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To Share or Not to Share:
A Case Study of Six Chinese Immigrant Children's Sharing Behaviors During Social Pretend Play in a US Preschool Classroom

Committee:

Xiaofen D. Keating, Supervisor

Stuart Reifel, Co-Supervisor

Christopher P. Brown

Jennifer K. Adair

Marie-Anne P. Suizzo

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A Case Study of Six Chinese Immigrant Children's Sharing Behaviors During Social Pretend Play in a US Preschool Classroom

by

Yun-Yu Hsieh, B.A.; M.A.

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Dedication

To my mother and father

Yueh-Ying Tso and Ming-Tse Hsieh

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To Share or Not to Share:
A Case Study of Six Chinese Immigrant Children's Sharing Behaviors During Social Pretend Play in a US Preschool Classroom

Yun-Yu Hsieh, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2015

Supervisor: Xiaofen D. Keating

Co-Supervisor: Stuart Reifel

Guided by Vygotsky's and Corsaro's theories, this dissertation investigated Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors, including initiating sharing behaviors and responding to sharing requests, as well as their parents' and teachers' descriptions of the children's sharing behaviors. Six Chinese immigrant children along with 16 non-Chinese children aged three to five years old were observed and recorded in a preschool classroom and analyzed to understand their sharing behaviors. Classroom teachers and Chinese immigrant parents were interviewed to ascertain their views about Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. Data from the video and audio transcriptions, together with field notes and the researcher's reflection journal, were coded and analyzed.

Findings indicated that the six Chinese immigrant children verbally requested sharing to initiate sharing behaviors by verbally inviting peers to join an activity or verbally offering to share materials. They nonverbally initiated sharing by using the same materials with others and by passing or handing materials to their peers. When responding to sharing requests, the six Chinese immigrant children accepted the requests verbally or nonverbally. They also rejected the sharing requests or ignored them if they didn't want to share.

When rejection and conflicts in terms of sharing were encountered in social pretend play, the six Chinese immigrant children sometimes accepted rejections by abandoning the sharing intentions, doing something else, or turning to follow the playmates' commands, and they shared passively to avoid conflicts. The Chinese immigrant parents in this study urged sharing and encouraged their children to search for adults' help when they encountered conflicts with peers. Teachers noticed language barriers among the six Chinese immigrant children and how this obstacle influenced their social interactions. In addition, gender differences existed in the children's sharing behaviors.

The six Chinese immigrant children spoke in Chinese during their social pretend play. Their language preference and capability influenced their sharing behaviors. They tended to share ideas and knowledge in Mandarin with other Chinese children. English inferiority led to infrequent interactions with non-Chinese children and limited their sharing opportunities.

Findings suggested that early childhood educators and parents need to pay more attention to children's sharing behaviors. Providing more support and encouraging the Chinese immigrant children to speak up for themselves could help these children better deal with conflicts in terms of sharing. Recommendations for future research are described in the dissertation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

As a kindergarten teacher in Taiwan working with typically developing children as well as children with special needs for six years, I realized that initiating social interactions between these two groups of children is a great challenge for teachers and parents. Among the social interactions, sharing is one of the challenging issues for both children and adults. Conflicts occur not only between the two groups of children but also, sometimes even more frequently, among typically developing children. Over the past eight years, I have studied in the United States as a master's and doctoral student in early childhood education. Through observing and studying children in the United States, I noticed that promoting sharing behavior is a universal issue. Teachers and parents here in America also work hard to facilitate sharing in early childhood classrooms, and they also encounter similar challenges. Conflicts in terms of sharing, such as arguing for toys, play spaces, or foods, happen again and again. Sharing is an everyday issue among children in early childhood classrooms.

Moreover, I noticed that the challenge also exists between immigrant children and children of the mainstream culture. Due to a lack of positive communications, the conflicts could be worse. Immigrant children, especially those with limited English language capabilities, have difficulty in interacting with their English-speaking peers. Researchers have shown that children's language differences can lead to poor peer interactions. For example, Hebert-Myers, Guttentag, Swank, Smith, and Landry (2006) conducted a longitudinal quantitative study to examine the relationship between children's language capabilities and their later peer interactions. Participants were observed and examined at three and eight years old. The findings demonstrated that children's ability to engage

effectively in interactions with their peers is dependent on their language skills (Hebert-Myers et al., 2006). Chen et al (2014) stated that high English proficiency leads to fewer behavioral problems and a high level of social skills. Thus, better language abilities predicted higher levels of compliance with peers' requests because the children understood what their peers wanted and knew how to respond appropriately.

Social competence is defined as a child's capacity to build positive relationships with peers and feel good about him- or herself (Raver & Zigler, 1997). Children with good social competence are better prepared for school and achieve higher academic levels than those with less social competence (Monopoli & Kingston, 2012). Hence, social competence has been proved to be a fundamental element in school readiness (Oades-Sese, Esquivel, Kaliski, & Maniatis, 2011). Children's social competence displayed in early childhood is a predictor for their social and academic competence in later grades; young children's aggressive and passive behaviors predict an antisocial personality in their future lives (Pellegrini & Glickman, 1990). When children cannot properly express themselves or interpret peers' expressions, they have difficulties in joining peer groups, and they also fail to establish and sustain positive relationships with peers. They will potentially have poor academic performance, referred to as special needs, and drop out of school (Campbell & Siperstein, 1994). Those who are socially withdrawn from peers at young ages may have problems that persist into adulthood (Sainato, Maheady, & Shook, 1986). As a result, when children come into a classroom with insufficient English proficiency or poor social competence, they face significant challenges in understanding teachers and peers and consequently become discouraged and bored. Worse, this negative experience in schooling may lead to their cutting classes and even dropping out (Zhou, 2003). Accordingly, immigrant children with poor social competence may ultimately become "outsiders" of the mainstream society.

The US Bureau of the Census (2004) indicates that the Asian population is the fastest-growing segment in the United States, and it is expected to continue this trend. Among Asian children whose parents emigrated from other countries (second-generation immigrants) or those who emigrated with their parents (first-generation immigrants) to the United States, Chinese Americans are the largest proportion (Li, 2006; Donghui & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Immigrants from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan form a large group among Asian immigrants—21% of all Asians who immigrated to the United States in 2003 (US Bureau of the Census, 2004). Between 2000 and 2010, the Asian population grew faster than any other racial group in the United States, and the Chinese population was the largest Asian group (US Bureau of the Census, 2010a). According to the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (2011), from 1995 to 1997, a total of 118,338 (4.9% of total immigrants) people who were born in China were admitted to the United States for legal permanent residence. China was the fourth birthplace in rank, following Mexico, the Philippines, and Vietnam, of legal immigrants during 1995 and 1997. In 1995, US citizenship was granted to 3,012 people from China, and in 1997, the number rose to 6,105, approximately double the number in 1995 (US Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2011). Between 1991 and 1998, a total of 443,721 immigrants from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan who speak Mandarin as their official language were admitted by the US government (US Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2000). Moreover, the US Census Bureau (2010b) reports that the nation's Chinese population has reached 4.4 million, a 43.3% increase since the 2000 census. The number of Asian Americans in general increased from 10.2 million in 2000 to 14.6 million in 2010, making it the fastest-growing group in the United States during that time period. As a result, with the growing numbers of Chinese people immigrating to the United States, it is necessary to better understand this population. Meanwhile, enhancing the social competence of the

children in this group and helping them become involved in American society is critical. In order to reach this goal, we need to understand what strategies work best for these children at young ages and in what contexts the strategies benefit them most.

Sharing plays an important role in human lives. People develop sharing behaviors at very young ages and continue building concepts about sharing. Sharing starts in the first year of a person's life. When a 12-month-old child spontaneously places a toy on her mother's lap and plays with it along with her mother, it constitutes sharing (Rheingold, Hay, & Meredith, 1976). Sharing then becomes increasingly normative during children's second year (Hay, Caplan, Castle, & Stimson, 1991) and increases continuously during the middle years of childhood (Laursen, Finkelstein, & Betts, 2001). Upon entering preschool, children encounter more peers than they do at home. They have many more opportunities to share and to learn how to share. In early childhood classrooms, children spend time sharing materials and activities (Yarrow et al., 1976). To share, children need to express their ideas and intentions to construct a common frame of reference and meaning among peers. This "shared understanding of the situation is the prime condition for interindividual coordination" (Verba, 1993, p. 267). Thus, children produce their own shared peer culture, "a stable set of activities or routines, artifacts, values, and concerns that kids produce and share in interaction with each other" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 37). Through participating in this shared peer culture, children develop a sense of being peers and living in the adult world. This progression is the process of socialization (Corsaro, 1988). Therefore, for children, learning to share is a fundamental development goal (Benenson, Markovits, Roy, & Denko, 2003). Children socialize through being sharers and recipients in their daily lives. Since sharing is a crucial element of children's social interactions and is an everyday issue in early childhood classrooms, understanding Chinese immigrant children's sharing

behaviors and facilitating sharing between them and their peers is an essential way to better involve them in the American community.

Due to differing philosophies, children from different cultural backgrounds display different sharing behaviors. For example, Rao and Stewart (1999) found that Asian children shared more frequently and shared more food than American children. There are also more spontaneous sharing behaviors among Asian children (Chinese and Indian children) than American children. In addition, American children were more active in asking for what they wanted and showed more elicited sharing (the sharer gives something to the recipient at the request of the recipient) than were Asian children (Rao & Stewart, 1999). Accordingly, American and Chinese cultures emphasize different values in people's relationships with others, and they also emphasize sharing in different ways.

Since the literature has demonstrated that sharing is displayed differently in different cultures, I wanted to find more evidence related to cultural differences about sharing. To look for more information about what has been focused on regarding sharing behaviors in American and Chinese cultures, I searched for the definitions of *share* in Western and Chinese dictionaries. I found that dictionaries in the two cultures emphasized different parts of the meaning. According to the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, *share* means "to partake of, use, experience, occupy, or enjoy something with others"; to "have [something] in common"; or "to talk about one's thoughts, feelings, or experiences with others" ("Share," n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary*, *sharing* is "to have or use (something) with others"; "to let someone else have or use a part of (something that belongs to you);" "to have (something that someone or something else also has): to have (something) in common"; "to tell someone about (your feelings, opinions, thoughts, etc.)"; or "to have equal responsibility for or involvement in (something)" ("Share," n.d.). Likewise, the Oxford Online Dictionary states that *share* is a part or portion of a larger

amount that is divided among a number of people. To share is to “give a portion of (something) to another or others”; “to use, occupy, or enjoy (something) jointly with another or others”; “to possess (a view or quality) in common with others”; “have a part in (something, especially an activity)”; “to tell someone about (something), especially something personal”; or “post or repost (something) on a social media website or application” (”Share,” n.d.). In summary, the term *share* in Western culture represents three main ideas: to allow others to use something, to have equal responsibility or involvement with others when doing something, and to tell others one’s feelings and thoughts.

In the Mandarin online dictionary that is edited by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan, the term *share* (*fen-xiang*) can be divided into two words: separate or distribute (fen), and enjoy (xiang). *Fen* is to divide or separate something into parts or to disconnect, allot, distribute, or distinguish something, while *xiang* is to hold, to enjoy, or to have the use of something. Thus, *fen-xiang* is to enjoy something with others together through separation or distribution (“*Fen-Xiang,*” n.d.). Similar to the definitions in Western culture, *sharing* in the Chinese culture refers to having a portion of something with or giving a portion of something to others. However, interestingly, neither equality nor sharing one’s personal feelings are emphasized in Chinese dictionaries, perhaps because these two features are not important or are taken for granted in terms of sharing. Based on the definitions of *sharing* in Western and Chinese dictionaries, I deduced that there are similarities and differences in the concepts of sharing as well as in the sharing behaviors that people display in these two cultures.

When I searched for research studies about sharing behaviors, I surprisingly found that Western researchers have examined children’s sharing behaviors since as early as the 1940s (e.g., Wright, 1942, which discussed children’s altruistic behaviors). The interest in young children’s sharing behaviors continued into the 1980s (e.g., Shepherd & Koberstein,

1989; Cauley & Tyler, 1989), when sharing was included in prosocial behaviors. After this period of time, few Western researchers have investigated the subject. In all the studies, children's sharing behaviors were observed in experimental situations; none of them examined the behaviors in real-life environments. In the 1990s and 2000s, several Asian researchers conducted studies about children's sharing behaviors (e.g., Li, 1990; Lin, 2007). However, none of them focused on children exposed to two cultures, such as immigrant children. Thus, no recent studies have investigated immigrant children's sharing behaviors in real-life situations, and all the other research related to sharing is out of date.

Children's sharing behavior is described as cooperation or acceptance, or it's described in terms of concepts that a group of children hold, such as sharing a sense of fair and unfair (Corsaro, 1988). Some researchers have defined *sharing* as "an example of an altruistic behavior" (Harris, 1970, p. 313) or "one kind of prosocial behavior" (Staub, 1971; Yarrow et al., 1976; Cauley & Tyler, 1989; Wu, 2006). *Prosocial behavior* is a "nondescript label [that] shelters varieties of response—sharing, helping, defending, sympathy, rescuing, cooperation, and others" (Yarrow et al., 1976, p. 118). Yarrow and colleagues (1976) claimed that sharing requires self-sacrifice. Applying this concept of sharing, Bar-Tal, Raviv, and Goldberg (1982) stated that sharing is a form of helping behavior, "an act which benefits others, and no prior promise of a tangible reward has been given in return" (p. 397). Therefore, sharing is a charitable behavior (Rao & Stewart, 1999) because it's altruistic and benefits others. Some studies have examined how children's sharing behaviors are affected by their age (e.g., Benenson et al., 2003; Krebs, 1970; Olejnik, 1976) or gender (e.g., McGuire & Thomas, 1975; Staub, 1971; Olejnik, 1976), while others have examined children's sharing behavior between friends and acquaintances (e.g., Rheingold et al., 1976; Ma, 1985, 1989; Liu & Hay, 1986). None of the above studies recruited immigrant children and investigated their sharing behaviors in a real-life context,

and these studies were conducted decades ago. Since sharing is an everyday issue happening in young children's classrooms, and since the Chinese immigrant population is growing fast in America, it is essential to conduct a study to examine Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior in a real-life situation.

