangible benefits. Tangible benefits were social resources, such as information on child education and parenting, assistance on child care and babysitting, and other important social support. Through immersion in a rich cultural environment while learning the language, the children developed a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic community. To parents, volunteering at the Chinese schools promoted a sense of shared investment and a sense of community belonging.

They fulfilled the civic duty of volunteerism, which they barely practiced in public schools.

Both the Chinese American mothers and their children received intangible benefits through participation in Chinese schools. The children developed positive characters. The positive character traits included responsibility, being open-minded, persistence, diligence, and confidence. The children's ethnic identity was strengthened through peer interactions and cultural reinforcement at Chinese schools. These benefits enhanced parenting in the two-culture context.

Chinese schools protected the Chinese American families from social stratification, as the unifying platform and the support system for them. The Chinese American mothers expressed subtle feelings toward racial discrimination. Racial bullying was the center of the concerns. The mothers hoped that Chinese schools could represent them and voice their concerns. They hoped that Chinese schools would provide parenting training to support both parents and children to be resilient against racial discrimination.

Chinese schools carried symbolic meanings for the Chinese American mothers. Multiple interviewed mothers described Chinese schools as a comfortable place to speak Chinese freely and socialize with other Chinese Americans. One mother expressed eagerness to go to her local Chinese school on weekends. Other mothers shared similar sentiment during interviews. One mother used generational conflicts as an example to illustrate the importance of communication among Chinese. "Only

Chinese can understand such subtle family relationships within Chinese families. It is hard for outsiders to understand.” These mothers discussed what they learned from other parents at Chinese schools. Most importantly, they observed positive character traits developed in their children. They attributed the development to the friendship and social support their children received from Chinese schools.

As a Chinese American mother myself, parenting is a central component in my daily life. Negotiating my identity between a Chinese and an American is a constant struggle. I share similar struggles and challenges with my fellow Chinese American mothers. I encounter similar problems and difficulties as they do. I understand their worries and concerns. I have intense empathy toward their struggles. I feel a strong responsibility to disseminate their life stories. I would like to serve as their advocate and voice their concerns through this study.

Chinese Americans are stereotyped as the “model minority” featuring high academic achievement, high income, and decent jobs. Such stereotyping is not completely wrong. However, these characteristics should not negate their strong needs for social support. As first-generation immigrants, their social networks and support systems are disconnected by the act of immigration. Their ethnic minority status prevents them from accessing important social resources. The scenario becomes even worse in the Southern states, where there are only a small number of Chinese immigrants. Social resources are scarce for these families.

As a doctoral candidate at the University of Delaware, I have privileges to access resources on parenting and child education through my years of training. However, the families in my study had limited access to these valuable resources, partly due to the fact that they were not associated with the parenting profession. These mothers expressed a strong need for a community organization that can transmit cultural values to their children. The Chinese schools met these needs. The schools supported a community of like-minded Chinese Americans as they integrated into American society.

Summary of Research Results

This study had three main contexts: demographics and acculturation, functions of Chinese schools, and parenting practices. In the following sections, the study results are summarized in each context.

Demographics and Acculturation

The surveyed Chinese American mothers shared many common demographic characteristics with the broader Chinese American population who immigrated to the United States in recent decades, in terms of marital status, educational level, profession, and reasons for immigration. These families, like many new first-generation Chinese immigrants, had the social status of middle to upper-middle class. All of the participants were in an intact marriage, except one who was a widow. Twenty-three out of twenty-five participants had a bachelor's degree or higher. A

significant portion of them, ten participants, had their doctoral degree obtained in the United States. Either they or their husbands worked at a university or a research institute as professionals. Twenty families in the study immigrated to the United States to pursue a better education and job opportunity.

The participants had a shared preference on the choice of residence. All of them bought a single house except one. They chose to live in safe neighborhoods with top school zones, which were obviously expensive. The living condition was another indicator of their relatively high socioeconomic status. Interestingly, about half of the participants chose to reside in clusters with other Chinese families.

The participants showed different levels of acculturation in areas of self-identity, language usage, and holiday preferences. All except one claimed themselves as Chinese, as opposed to Chinese American or American. Although they used English in public or in the workplace, all of them spoke Chinese at home or read Chinese books to their children. However, more than half of the participants ranked Christmas as the most important holiday. Their top choice for Christmas was made over the Chinese New Year, which was considered to be the most important festival for people who had Chinese cultural heritage. Only five cases cited religion as the reason to choose Christmas as the most important holiday.

A majority of the mothers reported that their families had one or multiple relocation experiences. They were positive about their moving experiences, although they struggled during initial adjustments. The moving experiences provided these

mothers perspectives in comparing their current living in Alabama with their previous ones.

Through demographic description and acculturation traits, it was noticeable that maintaining the cultural heritage was one common characteristic shared among the participants. For example, self-identity indicated that they firmly maintained their ethnic identity as Chinese. Language usage was another indicator of their ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 2001). Living close to co-ethnic families also revealed the participants' intention to maintain their ethnic identity. Holiday preferences showed they were acculturated at varying levels. The participants were acculturated to some extent, while maintaining clear heritage traits.

Demographic characteristics revealed a high socioeconomic status these families held in terms of employment, educational level, and choice for housing. A majority of the parents worked as professionals in universities or research institutes. These institutes in Alabama were the main attractions for these families to work at. It was different from Eastern and Western states where Chinese Americans had a greater range of employment choices. It explained the high socioeconomic status of the participants in the study.

The participants in the study were not representative of Chinese American population in the nation. However, this exploratory study demonstrated the important roles of Chinese schools related to parenting. Such roles were even critical in a Southern state, where there were a limited number of Chinese Americans.

