The Generation Game:

Parenting & Child Outcomes in Second Generation South Asian Immigrant Families in

Britain

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Abstract

Despite much research being conducted around identity and acculturation, immigrant groups are often lumped together according to ethnicity with broad policy recommendations collectively applied to them. The role of generational status is frequently ignored. This paper reveals findings from an in-depth interview and questionnaire based assessment of parenting quality and parent-child relationships, child psychological adjustment and contextual factors in 90 second-generation Indian, Pakistani and White British mothers with 5-7-year-old children living in minority dense urban areas of the UK. The analysis aimed to understand second generation parenting in more depth and to explore similarities and differences between the three British-born groups. Standardised interviews and questionnaires were used to quantitatively measure parenting and child adjustment across a number of constructs.

The study found positive levels of child adjustment across all groups. Similarities were found between family types for some aspects of parenting quality. Identified differences were generally reflected between the Pakistani and White mothers, with the Indian mothers lying between the two, including child supervision and discipline, levels of religiousness and ethnic identity (all higher in the Pakistani group). The current findings relating to second-generation mothers and their children did not support the negative assumptions which are often associated with ethnic minority families. The findings also increase understanding of effective parenting processes across different ethnic groups.

Key words: Family/Child Rearing, Ethnic Identity, Immigration, Developmental: Child

Introduction

As time passes, immigrant groups change. New generations emerge and evolve in different ways. Children who are born and raised in the host country, adapt and develop in varied trajectories compared to the original generation. Parenting styles may also change over time with adaptation to the new setting and in relation to parenting styles of other groups. Despite much work being conducted in this realm around identity and acculturation, immigrant groups are often still grouped together according to ethnicity, and broad policy recommendations are holistically applied to them. This is problematic given that second generation families do not go through the process of migration and all of its associated aspects (Dorsett et al., 2015).

In an attempt to understand second generation parenting in more depth, this paper reveals findings from a detailed assessment of 1) parenting quality and parent-child relationships, 2) child psychological adjustment and 3) religiosity and ethnic identity in second-generation Indian, Pakistani and native White British (hereafter referred to as Indian, Pakistani and White) mothers with 5-7 year old children living in minority dense urban areas of the UK.

Parenting Practices and Generational Status

The vast body of literature on parenting shows positive child adjustment is associated with the quality of parent-child relationships including the use of warmth, sensitivity, and appropriate discipline and control, as well as parental psychological well-being (see Pinquart, 2017; Golombok, 2015; Bornstein, 2002; Collins et al., 2000). However, when thinking about the intergenerational transmission of parenting practices and cultural values in immigrant groups, Trommsdorf (2009) argues that this is a complex phenomenon which involves the consideration of biological, sociological, and psychological processes. In second-generation families, parenting strategies and socialization styles can be adopted from both parents'

traditional culture, but also from the culture in which they live following migration, thus adding a further layer of complexity to this process of transmission.

British South Asians first arrived in large numbers in the 1950s and 1960s, and subsequently now have a large number of British born members. Two major periods of migration existed for Pakistanis: the 1960s, when mainly male migrants arrived and the 1970s-80s, when their families followed. By 2001, 55% of the Pakistani population was British-born. In the most recent census figures, Indian was the second largest ethnic group (after White) with 1.4 million people (2.5 %) followed by Pakistani (2.0 %) in England and Wales (Ethnicity and national identity, 2012).

Research from Dorsett et al. (2015) uses the UK household longitudinal survey to investigate how mental health and life satisfaction varies within and across groups based on generational status. The analysis distinguishes between first generation migrants, second generation migrants and "natives" (those born in the UK and with both parents also born in the UK). Indian and Pakistani groups were amongst those studied. The researchers found that recent migrants had better mental health and higher life satisfaction on average than White natives and other migrant generations, demonstrating that research carried out on immigrant families cannot always be generalised to the experiences of British-born ethnic minority families.

Cross-cultural research on parental ethnotheories (Greenfield et al., 2003) can be helpful in providing a framework for thinking about differences in parenting practices across cultures. The term ethnotheories refers to the set of ideas, beliefs and child care and socialisation practices specifying how to raise a competent child in the context of culturally relevant development goals (Super & Harkness, 1997; Triandis & Suh, 2002). These parental ethnotheories are shared by members of cultural communities and are essentially parenting goals with the developmental domains of independence or interdependence at their core.

Greenfield et al. (2003) empirically argue that non-Western cultures (such as those from India and Pakistan) follow the cultural ideal of interdependence. Interdependent, collectivist-oriented ethnotheories emphasise responsibility, correct demeanour, politeness, respect for elders and family loyalty as cultural developmental domains as well as conformity and obedience. In contrast, Western cultures (such as English culture) possess more independent oriented ethnotheories, which emphasise self-maximisation, assertiveness, self-esteem, curiosity and creativity, autonomy and self-direction. These developmental domains are capable of existing across different educational and socio-economic backgrounds.

Parenting & Identity in Second Generation Families: Exploring Religion & Ethnicity

Numerous studies have been carried out exploring particular contextual factors in Pakistani and Indian family life, including kinship and extended family, respect and family hierarchy and language (Barn, 2006; Shaw & Lee, 2003). However, generational dimensions have been ignored in this research. Of interest to this paper are those studies focusing on religion and ethnic identity.

Acculturation studies provide much insight into learning particularly about ethnic identification and have shown that while family values and religion remain important for the South Asian diasporic community, second-generation individuals born or educated in the host country find interaction with white British peers important (Ghuman, 2003). Robinson (2009) in a study of South Asian adolescents (13-18 years) found Indian adolescents were more likely to use integration strategies, while many Pakistanis partook in separation strategies. Lau (2000) and Berthoud (2000) both describe South Asian families in Britain as existing on a spectrum from traditional hierarchal family to 'Western' contemporary nuclear family. They argue that Indians and particularly Pakistanis continue to hold traditional more collectivist (interdependent) values and are thus closer to one end of the spectrum. They also argue that Pakistani families tend to move at a slower pace of change than other ethnic

groups, with high marriage rates, large family sizes and lower economic activity among female Pakistanis (Imtiaz, 2002; Berthoud, 2000). These studies all increase understanding about acculturation and ethnic identification in South Asians. However, none focus specifically on British-born third-generation samples or on pre-adolescent children.