In addition, Rao and Stewart (1999) examined children's sharing behavior in two different collectivist societies: China and India. They tried to investigate whether social factors, such as relationships between sharers and recipients, recipients' and sharers' behaviors, as well as gender, influence children's sharing behaviors in collectivist cultures (Rao & Stewart, 1999). They believe that cultures or contexts influence children's concepts and behaviors. Accordingly, they hypothesized that children in collectivist cultures may display different sharing behaviors from those in individualist cultures, saying that researchers should investigate the differences between different groups in various contexts. Furthermore, Vygotsky (1978) stated that children learn to use the thinking tools provided by their cultures through their interactions with more skilled people in their zones of proximal development, thus becoming able to carry out complex thinking independently and transform the cultural tools of thought to their own purposes. Accordingly, Chinese immigrant children carry the cultural tools of thought constructed in their original culture and then encounter challenges when they enter US preschools. When Chinese children immigrate to the United States, their inner and outer selves are influenced by the American culture through the people with whom they interact in schools (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These immigrant children's concepts about sharing may change under the influence of American culture. Hence, based on Rao and Stewart's as well as on Vygotsky's statements, culture influences children's sharing behaviors. It is essential to determine what kind of sharing behavior is developed by a child who explores both Chinese and American cultures simultaneously and is therefore influenced by both cultural ideologies. All in all, we need

to recognize that, due to the different socialization processes and cultural ideologies they encounter, people from different cultures may form and carry different concepts about sharing. Chinese immigrant children's concepts about sharing, the strategies they use in play in terms of sharing, and materials they share are different from those of American children. This could cause various difficulties in the Chinese immigrant children's socialization in the United States.

Family is one of the most important developmental contexts for children (Qin, 2009). Based on Vygotsky's (1978) theories, parents' cultural concepts influence their children's cognitive development and behaviors. Hence, to understand immigrant children's social behaviors, parents' views about children's social behaviors need to be taken into consideration. Also, teachers help children explore the world in school, and their beliefs influence children's behaviors. When examining children's social behaviors, investigating their teachers' descriptions about their behaviors is essential. Since no studies have recruited Chinese immigrant children to examine their sharing behaviors in a US school setting, conducting a study that focuses on Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors, observes them in an US preschool context, and interviews their parents is necessary to fill the gap.

Because Chinese children displayed different sharing behaviors than American children, finding a context in which all children comfortably interacted was necessary. Recent research demonstrated that play provides a social context for children to connect with others and develop social skills since, in play, children not only modify their behavior to suit one another but also share goals, desires, beliefs, and emotional expressions (Brownell, Zerwas, & Balaram, 2002). Because play is an important part of their lives (Frost, Wortham, & Reifel, 2012), children spend much time playing. "Play is the *way* that children learn, and *what* they play, they learn" (Chick, Heilman-Houser, & Hunter, 2002,

p. 149). In the United States, the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) emphasizes play in developmentally appropriate practice (DAP). DAP defines *play* as a universal vehicle that children anywhere in the world use to construct their knowledge and explore the world around them (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). Therefore, children's play is a rich context in which to examine children's behavior (Birns & Sternglanz, 1983). It is also a proper context for developing their social skills and life experiences.

Social pretend play is one type of peer play commonly found in early childhood classrooms. In this type of play, young children display different kinds of sharing and collaboration, which encourage them to share ideas and communicate with one another (Howe et al., 2005). For example, one child pretends to cry like a baby, and another child goes to comfort her and feeds her with a toy bottle like a real-world mother. Here, these two children share their understanding of being a baby and being a mother, share their space of play, share play materials (e.g., toy bottle), and have a common theme of play. Without sharing these elements, such play cannot begin, let alone be maintained. Therefore, social pretend play is an important constituent of children's social interaction, and facilitating children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play is crucial. This belief guided my decision to explore social interaction during play.

In conclusion, since the Chinese population is a fast-growing group in the United States, it is important to facilitate Chinese immigrant children's social interactions with American children in their play. Although sharing is emphasized in different ways in American and Chinese cultures, both of the cultures treasure sharing behaviors. To enhance Chinese immigrant children's social competence, facilitating their sharing behaviors in social pretend play is essential. Since there is no research focused on sharing behaviors among Chinese immigrant children in their social pretend play with a clear definition of

sharing, my study is designed to examine sharing behaviors in social pretend play among Chinese immigrant children in a US preschool setting and to investigate how their parents and teachers describe their sharing. The purpose of the study is to reveal Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors, how the Chinese immigrant parents describe their children's sharing behaviors, and how the teachers describe Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. By understanding Chinese children's sharing behaviors, immigrant parents will gain more knowledge that will assist their children in involving themselves in the peer culture, and US educators will be able to provide appropriate guidance to facilitate Chinese immigrant children's social interactions.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Human society involves a complex sharing system. People share information, resources, space, time, and so on to keep society operating. Children learn to share through interacting with people around them. Interacting with peers promotes children's mental and social development and broadens their social boundaries. Given all the interactions among children, sharing is a valuable social behavior. It allows children to make connections with others and maintain their relationships (Youniss, 1980). Therefore, sharing is considered a positive social skill in kindergarten children (Crow, 2008). Preschoolers with better toy-sharing behaviors were demonstrated to have higher social competences in their future lives (Eisenberg et al., 1999). Improving young children's sharing behaviors, hence, is an important goal for early childhood educators. Although researchers have examined sharing with various definitions and different foci, none of them have focused on children's sharing behaviors in real life. The findings were inconclusive and may not apply in real-life situations. Further, no researchers have investigated Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in American contexts. As the largest portion of Asian immigrants in the United

States (US Bureau of the Census, 2010a), studying Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors is necessary and helps us understand them better. This study is conducted to fill this gap and is the first one that examines Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in their social pretend play.

Eisenberg et al. (1999) followed children from preschool into early adulthood. They found that those who spontaneously displayed more toy-sharing in the classroom showed more prosocial skills 19 years later. These children were also predicted to show more competences in social-emotional skills and better academic performance (Eisenberg et al., 1999). Therefore, understanding children's sharing behaviors and facilitating them within children's peer interactions is important. Many researchers have investigated children's sharing behaviors. However, they examined children's willingness to share foods or candies (e.g., Olejnik, 1976), coins or rewards (e.g., Bregman, Lipscomb, McAllister, & Mims, 1984; McGuire & Thomas, 1975; Handlon & Gross, 1959), or toys (e.g., Rheingold et al., 1976) in experimental settings, not in real life. For example, kindergarteners played a pinball game in Olejnik's study (1976), and the researchers rewarded each child with a bag of M&M's candy and showed them pictures of refugee children. They then asked the children if they wanted to donate some of their candy to the refugees and how much they wanted to give (Olejnik, 1976). Similarly, McGuire and Thomas (1975) examined the effects of sex, competence, and competition on children's sharing behavior after the subjects received rewards for playing a bowling game. In another study (Bregman et al., 1984), children played a card-matching game in which they chose a payment card and were paid according to the amount shown on the card. The children were then told that they could donate their money to a donation can labeled "March of Dimes" after the experimenter had left the room. However, these hypothetical situations are no substitute for the real world. According to Atwood and Sengstaken (1951), children are more

generous when an adult is present. Children's interactions in a lab may not be the same as they would be in daily life (Radke-Yarrow, Zahn-Waxler, & Chapman, 1983). Moreover, generosity may not be an essential trait in sharing among children in normal settings. Other factors may trigger and affect children's sharing behaviors. As a result, the findings of these studies may not apply to children's daily lives. Since sharing is a crucial element in the lives and human development of children, and since there are no studies focusing on children's sharing behaviors in a real-life setting, a study examining children's sharing behavior in their real, daily lives is necessary.

Sharing has been assigned different meanings in different studies. Some research has placed emphasis on object giving, and some research focuses on the sharer's willingness to share. Burford, Foley, Rollins, and Rosario (1996) identified sharing behavior as giving something to another child (Burford et al., 1996), while James and Egel (1986) stated that sharing behavior includes offering, giving, exchanging, or receiving an object/toy, or children using the same object/toy cooperatively. Sharing in Alvord and O'Leary's study (1985) was described as children using a material simultaneously, a child handing his own materials to another one, and children trading or taking turns with the materials. On the other hand, Doland and Adelberg (1967) defined sharing behavior by narrowly focusing on the willingness to share concrete materials. For them, "an important aspect of sharing behavior is the willingness of the individual, under appropriate circumstances, to give to another person something which he would like to keep for himself" (p. 697). However, using a definition of *sharing* that emphasized sharing only concrete objects ignored the other kinds of sharing, such as sharing emotions, sharing ideas, sharing play roles or possessions, and sharing play spaces. Narrowly focusing on the willingness to share is not broad enough and cannot practically describe children's sharing behaviors. Accordingly, instead of defining *sharing* too broadly or too narrowly by

focusing on passing materials, this study builds its own definition of *sharing,* which includes sharing concrete materials as well as abstract but essential elements in children's play: ideas, emotions, play roles, and play spaces.

Regarding types of sharing behavior, some researchers have categorized them by the ways things are shared: spontaneous sharing, elicited sharing, and passive sharing (Birch & Billman, 1986; Rao & Stewart, 1999). Spontaneous sharing is defined as sharing without being requested to, while elicited sharing is sharing at someone's request. Passive sharing is sharing without being asked for permission (Birch & Billman, 1986; Rao & Stewart, 1999). On the other hand, Rogers-Warren and Baer (1976) divided sharing into verbal sharing and nonverbal sharing categories. When children performed the actions verbally, the actions were defined as verbal sharing. Examples include verbally inviting a child to join in an activity, verbally accepting an invitation to join in an activity, verbally offering to share materials with a child, verbally accepting a child's offer to share materials, or verbally offering to trade materials with a child. Nonverbal sharing occurs when a child passes or hands materials to another child and both of them touch the material for at least five seconds, as well as when more than one child uses the same materials simultaneously (Rogers-Warren & Baer, 1976; Alvord & O'Leary, 1985). Again, sharing was limited to sharing concrete objects in these studies. Children may spontaneously share ideas, emotions, play spaces, or pretend roles in social pretend play, but no studies have focused on these elements. Children may also verbally or nonverbally share them in play; nevertheless, no previous researchers have investigated these elements either. Moreover, although researchers were able to accurately describe children's actions with these definitions, all of these definitions produced inconclusive results. Hence, this study will enrich our knowledge about Chinese immigrant children's sharing concrete objects and abstract elements in various ways in play.

Although all sharing involves sharing concrete objects and abstract elements in various ways, children may share differently in different cultures. Children learn and internalize concepts of power, gender, ethnicity, social class, and language through play and speech in the environments they are exposed to (Ryan & Grieshaber, 2004). Accordingly, Chinese immigrant children's concepts about sharing, the strategies they use in play in terms of sharing, and the materials they share may be different from those of American children and lead to difficulties in the Chinese children's socialization. Because social pretend play is one of the social activities most commonly engaged in among children, understanding Chinese immigrant children's sharing within it is important since that understanding could shed new light on how Chinese immigrant children adopt the American culture and on how social pretend play influences Chinese immigrant children in school settings. To date, however, no research has examined sharing behaviors of Chinese immigrant children in a free play environment in the US school setting.

In examining sharing behaviors of children who come from Chinese backgrounds and whose peers are mostly Western children, it is clear that play is a context that allows the two groups of children to display their strategies and patterns of sharing. *Play* is defined as a universal vehicle that children use to construct their knowledge and explore the world around them (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009) in DAP. Similarly, play is considered a valuable activity in Taiwan. According to the 1987 National Kindergarten Curriculum Standards in Taiwan, play is one of six content areas: health, work (arts and crafts), general knowledge (social studies, science, and mathematics), play, language, and music (MOE, 1998; Shen, 2008). This standard document encourages teachers to involve play in their teaching and emphasizes that children learn through play (Shen, 2008). In 1998, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Taiwan announced a curriculum for first grade through ninth grade, "The First Through Ninth Grades Curriculum Alignment for Elementary and Junior High

Education" (Shen, 2008). This also affects early childhood education in Taiwan: such education should be transformed from teacher-oriented to child-centered. Children's learning processes should be seen as more important than their learning outcomes, and the curriculum should be child-centered and developmentally appropriate (Shen, 2008). In brief, as in America, play is treasured as part of children's lives and seen as a developmentally appropriate learning activity in early childhood classrooms in Taiwan. Although Chinese immigrant children and American children hold different cultural ideologies about sharing, play is a common context in which researchers can examine their social behaviors.

However, little research has looked at children's sharing behavior in their play. In research that addressed play, sharing was used as an indicator of children's social competence, especially when it was used cooperatively with rating scales. These researchers usually used play scales to examine the relationship between social competence and play. For example, Gagnon and Nagle (2004) used the Penn Interactive Peer Play Scale (PIPPS) and the Vineland Social-Emotional Early Childhood Scale (Vineland SEEC Scale) to investigate the relationships between children's peer interactive play and social competence. Children rated as "Doesn't share toys" in PIPPS were regarded as rejected by others (Gagnon & Nagle, 2004). Even so, no research has investigated Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior in their social play.

Social pretend play is one type of social play and can commonly be found in early childhood classrooms, especially in dramatic play centers. According to Farver (1992), social pretend play provides children with contexts to enhance their communication skills and to create shared meaning. They share knowledge and bring everyday activities into their pretend play episodes (Farver, 1992). Howe et al. (2005) also stated that social pretend play requires children to share ideas and communicate with one another. They negotiate

the rules of the play, create shared meanings, and construct shared understandings (Howe et al., 2005). In a word, social pretend play is intrinsic to children and self-directed, as well as a valuable social context for examining children's sharing behaviors. Moreover, pretend play "requires the ability to transform objects and actions symbolically; it is furthered by interactive social dialogue and negotiation; and it involves role taking, script knowledge, and improvisation" (Bergen, 2002, p. 1). To construct common frames of reference when creating play scenarios in social pretend play, children communicate, share ideas, and negotiate with one another (Garvey, 1990; Göncü & Kessel, 1988; Nicolopoulou, 1997, 2010; Parsons & Howe, 2013). They create shared meanings, extend ideas, create and clarify roles, and explain actions, as well as help one another (Göncü, 1993; Howe et al., 2005; Parsons & Howe, 2013). Social pretend play requires children to negotiate the rules of the play (El'Konin, 1966) to (1) assign roles, (2) transform objects by denoting new meanings (e.g., changing a box into a castle), and (3) develop scripts to maintain the joint dialogue and action (Howes, 1992). When children play with friends, they spend time together, use others' play materials, trade toys, and take turns. Therefore, social pretend play provides a unique context in which to investigate children's sharing behaviors. However, to date, no study has focused on this topic and recruited Chinese immigrant children as the participants. Due to the growing Chinese population in the United States and the lack of recent research on this topic, conducting a research study examining Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior in their social pretend play demands immediate action.

To conclude, sharing is an essential altruistic behavior in human life. It is described as a prosocial behavior and is valued by human society. Children develop sharing behaviors in their early childhoods and learn to share by interacting with others. Since Chinese immigrants make up a large population in the United States, we cannot ignore Chinese

immigrant children's needs. Given that sharing has different meanings in Chinese and American cultures, examining children's sharing behaviors will shed light on their different social competences and the difficulties they encounter in social interactions during play. Understanding Chinese immigrant parents' and teachers' descriptions of Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors helps us explain children's behaviors. Further, for teachers and parents, understanding the features of the sharing behaviors displayed by Chinese immigrant children helps the adults facilitate children's sharing appropriately and, consequently, enhance Chinese immigrant children's social interactions with Western children in play. Chinese immigrant children ultimately learn how to join the peer groups of Western children.