Functions of Chinese Schools

Chinese schools carried multiple social functions for the local Chinese American families. Chinese schools served as physical locations for co-ethnic families to gather and socialize. Chinese schools acted as a platform for resource sharing and communication. The families exchanged information through Chinese schools about parenting knowledge, language learning, local events, after-school activities, and more.

Both the mothers and children received social benefits by attending Chinese schools. The parents established social networks when they were comfortable around other co-ethnic individuals. The children made friends with other co-ethnic children. They shared similar experiences as second-generation Chinese Americans. Similar family and cultural backgrounds drew them closer. Strong friendship bonds were formed. A sense of belonging to the ethnic group was established for the parents and children.

Chinese schools acted as a bridge to connect the Chinese community with other communities. Through festivals held by local Chinese schools, the participants expanded their social networks, to the outside of the Chinese American community. The bridging role was extremely important to these Chinese American families because the individuals had limited social connections. Chinese schools, as organizations, served as an important support system to extend individuals' social networks (Fennema, 2004).

Chinese schools unified local Chinese Americans and advocated for their rights. The Chinese American mothers believed that Chinese schools were able to speak out for their concerns. In the event of racial discrimination and social injustice, the parents gathered at Chinese schools. They supported each other. Chinese schools acted as the backup support when the local families encountered challenges. With the enhanced ethnic identity and a strong sense of belonging to the community, the parents and children felt empowered.

Chinese schools had dual roles in language-teaching and passing-down cultural values and beliefs. Both roles led to positive developmental outcomes for the enrolled children. Chinese schools provided a supportive environment for learning Chinese. Learning a language had never been an easy task. The families made a tremendous effort during the learning process. The children attended Chinese schools on weekends while other children might be playing. They had to do extra homework to learn Chinese. Positive character traits such as perseverance, diligence, self-discipline, and confidence were promoted through the learning processes.

Language transmitted cultural heritage and meanings. The children in Chinese schools were immersed in a culturally rich environment to learn the language. The children participated in various cultural events, such as the Chinese New Year celebration and school recital events. Such immersion provided the children with a new lens to view themselves in a positive light. They obtained a better understanding of their ethnicity. As a result, their ethnic identity was enhanced.

As volunteer-based organizations, Chinese schools provided volunteering opportunities. Parental involvement levels were high. Parents served in multiple roles, including teachers, administrators, counselors, and janitors. On school events such as recitals or holiday celebrations, these parents voluntarily undertook organizing roles. In contrast, the participants in the study reported low levels of involvement at public schools. The reasons varied, according to the participants, such as busy work schedules, language barriers, and cultural differences. Multiple participants admitted they chose to volunteer in Chinese schools because they felt more comfortable and confident in an environment with co-ethnic people.

A high level of involvement in Chinese schools benefited both parents and children. Parents built a sense of shared investment and a sense of communal belonging. Children developed their sense of social responsibility. Positive character traits, such as being open-minded and responsible, were fostered when they witnessed their parents' services at the school. A few participants considered that volunteering experiences at the Chinese schools might trigger more public school involvement.

The participants agreed that their Chinese schools could do more in parenting education. The surveyed participants provided a number of suggestions on the improvement of their Chinese schools. Most interviewees expressed urgent needs for parenting education at Chinese schools. They were eager to learn how to adjust parenting strategies in the bicultural setting. They were curious to know how the public education system worked. A wide range of child development topics was of

interest including child safety, anti-bullying, mental health and psychological characteristics of different developmental stages, and sex education. They wanted to learn how to promote social and emotional competency, how to motivate children's interests in learning, how to communicate with teenagers, and how to communicate effectively with family members.

Context of Parenting Practices

The interviews revealed a mixed parenting style among participants, different from either authoritative or authoritarian. Both Chinese culture and American culture had significant influences on the Chinese American mothers' parenting ideologies and practices. Their parenting practices were neither American nor Chinese. They demonstrated their unique way of parenting.

The participants constantly adjusted parenting strategies under the influences of the two cultures. Most participants expressed a positive attitude toward the mainstream parenting style. They appreciated the positive parenting strategies such as high expectations with flexibility, warmth to children, expressing love to family members, open communication, reasoning with their children, and appreciation of uniqueness in each child. At the same time, these mothers truly believed in exceptional education standards for their children, which were valued in Chinese culture. Hard-working was highly valued in Chinese culture. All the school-aged children in the surveyed families were assigned extra homework from their parents to enhance

learning. The participants emphasized math skills. About ten of the surveyed mothers assigned extra math homework or enrolled their children in a math competition team. The majority of the participants supervised children's homework.

In daily life, these mothers tried to combine two parenting beliefs, in their best way. Some of them considered the two cultures to be complementary. The two cultures provided "more choices" on parenting strategies. They used the essences, or positive parts, from the two cultures in parenting. Some mothers expressed their confusion on parenting in the two contrasting cultures. They struggled in adapting to American way of parenting, while maintaining their Chinese cultural heritage. For example, filial piety was often considered one of the most important moral responsibilities in Chinese culture (Zhan & Montgomery, 2003). A participant who lived with grandparents in the same house struggled in explaining filial piety to her daughter, who had a difficult time accepting such a living arrangement.

Many of the surveyed participants recounted their own growth experiences in adopting American parenting styles. They learned from their mistakes. They tried different strategies for communication. It was especially true for the families with adolescents. Some of them acknowledged their lack of understanding in American parenting. The mothers reflected on their parenting on a regular basis.