Another aspect of interdependent cultures is closeness to traditional values and religious beliefs. Few studies have been conducted on parenting and religion in Indian and Pakistani families, and little is known about the positive or detrimental influences of religion in the household (Mahoney & Pargament et al., 2001). However, research has indicated that religious identification can go hand in hand with cultural and ethnic identification, particularly in second generation families (Christine, 2007). Islamic values and traditions have been found to be especially important to the Pakistani diaspora (Shaw & Lee, 2003). Recent research in British South Asian families describes how Islam offers parents with networks and resources for the socialisation of young people, including the community, extended family and the mosque. Also 'Islamic upbringing' (Franceschelli & O'Brian, 2014) of children allows parents control of their children's behaviour, the passing on of values such as morality as well as the chance to influence their future life chances e.g. through educational support. Güngör et al. (2013) state Islamic religious parenting involves implicit learning as parents provide examples which children imitate (e.g. praying, fasting) and it also involves more directed socialisation efforts (e.g. storytelling, dressing modestly etc.). Other research on religion and the family has found that religiosity in parents is linked to protective factors, which have positive influences on the family structure (Shor 1998). In an increasingly anti-Islamic setting, the role of religion and its intersection with race and ethnicity in early socialisation is important (Iqbal, 2014). Studies have also shown associations between religious practices and positive outcomes in adolescents arguing that religion acts as a source of coping in stressful times and during illness (Faro et al. 2017).

Rutter et al. (2005) showed that South Asians in Britain tend to use religion as a form of identification, and that many report that their faith identity holds a greater importance in their lives than other forms of identity. Pakistani Muslims have been found to display more outward signs of religious and cultural practice, with children more likely to engage in religio-cultural activity such as prayer and Quran classes (Barn et al., 2006). Studies have also found that religion is more important for Pakistani Muslim young people than Indian Hindu young people, with participants describing religion as a significant component of their identity (Robinson, 2009). Speigler et al. (2016) took generational status into account in their study of Turkish immigrant parents of young children in Germany. They found religious parenting in second generation immigrants did not influence children's identification with host culture, but it promoted their identification with their Turkish home culture. They argued for the close association in second generation Muslim families between religious parenting and cultural socialisation and that Islam did not pose a barrier to integration in this group. This research how ethnic identity and religion can be closely associated in some groups.

The above literature describes some of the aspects, particularly around religion and identity to be considered when examining parenting in second generation families. We next turn to the present study which explores the types of parenting practices second generation Indian and Pakistani families partake in and tries to understand whether parents from traditionally interdependent cultures move towards more independent practices in parenting as time from migration increases. First, we visit the study hypotheses.

Study Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1. Parenting Quality and Parent-child relationships. The study hypothesised that there would be similarities in parenting quality and parent-child relationships between the three ethnic groups of focus (Indian, Pakistani and White). This was due to changes in parental practices through growing up in a different culture (Britain).

However, differences between ethnic groups would also exist in the nature of parent-child relationships. For example, it is hypothesised that British Indian and British Pakistani parents would show significantly higher levels of supervision and discipline of their children than White parents due to their more collectivist nature.

Hypothesis 2. *Child adjustment.* These differences between ethnic groups in parent-child relationships would be associated with differences in outcomes for children. For example, it is hypothesised that children from British Indian and British Pakistani groups that implemented high levels of supervision and discipline would show significantly lower levels of conduct problems than White children.

Hypothesis 3. Religion and ethnic identity. Religion has been shown to be an important form of identification, particularly among Pakistanis in Britain. The study wished to explore this in second generation South Asian families. It was hypothesised that religion would continue to play a strong part in the family life of the British Pakistani group as compared with the British Indian and White British group, through higher levels of expression of beliefs, practices and in relation to child rearing. The study also wanted to explore the levels of ethnic identification between groups and the relationship of ethnic identity in British born second generation families in relation to child adjustment.

Method

Participants

Ninety British-born mothers with children aged 5-7 years (26 British Indian, 31 British Pakistani, 33 White British) living in highly diverse urban neighborhoods were interviewed in depth (Iqbal, 2012). Mothers were recruited mainly through state primary schools in London, located in areas with high concentrations of Indian and Pakistani ethnic populations as well as sizable White British populations. London was selected as it hosts the

largest population of ethnic minority populations in the country, with these particular groups living in close proximity and engaging in routine interaction (Simpson, 2013). The children came from a range of schools in mainly 3 areas in London. The researcher contacted the schools by writing to the head teachers, and asked for permission to approach parents, in the playground at home time and invite them to participate in the study. This age group (5-7 years) was chosen as the children were still very much under parental supervision, yet were old enough to discuss their family networks and compete an observational task about mother-child interaction with their parent (which formed part of the larger research project; see Iqbal, 2012). Data collection took place over 18 months and snowballing helped greatly in obtaining participants.

Strict criteria were used to select and match the sample using data from the most recent census at the time of data collection. Details on the educational stratification of Indians, Pakistani and White families living in London were used to develop a grid which included the corresponding numbers of participants based on a sample size of 30 participants per family needed for each educational category. Modified versions of the UK National Qualification Framework (NQF) and the Qualification and Credit Framework (QCF) were used to develop these education categories, and Educational *Level* of parents was used as a proxy indicator of social class. Participants were selected based on education level to create a representative sample based on the actual population of ethnic groups in London. The education level of the parent with the highest qualifications was used for matching purposes. The selection criteria were as follows: the child was between the ages of 5-7 years old and was British born, the child attended primary school and both the child's mother was British born. All of the Pakistani's interviewed were Muslim and the majority of Indian mothers were Hindu. All mothers were married to, or in a committed relationship with the child's father. Strict inclusion criteria were maintained to ensure that the samples were as similar as

possible in terms of family structure. The sample size in the study is small for quantitative purposes. However, the study was part of a larger mixed methods project each participant was interviewed in great depth.