Although some studies have investigated children's sharing behaviors and the ways they share, none of them have included both concrete objects and abstract elements. In addition, these studies were conducted in experimental situations and did not focus on Chinese immigrant children. Without investigating Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in their play, educators cannot effectively improve these children's social competences and help them be involved in American culture. Since there is no research examining Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior in real-life situations, especially in social pretend play, these areas merit more attention from professionals in child development. As a result, the importance of the current study lies in exploring Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors and how their parents as well as teachers describe their sharing behaviors in social pretend play in a US preschool classroom. This study will provide more knowledge and insight about Chinese immigrant children's social interactions and shed light on their sharing behaviors in pretend play. Consequently, findings of the study contribute to the field of early childhood education with practical information about facilitating Chinese immigrant children's social competence and values

of social pretend play. Due to the fact that better social competences lead to better academic performance and social relationships, enhancing Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors is a prerequisite for better social involvement in the US society. Understanding features of Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors as well as their parents' and teachers' views about children's sharing behaviors helps Chinese immigrant parents and teachers be on common ground regarding children's social behaviors and leads to better parent-teacher communications.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study investigates the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors and their parents' as well as teachers' views about their sharing behaviors in social pretend play. The following three research questions were used to guide the study:

1. What sharing behaviors do the six Chinese immigrant children display during social pretend play in a US preschool classroom context?
   a. How do they initiate sharing requests?
   b. How do they respond to sharing requests?
2. How do the six Chinese immigrant children's parents describe their children's sharing behaviors?
3. How do teachers describe the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors?

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Chinese Immigrant Children

Chinese immigrant children are those whose parents originally came from Mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan (second-generation immigrants) or those who have immigrated with their parents (first-generation immigrants) to the United States.

Chinese children adopted by American parents were excluded. Chinese children who were born or who grew up in a different country and then came to the United States were also excluded from the study.

Sharing

Sharing has different meanings in different cultures. In order to explain children's behaviors in a more concrete and consistent way, this study defines *sharing* as a kind of prosocial behavior (Staub, 1971; Yarrow et al., 1976; Cauley & Tyler, 1989; Wu, 2006). It can be elicited by other children or by the child him- or herself. *Sharing with others* means children spend time with others (Damon, 1977), give or offer their possessions to others, allow others to enter part of or the whole space for play, give objects to others (Burford et al., 1996), use each other's play materials simultaneously or alternately (Damon, 1977; Shepherd & Koberstein, 1989; James & Egel, 1986; Alvord & O'Leary, 1985), or take turns (Shepherd & Koberstein, 1989; Alvord & O'Leary, 1985). Children can also share ideas, knowledge, pretend roles, and understandings in their play. Only those sharing behaviors that were child-initiated and occurred within the context of child-to-child interaction (not child-to-adult interaction) were included in this study. By using these definitions, we can accurately explain Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in relation to those of non-Chinese children.

Social Pretend Play

Pretend play is an inherent behavior (Singer, 1994) that is exhibited when children explore and interpret social situations using symbols within imaginary contexts (Mulligan, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978). Social pretend play relies on children's imaginations and creativity and is not achievement oriented (Verba, 1993). When more than one child engages in pretend play with the same theme, they are engaging in social pretend play. Based on the

purposes of the current study, only the social pretend play involving at least one Chinese immigrant child will be examined.

Summary

Sharing is a valuable social skill. Researchers have examined sharing with different definitions, but no conclusive findings have been reached. Asian Americans, including Chinese immigrants, make up the fastest-growing segment of the population in the United States. To facilitate Chinese immigrant children's socialization in US preschool settings, it is necessary to examine children's sharing behaviors in their social pretend play using a more comprehensive definition of *sharing*. Through understanding Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior, children's engagements in social pretend play will be improved, especially for those with limited English proficiency. Because there is, to date, no research examining Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in real-life situations, examining these Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in their social pretend play is a good starting point for bridging the gap. Hence, this study aims to explore the sharing behaviors among six Chinese immigrant children and to investigate how their parents and teachers describe their sharing behaviors in social pretend play. The results will help teachers and parents understand the features of the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors and their social competences.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Since this study examines six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play contexts, theories about play are included as the theoretical framework. Sharing is defined as part of the prosocial behavior of young children (Yarrow et al., 1976; Hay, 1994) and occurs while interacting with others, mostly with peers. Theories of peer culture are also included. Literature about social pretend play, sharing in social pretend play, culture, immigrants in the United States, immigrant parents, helping immigrant children in school settings, culture and pretend play, sharing manifested in Chinese culture, and gender differences in terms of sharing behavior will be reviewed in this chapter.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Several theorists have addressed children's play, including Lev Vygotsky and William A. Corsaro. Vygotsky's (1978) socioconstructivism explains how children learn by interacting with people around them with cultural tools of thought, and Corsaro (1988) focuses on children's peer culture as well as how children share in his observations of children in social pretend play. Vygotsky's and Corsaro's theories form a foundation for explaining children's behaviors in their social pretend play. Given that children's pretend play and their sharing behaviors are intertwined, we can explain children's sharing behavior using these theories.

Vygotsky and Play

One of Vygotsky's theories is the zone of proximal development (ZPD; 1978), which "defines those functions that have not yet matured but are in the process of maturation, functions that will mature tomorrow but are currently in an embryonic state" (p. 86). The ZPD is created in the course of social interactions. Through interactions with more knowledgeable adults or peers, a child enhances his or her understanding of mental

processes and takes on more responsibilities related to those processes. Once these processes are internalized, they become part of the child's independent developmental achievement (File, 1995). Based on Vygotsky's theories, children's development is scaffolded by adults and peers through interactions. They develop their mental functions under adults' and peers' instructions. In other words, children construct their concepts about the world and learn how to behave through interacting with others, including peers. Accordingly, what is shared in the peer interactions is crucial to enhancing children's cognitive and behavioral development, including shared knowledge and shared understanding.

Vygotsky (1978) stated that children learn to use the tools for thinking provided by culture through their interactions with more skilled people in their ZPDs. Through engaging in the use of cultural tools of thought in complex thinking with others, children develop the ability to carry out such complex thinking independently and transform the cultural tools of thought to their own purposes. Thus, cultural tools are "inherited and transformed by successive generations" (Rogoff, 2003, p. 51). People use different cultural tools in different cultural contexts. Furthermore, Vygotsky stated that children acquire knowledge in their social world. "Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological), and then inside the child (intrapsychological)" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57). Accordingly, since people employ different cultural tools of thought in understanding the world, they share different concepts of the environment in different cultural contexts. Examining children's sharing behaviors sheds light on their internal concepts about sharing that were constructed in cultural contexts.

For Vygotsky, play not only contains all developmental tendencies in a condensed form but also creates the ZPD of the child. Vygotsky claims, "Play creates a zone of

proximal development. In play a child always behaves beyond his average age, above his daily behavior; in play it is as though he were a head taller than himself" (1978, p. 102). In play, a child restrains his or her immediate impulse to the objects, controls his or her behavior to conform to the rules of the game, and shows his or her greatest self-control (Vygotsky, 1976). In addition, Vygotsky argues that children learn and employ the cultural tools of thought in their play. Make-believe play spurs children's cognitive development because it makes children think independently through separating meanings of an object, such that the ideas spurred from play can be used to guide their behaviors (Vygotsky, 1978).

In essence, Vygotsky's concepts about ZPD and play offer researchers a starting point to explain how children learn to share in their play. With the different cultural tools of thought that children use, they construct relative cultural knowledge and understanding through interacting with peers in play. Consequently, children build up different concepts about sharing and display sharing behaviors influenced by the cultures they are exposed to, and they develop shared knowledge and understandings that will impact their future behaviors in social settings. Further, since play provides opportunities for children to think independently and spurs their cognitive development, it is a context that allows researchers to investigate their social behaviors, including sharing.

Corsaro and Peer Culture

William A. Corsaro adopted Vygotsky's socioconstructive concepts and formed his theory about children's peer culture. *Peers* is the "group of kids who spend time together on an everyday basis" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 37), while *peer culture* is "a stable set of activities or routines, artifacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share in interaction with peers" (Corsaro & Eder, 1990, p. 197). Through participating in peer culture, children

develop a sense of being peers. Thus, being part of peer groups also means being part of peer culture (Corsaro & Eder, 1990). For Corsaro (2003), "Children are active agents in their own socialization" (p. 4). They are skilled social agents and actively produce their childhood cultures through taking information from the adult world in their daily lives. They not only produce a series of local peer cultures that become part of the adult world but also "contribute to the wider cultures of other kids and adults within which they are embedded" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 37). Since children identify friends as people playing together, sharing, and doing things on their own without others' intervention (Corsaro, 2003), sharing and social participation are central themes of peer culture during children's early childhood and adolescence (Corsaro & Eder, 1990).

The central theme of the peer culture is that "children make persistent attempts to gain control of their lives and to share that control with each other" (Corsaro & Eder, 1990, p. 202). Control and sharing are two themes that can be demonstrated in children's social activities. Children want to gain control of their lives, and they treasure the emotional satisfaction of sharing and accomplishing things together (Corsaro, 2003). When children take turns biting an imaginary piece of bread in pretend play, they are doing what Corsaro and Eder call "the sharing routine" in children's peer culture. Participating in cultural routines is essential for children's socialization process. Through this kind of shared play, children construct the meanings of friend and peer concepts (Corsaro & Eder, 1990). Corsaro states that children's entry into a peer culture considerably influences their social development in their preschool years. When children play with one or more children in their homes under adults' supervision during their early years of life, they gain the experience of interacting with other children. This experience helps children build shared behavioral routines, and this is also the first step in extending their social relations. Upon

entering preschool, children encounter more peers than they do in the home setting, and sharing frequently occurs during children's playing together (Corsaro, 1988).

Corsaro pointed out that a large portion of role-play among two- to five-year-old children is about the expression of power in their social pretend play (Corsaro, 2003). For instance, subordinates in a role-play episode, such as those playing as kids or pets, often do what they were not told to do. When this kind of misbehavior appears, discipline scripts emerge with clearly displayed power. Children enjoy this misbehave-and-discipline process. "They want to create and share emotionally in the power and control adults have over them" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 115). Meanwhile, children experience how girls and boys should act in the society through engaging in the roles they play (Corsaro, 2003). To conclude, children "collaboratively produce pretend activities that are related to experiences from their real lives" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 111) and experience power and sharing in social pretend play.

Corsaro (1985) claimed that patterns of play talk reveal who has power in a play group and the relative social status of the players. According to Corsaro, there are several communicative functions across statuses in children's role play: imperatives, informative statements, requests for permission, requests for joint action, answers, information requests, directive questions, tag questions, greetings, and baby and animal talk. Corsaro examined the frequency of these communicative functions between superordinates and subordinates in children's role play. He found that superordinates produce more imperatives with subordinates than with other superordinates. On the contrary, subordinates seldom produce imperatives (Corsaro, 1985). That is to say, superordinates have more power in controlling the play flow than subordinates. Through investigating children's play talk during social pretend play, the players' social statuses among peers are revealed. Since control and sharing are two main themes in social pretend play, children's

social statuses and sharing behaviors should be intertwined. However, Corsaro didn't focus on the relationships among these two variables.

Overall, Corsaro demonstrated that sharing and social pretend play are intertwined with engaging in peer culture. Children's sharing behavior was described as cooperation or acceptance, or concepts that a group of children ascribe to, such as sharing a sense of fair and unfair (Corsaro, 1988). Children share with others in peer culture and build relationships with peers. Through sharing, children share the sense of control of their lives and build shared behavioral routines that are essential for assembling their social networks in childhood and their future lives. When interacting, communicative functions between superordinates and subordinates in children's role-play show children's strategies of social interactions and their social status in play. Combining Vygotsky's and Corsaro's theories, it is clear that Vygotsky and Corsaro support the idea that social pretend play is a proper context in which to explore children's sharing behaviors. Children construct culturally relative knowledge and understanding through interacting with peers in social play; meanwhile, sharing is one of the essential components of children's peer culture. Consequently, what children share and what strategies they use in social play are two main variables that reveal their knowledge and understanding about sharing in a certain cultural context. These two variables should be investigated when examining children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play. Regarding the sharing strategies children use, the specific variables should be common knowledge and the understanding expressed through verbal and nonverbal communications for sharing materials, ideas, play spaces, pretend roles, and emotions in social pretend play.

Although both Vygotsky and Corsaro talked about children's social relationships, they did not clearly articulate the definition of *sharing behavior*. Because this study requires a comprehensive concept of sharing, definitions and explanations of children's

sharing behavior need to be identified. Moreover, since cultural contexts play a crucial role in children's play and consequently influence children's sharing in social pretend play, social pretend play and features of children's cultural backgrounds will be discussed first. Immigrant children's cultural concepts are going to described, and then findings about gender differences in sharing will be included as well.

SOCIAL PRETEND PLAY

Social pretend play plays an important role in children's development (Lloyd & Goodwin, 1995). Around 12 months of age, children's solitary pretend play begins. During their second year, children begin to play with peers, which is social play (Mueller & Vandell, 1979). In their third year of life, children integrate pretense into social play; social pretend play emerges (Rubin, Fein, & Vandenberg, 1983). Rakoczy (2008) found that children who are three years old are capable of appropriate acts in shared pretend play. They can follow pretense stipulations and understand their deontic implications in pretend play (Rakoczy, 2008). In pretend play, "children have to set, remember, coordinate, and follow joint fictional worlds with others and at the same time not get confused about reality" (Rakoczy, 2008, p. 1,195). Kemple (1991) described children with sufficient social competence as those with the ability to identify, respond, and interpret cues and information in social situations (Kemple, 1991). According to Bierman and Welsh (2000), socially competent children are capable of positively engaging other children. They have communication skills and abilities to participate in social pretend play, share toys, and control their affect and behaviors when playing with others (Bierman & Welsh, 2000). Since imaginary situations provide social opportunities and consequences for children, those who engage in them facilitate the development of their capabilities of social

understanding and awareness of social norms (Stagnitti & Unsworth, 2000). Thus, pretend play provides a context for children to learn and practice cognitive and social competences.

Vygotsky and Corsaro both emphasize that we can explore children's behaviors in their pretend play. Based on the same tenet that Vygotsky and Corsaro hold true, recent researchers have investigated children's cognitive and social development in social pretend play. For example, Göncü (1985) noted that pretend play is "an expression of shared knowledge and experience in culturally acceptable terms" (p. 6). It is a process of negotiation in that children do their best to come to an agreement in order to maintain the play scenario (Göncü, 1985). Swindells and Stagnitti (2006) also emphasize social situations, stating that pretend play occurs when children use symbols to explore and interpret social situations within imaginary contexts. Reifel and Yeatman (1993) use a different concept to explain pretend play, an "as if" concept. For them, "children's play is a family of simulations including pretense, dramatic play (including story telling), games, arts and crafts, rough and tumble, joking and word play, and motoric exploration, any of which can be done as an end of itself" (Reifel & Yeatman, 1993, p. 353). When children play, their imaginary as-if world becomes more salient (Reifel & Yeatman, 1993). Here, pretense includes object and person transformations, construction, and role-playing.