The participants showed a mixed style of practices in disciplining their children. The participants utilized both reasoning and reprimanding when disciplining their children. Children's age was the major factor in determining the discipline

strategies. The participants tended to talk through problems with young children and gave time-outs as consequences. Older children were punished mostly because of study habits and behavior problems. They received reprimands. Their privileges, such as time for video games or electronic devices, were taken away.

The Chinese American mothers felt the impact of racial discrimination, either directly or indirectly. Many of the participants expressed concerns related to racial discrimination. Some of the feelings were subtle. A participant recounted, “Chinese American parents may look confident and don’t talk about discrimination.” But “if there is anything (related to discrimination) happening, they are scared.” Racial discrimination and other social injustice were not pleasant topics for the participants. Several mothers showed some hesitation when disclosing their feelings. A possible explanation is that reservation of one’s emotions was viewed as a virtue in Chinese culture. Ruggiero & Taylor (1997) studied the psychological benefits for minimizing the impacts of discrimination and internalizing negative feedback. Such reactions might be used to maintain self-control and to sustain self-esteem.

Many participants openly talked about their concerns and worries. These worries and concerns focused on school bullying. The participants shared their experiences in coping with these issues. They described the impact on their children. They talked about plans to seek effective solutions. Five participants claimed that racial discrimination had no impact on their parenting, but stated that they did have worries in this area. They used statements such as “Parents have to teach kids to avoid

conflicts and risks.” A mother told her children, “Treat others respectfully, but you have to be cautious and be prepared because something might happen in your life.”

Coping strategies were discussed when the perceived discrimination occurred. One participant told her child to view racial discrimination through different lenses. She taught the child how to make positive influences on his peers by showing his culture and taking pride in it. Accepting ethnic identity, integrating into larger society, and improving English proficiency were the common solutions utilized.

The Chinese American mothers had low levels of satisfaction with their children’s academic attainment, despite their children’s high academic achievements. Parental high academic expectations were frequently reported among Chinese Americans (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Chen, 2013; Farver et al., 2002; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Padmawidjaja & Chao, 2010). The mothers in this study acknowledged that their children had high academic achievements, but still expected that their children could do better. They declared that their learning habits had room for improvement. Being more patient, more persistent, and working harder were expected from their children. Parental satisfaction with children’s social ability was also examined. Children’s personality was a determining factor in the participants’ satisfaction with social abilities. They were more satisfied with the children who were extroverts than the introverts.

In this study, the participants showed relatively realistic expectations when talking about Chinese language skills. They acknowledged difficulties and challenges

related to Chinese language learning. However, they still expected that their children were able to communicate with grandparents in Chinese and to know common Chinese characters. Some expectations were high, for example, being able to read classic Chinese books and to write simple Chinese essays.

The participants created a rich cognitive environment for their children to grow in. These families frequently visited libraries, parks, museums, and concerts. They read together. They frequently traveled when on vacation. They arranged different extracurricular activities, such as piano lessons, math contests, and drawing lessons. The mothers spent time reading with younger children. Family travels were frequent with older children. Mother-child communication was often described as smooth with young children, while difficult with teenagers. The participants tried various strategies to promote open communication. The participants talked positively about their Chinese schools, where rich cultural elements were regularly presented, such as celebrations on traditional Chinese holidays. These activities created abundant opportunities for children to be immersed in Chinese culture.

Synthesis across Contexts

The three synthesized results were obtained across contexts. These included preserving the heritage culture, eager to integrate, and longing for social support.

Preserving the Cultural Heritage

Across all contexts, the participants demonstrated their strong will to preserve their cultural heritage. Speaking Chinese at home, placing emphasis on ethnic identity, and enrolling their children in Chinese schools were strong indicators that the participants tried to retain the cultural heritage. All the participants identified themselves as Chinese, with only one claiming herself as a Chinese American. Interestingly, about ten participants told their children, “Your parents are Chinese. You will always be Chinese.” Learning Chinese was the most direct and effective way to preserve the cultural heritage, since language carried cultural meanings, values, and beliefs. “Finding their roots” was reported by six participants as one of the major reasons they sent their children to Chinese schools. In addition, all participants claimed that they made effort to speak Chinese at home or read Chinese books to their children. Phinney et al. (2001) stated that language was one of the key elements in maintaining ethnic identity across all ethnic groups.

The preservation of cultural heritage was highlighted with strong beliefs in education. After long sociopolitical, economic, and cultural transformation, education survived as one of the most significant parenting goals (Chao, 2000; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Lok-sun, 2013). All participants set relatively high levels of expectations on academic performance. They expected more from their children regardless of their current high academic achievement. As a mother summarized, “I think all Chinese

parents set high expectations for their children and want a bright future for their kids.” Their children were often disciplined because of their resistance to extra homework.

Chinese schools provided a culturally-rich learning environment where children were immersed in their cultural heritage. Interacting with co-ethnic children supported the development of ethnic identity and their sense of belonging. Two participants witnessed changes in their children who became increasingly open and happy after enrolling them in a Chinese school. A mother of a teenager described, “Our kids realize they are Chinese Americans, and they are a part of the United States.” Clearly, through language learning and cultural immersion, their ethnic identity was strengthened.

Chinese schools functioned as a significant social force in promoting cultural integrity. As described by four Chinese school principals in their interviews, they shared common goals in “integration and communication with other local communities, provision of community services, and promoting the development of Chinese schools.” The participants also stressed the roles of Chinese schools in tying co-ethnic Chinese together and providing social resources. Essential cultural values and beliefs were passed down to the next generation through education and activities at Chinese schools. At the same time, Chinese schools provided connections with the larger mainstream community.