　　If we look at the sample characteristics (see Table 1), there were similar proportions of boys and girls in each ethnic group and the child's age did not differ between groups. In total 27 five year olds, 31 six year olds and 32 seven year olds participated in the study. Aside from small differences in *Mother's Working Status (*assessed according to a set of options ranging from 1 (not currently working) to 3 (working full time) which showed that a higher proportion of Pakistani mothers were not currently working and a higher proportion of White mothers were working part-time, there was close matching between groups for demographic factors.

Table 1

Socio-Demographic Information by Family Type

	Indian		Pakistani		White		χ^2	p
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Child's Sex								
Boy	9	34.6	14	45.2	16	48.5	1.20	ns
Girl	17	65.4	17	54.8	17	51.5		
Father's Educational Level								
Primary	7	26.9	12	40.0	13	39.4	1.71	ns
Secondary	3	11.5	3	10.0	2	6.1		
Higher	16	61.6	15	50.0	18	54.5		
Mother's Educational Level								
Primary	7	26.9	12	38.7	10	30.3	3.03	ns
Secondary	4	15.4	6	19.4	3	9.1		
Higher	15	57.7	13	41.9	20	60.6		
Mother's Working Status								
Not currently working	10	38.5	16	51.6	14	42.4	17.00	p
Working part time	6	23.1	12	38.7	18	54.5		
Working full time	10	38.4	3	9.7	1	3.1		
Number of Siblings								
None	2	7.7	3	9.7	8	24.3	11.44	ns
One	23	88.5	19	61.3	18	54.5		
Two-three	1	3.8	6	19.4	4	12.1		
More than three	0	0	3	9.7	3	9.1		

Procedures

Mothers were interviewed at home with each visit lasting approximately 2-2.5 hours. Written and informed consent to participate in the investigation was obtained from each parent and verbal assent was obtained from the child. Ethical approval was granted by the University of Cambridge Psychology Research Ethics Committee. A trained researcher conducted in depth interviews with mothers, questionnaires, a child test and observational measures (Iqbal, 2012). Only data from a selection of the quantitative portion of the interview as well as questionnaires are presented here. This set of interview and questionnaires has been used extensively and across different family types to assess parenting and child wellbeing (Golombok et al. 2011).

The researcher administered the questionnaires and conducted the interviews which were recorded using a digital device. Before data collection began the researcher received training on conducting the family interview (Quinton & Rutter, 1988). This interview asks a series of detailed questions about different aspects of the child and parenting practices including warmth, discipline and supervision and requires ratings to be given for these different aspects. The researcher kept the code book with them during data collection and coded each interview during or immediately after the interview. Following the interview, the mothers were administered a questionnaire booklet which took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Participants were given a box of chocolates as thanks for participating. To provide interrater reliability ratings for the interview, 24 randomly selected interviews (8 from each family type) were coded by a second researcher (with extensive experience in the interview technique) who was blind to family type.

Different approaches for countering construct bias and validity were used. Prior to the study, during the research pilot, representatives from each group were interviewed and asked to reflect on their understanding of each section of the interview as well as the wording

of questions. Those which were unclear were adjusted accordingly. This allowed for the relevance and shared meaning between groups being interviewed. Construct and item bias were reduced through the judgmental approach, which relies on cultural expertise on the groups being study. The ethnic matching of the principle researcher (who was of British South Asian origin) to British Indian and British Pakistani groups helped achieve this. It also facilitated in the interpretation of the validity of the information obtained from the British Indian and British Pakistani groups.

However, there was also a chance that experimenter expectancies could influence the outcome of the study. In order to combat this, the interviewer, was mindful of taking an unbiased stance throughout. Following each interview, they took extensive reflexive fieldnotes to help in the process of interpretation and coding of the interview. The calculation of interrater reliabilities also helped to ensure this. Details of the measures used and the intra-class correlation coefficients between raters for the interview variable are provided below.

Measures

1. *Parenting practices and parent-child relationships.*

Questionnaire: The short form of the Parenting Stress Index (PSI/SF) (Abidin, 1990) was completed by each parent to assess stress associated with parenting. For this instrument, higher scores represent greater difficulties. Additionally, it has been shown to have good reliability and to discriminate well between clinical and nonclinical groups and has been adapted for use across a range of cultures (see Anderson, 2008).

Interview with parents: An adaptation of a semi-structured interview designed to assess quality of parenting was used. The interview was a combination of an investigator based interview on quality of parenting (Quinton and Rutter, 1988) as well as one used to assess quality of marriage (Quinton, Rutter and Rowlands, 1976). This parenting interview which has been used extensively in other studies of parenting (see Golombok et.al. 2011) has been

validated against observational ratings in the home of mother-child relationships as well as child specific measures and has shown a high level of concordance between global ratings of the quality of parenting by interviewers and observers (concurrent validity; r = .63) (Quinton and Rutter, 1988; Iqbal, 2012). Further, the marital relations section of the interview has been shown to demonstrate predictive validity for marital breakdown (Quinton, Rutter and Rowlands, 1976). It applies a standardized approach to coding responses to questions (i.e. the interviews were rated by the trained researcher) rather than using self-report data of mothers as well as a flexible style of questioning. Extensive details were taken of the child's behavior and the mother's response to it particularly relating to interactions around warmth and control. The interview allows the researcher to rate variables according to a detailed standardized coding scheme described in an accompanying interview manual**.**

The interview is made up of a number of sections, e.g.: Parental description of the child, a section on developmental behavior and emotional problems, relationship with mother, and a section on supervision and discipline. Within each of these sections there are a series of questions. For example in 'relationship with mother', different questions are asked to try and assess the global maternal warmth code. Questions included: 'how do you get along with child? Is s/he easy to be affectionate with? In what ways does s/he show affection towards you? Do you enjoy each other's company? Are they things you do together in your spare time? How much time have you spent in the last week doing these kinds of things? Through this questioning, a detailed picture emerged on the different dimensions of parenting. There is limited space in this paper to outline the full series of questions used however please see Iqbal, (2012) for a full copy of the interview.

The fact that mothers may present themselves in a socially desirable manner during the interview was anticipated. The characteristics of the interview helped account for this. It

involved detailed and lengthy questioning and the assessment of non-verbal behaviours, including facial expressions and body language.