Howes (1985) recruited children aged from 16 to 33 months and observed them for four months. Qualities of social play, social pretend play, and strategies for integrating pretense into social play were described. The findings indicated that children's social play emerged earlier than their social pretend play with a similar structure, and the incidence of children's social pretend play increased with age. Howes defined three strategies that children used to integrate pretense into their social play: *recruitment*, *imitation*, and *join*. When a child uses nonverbal or verbal fantasy actions to engage a social play partner in his or her play, this is *recruitment*. Nonverbal recruitment includes eye gaze, gesture, or

offering material. Verbal recruitment occurs when a child "performs a fantasy action and names the pretend action to the partner" (Howes, 1985, p. 1,255). *Imitation* occurs when a child shows a fantasy action and a play partner imitates it even though they don't direct the verbal or nonverbal actions to each other. When a child shows a fantasy action and does not direct the partner but the partner responds with a fantasy action, no matter whether the partner directs the action to the child or just names the action the child showed, this is called *join*. The difference between *recruitment* and *join* is that the partner only engages in pretend after the initiating child is already engaged (Howes, 1985). Among the strategies, verbal recruitment and join were found to be more effective than imitation or nonverbal recruitment. Therefore, children use verbal recruitment and join strategies to integrate pretense into their social play at the age of three. The results also showed that children's strategies for integrating pretense into social play change with their age. Children at the age of 27 to 33 months used more verbal recruitment and join strategies than children at 16 to 23 months. No age changes were found in nonverbal recruitment and imitation strategies (Howes, 1985).

Garvey (1993) examined transitions into and out of pretend play frames. She observed preschoolers in their social play and generated language tools that children employed in social pretend play. They are preparatory talk, explicit directions for pretend, within pretend talk (enactment talk), negation of pretend, and play signals. Explicit directions for pretend includes transformation of self, transformation of other, transformation of joint roles, transformation of action for self, transformation of action for other, transformation of joint actions, transformation of object, transformation of environment, and transformation of nothing to something (Garvey, 1993). These spoken directions serve as a vehicle to indicate the ongoing play frame and its meanings (Frost et

al., 2012). By examining children's language tools, children's involvement in social pretend play can be clearly described.

SHARING IN SOCIAL PRETEND PLAY

Sharing is one of the features of social pretend play. Social pretend play requires children to share, and sharing enhances their social play. "Children's involvement in complex shared pretense is indicative of their ability to take the perspectives of others, to adopt negotiation strategies and to contribute to the shared meaning constructed in play episodes" (Dockett, 1998, p. 114). Pretend play requires shared meanings as well as interpersonal negotiations (Howe et al., 2005; Verba, 1993). It also requires shared understandings (Howe et al., 2005; Dockett, 1998) and provides a communicative context in which meaning is interpreted and expressed differently from individual to individual (Farver, 1992). Therefore, children employ shared meanings and knowledge, understandings, and negotiation in social pretend play.

Shared Meanings

In preschool years, children increasingly develop their communicative strategies in order to convey shared meanings to enrich and extend play episodes (Göncü, Patt, & Kouba, 2002). Brenner and Mueller (1982) defined *sharing meaning* as "a property of social interactions in which each participant acts in accord with a single underlying topic or theme" (p. 389). Each participant of the play understands the common theme. The results of Brenner and Mueller's study showed that sharing meaning exhibited growth over time between the 12- to 19-month-old period but stayed the same between the ages of 16 to 23 months. The results also demonstrated that the presence of shared meaning prolongs the length of interactive episodes. If children didn't reach a common theme when playing, the play episode would end (Brenner & Mueller, 1982).

Shared Knowledge

Children acquire generic knowledge in pretend play (Sutherland & Friedman, 2012, 2013). Sutherland and Friedman (2012) recruited twenty-two 3- to 4-year-old and thirty-two 4- to 5-year-old children to participate in an experimental study. They concluded that children at 3 years old can acquire generic knowledge in pretend play. Examples of generic knowledge are “Birds have wings” and “Sheep eat grass.” The study demonstrated that children acquire generic knowledge in pretend episodes and that they generate and recognize others’ pretense because of their previous acquired generic knowledge (Sutherland & Friedman, 2013). In Sutherland and Friedman’s study (2012), children watched episodes of pretense in which a puppet represented an unfamiliar kind of animal. After watching the scenario, children were asked to answer questions about it to determine whether they had learned general facts about the scenario. However, the children were not observed in their free-play situations.

Shared Understanding

According to the theory of ZPD stated by Vygotsky (1978), when children play with peers in social pretend play, the social interactions provide opportunities to develop understanding. Children then understand that people have different views and perspectives. They construct social understanding in social pretend play (Furth & Kane, 1992). “While exchanging information, children are likely to construct shared understandings regarding the meaning of their joint pretend play, specifically, how roles, joint action, dialogue, and a scenario are to be enacted by both players” (Howe et al., 2005, p. 784). Dockett (1998) also stated that “shared pretense provides the opportunity for the development of shared perspectives and understandings—intersubjectivity—that may then be internalized by individuals within that group” (Dockett, 1998, p. 113). In social pretend play, children are required to understand that their playmates have different perspectives and experiences

than they do. If they are not aware of the different perspectives among players, the social pretend play scenario cannot occur or cannot last. Children may even have no desire to participate in this type of play (Dockett, 1998).

As a whole, children share meanings through displaying actions in accord with an underlying theme, and each participant in the pretend play understands the common theme. They share knowledge related to the theme acquired in their previous social interactions. Then, children understand that their playmates in the shared pretend scenario have different perspectives and know how to cooperate with peers to complete proper actions in the pretense.

Negotiation

Social pretend play requires shared understanding and involves communicating shared symbolic meanings; this makes it the most structurally complex form of children's peer interaction (Howes, Wishard Guerra, & Zucker, 2006; Howe et al., 2005; Howes & Wishard, 2004). Moreover, because peers, especially same-age peers, are less able than adults to scaffold meaning, children employ greater communicative clarity when engaging in social pretend play with peers than when doing so with adults (Howes & Lee, 2004). "Negotiating implies a number of understandings about the mind, such as what the other player or players want, how they will probably react and what they will accept as a reasonable argument" (Dockett, 1998, p. 112). A successful negotiation requires some competences: the players must know their partners and know what they will accept or reject (Dockett, 1998). Furthermore, communicating meaning in social pretend play is an essential foundation of young children's later literacy and narrative developments (Clawson, 2002; Howes & Wishard, 2004). Accordingly, rather than just experiencing fun,

children benefit from pretend play (Sutherland & Friedman, 2013). Their social communication capabilities are constructed and enhanced in their social pretend play.

In brief, pretend play involves symbolic transformation and requires shared meaning, shared knowledge, shared understanding, imagination, and creativity, as well as interpersonal negotiations. Children display their existing knowledge and experiences while pretending. They share knowledge, understandings, and experiences in social pretend play using an "as-if" technique. Thus, investigating children's social pretend play allows us to gather evidence about children's sharing behaviors, providing ample information about their cognitive and social development involving shared elements. Although Vygotsky, Corsaro, and the other researchers mentioned above explained the functions of play and how it affects children's lives, none of them examined how play functions in different cultures and in what ways culture influences children's play. To fill the gap, definitions of *culture* and diverse features of culture should be described.

CULTURE

Geertz (1973) defined *culture* as "a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and their attitudes toward life" (p. 89). Vermeulen (2001) followed Geertz and claimed that culture is an interpretation of social reality; culture and social reality influence each other simultaneously. Thus, in the sociocultural perspective, culture is not an entity that influences individuals. Rather, "people contribute to the creation of cultural processes, and cultural processes contribute to the creation of people" (Rogoff, 2003, p. 51). Individual and cultural processes are mutually constituted and cannot be defined separately from each other (Rogoff, 2003). Accordingly, human development is a process through which people change their participation in the sociocultural activities of

their communities (Rogoff, 2003). The content and structure of the inner selves of individuals, such as emotions, may differ by culture. Meanwhile, the nature of the outer selves of individuals—personalities developed through relationships with other people and social institutions—may also vary by culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Therefore, people hold different values in different cultures and are influenced by the cultures they are exposed to.

Consequently, children grow up in various cultural contexts and are influenced by those contexts. Vanikar (2006) demonstrated that culture-related socialization influences children's understanding, construction, and enactment of positive justice. For example, children in India have a culture-specific understanding of fairness and positive justice that is different from the Western notion of fairness (Vanikar, 2006). Accordingly, culture influences human beings' emotions, behaviors, capabilities, and concepts about fairness. We can conclude that different cultures shape different inner and outer selves and lead to different play and sharing behaviors.

Independent and Interdependent Cultures

In independent cultures, individuals tend to discover and express their unique attributes and seek to maintain their independence from others. In interdependent cultures, an individual's self is meaningful when the individual has appropriate relationships with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). For people with an interdependent view of self, meeting others' goals and needs is crucial for satisfying one's own goals. These people are also motivated to act to enhance their relationships and connections with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). According to Bornstein (1995), "the United States is typically characterized as ethnically heterogeneous, and American as self-assertive and

individualistic" (Bornstein, 1995, p. 127). Broadly defined, American culture can be categorized as an independent culture, and Chinese culture is an interdependent culture.

However, evidence has shown that "not only can individualist characteristics be found within collectivist cultures, and vice versa, but that the very constructs of individualism and collectivism are themselves multifaceted and insufficiently powerful to explain cultural variations in human thought and action" (Suizzo, 2004, p. 294). The definitions of *individualism* and *collectivism* have been too broad and imprecise. The two constructs are not opposed but differentially elicited by diverse contextual and social cues (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). To solve this problem, Oyserman et al. (2002) identified seven dimensions of individualism: independence, having goals, competition, uniqueness, privacy, self-knowledge, and directive communication. They also identified eight dimensions of collectivism: relatedness, group belonging, group harmony, seeking others' advice, context dependence, duty, hierarchy, and group affiliation (Oyserman et al., 2002). These dimensions of individualism and collectivism can vary within individuals due to the different situations or domains people are exposed to.

According to Oyserman et al. (2002), European Americans were found to be more individualistic and less collectivistic. They value personal independence more and feel less duty to groups than others. On the other hand, Chinese were less individualistic and more collectivistic. This finding supports the statement that Americans can be categorized as individualistic or independent, while Chinese can be categorized as collectivistic or interdependent. Accordingly, "people of different cultures have different ideologies or beliefs" (He, 1996, p. 3). The ideologies influence their ways of thinking as well as their behaviors. People acquire the ideologies through their personal experiences in daily life (He, 1996). To understand Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in a US

preschool setting, it is necessary to examine the features of Chinese culture and Chinese immigrants.

Chinese Culture

Confucianism is a major influence on people's beliefs and philosophy of life in Chinese culture, although Taoist and Buddhist ideologies are also influential. Confucianism is deeply rooted and influences Chinese people's social practices and values related to education. Confucian ideology promotes "the loyalty of citizens to the ruler, the respect for authority, the devotion of children to their parents and the obedience of the younger generation to the older one" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2008, p. 98). Confucianism also promotes positive attitudes toward learning and education. In Confucianism, all people are believed to be able to learn, regardless of their social class and intelligence (Curdt-Christiansen, 2008).

In learning environments, Chinese students consider teachers as the highest authorities (He, 1996). Students are expected to respect their teachers and to listen more and speak less. Challenging their teachers, not to mention directly pointing out their errors, is considered impolite. For example, teachers are expected to be perfect models of knowledge and virtue for students in China (He, 1996). Compared to Western countries that promote creativity and individualism, the Chinese government emphasizes central authority and collectivity. Thus, for Chinese students, what their teachers think about them is important, and students work hard to please them. Accordingly, teachers' comments on students' work mean a lot to the students, and Chinese students feel embarrassed when they make mistakes in public. These are reasons that Chinese students are cautious about speaking in class (He, 1996), especially when speaking English, an unfamiliar language, because they feel that mistakes may offend someone.

In addition, displaying strong emotions in public is deemed immature in Chinese culture (Sue & Sue, 2003) because such behavior may disrupt group harmony. Meanwhile, "Hanxu" (含蓄), a contained, reserved, implicit, and indirect communication style, is appreciated and valued in Chinese culture (Kwan, Chun, & Chesla, 2011). Chinese people try very hard to keep themselves and others from "losing face." An individual's reputation can affect or be thought to represent that of his or her family, as well (Kwan et al., 2011). Chinese people are expected to maintain good social relationships and avoid conflicts (Gao, Ting-Toomey, & Gudyhunst, 1996). Therefore, in Chinese culture, boys, even when toddlers, are taught to be brave and encouraged to hold back their tears if they fall down and get hurt. Also, parents do not praise their children in front of guests. In fact, they put down their children to show their humility and simultaneously teach those children how to humble themselves in front of others (He, 1996).

According to Cheung, Nelson, Advincula, Cureton, and Canham (2005), Chinese society has five features that make it unique. The first is diversity of language. Although Mandarin is the national language, the Chinese people speak a variety of dialects. For example, in China, Han is the major ethnic group, but there are about 164 ethnic minority groups, each of which has its own dialect (He, 1996). Second, traditional Chinese communication practices are different from Western communication practices. Compared to Western people, "Chinese people tend to be more passive, polite, and attentive, with a friendly demeanor" (Cheung et al., 2005, p. 4). The purpose of these behaviors is to achieve group harmony. Chinese people also tend to be subtle when they discuss something with or explain something to others, whereas Western ways are more direct and clear. This is an example of obeying one of the Confucian philosophies: avoid raising conflicts among people. Accordingly, Chinese people avoid telling others things that may upset them (Cheung et al. 2005; O'Keefe & O'Keefe, 1997). Chinese people may also consider being

direct in communications as offensive and insulting. They tend to give no response rather than offend someone and are reluctant to express their opinions in public (Cheung et al., 2005). Thus, Chinese people tend to avoid taking initiative because doing so may damage harmony and peace (O'Keefe & O'Keefe, 1997). In brief, Chinese people want to "avoid conflict and will not challenge anyone whom they regard as an expert" (Cheung et al., 2005, p. 5). Such behavior is considered good manners.

The third feature of Chinese society is that its people value holism and caring (Cheung et al., 2005). According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), for people with an interdependent view of self, such as Chinese, meeting others' goals and needs is crucial for satisfying one's own goals. These people are also motivated to act to enhance their relationships and connections with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Therefore, taking care of others' feelings and well-being is considered of good value in Chinese culture. The fourth feature of Chinese society is their hierarchical relationships (Cheung et al., 2005). The five hierarchical relationships are between father and son, ruler and ruled, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and friend and friend. In a traditional Chinese family, children are expected to make sacrifices for the needs of their parents and other family members (Cheung et al., 2005).