Eagerness to Integrate

The participants clearly demonstrated their eagerness to integrate with the mainstream larger society. Their holiday preferences were an indicator. More than half of the participants ranked Christmas as the most important holiday. Only five of them used religion as the explanation for the choice. Following mainstream on holiday preferences truly reflected such integration. Based on acculturation theories, Chinese American mothers experienced psychological and behavioral changes during the acculturation process (Berry, 2005).

In the parenting context, all participants utilized authoritative style, or the so-called American way, to interact with their children in the areas of quality time together, mother-child communication, and discipline strategies. All participants were willing to spend time with their children. The participants paid attention to their children's psychological well-being. They created opportunities for open parent-child communication. They used a variety of methods to assess children's well-being.

The participants fully adopted the American way of parenting in the area of discipline. None of the participants applied harsh discipline strategies, based on their interviews. Only three of them used spanking. Talking-through and reprimands were often used as discipline strategies. Consequences were time-outs for young children and deprivation of privileges for older children. One participant who had a relatively lower educational level stated, "I learn from you guys (highly educated mothers). I

think American way is better at treating kids.” Their parenting strategies differed significantly from traditional Chinese parenting.

Volunteerism, as an important civic duty in American society, was not one of the central elements in traditional Chinese culture. Most Chinese schools were volunteer-based non-profit organizations. Volunteers ensured the proper operation and functioning of the schools. Performing multiple roles, parents often fulfilled such obligations. One participant with great enthusiasm stated,

I don't care how much effort, money, and time I put into the Chinese school. I love our school. I'm the role model for my kids. She learned a volunteering spirit. My daughter became more open after enrolling at the Chinese school. She made more friends. She is happier.

Other participants shared similar comments on volunteering at Chinese schools. Interestingly, most of these passionate volunteers at Chinese schools had very limited involvement at public schools. The possible explanation was that the participants had the will to integrate into American society. However, they needed to overcome certain barriers.

Longing for Social Support

The participants felt a strong need for social support, as they were constrained with limited social networks and scarce social resources. For some of them, Chinese schools were the only place to get the much-needed support. These parents made friends with other parents at Chinese schools. They provided social support to each other, including child care, parenting advice, and more. Chinese schools hosted

cultural events such as Chinese New Year celebrations as a way to connect with the local communities. Parents obtained resources through interactions with outside organizations and individuals. Social capital was accumulated during this process.

The act of immigration disconnected recent Chinese Americans from their social network in their country of origin. It was extremely difficult for them to re-establish broad social networks. Social disconnection from their families in the country of origin caused tremendous psychological challenges. Weak social support, or in some worse scenarios, isolation, in the new society led to disadvantages in many ways. The participants sought Chinese schools, possibly their only organizational support, for social resources.

Multiple participants talked about how participating in Chinese school events alleviated transition difficulties during family relocations. Such phenomenon reflected a lack of social support for Chinese American mothers. Each relocation experience across states further cut down local social networks and connections. They needed to rebuild social connections at the new place. Chinese schools served to fulfill such needs.

Many participants felt that their lack of social support was attributed to the location of their residence, the state of Alabama, which had a very low density of Asian Americans. Lack of co-ethnics brought about inconveniences in multiple aspects of their lives, for example, difficulties in grocery shopping for ethnic food ingredients. Several participants compared their experiences in Alabama with their

previous ones in other states. One participant recalled multiple school bullying incidents toward her child. She never encountered so many incidents within a short period during her previous residency in a metropolitan city. Another participant expressed with a sad tone, “It is the Deep South, you know. It is different from New York or Boston.”

All of the surveyed participants understood the importance of their Chinese schools as venues for social support. They understood they needed the support, and so did others in the same Chinese American community. High levels of involvement from the surveyed parents in Chinese schools indicated such an understanding. The school principals understood well that their Chinese schools were indispensable to the community.

Living closer to co-ethnic families was another indicator of social support needs. Living closer to other Chinese American families was one criterion many participants used to choose their residence. These families helped each other. They shared rides to send their children to extracurricular activities. One participant stated that she felt safe with other Chinese families around. Socialization with co-ethnic families was not only beneficial to the parents, but also to the children, who had opportunities to interact with co-ethnic friends.

Perceptions of Social Capital

Social capital is obtained by exchanges among relationships in the form of resources (Coleman, 1988). The intra-familial social capital was abundant for all of the participants. First, twenty-three out of twenty-five participants had a bachelor's or higher degree. All the families except one bought their houses. Most of the mothers or their husbands worked as professionals at a university or a research institute. These criteria placed them in middle to upper-middle class. Secondly, the Chinese Americans placed tremendous emphasis on educational attainment. Carrying traditional educational beliefs, the participants in this study set high academic expectations. They invested heavily in child development. They paid great attention to their child's academic performance and social-emotional development. Their children had various extracurricular activities such as math teams, instrument lessons, athletic training, and more. Often the family made frequent visits to libraries and museums. The mothers made effort to foster communication and positive relationships with children, creating a positive cognitive environment. Thirdly, these families had culturally-oriented social capital including persistence, diligence, filial piety, intra-familial harmony, and self-improvements, which supported their children for future success.

Although these parents invested heavily in human capital and financial capital within the family, their first-generation immigration status limited their access to broader resources (Berry, 2005; Sun, 1998). As first-generation Chinese immigrants,

they all came to the United States during the last two decades. The act of immigration detached these Chinese Americans from their relationships, resources, and networks in their country of origin. Coleman (1998) pointed out that major components of social capital were relationships and resources. Fennema (2004) reported that ethnic minority groups showed a much smaller “acquaintance network” (p. 10) than Caucasians. They were not connected with the larger society or outside of their community. Connections and networks back in China had no use in the new place. They had to rebuild social networks and connections for better adaptation.