The following variables were coded from the *interview*: a) *Expressed warmth* from 0 (*none*) to 5 (*high*). Tone of voice, facial expression and gestures when speaking about the child, spontaneous expressions of warmth, sympathy and concern about the child's difficulties (if any) and interest in the child as a person were all taken into account. b) *Sensitive responding* from 0 (*none*) to 4 (*very*), measured the mother's ability to read the child's fears and anxieties and respond appropriately to them through discussion and dialogue.c) *Mother-child interaction/quality of interaction* from 0 (*very low*) to 4 (*very high*) measured how much time the mother and child spent in each other's company and enjoyed spending time together. The ratings were also based on the extent of affection the child and mother showed to one another and the extent to which the mother took responsibility for the child. d) *Expressed criticism* from 0 (*no criticism*) to 3 (*considerable criticism*). Expressed criticism assessed the degree to which the mother was critical of the child, throughout the interview. e) *Boundaries* from 0 (*not allowed out*) to 4 (*no specified territory*) assessed the mother's rules for their child with regards to playing outdoors. f) *Chaperonage* from 0 (*allowed to play with others in own home*) to 6 (*allowed to play with unknown children, territory undefined*), assessed the mother's rules for the child concerning playing with other children, known or unknown). g) *Overt discipline (expressed),* rated from 0 (*none*) to 4 (*aggressive*), measured the extent to which the mother lost her temper and was likely to raise her voice in a disciplinary situation. h) *Frequency of battle* from 0 (*never*) to 4 (*all the time*), aassessed the frequency over the past three months that confrontations occurred between the mother and child and j) *level of battle* from 0 (*no confrontations)* to 3 (*major battles*), assessed the type of confrontation between mother and child**.** The interrater reliabilities (intraclass correlation coefficients) were as follows: expressed warmth (.68), sensitive

responding (.52), mother-child interaction/quality of interaction (.68), criticism (.56), overt

discipline (.86) *Chaperonage* (.68) *Outside Boundaries* (.73), frequency of battle (.78), and

level of battle (.82).

2. *Child adjustment*

The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) was completed by mothers at home

(Goodman, 2001) and used to assess the presence of child psychological problems. The SDQ

produces an overall score of child adjustment: *total difficulties* as well as 5 subscale scores:

conduct problems, *emotional symptoms, hyperactivity*, *peer problems and prosocial behavior*

with higher scores indicating higher difficulties in all scales except prosocial scale (higher is

fewer difficulties). The SDQ has been shown to have good internal consistency, test–retest

and interrater reliability, and concurrent and discriminative validity (Goodman, 2001).

Moreover, it has been used widely in numerous ethnic groups including those being

investigated in the present study (see Goodman et al., 2010)**.** The number of children

obtaining a parent-rated total SDQ score above cut-off for psychiatric disorder was also

calculated.

3. *Contextual Factors Religion and Ethnic Identity*

Religion. As part of the adapted interview, there were number of questions relating

religious beliefs which investigated how mothers described religion to be part of their own

and children's lives. The following variables were coded a) *religious beliefs* and b) *religious*

practices both from 0 (*none*) to 4 (*extremely high*), which assessed beliefs & practices based

on mothers responses (separately) when asked how strong these c) *child's religiosity*: from 0

(*none*) to 3 (*active discussion and participation*), assessed the extent to which mothers

discussed religion with their child and incorporated religious rituals and practices into child's

life and d) *child's knowledge of religion* rated in a 4 point scale from 0 (*none*) to 3 (*high*),

assessed mothers description of how informed their child was about religion. The intra-class

correlation coefficients for *religiosity* and *child's knowledge of religion* were found to be .62 and .75 respectively.

      Ethnic Identity. MEIM: The revised shorter version of the *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised* (MEIM-R) (Phinney & Ong, 2007) was completed by mothers. This 6-item questionnaire has been shown to be a valid, reliable measure for assessing ethnic identity by distinguishing between two related yet separate components of ethnic identity (i.e. exploration and commitment). The MEIM-R provided scores for *Total Ethnic Identity* which assessed the mother's overall ethnic identity, and comprised 2 subscales: *Commitment* and *Exploration*. *Commitment* was an affective component that examined the tendencies of mothers to feel psychologically attached to their ethnic group, and *Exploration*, was a developmental and cognitive component that examined the tendencies of mothers to spend time understanding more about the ethnic group of which they were a member. The measure uses a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree), and produces a mean score between 1 and 5 which represents *Total Ethnic Identity,* with higher scores indicating higher levels of identification with ethnic identity. A mean score of 1 or 2 would be considered as a low level of ethnic identity. A mean score of 3 would be considered a moderate level of ethnic identity, while a mean score of 4 or 5 would be considered a high level of ethnic identity.

Results

Analysis Plan

The analysis aimed to determine whether groups differed on the following constructs in line with the hypotheses of the study:

Hypothesis 1. Quality of Parenting and Parent Child relationships.

i) ***Parenting stress*-** Scores for total parenting stress from the Parenting Stress Index were calculated.

ii) ***Maternal warmth/closeness***- variables for this construct were derived from the interviews

with mothers (*expressed warmth*, *sensitive responding*, *mother-child interaction* and

expressed criticism). The adjusted correlations between each variable and the overall

construct varied from .41 to .64 and the α-coefficient for the construct was .80 *(internal*

consistency).

iii) ***Maternal supervision***- (*outside boundaries* and *chaperonage*). The between item

correlation was .61 and the α-coefficient for the construct was .75.

iv) ***Maternal discipline***- (*overt discipline*, *frequency of battle* and *level of battle*). The

adjusted correlations between each variable and the overall construct varied from .27 to .36

and the α-coefficient for the construct was .58.

Hypothesis 2. Child adjustment.

Scores for *Total Difficulties* as well as each of the subscale scores were calculated from the

Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire.

In order to test for hypothesis 2, constructs of parenting quality and parent child relationships,

particularly those of Maternal discipline and Maternal supervision were also important.