The fifth feature is that the Chinese family is seen as a unit. Family members are obligated to care for one another (Cheung et al., 2005). According to Oyserman et al. (2002), for collectivistic people, life satisfaction derives from successfully carrying out the social roles and obligations in the group, such as family. Hence, it is necessary to avoid failures that are harmful to the group (Oyserman et al., 2002). For Chinese people, "face" is important for the whole family and individuals (Cheung et al., 2005), and losing face embarrasses the individual and the family. For Chinese families, losing face is a big deal and needs to be prevented (Fong, 1996). Chinese people value their roles in the family and

behave themselves in an effort to maintain a good family reputation. The five features of Chinese people within traditional Chinese culture make them unique.

IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

When children are exposed to two or more cultural contexts and diverse cultural philosophies, they adjust their cultural concepts and may use cultural tools in different ways. For example, African American children must learn to function in both the white and the black realms (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). Their notions of competence must be expanded to include a broader range of adaptive responses beyond the traditional areas of concern and to incorporate additional and alternative abilities, such as the child's ability to function in two or more different cultures and to cope with racism, overt discrimination, and social and psychological segregation. Both culture-specific and bicultural competencies are needed to promote these children's development. Children must learn the codes that are appropriate in both cultures if they are to master the activities that are practiced in each (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). Accordingly, a thorough understanding of the cultural backgrounds of families is important when investigating children's development of social behavior and peer relationships (Chen, 2009; Hinde, 1987). Thus, characteristics of Chinese immigrants are described below.

Chinese Immigrants in the United States

The socialization of Chinese children in immigrant families in the United States varies based on the times they arrived and the places they lived. From the 1850s to World War Two, Chinese immigrant families were often discriminated against. These families adhered to the values of traditional China (Fong, 1992, 1996; Takaki, 1989). After World War Two, the discrimination began to decline, and the next generation of Chinese people who were born in the United States started to adopt more American lifestyles, emulating

features like the nuclear family—a couple and their dependent children. Hence, the socialization of Chinese children was influenced by American culture (Fong, 1996). However, as Fong (1996) stated, those who lived in the cities with Chinatowns, such as San Francisco, New York, Chicago, Seattle, and Boston, maintained their traditional Chinese values. At this point, the goals of socializing Chinese children in the United States were related to fulfilling the social expectations of American and Chinese cultures. The American values of independence and self-realization, as well as the Chinese values of harmony, respect, and obedience, were regarded as essential goals of Chinese children's socialization. First- and second-generation families depended on extended family members to serve as agents of socialization, while third- and fourth-generation Chinese Americans depended more on neighbors or child care centers and after-school programs to help socialize their children. Peers and the media also played an important role in Chinese children's socialization. As a result, third- and fourth-generation Chinese Americans adopted more American thinking than did their first- and second-generation parents and grandparents. Accordingly, the outcomes of socializing Chinese children depend on their level of acculturation (Fong, 1996). Those who have been exposed to more American thinking are socialized with more American standards (Fong, 1996; Uba, 1994).

Adjustment Difficulties

Language

Having a language barrier is the most common problem that is mentioned by the immigrant Chinese because language affects the way they interact with others and express themselves (Sung, 1985). "Language barriers not only affected parental participation in the school system but also contributed to some difficulties in parent–child communication" (Cheng & Koblinsky, 2009, p. 703). Chinese immigrant children grow up in an English-

dominant society. It is a critical issue for them to shift to English speakers and still preserve their heritage language at the same time. Some parents urge their children to shift to English as soon as possible in order to adapt to American society, but others may seek to maintain their heritage language in the next generation (Donghui & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

According to Donghui and Slaughter-Defoe (2009), Confucianism emphasizes family ties; therefore, Chinese parents value close relationships with their children. To reach this goal, communications between parents and children are important. Thus, speaking in a language that both parents and children are proficient and comfortable in is a crucial factor in the parent-child relationship. This is the reason that some Chinese immigrant parents try to maintain their heritage language within their families. Unfortunately, second-generation children usually lack sufficient vocabulary to thoroughly express themselves in Chinese. The main reasons that these immigrant children lose their heritage language are that they seldom have chances to practice the language and that they don't think learning the language is important (Donghui & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

Parents usually are the main Chinese teachers for their children. Unfortunately, working parents have limited time to teach their children Chinese. Although Chinese immigrant parents are willing to spend time, money, and energy to maintain their heritage language, few of their children regard their heritage as important. They don't think learning it is necessary since they seldom use it in their school and social lives in the United States. They even seldom speak Chinese with their peers who also know the language (Donghui & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). The language barrier results in Chinese parents' lack of communication with their children's teachers (Constantino, Cui, & Faltis, 1995). Another gap between Chinese immigrant parents and schools is cultural differences.

Culture differences

Traditional Chinese values of parent-child relationships are affected by Confucianism. The Confucian concept of filial piety emphasizes that children should respect and unconditionally obey their parents' wishes. Parental control and discipline are regarded as being accompanied by love (Cheng & Koblinsky, 2009). According to Chao (1994), Chinese immigrant parents describe their child-rearing ideology as "training," which means a more rigorous teaching. The concepts of the training are that parents have the authority to set a standard for children's appropriate behavior, and parents have the responsibility to teach, discipline, and govern their children (Chao, 1994). In general, respect for elders and for authority is common knowledge and also highly valued in Chinese culture (Sung, 1985).

Moreover, Chinese culture emphasizes education (Ho, 1981). For Chinese people, education is a means for social advancement and wealth (Ho, 1981). Chinese parents also value children's academic achievement. Chinese mothers believe that they should directly intervene in their children's learning (Chao, 1996). Moreover, because the Chinese culture values group well-being and educational achievement, Chinese immigrant parents' communications with schools tend to focus on public affairs, such as school events and benefits, and on their children's academic achievement (Dyson, 2001). Based on the high value placed on parent-child relationships and children's education, Chinese immigrant parents believe that they have the right and the obligation to intervene in their children's education.

IMMIGRANT PARENTS

When talking about human development, family is a main element that has to be considered and should never be overlooked (Lin & Fu, 1990; Shek & Chan, 1999). Family especially plays a crucial role in immigrant children's adaptation (Athey & Ahearn, 1991).

Children's actions are influenced by the concepts held by the adults around them (Vygotsky, 1978). Parents are the main caregivers of children, and accordingly, parents' concepts of sharing and their childrearing strategies are crucial factors affecting children's concepts and displays of sharing. "Parenting is a goal-oriented activity, with cultural conceptions of desirable development setting the goals and prescribing the means" (LeVine, 2000, p. 5). Parents in different cultures may have different ideas about childrearing. Therefore, in addition to examining gender differences, examining parents' childrearing attitudes and beliefs in different cultures is another way to understand children's sharing behavior in those cultures.

A mother is an infant's primary caregiver and also the major source of her stimulation (New, 1988). Both studies with Western and Asian samples tend to investigate mothers' childrearing attitudes and beliefs. For instance, as for children's social interactions, Bornstein (1995) found that Japanese and American mothers respond to their infants differently. Japanese mothers maintain the dyadic interaction between themselves and infants with eye-to-eye contact, while American mothers use the contact to promote extradyadic interactions (Bornstein, 1995). This implies that American mothers encourage infants to interact with people other than their mothers, and more social interactions may result in more sharing behaviors.

In terms of sharing or cooperating with others, mothers in different cultures have different childrearing strategies. Mosier and Rogoff (2003) examined middle-class American (Salt Lake City, Utah) and Mayan mothers' childrearing concepts. They found that American middle-class toddlers seem to be expected to share like their older peers do. As for cooperation, Mayan mothers tend not to force their toddlers to be cooperative with their mothers; instead, they persuade them and allow their objections. However, Salt Lake mothers tend to compel their toddlers to follow the mothers' guidance. They tend to ask

their toddlers (one-year-olds) to follow the same rules as their older siblings do, such as sharing equally. Children are encouraged to negotiate to divide property or to take turns using it. Therefore, three- to five-year-old children in Salt Lake are capable of negotiating rules of turn taking and sharing even without being forced by adults (Mosier & Rogoff, 2003). Accordingly, compared to Mayan children, Salt Lake children may be more capable of negotiating with others and displaying more spontaneous sharing. Mayan children may display fewer sharing behaviors because they don't think that cooperating with others is necessary.

Cheah and Rubin (2003) examined children's sharing and helping behaviors as well as their emotional control to investigate mothers' beliefs about children's socialization. They suggested that "sharing with others, emotion regulation among peers, and helping others are valued skills in both European American and Mainland Chinese cultures" (Cheah & Rubin, 2003, p. 3). However, when it comes to the importance of acquiring these skills, parents' beliefs are different between the two cultures. Chinese mothers think that it is essential for children to share, help, and control their emotions to fit into the society, while European American mothers think that these behaviors are developmentally feasible for their children. Mainland Chinese mothers think that children's displaying these social skills is more influenced by environment (such as education) than by children's internal attributional causes (such as readiness or maturation). Therefore, Chinese parents tend to make sure that their children explore in an environment with positive models, including parents themselves, teachers, siblings, and peers. Compared to Mainland Chinese mothers, European mothers tend to use modeling to teach their children these skills, while Chinese mothers tend to use direct instructions (Cheah & Rubin, 2003).

Moreover, in mainland China, Confucian concepts of family and person-to-person relationships have influenced people's views on such issues as filial piety, parental control,

child obedience, respect for elders, negotiating conflicts, and so on (Lin & Fu, 1990). Confucian ideologies promote harmony and cohesiveness of groups, so teachers in the kindergartens in mainland China emphasize helping and sharing (Orlick, Zhou, & Partington, 1990). Even among Chinese Americans, Chinese immigrant parents teach their children to care for others. For them, obedience is valued, especially in terms of respect for elders and authority. These immigrant Chinese parents think that, in the United States, children should be taught these virtues because the Western environment does not provide sufficient resources for their children to acquire these virtues (Lieber, Kazuo, & Mink, 2004).

HELPING IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN SCHOOL SETTINGS

Schools can play a role in helping immigrant parents with the difficulties they face. Due to the increasing number of immigrant families with young children, preschool teachers welcome more children from other nations into their classrooms. Early childhood educators have encountered challenges in designing relationships, environments, curricula, assessments, and instruction for children (McNaughton, 2001; Sohn & Wang, 2006). Understanding the challenges that immigrant families face helps teachers to be sensitive to the needs of all ethnically diverse populations (Bollin, 2007).

According to Adair and Barraza (2014), immigrant parents were concerned about their English language abilities and their capacity to help with school work. They also worried whether their children were ready for kindergarten since there were no teachers there who spoke their heritage languages. NAEYC (2005) recommended that teachers actively honor diverse family values and traditions and support children's language development, including their home languages and English. In addition to having translators in parent-teacher conferences and translating newsletters, teachers are encouraged to ask

parents to share their thoughts about how their classrooms compare to those in their original countries. Immigrant parents consider teachers who attempt to speak some of their heritage language as supportive and respectful of the immigrant community. They appreciate teachers' greeting them with simple words or sentences in their home languages. To learn them, teachers can consult with the immigrant children in their classrooms and conduct activities in learning centers (Marinak, Strickland, & Keat 2010; Adair & Barraza, 2014). Also, asking immigrant parents about their children instead of merely explaining the content of the curriculum or school policies recognizes parents' role as the expert on their children. Actively inviting immigrant parents to be volunteers in the classroom makes them feel welcomed and will make them more confident about participating in their children's learning. Welcoming immigrant parents to share their knowledge about their children, inviting them to visit the classroom, and helping them better understand what their children are learning in the class helps them become more involved in their children's education and strengthens the parent–school relationship (Adair & Barraza, 2014). Moreover, teachers should be patient with both immigrant children and immigrant parents. Mexican immigrant parents expressed that they wished their children's preschool teachers would be very patient with their children because those children don't understand English. Also, being patient with immigrant parents helps to build positive teacher–parent relationships. The immigrant parents suggested that teachers could help immigrant children learn English in a kind way without pushing them too hard (Adair & Barraza, 2014). Accordingly, to facilitate parent–school communication and help teachers provide better instructions for immigrant children, several approaches provide guidance for early childhood educators, such as the color-blind approach, celebrating diversity, and an antiracist pedagogy (Boutte, Lopez-Robertson, & Powers-Costello, 2011; Derman-Sparks & Edwards 2010; Doucet & Adair, 2013). Doucet and Adair (2013) described features of these pedagogies. The color-

blind approach indicates that all children are the same regardless of their skin colors, an approach that emphasizes sameness. What people have in common is what matters, not their differences. However, avoiding racialized talk does not make children color-blind since children construct concepts of identity outside the classroom. The celebrating diversity approach suggests that teachers provide diverse pictures and storybooks in the classroom. Special events, days, and foods are introduced and celebrated. This approach also fosters silence about racism because it focuses only on the joys of differences and not on the challenges that people encounter in real life (Doucet & Adair, 2013).

The antiracist pedagogy addresses and guides children to share their experiences with differences among people, including skin color and inequities. Children can talk about what they have noticed and express their feelings about their experiences (Husband, 2010; Ryan & Hyland, 2010; Doucet & Adair, 2013). "Anti-racist pedagogy helps children understand how racial oppression works not only by celebrating differences, but also by highlighting the complex interrelationship between power, difference, and inequity" (Doucet & Adair, 2013, p. 91). In this pedagogy, antiracist conversations take place in a community of trust. Children are comfortable with asking questions, and all the questions are carefully listened to with respect. By asking related questions to prompt reflection, teachers scaffold children's understanding to reach an atmosphere in which all students are free to express their thoughts. All topics of the conversations are discussed deeply and honestly from multiple angles. Teachers who use this approach need ongoing professional development and must be well prepared with relative knowledge. Families and communities are welcomed to be involved in the conversations. "Teachers are consistent and caring, hold high expectations, respect families, and are therefore respected in return" (Doucet & Adair, 2013, p. 96).

CULTURE AND PRETEND PLAY

"Culture is an important influence on children's play" (Mariano, Welteroth, & Johnson, 1999, p. 189). Play activities interactively relate to the society and the cultural factors (Caillois, 1992; Botsoglou & Kakana, 2003). Children reproduce social and cultural values as well as rules in their play (Germanos, 1993). According to Sutton-Smith (1979), members of a particular culture convey and teach appropriate cultural values, norms, and skills to their children. For children, this socialization practice shapes their play (Sutton-Smith, 1979). That is to say, cultural socialization practice determines children's play preferences within cultures (Greenfield & Cocking, 1994; Johnson, Christie, & Yawkey, 1999; Mariano et al., 1999). The environment they are exposed to and the people they interact with influence children's play preferences and behaviors (Johnson et al., 1999). Thus, social pretend play is shaped by cultural values and norms. It's a type of routine social interaction, and it varies across cultural communities (Göncü, Mistry, & Mosier, 2000).

