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Chapter 4
Stability and Change in Parenting and Adjustment Profiles Across Early, Middle, and Late Adolescence in Chinese American Families

Su Yeong Kim, Shanting Chen, Lester Sim, and Yang Hou

Asian Americans are the fastest-growing immigrant population (Pew Research Center, 2013), with Chinese Americans representing the largest subgroup of Asian Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The literature on the adjustment of this prominent ethnic group of Asian Americans has been fraught with widespread stereotypes about their parenting style and adolescent adjustment. On the one hand, Chinese American parenting is often perceived as harsh, strict, authoritarian, and demanding (Lau & Fung, 2013). The descriptive term "tiger parenting" has become colloquially tied to Chinese American parents after the publication of the book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (Chua, 2011). Tiger parents, as described by Chua (2011), push their children to strive for academic success while neglecting their psychological well-being. Contrasting this negative stereotype of Chinese American parenting is the positive stereotype of Chinese American adolescents as "model minorities," perceived to have higher educational attainment and fewer behavioral problems despite their disadvantaged minority status (Lee, 2009). However, both stereotypes, "tiger parenting" and "model minority," fail to recognize the

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within-group differences among Chinese Americans. Thus, it is important to examine empirically whether, and to what extent, "tiger parenting" and "model minority" can represent Chinese Americans' parenting style and adolescent adjustment, respectively.

As adolescents traverse through early, middle, and late adolescence, their physical, cognitive, and social development undergoes many changes. In addition, they go through significant transitions from middle school to high school, and for some, to college. When families navigate these transitions, parents often adapt their parenting practices to meet their children's evolving developmental needs. For example, relative to early adolescence, parents may be more authoritative and grant their children more autonomy in late adolescence as they become more self-reliant and independent (Nelson, Padilla-Walker, Christensen, Evans, & Carroll, 2011). The trajectory of adolescents' adjustment may also depend on whether parents can adopt parenting styles that meet children's changing needs as they negotiate the transitions of adolescence. Some adolescents may successfully navigate these transitions and stay relatively well-adjusted throughout the course of adolescence. Other adolescents may start off as well-adjusted but falter in navigating these transitions and end up as relatively poorly adjusted. Another group of adolescents may start out as relatively poor in their adjustment but gradually catch up to their better-adjusted peers. Thus, it is important to understand the stability and change of parenting profiles and adolescent adjustment and how they associate with each other across the course of early, middle, and late adolescent development periods (Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013; Kim, Wang, Shen, & Hou, 2015).

This chapter highlights the most recent findings on stability and change in Chinese Americans' parenting style and adolescent adjustment across early, middle, and late adolescence. We have three main sections. The first section focuses on parenting profiles of Chinese American parents across multiple developmental periods of adolescence. The second section centers on Chinese American adolescents' adjustment profiles, taking into account both academic and socio-emotional domains, and examines how these adjustment profiles unfold during the transitions across early, middle, and late adolescence. The third section addresses the association between parenting profiles and adolescent adjustment both concurrently and longitudinally. Throughout the chapter, we discuss the strengths and weaknesses of two commonly used approaches to study the focal research topic: variable-centered and person-centered approaches.

Variable-Centered Versus Person-Centered Approaches to Studying Parenting

Two approaches are typically used to examine within-group heterogeneity in parenting: the variable-centered approach (Park et al., 2004) and the person-centered approach (Luyckx et al., 2011). To date, most studies on parenting have used a

variable-centered approach, in which each parenting dimension is investigated in isolation to examine its implication for child outcomes (Ayon, Williams, Marsiglia, Ayers, & Kiehne, 2015). However, this approach ignores the fact that parenting is multifaceted, which means that the effect of one dimension of parenting may depend on other dimensions. For example, the effect of high levels of parental warmth may be different when accompanied by high levels of control versus low levels of control (Keijsers, Frijns, Branje, & Meeus, 2009). To take into account the multifaceted nature of parenting, it is important for researchers to adopt a person-centered approach, which examines parenting profiles with varying levels of multiple parenting dimensions. This approach offers a more holistic view of overall parenting styles and how each parenting style associates with different adolescent outcomes.

Baumrind (1966) and Maccoby and Martin (1983) took a person-centered approach and conceptualized four predominant parenting styles based on two dimensions, warmth and control. Warmth (responsiveness) is defined as parents' support, involvement, and acceptance toward their children (Ayon et al., 2015). Control (demandingness) is defined as parents' supervision, monitoring, and discipline toward their children (Ayon et al., 2015; White, Zeiders, Gonzales, Tein, & Roosa, 2013). Authoritative parenting (high in both warmth and control) is the most common style. It is viewed as supportive and it is also associated with the best developmental outcomes in children (Carlson, Uppal, & Prosser, 2000; Milevsky, Schlechter, Netter, & Keehn, 2007; Spera, 2005). Authoritarian parenting (low warmth and high control) is viewed as harsh, with parents using absolute standards with little input from children (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Children whose parents use this style are more likely to exhibit lower levels of self-esteem and more depressive symptoms (Nelson et al., 2011). Permissive parents (high warmth and low control) are characterized as highly supportive, but avoid setting boundaries or asserting power (Baumrind, 2012). This parenting style is associated with conduct problems and substance use in adolescents (Milevsky et al., 2007). Neglectful parents (low in both warmth and control) are viewed as uninvolved in the responsibility of childrearing (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Children whose parents are neglectful tend to have a low level of psychosocial competence along with a high incidence of behavioral and psychological problems (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991).