Hypothesis 3. Religion and ethnic identity.

i) ***Religion***: In order to condense the religion variables into a more robust measure, a single

Religion variable was created using Principle Components Analysis (PCA). In the case of

religion, quantitative variables from the interview with the mother (*religiosity*, *religious*

beliefs, *religious practices* and *child's knowledge of religion*), were combined to form a

single *Religion* variable.

ii) ***Ethnic Identity***: The MEIM-R provided scores for *Total Ethnic Identity* which assessed

the mother's overall ethnic identity, and comprised 2 subscales: *Commitment* and

Exploration.

Statistical Analysis

Across the data, when outcome variables were multivariate, MANOVAs were conducted. Post-hoc tests were carried out to examine whether differences existed between family types as follows: (1) British Indian mothers versus White British mothers (I vs. B), (2) British Pakistani mothers versus White British mothers (P vs. W), and (3) British Indian versus British Pakistani mothers (I vs. P). When the MANOVA was statistically significant, one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were carried out for each variable included in the MANOVA, in order to fully explore the dataset. A decision was taken not to enter any contextual factors into the analyses as covariates when assessing group differences due to the close matching between groups during the sampling process (see *Methodology*).

At this juncture, it is important to make a key point about the nature of the correlations and internal consistency measures which can help to contextualise the analytical findings below. The interview used a multi-dimensional approach to measuring parenting constructs. Each construct from the interview, i.e. *Maternal Warmth*, *Maternal Supervision* and *Maternal Discipline* comprised of multiple variables which measured different aspects of the same construct (e.g. Maternal warmth is comprised of the variables: expressed warmth, sensitive responding, mother-child interaction and expressed criticism). It is thus possible that, high scores on one type of variable (criticism) could result in lower scores in the underlying construct (maternal warmth) and vice versa. This helps to explain why low correlations exist between some variables and why particular constructs such as *Maternal Warmth* and *Maternal Discipline* have a lower internal consistency. Despite the lower consistency and correlations, the approach allowed for different types of interchangeable behaviour in the same parenting measure to be considered in a holistic manner.

Descriptive Results

1. Parenting Quality and Parent Child relationships. These results relate to hypothesis 1 on similarities and differences in parenting quality and parent-child relationships across the three groups:

i) Maternal Stress: As shown in Table 2, Total parenting stress was calculated and variables were entered into a one-way ANOVA. No significant difference between groups was found for Total Stress.

ii) *Warmth and Closeness:* The maternal warmth/closeness construct was derived from the interviews with mothers (*Expressed Warmth*, *Sensitive Responding*, *Mother-Child Interaction* and *Expressed Criticism*). The adjusted correlations between each variable and the overall construct varied from .41 to .64 and the α-coefficient for the construct was .80. The variables were entered into a MANOVA and Wilks' λ *was* not significant (see Table 2).

iii) Supervision: Variables from the mother's interview (*Outside Boundaries* and *Chaperonage*) formed the supervision construct. The between item correlation was .61 and the α-coefficient for the construct was .75. When these variables were entered into a MANOVA, Wilks' λ was significant, $F (4, 172) = 3.44$, $p < .01$ indicating an overall group difference, as shown in Table 2. Univariate ANOVAs showed a group difference for both *Outside Boundaries F* $(2,87) = 4.94$, $p < .01$ and *Chaperonage F* $(2,87) = 5.94$, $p < .01$. Games-Howell post-hoc tests revealed that Pakistani mothers showed tighter supervision rules with regards to their children playing outdoors compared with White mothers (BP vs. NIW, $p < .01$). There was also a significant group difference for *Chaperonage*, with Pakistani mothers again reporting tighter rules in relation to their children playing with other children (either known or unknown) compared with White mothers (BP vs. NIW, $p < .01$).

iv) Discipline: A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted for the discipline variables from the mother's interview (O*vert Discipline*, *Frequency of Battle* and *Level of Battle*). The adjusted correlations between each variable and the overall construct

varied from .27 to .36 and the α-coefficient for the construct was .58. Wilks' λ was significant F (6, 170) = 2.17, $p < .05$ indicating an overall group difference (see Table 2). One-way ANOVAs showed a group difference for *Overt Discipline F* (2,87) = 6.07 $p < .01$. A Gabriel's post-hoc test was conducted on this variable, and revealed that Indian mothers showed higher levels of O*vert Discipline* when compared with White mothers (BI vs. NIW, $p < .01$). Pakistani mothers also showed higher levels of *Overt Discipline* compared with White mothers (BP vs. NIW, $p < .05$). No difference was found in levels of *Overt Discipline* between Indian and Pakistani mothers. Moreover, no differences were found between groups for *Frequency of Battle* or *Level of Battle*.

Table 2

Means, SD, F and p values for comparisons of Parenting Quality and Parent-Child Relationship by Ethnic Group

	Indian		Pakistani		White				Post-Hoc tests		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F/H	*p*	I vs W	P vs W	I vs P
PSI: Total Stress	59.33	12.54	69.44	20.62	65.16	13.47	2.82	**n.s**			
Maternal Warmth							1.44	**n.s**			
Expressed Warmth	4.12	0.65	4.06	0.89	4.18	0.68					
Sensitive Responding	2.50	0.65	2.32	0.75	2.88	0.78					
M-C Interaction	3.15	0.61	2.94	0.68	3.21	0.55					
Expressed Criticism	2.15	0.92	2.03	0.98	2.18	0.77					
Maternal Supervision							**3.44**	**p<.01**			

Outside Boundaries	0.35	0.56	0.29	0.53	0.76	0.79	4.94	p<.01	n.s	p<.05	n.s
Chaperonage	2.12	0.52	1.94	0.68	2.48	0.71	5.94	p<.01	n.s	p<.01	n.s
Maternal Discipline							**2.17**	**p<.05**			
Overt Discipline	1.81	0.80	1.68	0.79	1.15	0.76	6.07	p<.01	p<.01	p<.05	n.s
Frequency	1.62	0.64	1.61	0.72	1.52	0.67	0.22				
Level	1.31	0.47	1.42	0.62	1.33	0.60	0.31	n.s			

Note: M-C = Mother child, Frequency = Frequency of Battle, Level = Level of Battle, I = British Indian, P= British Pakistani,

 W = White British

2. Child Adjustment. These results relate to hypothesis 2 on child outcomes in the three

groups:

A univariate ANOVA was conducted for the *Total Difficulties* score of The Strengths and

Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ). As shown in Table 3, no difference was found between

groups for *Total Difficulties*. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was then

conducted for the SDQ subscale scores and titled *Child Adjustment*. The adjusted correlations

between each subscale and the overall construct varied from -.05 to .47 and the α-coefficient

for the construct was .33. Wilks' λ was not significant (see Table 3). The analyses of the SDQ

data indicate that overall the children in the different family types were well adjusted lying

within the normal range and similar to the UK population for 5-7-year-old children (Green, et

al., 2004). Recent studies (Goodman et al., 2010) have shown no difference between

Pakistani and White children for overall mental health. Indian children were shown to have

overall better mental health than White children.