Since play helps children adopt and assimilate social values (Germanos, 1993), immigrant children have opportunities to assimilate the elements of their original culture heritages and enrich them with new ones in play (Germanos, 1993). For example, Mariano and colleagues (1999) examined how Japanese culture influences Japanese children's social play in the United States through teacher questionnaires. The teachers taught preschool, primary school, or English as a second language (ESL) in New Jersey, and they completed the questionnaires based on their observations of the children in their current classes. The results demonstrated that Japanese children engage in social play that reflected their cultural value orientation of interdependence. For instance, Japanese children tend to play together and value group cohesion. They don't want to be separated from the group; instead, they are happy to be part of it. Compared to American children, who tend to engage

in team sports frequently, Japanese children prefer more creative, artistic, and organized fine motor play (Mariano et al., 1999). Therefore, culture influences children's play, and play reflects children's cultural values. To understand Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in an American cultural context, it is necessary to examine the features of Chinese culture and Chinese immigrants.

SHARING MANIFESTED IN CHINESE CULTURE

Researchers have identified several significant characteristics in Chinese and American cultures in terms of sharing. In Chinese culture, since Confucius emphasizes interrelatedness and kindness (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), children are taught to be kind and generous to others. They are also taught to respect their elders (Greenfield, 2000), including older siblings and adults. Moreover, children strive "to achieve the goals of others, such as family and teachers, with whom they are reciprocally interdependent" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 241). In addition, the most common type of guilt reported by Chinese people results from hurting others psychologically (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), so children may share to prevent hurting others' feelings.

Another factor is the quality of relationships among children. In Confucian ideology, person-to-person relationships are important components of life. In Chinese society, maintaining good relationships with others is one of the good virtues. People share more when they have good relationships with the recipients (Ma & Leung, 1992). Accordingly, children may share more with their peers who are close friends than with others. Similarly, Ma (1985, 1989) stated that Chinese sharers display altruistic behavior according to their relationships with the recipients. Several studies support the above findings in that they demonstrate that children share more frequently with friends than with acquaintances. For example, Liu and Hay (1986) indicated that preschoolers share more

with friends than with strangers and that children display more sharing behaviors with people they like than with people they dislike (Liu & Hay, 1986). This evidence illustrates how the relationships among people influence their sharing behaviors in the Chinese culture.

Chinese culture emphasizes attending to others, fitting in, and maintaining harmonious interdependence with others. In contrast, American culture neither assumes nor values overt connectedness among individuals. People in American culture seek to maintain their independence from others by attending to the self. They discover and express their unique inner attributes (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This may lead people to develop different sharing motivations or sharing behaviors. For example, Rao and Stewart (1999) found that Asian (Chinese and Indian) children shared more frequently and shared more food than American children. Asian children also exhibit more spontaneous sharing behaviors than American children. American children actively ask for what they want and display more elicited sharing (the sharer gives something to the recipient at the request of the recipient) than do Asian children (Rao & Stewart, 1999). Many researchers have tried to find more specific explanations for these phenomena.

To sum up, children's sharing behavior is affected by cultural philosophy (e.g., Confucian ideology) and relationships between the sharers and the recipients. Chinese children consider teachers as the highest authorities in the classroom and are taught to respect teachers' guidance. They may share to prevent hurting someone's feelings and to sustain person-to-person relationships. They may also share to avoid conflicts and maintain group harmony. However, no research about sharing has examined Chinese immigrant children. There is no evidence to demonstrate whether immigrant children adhere to their original cultural philosophies as they are exposed to a new culture. What the Chinese immigrant children share and how they share in American contexts are still unknown.

These questions need to be answered to enhance our understandings of these children and their sharing in play so that we can help them involve themselves in the new culture appropriately.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN SHARING

Gender differences in sharing are a significant feature in research with both Western and Asian samples. Findings in American studies show that males and females have different concepts of social behaviors in terms of sharing. For example, Burford et al. (1996) indicated that girls are more likely to negotiate than boys when interacting with others, while boys tend to display coercive behavior. In boy-girl dyads, boys were more assertive with girls than with other boys, more girls than boys shared, and more boys than girls took an additional object without the agreement of the other child (Burford et al., 1996).

Berndt (1981) demonstrated that boys shared more objects or toys with acquaintances than with friends, which suggests that boys compete with their friends more. However, girls showed no significant differences in their treatment of friends and acquaintances (Berndt, 1981). The girls in Berndt's (1981) study said that they would share more with their friends than acquaintances, and the boys said that they would share equally with friends and acquaintances. This study suggested that girls have more intimate and exclusive friendships than boys even if they are not aware of it. Only boys' behaviors were affected by their relationships between friends (Berndt, 1981). However, some articles indicated that girls distinguish friends and acquaintances more clearly than boys do. Girls are also closer with their friends than boys are, but girls exclude nonfriends more than boys do (Eder & Hallman, 1978; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). The different findings among studies may result from the different methodologies used and the ages of the samples,

however. On the other hand, gender differences were also found in studies with Chinese samples. Ma's (1985) study included both Chinese and English samples. Female participants from both cultural backgrounds were more altruistically oriented than were male subjects. The author concluded that females display more sharing behaviors than males in both of these cultures.

In addition, Burford et al. (1996) hypothesized that boys and girls display different prosocial behaviors because of gender-role stereotypes. Due to the enforcement from people around them, children internalize the "appropriate actions" for their gender (Burford et al., 1996). For example, girls in certain cultures may be expected to be more altruistic than boys. Because sharing may look different for boys and girls when contrasting the meanings of "appropriate actions" in different cultures, we are likely to find varying interpretations. Therefore, children from different cultural backgrounds may exhibit different sharing behaviors, and gender differences provide one of the specific contexts in which to examine sharing.

SUMMARY

Vygotsky and Corsaro provide a theoretical framework for children's play and peer culture. Both of them asserted that children learn through social interaction, leading to the conclusion that play is a proper context in which to explore children's social competence, including sharing behavior. Vygotsky demonstrated that children learn to share through interacting with people around them. What is shared in peer interactions is crucial in enhancing children's cognitive and behavioral developments. Children share knowledge and understanding in their ZPDs using various cultural tools of thought. They construct different concepts about sharing and display sharing behaviors influenced by the cultures they are exposed to. Among social interactions, play provides a context in which children

learn and employ their cultural tools of thought regarding sharing. Hence, investigating children's sharing behaviors in pretend play helps us understand cultural differences among their displayed sharing behaviors. Corsaro's theories about peer culture also provide a clear foundation that children share in peer pretend play and learn how to gain control of their lives. Gender differences were also mentioned in Corsaro's theory. Girls and boys learn how to act in their real lives through peer play. Exploring children's social conversations reveal the social statuses of the players in peer culture; examining the sharing strategies that children use, including verbal communications, and what they share in social pretend play helps us better understand children's sharing behaviors.

Social pretend play provides a context for children to learn and practice cognitive and social competences. In order to maintain the play scenario, children negotiate and share knowledge and experiences. They transition into and out of pretend play frames using language tools. Moreover, children not only share concrete objects in social pretend play but also employ shared meanings and knowledge, understandings, as well as negotiation. Of more importance, culture plays a central role in the development of individuals' inner and outer selves, emotional experiences, and behaviors. Different cultures explain sharing behaviors in different ways. Children learn and display culturally relative behaviors in their play. Chinese children are taught to be kind and generous, to respect elders, and to maintain good social relations. The sharing behaviors of Chinese immigrants, however, have not been studied thoroughly.

Vygotsky's and Corsaro's concepts provide the basis of the design of the current study. Since sharing is an essential element in peer culture, investigating children's sharing behaviors in their social pretend play reveals their social competence and social acceptance in their peer groups. Because children construct culturally relative knowledge and

understanding through interacting with peers in social play within their ZPDs, the knowledge and understandings they share in social pretend play should be explored.

Culture plays an important role in children's development. Adults, including parents and teachers, around them scaffold their cognitive and behavioral developments. Immigrant parents encounter language and cultural difficulties, but several education approaches were employed in US school settings to help immigrant children and their families overcome these obstacles. However, because US educators lack a deep understanding of Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors and their parents' views about their children's sharing, they are not equipped to provide better guidance for this group. Findings of this study will provide knowledge of Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors and assist parents and teachers in facilitating the children's social interactions with peers in school.

Chapter 3: Methodology

RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative Case Study

To study Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in a preschool classroom, a qualitative case study was conducted. Since no research has examined Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play and little is known about this topic, a qualitative methodology is particularly useful, especially because the research is considered exploratory in nature (Creswell, 2008). Qualitative inquiry is particularly needed when the topic has never been explored with a particular group of people or sample and existing theories have never been applied to the sample (Morse, 1994). The goal of the qualitative inquiry is to obtain rich, in-depth information and meanings of phenomena (Isibor, 2008; Lim, 2008) in order to interpret participants' behaviors. A qualitative research design involves placing a researcher in the field, making observations, exercising subjective judgments, analyzing, synthesizing, and making conclusions to maximize the opportunity for gaining new knowledge (Stake, 1995). Also, because this study examines six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior in their free social pretend play, a qualitative research approach that allows investigators to understand social phenomena and to recognize the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Yin, 2009) is needed. Furthermore, case studies are "intensive descriptions and analyses of a single unit or bounded system such as an individual, event, group, intervention, or community" (Merriam, 1998, p. 19). According to Yin (2009), when "how" or "why" questions are being addressed, when the investigator of the study has little control over the events, and when the focus of the study is a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context, a case study is appropriate to employ (Yin, 2009). Accordingly, to obtain rich information to

answer the research questions of this study, I observed 20 children in their social pretend play for two months, including six Chinese immigrant children; interviewed the Chinese parents; and interviewed the three classroom teachers.

SETTING AND PARTICIPANTS

Setting

The site in which I observed was a preschool classroom with 20 children, including six Chinese immigrant children, who were three to five years old. This class was in a private child development center located in Central Texas. The site was chosen because of the proportion of Chinese immigrants. Located near Chinatown, many Chinese immigrants live in the community. Based on the directors' description, every school year, more than 20% of the children enrolled in the school are Chinese immigrant children. Most of the Chinese parents work in Chinatown. Some of the Chinese families don't live in the nearby communities but enroll their children in this school because of its Chinese population. These parents want their children to have more Chinese friends in school.

Each classroom was equipped with learning centers, and children explored them during Center Time. A dramatic play center, block center, computer center, library center, cozy center, manipulative center, and art center were set up in the classroom. (See Figure 1 for the classroom layout.) Children were free to explore the centers after arriving at the classroom in the morning. They were also encouraged to explore at least one learning center during Center Time, which was scheduled from 9:30 to 10:20 in the morning and 3:45 to 4:15 in the afternoon. I observed children in the classroom from 9:00 to 10:30 in the morning and sometimes also observed them in the afternoon Center Time. Of the 20 children, there were 5 five-year-olds, 11 four-year-olds, and 4 three-year-olds in this class. Among the four- and five-year-olds, there were 8 Asian children (6 Mandarin speakers and

2 Vietnamese speaker), 5 biracial children, 2 Hispanic children, and 1 African American child. Five of the Chinese immigrant children were four to five years old; only one child was three years old when the observation began and turned four halfway through the observation session.

The class had two main teachers: Ms. T spoke English and Chinese, while Ms. M spoke English and Spanish. The third teacher, Ms. L, was an assistant who could speak Mandarin, Cantonese, and English. The main language used in the classroom was English. The teachers didn't teach Chinese or Spanish in their class, but they did sometimes speak the languages to children who understood them.

The Dramatic Play Center was equipped with child-sized furniture, including tables, chairs, sofas, a shelf, a refrigerator, a stove, an oven, a washer, a doll bed, a standing mirror, and a clothes rack. (See Figure 2 for the Dramatic Play Center layout.) Two infant dolls were placed on the doll bed, and kitchen and dining utensils were put on the shelf or in the drawers at the lower level of the stove. Clothes, blankets, hats, bags, shoes, and costumes of a doctor, firefighter, policeman, princess, witch, and pumpkin were placed in the washer and clothes rack. A toy medical tool set was placed on the shelf, and six blankets of various sizes and colors were provided. Food props could be found in the refrigerator and on the shelf. Children could freely move the tables, chairs, and sofa during Center Time, but they were asked to return all the materials to their original locations after playing. No books or toy cars were available in this center.

Children entered the class as early as 7 a.m. The center provided breakfast from 7 to 8:30 a.m. in the classroom. After finishing breakfast, children could explore the learning centers. Teachers provided various materials in the Art Center for children to make their own crafts if they want. Sometimes teachers helped children to complete crafts they hadn't finished the day before in their class activities. Children read in Library Center and took

turns playing interactive video games on the computer. The Manipulative Center and Block Center were always full of conversations and noise. Those who wanted to be quiet would lay down on foam pads in the Cozy Center or talk with their friends sitting in spots around the center. Since parents were asked to sign their children in upon entering the classroom, parents came into the classroom with children during arrival time, greeting and having conversations with teachers. I also talked to parents during this period of time as a way of conducting informal interviews. At 9 a.m., the teachers reminded children to clean up and gather in the Center Time area. Singing songs, rhyming, dancing, and reading stories were common activities during Center Time. If a child had brought something special, such as three caterpillars caught in the garden, the child would be invited to share with the group. During this time, children kept arriving and joining the group. Then, children were free to explore the centers again. The lead teacher usually announced the names of the centers one by one to see how many children wanted to play in each one. If more than five children chose the same center at a time, she persuaded some to choose other centers or just picked five of them. Then, Center Time was quite the same as arrival time. Children entered a learning center and then changed to another one that contained fewer than five children. Materials in each center were generally not allowed to be brought outside of the center. However, because some centers were reciprocal, such as the Block Center and the Dramatic Play Center, children sometimes took materials from one to the other, such as a long brick from the Block Center to the Dramatic Play Center, pretending it was a sword. Teachers allowed this as long as it didn't cause arguments or result in too much noise. If conflicts occurred, teachers would remind children to put the materials back in their original spots.