Even though the four above-mentioned parenting styles have been widely adopted to categorize parenting styles in the literature, there are limitations to using arbitrary cutoffs of the two dimensions, or in other words a median split approach, to generate the four parenting styles. For example, parents who score close to the median can be misclassified into the wrong parenting style (White et al., 2013). In addition, by focusing on only two dimensions, most of the extant literature does not capture culturally specific parenting dimensions, which may better illustrate the variation in parenting profiles for ethnic minority groups. Hence, researchers have questioned the generalizability of the above-mentioned parenting styles for ethnic minority populations (Domenech Rodriguez, Donovick, & Crowley, 2009; White et al., 2013).

Chinese American Parenting Profiles: A Person-Centered Approach

Kim, Wang, and colleagues (2013) took a person-centered approach to test the emergence of specific parenting profiles in a sample of Chinese American families. This three-wave longitudinal study recruited adolescents and their parents from seven middle schools in Northern California and gathered data every 4 years. The sample size of families is 444 at Wave 1 (Year 2002), 350 at Wave 2 (Year 2006), and 330 at Wave 3 (Year 2010). At Wave 1, adolescents' ages ranged from 12 to 15 (M = 13.03, SD = 0.73). Most adolescents (75%) were born in the U.S., while the majority of parents (91% of mothers and 88% of fathers) were born outside of the U.S. The majority of the families hailed from Hong Kong or southern provinces of China. The median family income was in the range of $30,001–$45,000 across all three waves, and the median parental education level was some high school education. The occupation of parents ranged from professional occupations (e.g., banker or computer programmer) to unskilled laborers (e.g., construction worker or janitor). The majority of families speak Cantonese at home, with less than 10% of families speaking Mandarin.

Kim et al.'s study moved beyond prior studies to address several gaps in the literature. First, it simultaneously examined eight parenting dimensions, including both universal and culturally specific dimensions. Second, it used latent profile analysis to explore potential parenting profiles. Compared to using arbitrary cutoff scores, such as a median split, a latent profile approach allows naturally existing groups with a constellation of parenting practices to emerge from the data (Bergman, 2001). Third, Kim, Wang, and colleagues (2013) sampled multiple informants, including the mother, father, and adolescent child within each family. Parents and adolescents may have different perceptions of parents' parenting styles (Wu & Chao, 2011). Hence, using multiple informants allows for a comparison of different perceptions of parenting among various family members. Fourth, Kim, Wang, and colleagues (2013) used an 8-year longitudinal design, which allows an assessment of parenting profiles across early, middle, and late adolescence (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013). As analyzing multiple parenting dimensions can be more meaningful, Kim, Wang, and colleagues' study (2013) used eight different parenting dimensions to explore the emergence of potential Chinese American parenting profiles. These eight parenting dimensions were grouped into two categories: positive measures (parental warmth, democratic parenting, parental monitoring, and inductive reasoning); and negative measures (parental hostility, psychological control, punitive parenting, and shaming). The classic dimension of warmth was expanded to include hostility as a way to differentiate low warmth from hostility. Specifically, parental warmth was assessed with eight items about affective parenting, such as whether parents acted lovingly, listened carefully, and acted supportively (Conger, Patterson, & Ge, 1995); parental hostility was measured with seven items about parents' hostile behavior toward children, such as whether parents shouted, insulted, or swore at children (Conger et al., 1995).

The classic dimension of control was expanded to include both positive and negative forms of control. Specifically, positive control was assessed with three parental monitoring items (e.g., know whereabouts of children; know who children are with; know when children come home) (Conger et al., 1995), as well as five democratic parenting items about parents' autonomy granting (e.g., allow children to give input into family rules, encourage children to freely express themselves, and take into account children's preferences) (Robinson, Mandleco, Olson, & Hart, 1995). Negative control was divided into items measuring psychological control and punitive control. Specifically, psychological control was assessed with eight items about parents' attempts to regulate their children's psychological experiences, including whether parents changed the subject whenever children had something to say, whether parents avoided looking at children if disappointed, and whether parents became less friendly when children did not see things in the parents' way (Barber, 1996). Punitive parenting was assessed with four items about parents' use of punitive strategies to discipline their children, including whether parents disciplined first and asked questions later, whether parents punished the children by taking privileges away with little or no explanation, and whether parents used threat of punishment with little or no explanation (Robinson et al., 1995). Parents' effective communication was measured by four inductive reasoning items, including whether parents gave reasons for decisions, whether parents asked for children's opinions before making decisions, and whether parents disciplined by reasoning, explaining, or talking (Conger et al., 1995).

Additionally, a culturally specific dimension, shaming, was also included. It was assessed with five items about parents' attempts to induce the feeling of shame as a way to socialize their children, such as whether parents taught their children what not to do by using examples of bad behavior in other youths, whether parents taught their children by pointing out other youths that they think are successful, and whether parents told their children to bring respect and honor to the family through their actions. Shaming plays an important role in parental socialization in Chinese families (Fung, 1999). Chinese-origin children are often asked to internalize feelings of shame when they fail to meet parents' expectations or disobey cultural norms (Fung, 1999).