Table 3

Means, SD, F and p values for comparisons of Child Adjustment between Ethnic Groups

| | Indian | | Pakistani | | White | | | |
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	*F*	*p*
SDQ: Total Difficulties Score	7.65	3.95	8.93	4.41	6.59	3.55	2.68	n.s.
Child Adjustment							**1.05**	**n.s.**
SDQ: Emotional Problems	1.22	1.41	1.87	1.78	1.53	1.30		
SDQ: Conduct Problems	1.22	1.13	1.47	1.28	1.13	1.13		
SDQ: Hyperactivity	3.74	2.38	3.77	2.11	2.81	1.17		
SDQ: Peer Problems	1.48	1.24	1.67	1.16	1.13	1.29		
SDQ: Prosocial Behaviour	8.78	1.17	8.40	1.50	8.56	1.48		

3. Religion and Ethnic identity. These results relate to hypothesis 3 on similarities and

differences in religion and ethnic identity in the three groups.

i) *Religion:* The variables relating to religion derived from the mother's interview were

Religiosity, Religious Beliefs, Religious Practices and *Child's Knowledge of Religion*. The

four items showed strong inter-item correlations ranging from .65 to .85 and the α-coefficient

for the construct was .93. Principle component analysis was used with the religion variables

to produce a religion scale. All variables loaded on one factor with loadings of over .8 and the

factor explained 82.1% of the variance (see Table 4). A composite score was created from

this factor, with higher scores indicating stronger religious beliefs and practices. This score

was labelled *Religion*.

Table 4

Factor Loadings of a fixed factor principle component analysis for

four Religion variables from mother's interview N = 90

Variable name	Loading
Religiosity	0.95
Religion: beliefs	0.89
Religion: practices	0.93
Child's knowledge of religion	0.86

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the *Religion* variable revealed a significant

group difference $F (2,87) = 32.48$, $p <.001$. A Games-Howell post-hoc test showed that

Pakistani mothers held significantly stronger religious beliefs and practices when compared

with both Indian (BI vs. BP $p < .001$) and White mothers (BP vs. NIW, $p < .001$) (see Table 5).

ii) *Ethnic Identity and Socialisation*: Scores from the two subscales of the revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-rev) (*Exploration* and *Commitment)* were combined to form an ethnic identity construct. The between item correlation coefficient was .53 and the α-coefficient for the construct was .69. When these variables were entered into a MANOVA, Wilks' λ was not significant (see Table 5).

Table 5

Means, SD, F and p values for comparisons of Religion and Ethnic Identity between Groups

	Indian		Pakistani		White				Post- Hoc tests		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	*F/t*	*p*	I vs W	P vs W	I vs P
Religion	-1.07	2.66	2.71	1.38	-1.71	4.25	32.48	p<.001	ns	p<.001	p<.001
Ethnic Identity							**2.20**	**n.s**			
Exploration	2.51	0.71	2.56	0.68	2.20	0.53					
Commitment	2.92	0.49	3.02	0.63	2.62	0.63					

Parenting, Ethnic Identity and Child Adjustment

The parenting measures (*Expressed Warmth, Frequency of Battle* and *Total Stress*) and the

identity factor (MEIM-rev: *Total Ethnic Identity*) each correlated with child adjustment

(*SDQ: Total Difficulties*). In line with wider literature on parental influences on child

adjustment, these reflected fewer emotional and behaviour problems in children whose

mothers demonstrated greater expressed warmth (r = - .34, *p* < .01), fewer battles (r = .22, *p* <

.05) and lower parenting stress (r = .55, *p* < .001). The significant correlation found between

ethnic identity and SDQ reflected higher emotional and behavioural problems in children

whose mothers demonstrated stronger exploration of and commitment to ethnic identity (r =

.34, *p* < .01).

Hierarchical regression analyses on these variables were carried out to explore the

relationship between parenting, ethnic identity and child adjustment using a multilevel

statistical model. This was an important step for testing hypothesis 2 of the study which

aimed to explore the relationship between parent-child relationships and child outcomes in

the three groups. Past literature and earlier analyses of the data served to guide the order in

which variables were entered into the regression[1]. The regression analysis assessed whether

the parenting measures of *Expressed Warmth, Frequency of Battle* and *Total Stress* and the

ethnic identity measure of *Total Ethnic Identity* as measured by the MEIM-rev explained

unique variance in child adjustment as measured by the *SDQ.* The cases-to-independent

variables (IVs) ratio was 21:1 (85 cases and 4 IVs)[2], which is a satisfactory ratio for

conducting regression analyses.

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[1] The stepwise method was used. Although the stepwise regression was being conducted on a medium number

of cases as opposed to a large number of cases (which minimises the influence of possible sampling error), the

recommendations of Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) on the prescribed ratio of cases-to-independent variables was

followed to ensure the most accurate analyses possible were conducted.

At step 1 of the regression, mothers' *Total Stress* score on the PSI/SF was entered, which accounted for 31% of the variance (adjusted R^2 = .30, *F* (1, 83) = 36.60, *p* < .001). The inclusion of *Ethnic Identity* into the equation at Step 2 resulted in an additional 5% of the variance being explained (ΔR^2 = .05). The independent variables *Expressed Warmth* and *Frequency of Battle* were not included in the stepwise regression as they did not significantly strengthen the model and were not found to be significant predictors of child adjustment as measured by the SDQ. Therefore, the final model contained only two independent variables; *Total Stress* and *Ethnic Identity* which accounted for an overall variance of 35% (adjusted R^2 = .34, *F* (6, 77) = 22.20, *p* < .001) (see Table 6). Multivariate outliers were not identified (max Cook's distance = 0.28), indicating each case had a similar influence on the regression coefficients. The result of the regression indicated that Parenting *Total Stress*, reported by mothers as well as the strength of their *Ethnic Identity* were most closely associated with child adjustment. Higher levels of maternal stress, and greater exploration and commitment to ethnic identity, were associated with greater difficulties in the child.