With teachers' reminder ten minutes prior to the end of Center Time, children began to clean up, go to the toilet, and then line up to go outdoors. After teachers made sure that every center was cleaned up and every child was ready for outdoor play, they walked out

to playground and played till it was time for lunch at 11:30 a.m. I usually left around 12 p.m., when most children had finished their lunch and were preparing for naptime. The course schedule is as follows:

7:00–8:30	Arrivals/Center Time
8:30–9:00	Breakfast/Center Time/Self-selected activities
9:00–9:30	Center Time
9:30–10:20	Circle Time/Small group/Center Time
10:20–10:30	Wash hands/Transition to outdoor
10:30–11:00	Outdoor play/Transition
11:00–11:30	Hand washing for lunch/Games and songs
11:30–12:15	Lunch
12:15–12:30	Quiet reading/Getting ready for nap
12:30–2:30	Naptime
2:30–3:15	Potty/Snack time
3:15–3:45	Afternoon Circle Time/Small group activities
3:45–4:15	Center Time
4:15–4:30	Potty/Transition to outdoor play
4:30–5:00	Outdoor play
5:00–5:30	Self-selected activities
5:30–5:45	Small evening snack
5:45–6:30	Self-selected activities/Departures

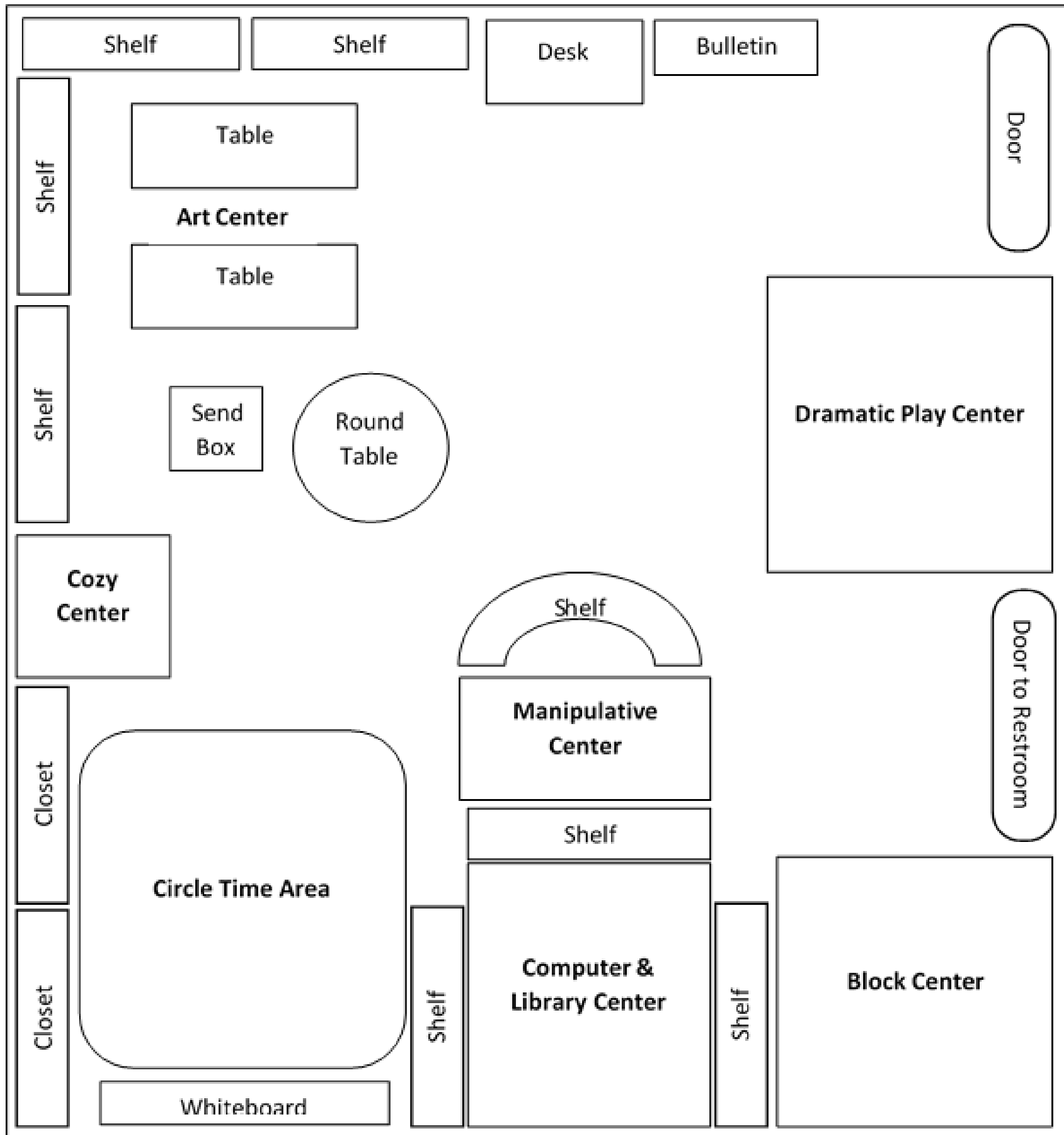

Figure 1: Classroom Layout

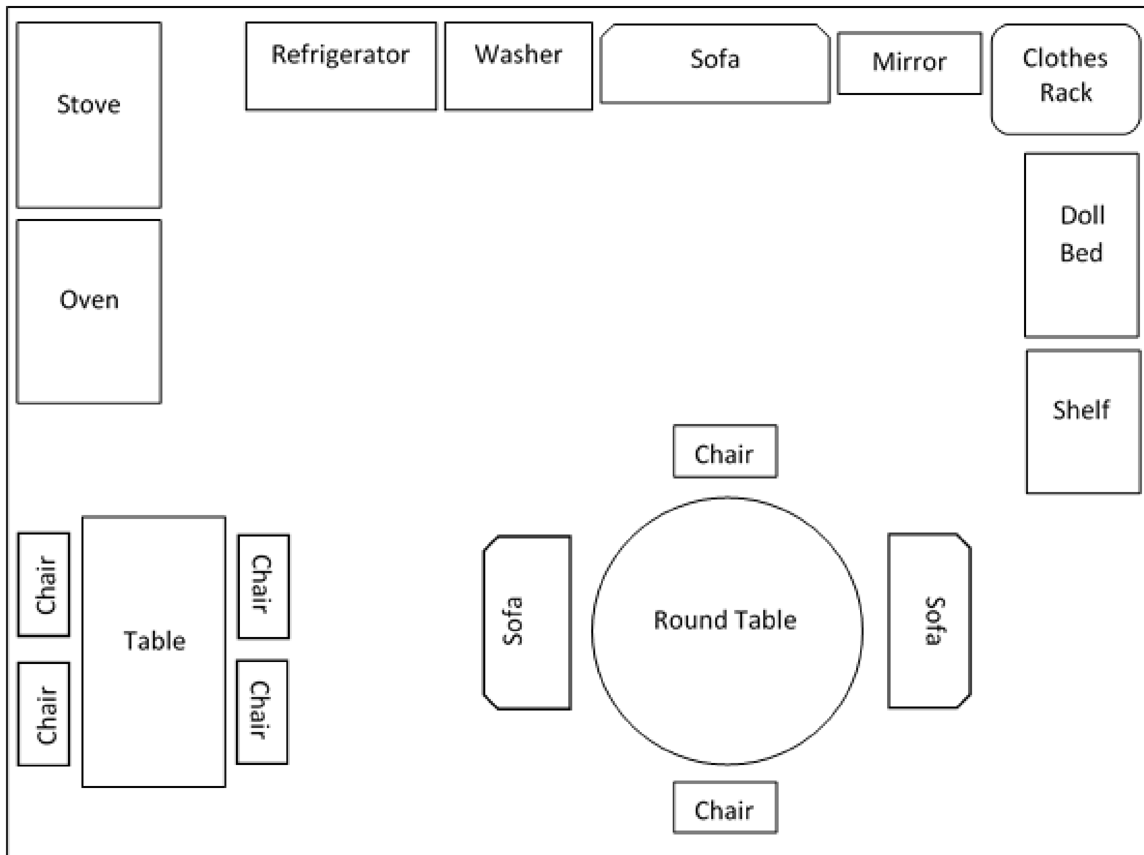

Figure 2: Dramatic Play Center Layout

The Participants

Children in the class whose parents consented to participate in this study were recruited. Fourteen non-Chinese immigrant children's parents agreed to participate. Four Chinese immigrant boys (Ken, Kevin, Noah, and Tom) and two Chinese immigrant girls (Maggie and Yolanda) participated, and their parents were also recruited. These Chinese immigrant children were from families with Chinese backgrounds, their parents coming from Mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. The criteria that determined qualification

as a Chinese immigrant family is that the parents were born outside of the United States and their children were born in America or came to America with their parents at a very young age. As for the subjects of this study, all six of the Chinese immigrant children were born in the United States, and none of the Chinese parents were native to the United States. They were born in their original countries and immigrated to the United States as students or employees. All six of the Chinese immigrant children had attended the school for more than two years. Ken, Noah, Maggie, and Yolanda had been enrolled in the school since they were one and a half years old, while Kevin and Tom had gone to the school for two years. As for their language preferences, Ken and Yolanda spoke Cantonese and Mandarin; Kevin and Noah spoke Mandarin; Maggie understood Cantonese and Mandarin but spoke English only; and Tom spoke Mandarin only.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

To examine the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play, Chinese immigrant parents' and teachers' descriptions about the children's sharing were investigated. Children were observed in their classroom on a daily basis, and parents as well as teachers were interviewed. Informal interviews were also conducted with parents and teachers during observations. Children's conversations and behaviors were video recorded. Field notes and my personal reflection journal were maintained to help me monitor my observation process.

Gaining Entrance

Before any data collection occurred, I visited the school and described the purposes and procedure of this study to the child-care director as well as the classroom teachers. Consent forms regarding the observation and video recording of children were distributed to all parents of the students in the class one month prior to the first observation. Only those

who signed the consent forms were recruited as the participants in the study and were observed and interviewed. Consent forms in English were available to teachers. The consent forms for Chinese immigrant parents of the child participants and the parent interviews were provided in both English and Chinese.

For the children, including the Chinese immigrants and their peers, parents received the consent forms, which included my contact information in case of questions. Parents were asked to sign and return the forms to school with the children, who then gave the forms to their teachers. The teachers passed them along to me. All children, whether they were participants or not, were introduced to me, and my presence in the classroom was explained by the teachers, who essentially said, "She is here to learn about what we are playing." Children were invited to ask questions about the project and then encouraged to ignore my presence in their classroom. Only children whose parents gave permission were observed and video recorded. However, since the study examines children's sharing behavior in their social interactions, it was impossible to avoid video recording those children without consent forms. Hence, all scenes including children without consent forms were deleted right away, and the data was not used.

Observations

Preliminary observation

Before the official observation session, I observed the class in general to understand how exactly the schedule worked in the classroom and to decide on the locations for the video recorders. In order to capture the best-quality recordings of children's conversations and movements, one recorder was set up in a spot where it did not disturb children's play but where it could still capture most of the children's movements and conversations around it.

During the preliminary observation section, I usually sat in a corner of the classroom or in the Dramatic Play Center. Sometimes children came to me and talked with me. I accepted the invitations from children to talk or play with them for a while. By interacting with them, I became familiar with children's names, language preferences, and friends they usually played with. In Center Time, I basically played as an onlooker and observed children to capture as much of children's behaviors in social pretend play as possible. Besides Center Time, such as in arrival time and transition time, I interacted with children and spoke with their parents. I also talked to teachers frequently to gain information about all the children. Teachers introduced me and helped me get in contact with parents for consent forms and parent interviews.

The preliminary observation session helped me identify general characteristics of the Chinese immigrant children and the peers they usually played with. I also understood more about the Chinese immigrants' family backgrounds and teachers' experiences with working with Chinese immigrant children and communicating with their parents. The preliminary observation session also helped me smoothly engage in the official observation sessions and gain the trust of parents as well as teachers, consequently helping me successfully make appointments for parent and teacher interviews and embolden them to talk about sharing during interviews.

Official observations

Observations are used to directly witness participants' behaviors (Wang, Wiley, & Zhou, 2007). To accurately assess children's social competence, observation is necessary and needs to be conducted weekly for each child (Pellegrini & Glickman, 1990). During observations, I kept "a good record of events to provide a relatively incontestable description for further analysis and ultimate reporting" (Stake, 1995, p. 62) to reveal the

complexity of children's sharing behaviors. To reach this goal, I not only made digital recordings of the entire Center Time sessions but also kept watching children outside of the centers to see if sharing was occurring in the classroom. I reviewed the films and field notes every day, and I wrote personal reflection journal entries in response to the films and field notes. This helped me adjust my focus during the observation sessions and triggered me to think about relative questions to ask teachers and parents. Children recruited in this study were observed during Center Time for 50 minutes a day on five days a week for two months. Observations were conducted from 9:30 to 10:20 a.m. Chinese immigrant children's pretend play with peers, including non-Chinese peers and Chinese peers, was recorded by digital video recorders in the classroom. I took a digital video recorder and followed the targeted Chinese immigrant children in the classroom. In order to catch detailed information regarding participants' play interactions and sharing behaviors, the entire observation session was video recorded. Basically, I continually made films in the Dramatic Play Center, but if the Chinese immigrant children shared outside of that center while I was filming, I would keep recording the scene in the Dramatic Play Center and observe the outside scene. After the outside scene was done, I would write down what I had seen in my field notes.

All social interactions that the Chinese immigrant children displayed kept my attention, especially those involving imaginary play. I filmed and wrote down all scenes that the Chinese immigrant children were engaged in and that displayed social pretend play. The scenes that included children who were not participating in this study were deleted, and those that didn't involve social pretend play were also deleted.

Field Notes and Reflection Journal

While observing, field notes were taken to document children's physical movements and incidents related to their sharing behaviors. A personal reflection journal entry was written after every observation, and the content of the field notes was included in the journal. Each time, the targeted children who were video recorded, the centers they went into, and the peer(s) they interacted with were described in the reflection journal. This journal was used as a reference for adjusting the researcher's focus on certain targeted children. For example, if a targeted child was observed less than other targeted children, the child was then focused on more in future observations. When certain children displayed significant behaviors, they were followed so that more data about their behaviors could be collected.

Moreover, informal, conversational interviews with parents were also recorded as part of my reflection journal, and notes were taken immediately following the conversations. Information acquired from the informal conversations helped me understand children's behaviors and cultural backgrounds.

Semistructured Interview

Interviews are interactional encounters (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Through the conversation between an interviewer and interviewee (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008), interviewing is a commonly used qualitative research method to generate rich insights and understandings (Rowley, Jones, Vassiliou, & Hanna, 2012). In a semistructured interview, the interviewer has a series of preestablished questions to cover (Bryman, 2001). However, "there is flexibility in the order in which questions may be asked, and the interviewer may ask additional questions in response to what she or he perceives to be significant or interesting comments from the interviewee" (Rowley et al., 2012, p. 95). Mainly, open questions are asked in semistructured interviews; however, some closed questions may be

included also (Rowley et al., 2012). Accordingly, semistructured interviews enhance the gathering of richer data (Bryman, 2001; Rowley et al., 2012) since they are more flexible than structured interviews. Parent and teacher interviews were conducted to acquire rich information about the six Chinese immigrant children's family backgrounds and sharing experiences inside as well as outside of the classroom. Their concepts about sharing and descriptions of the Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors were also investigated during the interviews.

Parent interviews

Since culture influences children's sharing behaviors, understanding their original cultural background was essential. Also, children construct their concepts of sharing through interacting with people around them, their family members scaffold their sharing behaviors, and activities they are usually involved in provide them with sharing experiences. Thus, interviewing targeted children's parents to acquire information about children's cultural and family backgrounds is important. Moreover, because Chinese immigrants have diverse socialization and immigration processes, when consulting with an individual who comes from the Chinese culture, it is essential to know the views of the individual's family members (Fong, 1996). Understanding children's family immigration histories helps us explain their sharing behaviors. Therefore, to understand the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing experiences at home and in school as well as their family background information, six parents of the Chinese children (one parent for each child) were interviewed once, separate from others, in an empty classroom or a conference room of the school during the observation section.