To explore potential parenting profiles, Kim, Wang, et al.'s (2013) study conducted latent profile analyses separately for each informant and for each developmental period (early, middle, late adolescence). Up to four parenting profiles were identified: *supportive parenting*, *easygoing parenting*, *tiger parenting*, and *harsh parenting*. Multivariate analyses of variance were conducted to examine mean differences of parenting dimensions across these four emergent parenting profiles. As presented in Table 4.1, *supportive parenting* scored relatively high on positive parenting dimensions and low on negative parenting dimensions; *easygoing parenting* scored low on both positive and negative parenting dimensions; *tiger parenting* scored high on both positive and negative parenting dimensions; and *harsh parenting* scored low on the positive dimensions and high on the negative dimensions of parenting. The results also showed that *supportive parents* had higher scores in shaming than *easygoing parents*, but lower than *tiger* and *harsh parents*. This

Table 4.1 Significant contrast from Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) for differences in parenting dimensions among parenting profiles

	Parenting dimensions							
	Positive parenting dimensions				Negative parenting dimensions			
	Warmth	Reasoning	Monitoring	Democratic	Hostility	Control	Shaming	Punitive
W1 maternal parenting (A)	S > T > E > H	S > T > E > H	S > T > E > H	S,T > E,H	S,E < T < H	S,E < T < H	E < S < T,H	S,E < T < H
W2 maternal parenting (A)	S > T > E > H	S > T > E > H	S,T > E,H	S,T > E,H	S < E < T < H	S < E < T < H	S,E < T,H	S < E < T,H
W3 maternal parenting (A)	S > T > E > H	S > T > E > H	S,T > E,H	S > T,E > H	S < E < T,H	S < E < T < H	S,E < T,H	S < E < T < H
W1 paternal parenting (A)	S > T,E	S > T,E	S > T > E	S > T > E	E < S < T	E < S < T	E < S < T	E < S < T
W2 paternal parenting (A)	S > T > E > H	S > T > E,H	S > T > E,H	S > T > E,H	S,E < T < H	S,E < T < H	E < S < T,H	S,E < T < H
W3 paternal parenting (A)	S > T > E	S > T > E	S,T > E	S > T > E	E < S < T	S,E < T	E < S < T	S,E < T
W1 maternal parenting (M)	S > T > E > H	S > T,E > H	S > T,E > H	S > T,E > H	S < E < T,H	S < E < T,H	S,E,H < T	S < E < H < T
W2 maternal parenting (M)	S,T > E	S > T > E	S > T > E	S,T > E	S < E < T	S,E < T	E < S < T	S,E < T
W3 maternal parenting (M)	S > E	S > E	S > E	S > E	S < E	S < E	S,E	S < E
W1 paternal parenting (F)	S > E	S > E	S > E	S > E	S < E	S < E	S,E	S < E
W2 paternal parenting (F)	S > E	S > E	S > E	S > E	S < E	S < E	S < E	S < E
W3 paternal parenting (F)	S > T > E	S > T > E	S > T > E	S > T,E	S,E < T	S,E < T	E < S < T	S,E < T

W wave, *A* adolescent report, *M* mother report, *F* father report, *S* supportive, *E* easygoing, *T* tiger, *H* harsh, Bonferroni correction was used in assessing the significance of group differences, $p < 0.05$

suggests that shaming is an important, culturally specific dimension for distinguishing the variations in Chinese American parenting. Three of the four parenting profiles that emerged were similar to the classic parenting styles featured in much of the extant literature. Specifically, *supportive parenting* was akin to the classic authoritative parenting style, *harsh parenting* was akin to the authoritarian parenting style, and *easygoing* parenting was akin to the indulgent parenting style. *Tiger parenting* has been described as the merger of the classic authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013).

Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) showed the emergence of various parenting profiles by informant across early (Wave 1), middle (Wave 2), and late adolescence (Wave 3, see Fig. 4.1). In general, *supportive* parenting represented the largest group, *tiger* and/or *easygoing* parenting represented the second or third largest group, and *harsh* parenting represented the smallest group. This suggests that there is substantial within-group variability in Chinese American parenting practices. In other words, the popular perception of Chinese American parents as a homogeneous group of tiger parents is inaccurate.

In terms of variations in parenting profiles across informants, Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) found the following: The proportion of the sample categorized as *harsh* or *tiger* parents was larger in adolescent reports; whereas the proportion of sample categorized as *supportive* parents was larger in parent reports. This finding is consistent with previous research showing that relative to child reports of parenting, parental self-reports are more positive about parenting, family functioning, and the quality of the parent–child relationship (Korelitz, 2016; Sher-Censor, Parke, & Coltrane, 2011).

Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) also found variations in parenting profiles across waves. Even though the same four parenting profiles (Fig. 4.1a) emerged across three waves for adolescent-reported maternal parenting, *harsh* parenting emerged only in middle adolescence, but not in early or late adolescence, for adolescent-reported paternal parenting profiles (Fig. 4.1b). For mother-reported maternal parenting profiles (Fig. 4.1c), *harsh* parenting emerged only in early adolescence, and *tiger* parenting did not emerge in late adolescence. For father-reported paternal parenting profiles (Fig. 4.1d), *tiger* parenting emerged only in late adolescence. In terms of the group size of each parenting profile across developmental periods, the percentage of *tiger* parenting among mothers decreased but the percentage of *tiger* parenting among fathers increased, based on both adolescent and parent reports. These shifts indicate that the roles of fathers and mothers change over the course of children's developmental stages. In Asian American culture, mothers are responsible for educating children at home (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007), whereas fathers are expected to assure children's future success outside the home (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). Thus, mothers are more likely to exert a *tiger* parenting style during early developmental stages, when children spend the majority of their time at home. Fathers are more likely to exert a *tiger* parenting style as children enter adulthood and start to have more connection with the outside world.

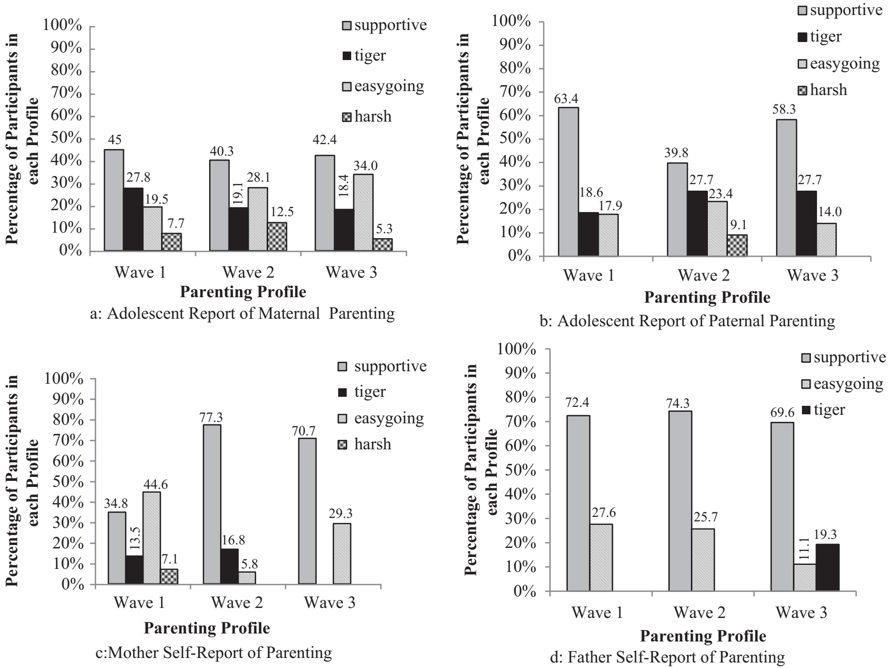

Fig. 4.1 Adolescent and parent-reported parenting profiles across three waves. (**a**) Adolescent report of maternal parenting, (**b**) Adolescent report of paternal parenting, (**c**) Mother self-report of parenting, (**d**) Father self-report of parenting

Chinese American Adolescent Adjustment Profiles

A common stereotype of Chinese American adolescents is that they are model minorities, which carries implicit assumptions about their adjustment. First, it assumes that they are all academic overachievers, which overlooks the heterogeneity among Chinese American adolescents (Lee, 2009). Although some studies show that at the mean level, Chinese American adolescents' academic achievement is higher than that of other ethnic groups, not all Chinese American adolescents excel in the academic domain; in fact, some experience academic struggles (Hsin & Xie, 2014; Qin, 2008). Second, the model minority stereotype assumes that Chinese Americans' high academic achievement accompanies high levels of adjustment in other domains, such as their socioemotional well-being. Counter to this assumption, studies have found that Chinese American adolescents exhibit vulnerability to socioemotional problems, such as high levels of parent–child alienation and conflict, and depressive symptoms (Kim, Chen, Wang, Shen, & Orozco-Lapray, 2013; Qin, 2008; Qin, Rak, Rana, & Donnellan, 2012). In other words, academic and socioemotional adjustment may not always go hand in hand. For example, there

may be a group of adolescents who do well academically but experience low levels of socioemotional well-being (Hsin & Xie, 2014; Qin, 2008).

To provide a more holistic understanding of Chinese American adolescents' adjustment, it is important to move beyond prior studies that used a variable-centered approach and focused on mean-level comparisons of separate adjustment domains. A person-centered approach that explores subgroups of Chinese American adolescents with various adjustment patterns, and simultaneously considers academic and socioemotional domains, may be more effective at uncovering within-group differences in adjustment patterns in Chinese American adolescents. A more comprehensive understanding of adolescent adjustment should also examine whether the profiles of adjustment that emerge show stability or change across the early, middle, and late adolescent developmental periods (Kim et al., 2015). For example, among the well-adjusted Chinese American adolescents who exhibit high academic and socioemotional adjustment in early adolescence, some may show a stable well-adjusted profile across middle and late adolescence, whereas others may experience declines in either the academic or the socioemotional domain, or both, in later adolescence.