Chinese schools, as the central hubs of the Chinese communities, played significant roles in providing social support and social resources. The schools supported communication and networking within and beyond the Chinese American community. Social capital accumulated through these functions. First, Chinese schools provided a physical site in which the Chinese Americans gathered and formed social ties. They exchanged information and resources through Chinese schools. One participant (M3) stated, “Parents can communicate about language learning, after-school activities, parenting, and other related topics.” The parents built connections through interactions at Chinese schools. These connections often extended to larger communities. One participant (M8) stated,

We organize some discussions when events come up. The Chinese school is like a platform that we can communicate about different things. There is always something (incidents) happening. We communicate (among ourselves). We re-educate and update our

knowledge. Without going to the Chinese school, you may lose all of these. It is a platform for communication.

Secondly, Chinese schools acted as positive forces to nurture ethnic identity, to foster a sense of belonging, and to advocate for the Chinese American communities. Through language learning and cultural events, children were exposed to cultural values. The sense of ethnic identity was enhanced. For both Chinese American parents and children, spending time with people who shared similar physical characteristics and cultural background strengthened their sense of belonging. When facing social stratification, parents talked through issues and suggested solutions. The Chinese American mothers felt that they had a collective voice through Chinese schools. This voice was stronger than those from individuals. One participant argued, “Chinese schools should represent parents and speak for parents.”

Lastly, Chinese schools created volunteering opportunities for Chinese American parents to fulfill their civic duties. In the surveyed Chinese schools, parents made great volunteering efforts in the schools. They served in various roles as teachers, administrators, and janitors. They organized events including school recitals and holiday celebrations. The children learned the volunteering spirit from their parents. Although parental involvement at public schools were much lower than those at Chinese schools, structural involvement such as supervising homework and tutoring after school ensured the academic success of their children.

In summary, Chinese schools played a key role in creating social capital for Chinese American parenting. Social capital was accumulated from tangible and intangible benefits for both Chinese American parents and children. Accumulated social capital supported positive parenting practices. This was achieved through Chinese schools as both a communication platform and a cultural force. The positive parenting practices, in turn, helped foster positive child developmental outcomes.

Study Contributions

The current study explored the relationships between Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting in a less urban region of the United States, where Chinese Americans were a small minority of the population. Contributions of the study are explained as below.

First, this study examined a significant contextual factor in affecting Chinese American parenting, Chinese schools. It extended the current research scope in the literature by linking the social functions of Chinese schools with Chinese American parenting. As stated in ecological theory, a number of familial and contextual factors in each layer of the ecological system have impacts on parenting practices and strategies. Culture was widely examined as one of the contextual factors. A number of studies (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Costigan & Su, 2008; Fuligni et al., 2002; Qin, 2008; Qin et al., 2012) covered a variety of parenting aspects including parenting expectations, discipline, family obligations, parental control and warmth, and the

psychological well-being of children. However, impact from ethnic communities was rarely examined in parenting literature regarding Chinese Americans.

Studies on Chinese schools in the literature mainly focused on language teaching and academic enhancement. For example, a series of papers by Zhou & Kim (2006), Zhou & Li (2003), Zhou (2008), and Zhou (2009) about Chinese schools investigated “spillover effects” in a supplementary role. These effects included bridging connections between co-ethnic people and larger community, enforcing ethnic identity, and fostering a sense of civic duty. Some investigations about Chinese schools focused on parental roles (Li, 2005), the leadership of the schools (Thorpe, 2011), and social identity (Francis et al., 2010).

This study aimed to investigate how Chinese schools, as the central hub of the Chinese community, functioned in ways that affected Chinese American parenting. It is a significant contribution to the literature because it brings documentation and understanding of the central supporting functions of Chinese schools. Chinese schools can help Chinese American families navigate biculturalism and bring positive outcomes to their children. As a result, the children maintain Chinese cultural values and language, while becoming integrated into American culture and society. Ecological theory stated that “the joint impact of two or more settings or their elements” should be considered in seeking “possible interdependencies” (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 11). The families, schools, and community all play important roles in influencing parenting. As a critical component in the mesosystem in

the ecological system, Chinese schools as a community force are important. However, the link between Chinese schools and Chinese American parenting was missing in the literature. The current exploratory study bridges the gap.

Secondly, the study was conducted based on in-depth, in-person interviews to achieve its research goals. The effectiveness of the method was demonstrated in two ways. First, the qualitative method was suitable for investigating participants' personal experiences and self-constructed subjective meaning of Chinese schools (Miller, 2011). The participants' experiences, beliefs, and struggles were examined in detail through face-to-face interviews. The participants' gesture, facial expression, or subtle feelings during the interviews were captured by field journals. For example, when asking about the impacts of racial discrimination, some participants paused briefly and hesitated to talk. These details were used in data analysis. The rich first-hand information enhanced the reliability and validity of the study. Secondly, the personal position of the researcher provided significant advantages in understanding the true intentions of the participants. As a Chinese American mother with two children herself, her experiences with parenting and Chinese school supported a better understanding and interpretation of the participants' narratives.

Furthermore, the interviews were conducted exclusively in Mandarin Chinese. The participants felt more comfortable conversing in Chinese than in English. Use of their native language during the interviews helped the participants reduce their anxiety. Using Chinese language, they felt a sense of security. They were willing to

share their life stories and were able to express themselves freely. They were able to respond to questions without confusion. The researcher was able to capture subtle meanings that the participants conveyed since the researcher and the participants shared the same native language.