Table 6

Summary of Hierarchal Regression on Children's SDQ Scores

	SDQ: Total Difficulties Score				
	B	SE (B)	β	t	*p*
Step I					
PSI Total Stress	0.14	0.22	0.55	6.10	p < .001
Model I Summary	Adjusted R^2 = .30, F (1, 83) = 36.60, p < .001				
Step II					
PSI Total Stress	0.12	0.02	0.50	5.50	p < .001
MEIM Ethnic Identity	1.60	0.67	0.21	2.39	p < .05

Expressed warmth and Frequency of battles were not significant predictors in the final model II

Model II Summary Adjusted R^2 = .34, F (6, 77) = 22.20, p < .001

Discussion

This study set out to conduct an in-depth investigation in parenting quality, parent-child relationships and children's psychological adjustment in British-born Indian, Pakistani and White British families with young children living in ethnically diverse regions of the UK.

In comparing parenting and child adjustment in British-born Indian, Pakistani and White families, an overall pattern seemed to emerge, with differences mainly occurring between Pakistani and White mothers somewhat resembling a continuum due to different parenting practices varying between the three communities to different extents. In this continuum, White families would exist at one end, Pakistani families at the other, and Indian families between the two. In some aspects of family life, Indian mothers were more comparable to White mothers, while in other aspects, they behaved similarly to Pakistani mothers. This supports Lau (2000) and Berthoud (2000) but also suggests different dimensions exist within parenting practices and family life. How do the study hypotheses hold up in relation to these findings? We explore below.

Hypothesis 1. Parenting quality and parenting-child relationships

The hypotheses that similarities in parenting quality would exist between ethnic groups was supported overall by similar levels of *warmth*, *control* and *mother-child interaction* between Indian, Pakistani and White families. In terms of discipline, Indian and Pakistani mothers were more likely to use higher levels of *overt discipline* (raising voice and losing temper) with their children compared with White mothers. However, the magnitude of this difference was small (within one scale point between groups). Furthermore, Pakistani, Indian and White mothers reported similar levels of conflict with their children. In relation to child well-being, contrary to past research, which has suggested that children from ethnic minority groups may be more likely to display problematic behaviour compared with ethnic majority groups (Phoenix & Hussain, 2007), third-generation Indian and Pakistani children in

the study showed positive psychological adjustment. Similar levels of adjustment were found in the White children in the study and the mean SDQ score for total difficulties for each family type lay within the normal range. Thus, it seems that this study found that the children were doing well irrespective of their ethnicity.

The findings of positive child adjustment, taken together with the findings on parenting and mother-child relationships, demonstrate (as literature suggests) that positive parenting is associated with positive outcomes for children. The high levels of *maternal warmth* and *mother-child interaction* and low levels of *maternal criticism* in each family type, as measured by the interview, support this. Moreover, the regression between parenting and child adjustment reveals that, in each ethnic group, *total parenting stress* was a greater predictor of child socio-emotional adjustment than other aspects of parenting, with ethnic identity a lesser predictor.

The hypothesis relating to differences between ethnic groups in the nature of parent-child relationships, particularly in relation to supervision and discipline, was also upheld. Differences were found between groups in *supervision*, *child-centredness* and *overt discipline*. These were most often found between the Pakistani and White families, with the Indian families lying between the two.

The higher levels of *supervision* found in Pakistani mothers (still within normal range) compared with Indian and White mothers indicate higher levels of protectiveness in this family type. Why should Pakistani mothers be more protective? Past research has reported that groups of individuals experiencing higher discrimination, such as Muslims at present in the UK, are more likely to use separation strategies (Robinson, 2009; Sam & Berry, 2010). It may be argued that higher maternal supervision in Pakistani mothers represents a form of separation strategy in parenting among mothers from this group. However, it could also relate to what Iqbal et al. (2016) found in their study of children's

friendships in diverse neighbourhood that some parents (including Muslim ones) felt anxiety around their child attending the homes of 'unknown' others. This was age related and the authors argue that it was a strategy of parental management and negotiation around preserving a sense of security around their children rather than a separation strategy.

Past research has also discussed the importance of upholding family honour, particularly in more collectivist-based Pakistani families (Lau, 2000; Bose, 2000; Becher & Husain, 2002). It is conceivable that protectiveness is a parenting mechanism by which mothers uphold the *izzat* (moral upstanding) and behaviour of their young children in order to maintain family honour. This could relate to different ethnotheories around parenting in the family types. Given the more interdependent nature of Pakistani culture, and the young age of the children in the study, this could thus help to explain the higher supervision of children and possible associations with correct demeanour in Pakistani families.

Higher levels of *Overt Discipline* were found in Pakistani and Indian mothers compared with White mothers. High levels of discipline have been reported in past cross-cultural literature on parenting styles, and it has been suggested that in more interdependent cultures, a more authoritarian style of parenting results in better outcomes for children, as children have been socialised to expect such discipline and do not interpret it negatively (Arnett, 1995; Rutter & Tienda, 2005). It is conceivable that this could explain the higher levels of overt discipline in Indian and Pakistani families, and that children from these groups understand that overt discipline does not indicate a lack of affection. The difference in emphasis on parental discipline may also be related to different parental and cultural values around obedience. The classic study of Asian Americans by Chao (1994), found that greater authoritarian parenting is associated with a cultural importance placed on child 'training' which emphasises hard work and discipline rather than high levels of sensitivity. Pinquart and Kauser (2017) through their meta-analysis study of parenting styles across cultures, also

found that differences in understanding on the normativeness on particular parenting

practices in different cultures moderated the socialisation function of these practices with

different meanings being assigned to similar practices cross-culturally. Studies have also

shown that more authoritarian parenting is associated with better child outcomes in conduct

and educational achievement in some ethnic groups (Darling, 1999; Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Could similar parental ethnotheories also exist in Indian and Pakistani families? Past studies

have shown the importance parents from both groups (particularly Indians) place on

educational attainment and hard work in children (Barn et al., 2006; Lau, 2000). Therefore,

this could be a possibility.