Kim et al. (2015) took a person-centered approach to consider the academic and socioemotional domains together to create adjustment profiles for Chinese American adolescents across the developmental periods of early to middle to late adolescence, using the same dataset as Kim, Wang, et al. (2013). They used three indicators for the academic domain, including adolescents' school performance, school engagement, and hours of study on a typical weekday; and three indicators for the socioemotional domain, including academic pressure, depressive symptoms, and sense of parent–child alienation. Three distinct groups of Chinese American adolescents emerged at each developmental period during adolescence: *well-adjusted*, *paradoxically adjusted*, and *poorly adjusted* (see Fig. 4.2a). Multivariate analyses of variance were conducted to examine mean differences of adjustment indicators across these three emergent adjustment profiles (Table 4.2). The *well-adjusted* Chinese American adolescents scored relatively high in both the academic and the socioemotional domain; *paradoxically adjusted* Chinese American adolescents scored relatively high in the academic domain and low in the socioemotional domain; *poorly adjusted* Chinese American adolescents scored low in both domains. In early adolescence (Wave 1), 57% of the sample was *well-adjusted,* while the remaining participants were almost evenly split across the *poorly adjusted* (21%) and *paradoxically adjusted* profiles (22%). Similar results were found in middle adolescence (Wave 2). However, in late adolescence (Wave 3), the largest proportion of participants was classified into the *paradoxically adjusted* group (50.0%), followed by *well-adjusted* (43.7%), with the smallest proportion of participants in the *poorly adjusted* profile (6.3%).

Based on the three adjustment profiles that emerged in each wave, Kim et al. (2015) also identified stability and change in adolescent adjustment profiles from early to middle to late adolescence using latent transition analyses, which explored subpopulations with different patterns of the indicators and simultaneously allowed groups of individuals to transition across time (Collins & Lanza, 2010) (Fig. 4.2b).

Slightly above half of the adolescents stayed in the same adjustment group across the three waves (55%). Specifically, a significant proportion (38%) stayed in the *well-adjusted* group, 15% remained in the *paradox* group, and 2% had *poor adjustment* over the entire period studied. However, there was notable change in adolescent adjustment profiles as well, with slightly less than half of the sample (45%) showing variation across the three time points. As seen in Fig. 4.2b, 22% of all Chinese American adolescents reported improvements (adolescents moved from *poor* to *paradox* or *well,* or from *paradox* to *well*) while 18% of the sample showed declines (adolescents moved from *well* to *paradox* or *poor,* or from *paradox* to *poor*). The remaining 5% showed both improvements and declines over time, fluctuating between different profile types in the study. In summary, adolescent adjustment profiles may not necessarily remain stable over the adolescent period. Instead, profiles can be categorized into six possible groups based on trajectory: stable *well*, stable *paradox*, stable *poor*, *improving, declining*, and *fluctuating*.

Kim et al.'s (2015) study revealed a significant amount of psychological distress experienced by Chinese American adolescents. Although more than half of the adolescents were classified into the *well-adjusted* profile in early and middle adolescence, the *paradox* profile was the largest group by late adolescence. Moreover, the proportion of *paradox* (22–50% across waves) and *poorly adjusted* (6–21%) profiles, both characterized by low levels of socioemotional well-being, was not inconsequential. In terms of change across time, slightly less than half of all adolescents in the sample (43.8%) started off with high levels of socioemotional distress (comprising of both *paradox*- and *poorly* adjusted); yet, we see this proportion increased to more than half (56.3%) of the entire sample in late adolescence. These findings underscore the need for interventions aimed at reducing psychological distress in subgroups of Chinese American adolescents who reveal *paradoxically* or *poorly adjusted* adolescent profiles (Kim et al., 2015; Qin, 2008). In particular, the *paradox* group may require more attention. Despite their high levels of academic achievement, they reported the highest levels of socioemotional distress, even when compared to *poorly adjusted* youths. Had researchers focused solely on academic adjustment, the high levels of psychological distress in the *paradox* group would have been masked by their relatively high academic adjustment (Kim et al., 2015) and interventions for this subgroup of Chinese American adolescents would have been neglected.

Kim et al.'s (2015) findings highlight the importance of examining overall patterns of adjustment across time. One important question to ask is: What factors influence adolescents' adjustment and set up adolescents to embark on various adjustment trajectories? Understanding this question can possibly allow us to glean additional information on how to improve adolescent adjustment through intervention. One influential factor may be the parenting strategies adopted by Chinese American parents.

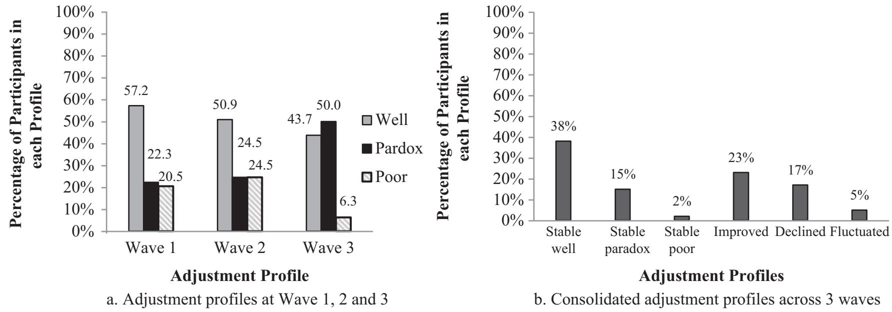

Fig. 4.2 Adolescent adjustment profiles across Wave 1 (early adolescence), Wave 2 (middle adolescence), and Wave 3 (late adolescence). "Stable well" = adjustment profiles remained well-adjusted across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Stable paradox" = adjustment profiles remained paradoxical across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Stable poor" = adjustment profiles remained poorly adjusted across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Improved" = adjustment profiles improved across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Declined" = adjustment profiles declined across Wave 1, 2, and 3; "Fluctuated" = adjustment profiles changed without a clear trend across Wave 1, 2, and 3. (**a**) Adjustment profiles at Wave 1, 2, and 3, (**b**) Consolidated adjustment profiles across three waves