Thirdly, the current study surveyed the Chinese school principals' vision, goals, and plans of Chinese schools. Only limited investigations existed in the literature to explore the roles of Chinese school principals. Thorpe (2011) studied the leadership at Chinese schools in the United Kingdom, where school leaders were interviewed about their roles at the schools. Zhou (2008) interviewed Chinese school principals in the Chinatown area of Los Angeles. The current study investigated the principals as they held multiple roles including mothers, administrators, volunteers, and organizers.

The principals possessed a broader view of Chinese schools. They shared their analysis about their Chinese school in the sociopolitical context. Through interviews with these principals, rich information was obtained on the history of the schools, current conditions of the schools and students, and plans for the future. Their perspectives helped this study to achieve a better understanding of Chinese schools and their roles in the communities. Additionally, their position as school principals provided them opportunities to interact with parents at schools and the larger community. As a result, their long narratives greatly enriched the study.

It is worthwhile to note that the current study was conducted in Alabama. The state of Alabama has a small Asian American population, only 1.4 percent of its total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). This study documented the heightened importance of Chinese schools in a context where an array of other social support was absent due to the low population density of Chinese Americans. The participants' neighborhoods had mainly Caucasian residents. Even when some of the participants chose to live in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, the total percentage of ethnic minority groups there was small. The surveyed families experienced difficulty in finding ethnic restaurants and groceries. They needed social and educational resources. The families struggled to re-establish broad social networks. The roles of Chinese schools were more critical in the Southern state, since other social support was limited.

In summary, the study investigated Chinese American parenting in a communal context. Social functions of Chinese schools were studied in connection with parenting. The specific study contexts were chosen in the state of Alabama. With a limited number of co-ethnic families, the surveyed Chinese American mothers had unique struggles and urgent social needs. The Chinese schools were critical in supporting these local communities.

Implications

Due to immigration impacts, as well as the sociocultural structure that they faced, the surveyed Chinese Americans were in great need of social resources. Such urgent need was voiced by nearly all participants throughout their interviews, as discussed in Chapter 5, “Longing for Support” (p. 170). The need was especially strong in Alabama, which had a limited Chinese American population. The findings in the current study have two implications. First, scholarly studies on Chinese American parenting should pay more attention to the ecological factors in the mesosystem, such as ethnic centers or organizations. For ethnic minority groups, these community organizations generate social capital for the group through social networking (Fennema, 2004). Important social resources are exchanged and obtained during this process. During face-to-face interviews, the participants generously shared their life stories with the researcher. Their individual narratives were unique and rich in content. The identified important issues from the study can be explored in a larger population including other new immigrant groups. Therefore, the current study findings may serve as a reference for studies on other similar ethnic groups.

Secondly, society should direct resources to support Chinese schools’ operations and functions. Most of these schools are non-profits. They are operated exclusively by parent volunteers. Lack of funding is a common problem. Support can be obtained from local communities. Connection with the larger society may help

Chinese schools seek financial support. Professionalizing Chinese schools might be a possible solution.

The Chinese American communities showed their strengths in their unique culture and their way of parenting. In states like Alabama, this ethnic group has a great deal to offer to the general public. Such strengths can be utilized by partnerships between the public school system and Chinese schools. For example, school district programs may collaborate with Chinese schools to host cultural events. To the general public, it offers a window into Chinese Americans' life and culture. It also helps new immigrants to better integrate into larger community.

This study revealed that parenting education and training are in great need in the Chinese American communities. The participants voiced their diverse expectations on parenting education as discussed in Chapter 4. Resources can be directed to parenting preparation for this ethnic group. First of all, strength-based programs may be developed to empower the parents and to produce positive child developmental outcomes (Ceballos & Bratton, 2010; Sheely-Moore & Bratton, 2010). Training community leaders can be adopted as a key component since these leaders have great influence on their members. Leadership training can also be applied to young Chinese Americans. Moreover, training the community as a group may be useful for Chinese Americans. For instance, Webster-Stratton (1997) reported that parenting training in a community was more accessible for its members. Participants in the same community share a common background and similar parenting experiences. They feel more

comfortable with others in the same community. Therefore, training will be more efficient and effective.

Many venues can be utilized in implementing parenting education. The resources from the nearby universities or research institutes can be utilized. The three surveyed Chinese schools were located near universities, which had many related resources. For instance, the Center for Community-Based Partnership (CCBP) at the University of Alabama offered a series of parent-teacher leadership training every year. This training focused on connecting parents with schools to promote positive child developmental outcomes. The community leaders can utilize such training opportunities to connect with local schools and other communities. The Crossroads Community Engagement Center at the University of Alabama started working with the local Chinese community on youth leadership training. These platforms are great opportunities for the Chinese American community.

The Chinese American community can utilize local community resources. In the college town where the researcher lives, City One Place offered family and parenting programs for local residents. Chinese schools can build a partnership with local institutions for parenting purposes. In many cases, interpreters may be needed for the parents who demonstrate a low level of English proficiency.

Online resources can be utilized because of their accessibility. There are quality online parenting programs designed by Chinese Americans. For example, the Parents and Children Education Club in New Jersey provides online parenting

education seminars in both Chinese and English. The seminar topics include effective parent-child communication, sex education for parents and children, coping with failure, ethnic identity, and fathers' roles. All the topics were of interest for the surveyed Chinese Americans, based on the findings from the current study.

Limitations and Future Works

This explorative study provides pioneering data and understandings of the research topic. However, the study could not exhaustively consider all factors that may be influential for Chinese American families. Three limitations exist for the current study, including homogeneity of the samples, the presence of mothers' views only, and omission of other possible social supporting venues. These limitations are discussed in detail. Suggestions for future work are presented.

First, the characteristics of the study samples were relatively homogeneous in terms of immigration status, educational level, marital status, and socioeconomic status. The demographic homogeneity was attributed to the fact that the study contexts were in the proximity of two universities in the state of Alabama.