Hypothesis 2. Child adjustment

Despite the presence of these differences in parenting between groups (i.e. higher

levels of *Supervision*, *Child-Centredness* and *Overt Discipline* in Indian and Pakistani

families), no differences were found in levels of children's psychological adjustment (which

were high) between groups. How should we interpret this? If we think about the idea of

cultural pathways (Greenfield et al., 2003) (discussed earlier) we could suggest that

development in British Indian, Pakistani and White children was taking place within

particular cultural contexts and developmental pathways, causing them to experience

different parenting styles yet still attain positive adjustment (Trandis & Suh, 2002). The two

developmental pathways (i.e. independence and interdependence) are thought to be part of

larger sociocultural systems (i.e. individualistic and collectivistic systems). As discussed

earlier Indian and Pakistani families represent more collectivistic cultures, while White

families represent a more individualistic culture. Given the available data, the suggestion of

developmental pathways in third generation children could be possible.

Hypothesis 3. Religion and Ethnic Identity

Religion was hypothesised to have play a strong part in the parenting and family life of second generation Pakistani families compared with Indian and White families. Religious beliefs varied between and within groups, with some mothers more religious than others. The current findings concur with past research, which has highlighted the centrality of religion to the Pakistani group and its lesser importance to the Indian group in Britain (Robinson, 2009; Shaw & Lee 2003; Abbas, 2005; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1990; Modood et al., 1994). The literature has also shown that Muslims in Britain often express outwards displays of religion through dress and behaviour (Barn, 2006).

The relationship between parenting, ethnic identity and child outcomes was also explored, and showed that total parenting stress and strength of ethnic identity were most closely associated with child outcomes. Mothers with higher levels of parenting stress, as well as stronger ethnic identification, were more likely to report having children who experienced greater difficulties. It is not clear why this relationship between high ethnic identity, increased parenting stress and child outcomes was found. Past studies have shown that parenting stress is associated with child behaviour and thus the relationship between the two in the present study was not surprising. However, the increased level of child difficulties in families where mothers reported high levels of ethnic identity was unexpected. In terms of cultural pathways and parental ethnotheories, we could suggest that differences may exist between ethnic groups in the perception of what correct child behaviour is, and that mothers with higher ethnic commitment have higher expectations of correct child behaviour. However, this aspect of the findings remains unclear.

It has been argued that when culture takes on different components, such as when individuals grow up in two or more cultures then the chances of parenting practices changing across generations are high (Greenfield et al., 2003). Second generation families thus seem to represent a group in transition. This study has placed a spotlight on second generation

South-Asian families to understand how different types of parenting practices are practiced in the different groups. While it is small scale, it is detailed and helps us to understand patterns and practices, important for broadening understanding about minority groups. It has also tried to use cross-cultural theoretical insights to attempt to unpick what some of these differences might mean.

Strengths and Limitations

One of the strengths of the present study was that it attempted to reduce bias and inequivalence in a number of ways. The carefully matched sample of participants had the smallest possible cultural distance (i.e. the minimal difference between the cultures being studied) in order to enhance validity of the study and minimise differences due to extraneous variables. For example, the fact that all mothers were British-born was one way in which closeness in sample characteristics and cultural distance was seen. Moreover, as discussed earlier during the pilot study representatives from each group were asked to describe what they understood the study was about and what they understood each question to mean. The pilot ensured that the researchers understanding of ethnic identity and parenting was in line with that of the participants. Although the study examines the perspectives of mothers, the child's relationship with siblings and grandparents and with their father was absent.

The recruitment of participants from ethnic minority groups is often difficult, particularly those from lower socio-economic status who are classed as a 'hard to reach group' (Nazroo, 2006). Furthermore, ensuring the families were all British-born was difficult. While every attempt was made to ensure both parents were British-born, a small number of fathers from the Indian and Pakistani families were not born in Britain but had immigrated to the UK during their formative years. In light of these difficulties of recruitment, the size of the sample was satisfactory, although smaller than originally planned, mainly due to time constraints. It was also a reflection of the challenges of recruiting a hard to reach sample.

Future studies would benefit from larger sample sizes. Finally, the analysis is based on cross

sectional, single-time-point data. This limits the comparability of findings across age groups,

and means that definite conclusions cannot be made about developmental trends.

The interview uses standardised measures and relies on the trained interviewer to code

and rate measures according to responses and through observing cues during the interview

with the use of a detailed coding manual. Despite measures in the interview designed to

counter the possibility of the mother responding in a socially desirable manner as well as the

possibility of the interviewer coding in a bias way (countered by a second researcher coding

interviews to ensure reliability), it is still possible for these aspects influencing the final

measures. The use of questionnaire measures alongside the interview ones also helped to

counter the effects of these.

The present study took place in London, which has the highest level of ethnic

populations and is thus different from other parts of Britain (Simpson, 2013). Moreover,

neighbourhood has been shown to influence wellbeing and family functioning (Dorsett el al.,

2015). Therefore, the results cannot be generalised to families in the UK as a whole.

Nevertheless, the study still provides detail about the family lives of three important ethnic

groups in Britain, examining second-generation families in depth.

Conclusion

The study shows that it is important for policy makers and the media to differentiate

between generations when working with ethnic groups. While the media often reports

widespread polarisation in educational and community institutions, family life, voluntary

bodies, and places of work and social and cultural networks, and of communities leading

parallel lives, how true is this for second generation families as well as British Muslims? The

present research highlights that second generation families have been found to be very

different to the immigrant generation before them and to show similarity in parenting

practices with other British-born ethnic group members. It also showed the importance of religion often over cultural traditions in British Pakistani families. Future strategy needs to integrate generational difference in migrant groups into policy around diversity and understand it as an important consideration to differences in behaviour. Studying more about inter-group differences will help increase understanding and dispel some of the stereotypes prevailing. If multiculturalism is to exist as a framework where people can live with equal opportunities, more of such research is needed.

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