Parenting Profiles and Adolescent Adjustment

Cross-Sectional Associations Between Parenting Profiles and Various Adolescent Outcomes

Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) sought to examine the relationship between the four parenting profiles (*tiger parenting, supportive parenting, harsh parenting,* and *easygoing parenting*) and Chinese American adolescent adjustment cross-sectionally in early, middle, and late adolescence. Their study aimed to examine whether *tiger* parenting indeed relates to positive academic outcomes, as suggested by Chua (2011), and how the other parenting profiles they found among Chinese American parents may relate to a range of adolescent outcomes concurrently in three developmental periods of adolescence.

Regression analysis was conducted to assess multiple adolescent outcomes, including academic achievement, educational attainment, academic pressure, depressive symptoms, parent–child alienation, and family obligation. Table 4.3 shows the positive, negative, or insignificant associations between the various parenting profiles and adolescent developmental outcomes across parent and child reports cross-sectionally, for each wave. Despite some variation by wave, in general, supportive parenting was associated with the best developmental outcomes, including low academic pressure, high GPA, high educational attainment, low depressive symptoms, low parent–child alienation, and high family obligation. To some extent, these results corroborate the finding that the traditional authoritative parenting style is associated with the best adolescent developmental outcomes (Lamborn et al., 1991). Ironically, the findings of this same study indicate that *tiger*

Table 4.2 Significant contrast from Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) for differences in Wave 1 early adolescence, Wave 2 middle adolescence, and Wave 3 late adolescence among adjustment indicators

	Academic adjustment			Socioemotional adjustment		
	GPA	School engagement	Hours of study	Academic pressure	Depressive symptoms	Parent-child alienation
Wave 1 (early adolescence)	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W, PX > P	W < P < PX	W < P < PX	W < P < PX
Wave 2 (middle adolescence)	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W, P < PX	W < P < PX	W, P < PX
Wave 3 (late adolescence)	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W > PX > P	W < PX < P	W < P	W < P

Students who were not in school at Wave 3 had significantly higher depressive symptoms ($M = 1.80$, SD = 0.56) and parent–child alienation ($M = 2.92$, SD = 0.90) than the well-adjusted group

"*W*" well-adjusted adjustment profiles, *PX* paradoxically adjusted adjustment profiles, *P* poorly adjusted adjustment profiles

parenting, which was believed to produce the highest degree of academic achievement (Chua, 2011), is associated with lower educational attainment, high academic pressure, depressive symptoms, and high parent-–child alienation when compared to *supportive* parenting. Relative to *tiger* parenting, *easygoing* parenting is associated with similar or better outcomes, and *harsh* parenting is associated with similar or worse outcomes.

Although Kim, Wang, et al. (2013) study showed some significant associations between parenting profiles and a range of academic and socioemotional outcomes, it remains unclear how each parenting profile relates to adolescent overall adjustment patterns over time. Building on their earlier study (2013), Kim et al. (2015) took a further step to examine the relationship between parenting profiles in early adolescence and adolescents' adjustment across early, middle, and late adolescence.

Longitudinal Associations Between Parenting Profiles and Adolescent Overall Adjustment across Time

Kim et al. (2015) examined how Chinese American parenting profiles in children's early adolescence relate longitudinally to adolescent overall adjustment profiles across the course of adolescence. Table 4.4 lists the proportion of adolescent-identified parenting profiles in early adolescence against adolescent adjustment profiles across the three waves. This parenting profile information was based on the Chinese American parenting profiles identified by Kim, Wang, et al. (2013). Adolescent adjustment profiles were categorized as either stable (stable *well,* stable *paradox,* or stable *poor*) or changing (*improved*, *declined,* or *fluctuated*) as identified by Kim et al. (2015) and discussed in the previous section.

Kim et al. (2015) tested for significant longitudinal relationships across all combinations of the four parenting profiles, as identified by the adolescents, and three types of stable or three types of changing overall adjustment profiles. Relative to other longitudinal relationships between various types of parenting profiles and adolescents' overall adjustment over time, the following three results stand out. First, adolescents who perceived their parents to be *supportive* in early adolescence were more likely to stay in the *well-adjusted* group (46.4% and 54.2% for fathers and mothers, respectively, in Table 4.4), while adolescents who perceived their parents to be *tiger* parents (31.2% and 24.5% for fathers and mothers, respectively, in Table 4.4) stayed in the *paradox* group. Second, Chinese American adolescents who perceived their parents as *tiger* parents in early adolescence were more likely to show improvements (e.g., moving from *paradoxically adjusted* to *well-adjusted*) in their overall adjustment profile (32.8% and 30.9% for fathers and mothers, respectively, in Table 4.4) from early adolescence to late adolescence. These findings are consistent with the literature on multifinality, revealing that children with the same starting point may ultimately end up with different developmental outcomes (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1996; Nolen-Hoeksema & Watkins, 2011). Third, early ado-