Secondly, the study carried gendered orientation, since only Chinese American mothers were included in the study. Traditional Chinese families are patriarchal in the structure with fathers at the top of the hierarchical pyramid. Chinese fathers are reported to be strict (Chao & Tseng, 2002). They act as authority figures and the main source of discipline in families. In contrast, Chinese mothers are gentler and more

supportive to children (Chao & Tseng, 2002). It would be meaningful to examine how acculturation affects Chinese American fathers' parenting and what Chinese schools mean to the fathers.

Moreover, future studies may explore the meaning of Chinese schools for young Chinese American children. Their perceptions about Chinese American parenting and Chinese school impacts are worthy of investigation. Data triangulation among mothers, fathers, and children may construct a complete understanding of the social functions of Chinese schools and their impacts on family functioning.

Lastly, the study only focused on school-family interfaces. Other social support venues were not included, including faith communities, neighborhood associations, and athletic organizations. Future studies may explore these supporting systems and compare them with Chinese schools. Such investigations can lead to a deeper understanding of the roles of all communal forces and the relative importance of Chinese schools among these communal forces.

It is noted that self-reported data from the face-to-face interviews were susceptible to demand characteristics. What participants expressed and how they expressed their experiences should be viewed in the context of the demand characteristics. The participants' narratives during the interview sessions might not truly reflect their actions in daily life. This might be particularly important among Chinese American families, where humility and wanting to save face were ever-present dialectics that influenced conversations.

As an immediate future step, an executive summary of the study will be shared with the school principals as a guide to promote the efficient functioning of the Chinese schools. To keep the confidentiality of the participants, the research findings will be presented in a general form, without leaking any participant names.

Conclusions

Using a qualitative approach guided by grounded theory, the current study conducted face-to-face interviews with twenty-five Chinese American mothers involved in three Chinese schools in the state of Alabama, during the fall of 2017, to understand the social impacts of Chinese schools on parenting. The subjects were first-generation Chinese immigrants, in middle to upper-middle social class and nearly all with an intact marriage.

The participants demonstrated their strong will to preserve their cultural heritage. To the same extent, they showed their eagerness to integrate with American society. Specifically, in the context of parenting, these Chinese American mothers fully embraced mainstream parenting styles while maintaining a high educational standard, inherited from their cultural heritage. The participants created a rich cognitive environment for their children to grow in. At the same time, these Chinese American mothers had low levels of satisfaction with their children's academic attainment, despite high achievements of their children. The mothers constantly adjusted parenting strategies under the influence of the two cultures.

As new immigrants, the participants had a strong need for social support, as they were constrained with limited social networks and scarce social resources. They universally felt the influences of racial discrimination, either directly or indirectly. Chinese schools undertook significant social and cultural roles. The schools carried multiple social functions for local Chinese American families. The schools had dual roles for language-teaching and passing-down cultural values. Both roles of the schools led to positive developmental outcomes for the enrolled children.

These research findings have significant implications for Chinese Americans and similar minority groups. A meaningful direction is to use Chinese schools or other ethnic organizations in the communities to support child development, with a focus to foster ethnic identity and protect children against discrimination. A clear message for community professionals is that there is an urgency to transfer various available parenting resources to the less connected minority families who are often in great need for resources and support.

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Appendix A

RECRUITMENT LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

Recruitment Letter

Hello! Please allow me to introduce myself. I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Delaware. I am currently working on a research project for my PhD dissertation. I am also a mother of two children and both of them attend the local Chinese school.

My research is to study parenting practices of Chinese mothers in the United States. I would like to ask your opinions on your childrearing and parenting practices and your use of the local Chinese language school. I will conduct face-to-face interview with you either at your home or your choice of location. The interview may take around one hour. You may choose the language you feel comfortable with, English or Chinese Mandarin. You may skip any question as you wish. You may terminate the interview at any point. For the data analysis purpose, the interview will be audio-taped.

Confidentiality of your personal identity and information will be assured. The study contents have been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB protects your rights as a research participant. Audio-tapes and notes from the interview will be kept in a secure environment. I am the only person who has access to these files and recordings. To prevent leakage of your identity, an ID number will be

assigned to your interview. The ID number, rather than your name, will be used in any research description. Lastly, I may contact you for a quick follow-up to check the accuracy of my interpretation of the interview.

Thank you so much for your time and cooperation!

Questionnaire

Demographics & Acculturation Questions:

- Tell me about how you came to the United States and when.
- If others ask about your race and ethnicity, how would you answer?
- What language(s) do you speak at home and at work? How often do you speak each of the language at these two settings?
- How far along the school did you go?
- Are you married? Are both you and your husband employed? If yes, what kind of job do you have?
- How many times have your family moved since you came to the United States? Did each of the changes greatly affect your existing support networks? Please elaborate.
- How do you like your current neighborhood?
- Which holidays are important for your family, Chinese New Year, Thanksgiving, or Christmas? And why?

Parenting Questions:

- What do you and your child enjoy doing together? Why is that? Please answer the questions for each of your children.
- How and in what situations do you typically discipline your child? Please answer the question for each of your children.
- What do you do to find out about your child's well-being? Please answer the question for each of your children.
- How satisfied are you with your child's academic performance and social skills? Please answer the question for each of your children.
- Do you have any worries about your child as a Chinese descendant?

Questions about Chinese Language School:

- What impacts of bi-cultural contexts on you parenting? What function do you think Chinese schools have?
- What social functions do Chinese schools have on supporting parenting?
- What impacts of racial discrimination on your parenting? What functions do Chinese schools have in your opinion?
- What outcome are you hoping for your child by attending the local Chinese school? Please answer the question for each of your children.
- In what extent do you get involved in activities at the Chinese language school? How about your child's daily school?
- Where do you normally get parenting information?