Table 4.3 Parenting profiles and adolescent adjustment

		Adolescent report of maternal parenting					Adolescent report of paternal parenting					Mother self-report parenting					Father self-report parenting		
Reference		Supportive			Tiger		Supportive			Tiger		Supportive			Tiger		Supportive		Tiger
Parenting profile	Wave	Easy	Tiger	Harsh	Easy	Harsh	Easy	Tiger	Harsh	Easy	Harsh	Easy	Tiger	Harsh	Easy	Harsh	Easy	Tiger	Easy
GPA	w1	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	–		
	w2	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	–	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
	w3	n/s	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s	–		n/s		n/s					n/s	–	n/s
Academic pressure (A)	w1	n/s	+	+	–	n/s	n/s	+		–		n/s	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		
	w2	+	+	+	–	n/s	n/s	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
Depressive symptoms (A)	w1	+	+	+	n/s	n/s	+	+		n/s		n/s	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s		
	w2	n/s	+	+	n/s	+	+	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
	w3	n/s	+	+	–	n/s	n/s	+		n/s		n/s					n/s	+	n/s
Depressive symptoms (P)	w1	n/s	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		+	+	+	n/s	n/s	+		
	w2	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
	w3	n/s	+	+	–	n/s	n/s	+		n/s		+					n/s	+	n/s
Alienation (A)	w1	+	+	+	n/s	+	+	+		–		n/s	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s		
	w2	+	+	+	n/s	+	+	+	+	n/s	+	n/s	n/s		n/s		n/s		
	w3	+	+	+	n/s	+	+	+		n/s		+				n/s	+	n/s	
Alienation (P)	w1	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s		n/s		+	+	+	–	n/s	+		
	w2	n/s	n/s	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	+	n/s	n/s	+	+		n/s		+		
	w3	+	+	+	n/s	n/s	n/s	+		n/s		+					+	+	n/s
Family obligation (A)	w1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		n/s		n/s	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	n/s		
	w2	–	n/s	–	n/s	–	–	n/s	–	n/s	–	n/s	n/s		n/s		–		
	w3	–	n/s	–	n/s	n/s	–	–		n/s		n/s					n/s	n/s	n/s

Easy easygoing, *A* adolescent report, *P* parent report, *n/s* not significant, + indicates positively correlated, – indicates negatively correlated, blank cells indicate the particular parenting profile did not emerge

Table 4.4 Parenting profiles at Wave 1 and adolescent adjustment profiles across three waves

	Stable						Changing							
	Well		Paradox		Poor		Improved				Fluctuated		Total	
Parenting profiles	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Father-adolescent dyads														
Supportive	126	29.4	24	5.6	5	1.2	49	11.4	54	12.6	14	3.3	272	63.4
Tiger	17	4.0	25	5.8	2	0.5	26	6.1	9	2.1	1	2	80	18.6
Easygoing	25	5.8	14	3.3	3	0.7	20	4.7	13	3.0	2	0.5	77	17.9
Total	168	39.2	63	14.7	10	2.3	95	22.1	76	17.7	17	4.0	429	100
Mother-adolescent dyads														
Supportive	108	24.4	9	2.0	3	0.7	31	7.0	42	9.5	6	1.4	199	45.0
Tiger	32	7.2	30	6.8	2	0.5	38	8.6	14	3.2	7	1.6	123	27.8
Easygoing	22	5.0	15	3.4	4	0.9	22	5.0	18	4.1	5	1.1	86	19.5
Harsh	6	1.4	13	2.9	1	0.2	8	1.8	4	0.9	2	0.5	34	7.7
Total	168	38.0	67	15.2	10	2.3	99	22.4	78	17.6	20	4.5	442	100

"*Well*" adjustment profiles remained well-adjusted across Wave 1, 2 and 3, "*Paradox*" adjustment profiles remained paradoxical across Wave 1, 2, and 3, "*Poor*" adjustment profiles remained poorly adjusted across Wave 1, 2, and 3, "*Improved*" adjustment profiles improved across Wave 1, 2, and 3, "*Declined*" adjustment profiles declined across Wave 1, 2, and 3, "*Fluctuated*" adjustment profiles changed without a clear trend across Wave 1, 2, and 3

lescent perceptions of maternal *harsh* and *easygoing* parenting showed some specific effects: early adolescents who perceived their mothers as *harsh* were more likely to be found in the stable *paradox* group (37.7%) from early adolescence to late adolescence. In addition, early adolescents who perceived their mothers as *easygoing* (17.4%) in contrast to *supportive* were more likely to stay in the stable *paradox* group as opposed to the stably *well-adjusted* group or *declined* adjustment group.

In light of these findings, it stands to reason that *supportive* parenting is an optimal parenting strategy for Chinese American parents. Although Chinese American adolescents who perceived their parents to be *tiger* parents showed the highest rates of improvement in overall adjustment over the three waves, this does not indicate that *tiger* parenting is more beneficial than *supportive* parenting. Chinese American adolescents in the *well-adjusted* group were already classified into an optimally adjusted profile during early adolescence. Therefore, the high rank order to which *well-adjusted* adolescents belong from the onset makes it difficult for them to show improvements over time. Though it may appear that *tiger* parenting benefits Chinese American adolescents because it is correlated with academic achievement and improvement over time, it has deleterious effects on their socioemotional well-being (Kim et al., 2015). In fact, early adolescents who perceive their parents as *supportive* consistently showed better overall adjustment when contrasted with adolescents who reported the *tiger* parenting style.

Discussion

Chinese American parents show heterogeneity in the type of parenting they use with their adolescents, and adolescents also demonstrate heterogeneity in their adjustment patterns. It appears that Chinese American parenting is a key contextual factor that influences adolescent adjustment both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. Specifically, parenting profiles at early adolescence possess predictive ability in helping us understand both concurrent adolescent adjustment profiles and the transition in adjustment profiles that takes place from early to middle to late adolescence.

Interventions aimed at Chinese American families should take into account the evolving roles that Chinese American parents play across the course of their children's adolescence. For example, mothers were less inclined to adopt a tiger parenting strategy from early to late adolescence, but the reverse pattern was observed in fathers—fathers were more likely to adopt tiger parenting in late adolescence (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013). This suggests that interventions that take a uniform approach to the role that mothers and fathers play during different periods of their children's development may need to be reconsidered, as the role of mothers and fathers may evolve to meet the changing developmental needs of their adolescents.

Despite the popular perception of Chinese American adolescents as model minorities, they would benefit from interventions focused on alleviating the academic and

socioemotional stressors they experience. This is in light of substantial variability in Chinese American adolescent adjustment patterns (Kim et al., 2015). Specifically, we witnessed the existence of *paradoxically adjusted* and *poorly adjusted* profiles, suggesting that Chinese American adolescents, like their non-Chinese peers, do sometimes struggle with socioemotional and academic difficulties. Additionally, the fact that almost half of all Chinese American youths in our studies demonstrated some level of socioemotional distress across all periods of adolescence highlights the need for interventions aimed at improving outcomes for children with less than optimal adjustment profiles. Appropriate programs should be administered to ameliorate Chinese American adolescents' susceptibility towards socioemotional distress in particular. Additionally, it may prove beneficial to equip parents with skill sets that help them remain supportive in their childrearing strategies.

Longitudinal studies could potentially pinpoint more effective time periods for implementing interventions for Chinese American adolescents. Drastic changes in adolescent adjustment profile membership may provide clues about the best possible time to intervene and improve the effectiveness of intervention programs. For example, Kim and her colleagues (2015) revealed substantial decreases in the number of *well-adjusted* adolescents and a significant increase in those classified as *paradoxically adjusted* from middle to late adolescence. It may be that developmental changes occurring during this time period, such as transitioning from high school to college, account for the greater degree of socioemotional distress in older Chinese American adolescents. For this reason, intervention programs implemented during this transition period may prove to be more effective in improving the adjustment of Chinese American youths.

While most of the existing research on parenting and adjustment uses either a cross-sectional or a short-term longitudinal design, it is important to go beyond this conventional approach by adopting a longitudinal methodology that spans multiple developmental periods. Kim and colleagues (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2015) took this approach with a longitudinal study design that spanned 8 years. Parents' parenting profiles exhibited considerable change across the course of their children's adolescence (43.8% and 44.5% for fathers and mothers, respectively), and approximately half (45.0%) of the adolescents in the study demonstrated substantial shifts in adjustment profile membership from early to middle to late adolescence. Future research can move beyond the time frame of adolescence and explore how parenting and adjustment profiles stay stable or change later in development. In addition, it may be important to extend this time bracket so as to determine the downstream effects of various parenting strategies across generations and a longer time span. Are children of *tiger* parents, for example, more likely to adopt this particular practice as their own childrearing strategy in the future? Some literature on intergenerational continuity in parenting suggests that the answer is yes (Neppl, Conger, Scaramella, & Ontai, 2009). However, research on the intergenerational continuity of Chinese American parenting is lacking. Considering the detrimental influence of *tiger* parenting, it may be important to investigate whether this parenting style is perpetuated over time and, if so, what effects it may exert over successive generations.

This chapter indicates that it is necessary to move from a variable-centered approach to a person-centered approach that captures the multiple dimensions of parenting and adjustment. By taking a person-centered approach, our work demonstrates that maternal and paternal parenting profiles relate distinctively to adolescent adjustment profiles (Kim, Wang, et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2015). Nevertheless, in light of the Chinese way of socializing children—for example, fathers are usually the head of the household (Qin & Chang, 2013)—are we likely to observe discrepancies in Chinese American adolescent development, depending on the combined patterns of mothers' and fathers' parenting styles? Future studies can examine maternal and paternal parenting practices simultaneously to find out whether there are different family parenting styles, and how different combinations of maternal and paternal parenting may relate to adolescent adjustment.

In summary, Chinese Americans exhibited considerable variability in both parenting and adolescent adjustment profiles. We refuted the popular perception that *tiger* parenting is the most common parenting style among Chinese Americans. For adolescent adjustment, a dual focus on academic and socioemotional well-being revealed a group of *paradoxically adjusted* adolescents who may not fit the stereotype of Chinese American adolescents as model minorities. Despite the popular perception that *tiger* parenting contributes to future success, the current findings suggest, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally, that it is in fact *supportive* parenting that drives optimal outcomes in Chinese American adolescents.

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