- How often do you chat with other parents about parenting at the Chinese language school?
- How often do you contact other parents who you know at the Chinese school for help on parenting, child care, or other family needs?
- Does the Chinese school offer necessary help and information at the time you need social support? Please give examples.
- What advantages of attending the Chinese school are there for yourself and your child?
- Does your Chinese school currently offer parenting programs? Would parenting programs at your Chinese school be useful? Why or why not? If yes, what types of programs would you like to have?
- The last question, is there anything I should know, but I did not ask? Would you like to share with me?

Questions for Chinese School Principals:

- What is your vision for your Chinese school?
- What are your goals for the school? How about goals for students? And goals for parents?
- Do you have educational plans to serve the community and families? How about plans to help families adapt and adjust in America? Any plans to facilitate families and the community socialize with the larger society?
- Do you think you get enough support from the parents?

- Have you thought about developing parenting seminars or programs at your school? Are these programs effective, in your opinion?

Appendix B

INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Project: Social impacts of Chinese language schools on Chinese American parenting

Principal Investigator(s): Shan Jiang

You are being invited to participate in a research study. This consent form tells you about the study including its purpose, what you will be asked to do if you decide to take part, and the risks and benefits of being in the study. Please read the information below and ask us any questions you may have before you decide whether or not you agree to participate.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purpose of this study is to:

- Examine parenting practices of Chinese mothers in the United States.
- Understand how Chinese American mothers make meaning of Chinese language school for the purpose of parenting.
- This study will be used for my doctoral dissertation.
-

You will be one of approximately 20 to 30 participants in this study. You are being asked to participate because:

- You are a Chinese American mother with at least one child enrolled in the local Chinese language school.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?

As part of this study you will be asked to:

- Provide your opinions on your parenting practices and your use of the local Chinese language school, through one-on-one interview.
- You may ask for a quick follow-up to check the accuracy of my interpretation of the interview.
- Interviews will take place at your home or a location of your choice. The interview may take around one hour. It will be audio-recorded.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

Possible risks of participating in this research study include:

- There are no foreseeable risks. My study does not expose you to any risks different from those you would encounter in daily life.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS?

- There are no direct benefits to the participant.
- You may not benefit directly from taking part in this research. However, the knowledge gained from this study may enhance our understanding on how Chinese American mothers use social resources for parenting purposes. Gained knowledge may help build community-based parenting programs beneficial to the Chinese American communities.

HOW WILL CONFIDENTIALITY BE MAINTAINED? WHO MAY KNOW THAT YOU PARTICIPATED IN THIS RESEARCH?

- Your personal information will be kept confidential.
- You will be given a random ID number. This random number, instead of your name, will appear in research description. I am the only person who has access to the data linking your name with the random ID number.
- Audio-taped research records will be securely locked in a file cabinet and I am the only person who has access to these records. Recordings will be erased after they are transcribed.
- Research results will only be used in my dissertation. The findings of this research may be presented or published in the scientific conferences or journals. In event of publication or presentation, no information that gives out your name or identity details will be released.

The confidentiality of your records will be protected to the extent permitted by law. Your research records may be viewed by the University of Delaware Institutional Review Board, which is a committee formally designated to approve, monitor, and review biomedical and behavioral research involving humans. Transcriptions relating to this research will be kept for at least three years after the research study has been completed.

WILL THERE BE ANY COSTS TO YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH?

There are no costs associated with participating in the study.

WILL YOU RECEIVE ANY COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION?

There is no compensation for participation.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

Taking part in this research study is entirely voluntary. You do not have to participate in this research. If you choose to take part, you have the right to stop at any time. If you decide not to participate or if you decide to stop taking part in the research at a later date, there will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your decision to stop participation, or not to participate, will not influence current or future relationships with the University of Delaware.

WHO SHOULD YOU CALL IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS OR CONCERNS?

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the Principal Investigator, Shan Jiang, at (302) 981-8989 or sjiang@udel.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Barbara Settles, at (302) 831-2934 or settlesb@udel.edu

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Delaware Institutional Review Board at hsrb-research@udel.edu or (302) 831-2137.

Your signature on this form means that: 1) you are at least 18 years old; 2) you have read and understand the information given in this form; 3) you have asked any questions you have about the research and the questions have been answered to your satisfaction; and 4) you accept the terms in the form and volunteer to participate in the study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Printed Name of Participant	Signature of Participant	Date
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Person Obtaining Consent (PRINTED NAME)	Person Obtaining Consent (SIGNATURE)	Date
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Appendix C

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE IRB APPROVAL LETTER



RESEARCH OFFICE

210 HULLIHEN HALL
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE 19716-1551
Ph: 302/831-2136
Fax: 302/831-2828

DATE: July 14, 2017

TO: Shan Jiang
FROM: University of Delaware IRB (HUMANS)

STUDY TITLE: [1087436-1] Social Impacts of Chinese Language Schools on Chinese American Parenting

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: DETERMINATION OF EXEMPT STATUS
DECISION DATE: July 14, 2017

REVIEW CATEGORY: Exemption 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2)

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this research study. The University of Delaware IRB (HUMANS) has determined this project is EXEMPT according to federal regulations.

We will put a copy of this correspondence on file in our office. Please remember to notify us if you make any substantial changes to the project.

If you have any questions, please contact Maria Palazuelos at (302) 831-8619 or mariapj@udel.edu. Please include your study title and reference number in all correspondence with this office.