The mothers or fathers of the six Chinese immigrant children were interviewed for three main purposes. The first purpose was to learn their immigration history, including

the original countries or provinces the parents came from and how they immigrated to the United States. Parents were asked to describe the process of their immigration to the United States and the reasons they have stayed, but they had the right to refuse to answer any of the questions. The second purpose of the interview was to acquire family background information, including family members, heritage language, children's schooling and sharing experiences, and interactions among siblings and friends. Third, parents' views about sharing and their beliefs about children's education were discussed. This information helped me interpret the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. The interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed to written records. The parent interview questions were as follows.

Immigration Background

- Where do you originally come from? Could you talk about your life in your hometown?
- When did you come to the United States? Did your family and children come with you? Tell me about your immigration process.
- How long have you been in the United States? Why have you stayed?

Family Background

- How many family members are there in your family? Tell me about them.
- Do you have other relatives around you or living in the United States? Please tell me about your relationships with them. Do your children play with them?
- How old are your children? Where were they born?
- Did they attend other schools before going to this school? Could you talk about their schooling history?
- Please talk about your view on your children's play at home and at other places.

Sharing

- When it comes to sharing, what do you think of?
- How do your children's sharing behaviors happen at home? Do you notice anything special about their sharing?
- If someone refuses to share with your child, how do you think your child should respond?
- If your child refuses to share with someone, what will you do?
- Have you noticed any change after your child started attending this school?
- Do you know how the teachers teach sharing in this school? Please talk about this.
- Based on your experiences, is there any difference between Chinese children and non-Chinese children in their sharing behaviors?

Teacher interviews

To understand teachers' views about children's sharing behaviors in pretend play, three teachers were interviewed separately: two head teachers and one assistant. All of these teachers were separately interviewed once at the end of the observation session. Through interviewing teachers, I learned more about the Chinese immigrant children regarding their social interactions in the classroom before I knew them. Teachers' descriptions of these children also revealed the teachers' views about the Chinese immigrant children and their parents. Their descriptions of the Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors was also the main focus during the interviews. The teacher interview questions are listed below.

Teacher's Background and Her Concepts about Sharing

- How long have you been a teacher in preschool? And how long have you been teaching in this school?

- When does sharing happen frequently in your class? (*Sharing* here means sharing concrete material, such as food, toys, and so on.)

- What strategies do you use to facilitate children's sharing behavior in the class? (Activities/books/role play/classroom arrangement, etc.)

- Under what circumstances would you intervene in children's interactions to guide them to share?

- Do you notice any interesting phenomena related to sharing in children's pretend play? Please talk about this.

Sharing and Chinese Immigrant Children

- There are several Chinese students in your class. Did you notice that they faced any difficulties when they first came into your classroom—for example, language or behavior problems?

- Do you think immigrant children tend to share with children who are from the same country or who speak the same language? Could you talk about this?

- Do the Chinese children have any difficulties sharing with other children? Please tell me what you think.

- When children's sharing requests are rejected, some children can handle it by themselves, and some tend to ask teachers for help. Do you notice any special features among Chinese children? Please talk about this.

- Based on your experience, what strategies can help Chinese immigrant children to share?

Chinese Parents

- Have you noticed any differences between Chinese immigrant parents and non-Chinese parents in terms of the concept of sharing?

- How do you think the parents' concepts about sharing would affect their children's sharing behaviors?

Data Transcription

Data sources including field notes from observations in classrooms, my reflection journal, video recordings of children's interactions during Center Time, audio recordings of parent and teacher interviews, and transcripts of these digital data were all transcribed into written documents. Video recording, which I used as a memory aid during observations, was used to support my accuracy in field notes. I transcribed children's physical movements, facial expressions (e.g., smile, frown), and verbal expressions in terms of sharing behaviors shown in the videos. Only scenes related to the topic of this study were selected and transcribed.

Digital recordings of children's verbal conversations were transcribed word by word by an English-speaking transcriber. Chinese recordings were transcribed into Chinese first and then translated into English by me, and the Chinese–English translations were double checked by a person who is familiar with both Chinese and English. Then, the data were back-translated (Brislin, 1980) by another person who is familiar with both languages to make sure that the translations were correctly interpreted. After the transcription process, data were coded into several themes in terms of children's sharing behaviors and cultural differences.

Data Analysis

Qualitative methods were used to analyze all data, including transcriptions, field notes, and the reflection journal. Data were analyzed through three phases. The first was the transcription and coding phase, in which data were transcribed and translated, and the transcriptions were imported into the qualitative research software HyperRESEARCH. The categories of the codes were mainly generated from literature. Ideas based on the field notes and the reflection journal were also included. Codes were organized as main codes and subcodes, listed in Table 1 to Table 7. When importing codes into the

HyperRESEARCH software, I used Adair's (2009) format of coding framework. I gave each code and subcode a HyperRESEARCH code instead of its full code. Definitions were also listed for every code and subcode. (See Appendix A for coding framework.)

Table 1: Layers of coding theme #1: Language

Code	Subcode—Layer 1	Subcode—Layer 2	Subcode—Layer 3
01 Language tools for social play (Garvey, 1993)	Preparatory talk		
	Explicit directions for pretend	Transformation of self (e.g., I am mommy.)	
		Transformation of other (e.g., You are a doctor.)	
		Transformation of joint roles (e.g., We are sisters.)	
		Transformation of action for self (e.g., I am cutting an egg.)	
		Transformation of action for other (e.g., You are baking a cake.)	
		Transformation of joint actions (e.g., We are taking care of the baby.)	
		Transformation of object (e.g., This stick is my wand.)	
		Transformation of environment (e.g., Here is my home.)	

Table 1 Continued

		Transformation of nothing to something (e.g., I got money for you. – with "invisible" money taken out from the pocket.)	
	Within pretend talk (enactment talk)		
	Negation of pretend		
	Play signals		
02 Oral language (English–English is defined as default communication language)	Chinese–Chinese		
	Chinese–English		
	English–Chinese		
03 Negotiation (Dockett, 1998)	Children know what they will accept or reject		

Table 2: Layers of coding theme #2: Sharing behavior

Code	**Subcode—Layer 1**	**Subcode—Layer 2**	**Subcode—Layer 3**
01 Identity	Sharer		
	Recipient		
02 Sharing strategies (Birch & Billman, 1986; Rao & Stewart, 1999)	Spontaneous sharing: sharing without request		
	Elicited sharing: sharing at request		
	Passive sharing: done without being asked		

Table 2 Continued

03 Sharing with/without verbal language (Rogers–Warren & Baer, 1976; Alvord & O'Leary, 1985)	Verbal sharing	Verbally invites a child to join in an activity	
		Verbally accepts an invitation to join in an activity	
		Verbally offers to share materials with a child	
		Verbally accepts a child's offer to share materials	
		Verbally offers to trade materials with a child	
	Nonverbal sharing	Passes or hands materials to another child	
		More than one child uses the same materials simultaneously	
04 What to share	Share play space		
	Share ideas		
	Share emotion (Brownell et al., 2002)		
	Share knowledge (Göncü, 1985)		
	Share meanings (Howe et al., 2005; Verba, 1993)		
	Share material (Yarrow et al., 1976)	Use one another's play materials simultaneously	
		Take turns	
	Share understanding (Howe et al., 2005; Dockett, 1998)		

Table 2 Continued

05 Ignore	Ignore someone's sharing intention		
	Ignored by others		
06 Rejection	Reject to share	Verbal rejection	
		Nonverbal rejection	
	Accept rejection		
07 Share to obey their elders' commands (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Greenfield, 2000)			
08 Choose to share with a better friend (Ma & Leung, 1992)			

Table 3: Layers of coding theme #3: Peer culture

Code	**Subcode—Layer 1**	**Subcode—Layer 2**	**Subcode—Layer 3**
01 Production of community functions (Corsaro, 1985)	Imperative		
	Informative statement		
	Request for permission		
	Request for joint action		
	Answer		
	Directive question		
	Tag question		
	Information request		
	Greeting		
	Baby and animal talk		

Table 4: Layers of coding theme #4: Play

<table>
<tr><th>Code</th><th>Subcode—Layer 1</th><th>Subcode—Layer 2</th><th>Subcode—Layer 3</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">01
Negotiate the rules of play
(Howes, 1992)</td><td>Assign roles</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Transform objects by denoting new meanings</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Develop scripts</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">02
Strategies to integrate pretense into social play
(Howes, 1985)</td><td rowspan="4">Recruitment</td><td rowspan="3">Nonverbal recruitment</td><td>Eye gaze</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gesture</td></tr>
<tr><td>Offering material</td></tr>
<tr><td>Verbal recruitment</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Imitation</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Join</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Table 5: Layers of coding theme #5: Social interactions

<table>
<tr><th>Code</th><th>Subcode—Layer 1</th><th>Subcode—Layer 2</th><th>Subcode—Layer 3</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">01
Conflicts</td><td>Conflicts in terms of sharing</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Avoid conflicts (Gao et al., 1996)</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">02
Help</td><td>Asking for teacher's help (He, 1996)</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Asking for peer's help</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Help others</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">03
Gender</td><td rowspan="2">Same-sex interaction</td><td>Girl to girl</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Boy to boy</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Different-sex interaction</td><td>Girl to boy</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Boy to girl</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Table 6: Layers of coding theme #6: Parents' views about sharing

Code	Subcode—Layer 1	Subcode—Layer 2	Subcode—Layer 3
01 Children's sharing experiences	Locations	Sharing at home	
		Sharing outside	
	Conflicts about sharing		
	Request for sharing		
	Reject to share		
02 Parent's guidance for children's sharing	When to intervene		
	Strategies	Ask the child to share	
		Teach the child to search for adult's help	
		Other strategies to handle conflicts	

Table 7: Layers of coding theme #7: Teachers' views about sharing

Code	Subcode—Layer 1	Subcode—Layer 2	Subcode—Layer 3
01 Teachers' guidance for children's sharing	When to intervene		
	Strategies		
	Teaching sharing in the classroom	Circle Time	
		Individually	
02 Teachers' concerns	Language barrier		
	Culture differences		
03 Interactions with Chinese immigrant parents			

All the information about children's verbal conversations and physical actions related to sharing behaviors were described and coded. Verbal conversations include verbal requests for sharing and answers to the requests, and physical actions include automatically

or passively handing an object to others as well as taking an object from others. The materials, ideas, spaces, knowledge, emotions, and pretend roles children shared were also coded. This small part of video transcription data is an example:

Table 8: Coding example

Transcriptions (Observation, Tape 16)	**Codes**
Yolanda took a plate, put two slices of "cake" on it, and put it on the chair, next to the "bowl".	
Yolanda–Linda: Here is yours.	• Spontaneous sharing • Verbal sharing: Verbally offer to share a material • Sharing materials • Informative statement
Linda reached hand to get the plate. Yolanda also tried to get the "cake" on the "plate."	• Reject to share nonverbally
Yolanda–Linda (stopping Linda): NO! Mommy's!	• Reject to share verbally • Transformation of self
Yolanda (Passed the two slices on the "chopping board" to Linda): This. That's your toys.	• Nonverbal sharing: Pass or hand materials to others • Verbal sharing: Verbally offer to share a material • Informative statement
Yolanda sat on the chair, putting the "chopping board" on her lap.	

Sometimes a sentence contained more than one meaning. For instance, in Ms. L's interview, she stated,

> I notice that they … especially those Chinese children, if American children grab their toys, they know they need to speak English to them because the American children cannot understand Mandarin. (Teacher interview, Ms. L)

I put “Language barrier” as its own code, but I also considered that it may result from cultural differences. In such cases, I coded both “Language barrier” and “Culture differences.”

The second phase of data analysis was discovering themes of the codes. Codes were then categorized into several categories. I made charts to help me organize them. Table 9 and Table 10 illustrate parts of the charts I made. Main topics such as sharing behaviors, shared elements, parents’ descriptions about sharing, and teachers’ descriptions about sharing were then categorized. Data were cross-examined multiple times to identify themes, and the ones that corresponded to the research questions were used. Themes such as avoiding conflicts, sharing and social pretend play, as well as gender differences were generated at the end of this phrase.

Table 9: Example for data analysis – 1

Ken – Shared Material			
	Spontaneous Sharing	Elicited Sharing	Passive Sharing
Food props: 2	V+N: 1 (#70)		Nonverbal: 1 (#79)
Toys: 4	Verbal: 1 (#79) Nonverbal: 1 (#105)		Nonverbal: 2 (#42, #59)
Furniture: 1	Nonverbal: 1 (#91)		

Note. V+N = Verbal Plus Nonverbal. # indicates tape number.

Table 10: Example for data analysis – 2

Maggie – Request for Sharing				
Tape	Who	What	How	Response
#92	Noah	Material – “cake”	Maggie–Noah (pointing at one piece): I want that! Noah: Get it now. Maggie grabbed the piece and “bit” it.	Successes –Noah: Get it now.

Table 10 Continued

#44	Valeria	Material – “cake”	Valeria took two slices of “cake.” Maggie–Valeria: I want the pink one! I want the yellow one! Valeria passed a slice of “cake” to Maggie.	Successes – Valeria passed a slice of “cake” to Maggie.

The third phase was merging and double checking the analyses of multiple data sources, including observation transcriptions, interview transcriptions, field notes, and the reflection journal. The findings were described and analyzed using Vygotsky’s theory about play, Corsaro’s theory about peer culture, and findings from previous comparative cultural studies.

CONFIDENTIALITY

In order to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants, pseudonyms were used throughout the process of collecting, analyzing, and reporting data. The transcriptions, field notes, and reflection journal were stored in a locked file cabinet in my house. The digital documents were stored in a folder on my computer with password protection added. A backup of the digital files was stored on a CD-ROM and placed in a locked file cabinet in my house. Only I and my advisors have access to the data, and the notes were destroyed after the data were analyzed.

TRUSTWORTHINESS

In order to build the trustworthiness of this study, I employed prolonged engagement, triangulation, and member checking (Chan, 2008). Prolonged engagement refers to “the need for sufficient time and interaction to establish rapport, trust, and purpose” (Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008, p. 37). Accordingly, I spent 2000 minutes over

two months in field observations. Extra time was spent in informal conversations with parents and teachers.

Triangulation refers to "the use of multiple sources to account for the accuracy of the data" (Yeh et al., 2008, p. 38). It is a process in which a researcher utilizes multiple methods to collect data (Isibor, 2008). The use of diverse sources is a major strength of data collection because the multiple sources of evidence allow the investigator to address a broader range and a deeper level of behavioral issues (Yin, 2009). This study used multiple data-collection methods (Glesne, 2011), including field observations, the investigator's reflection journal, formal and informal parent/teacher interviews, as well as documentations of children's family backgrounds. Rich and thick descriptions about the research process, backgrounds of participants, data collection, and data analyses were also provided (Glesne, 2011). In addition, I used the reflection journal to monitor and reflect my own subjectivity (Glesne, 2011) to reduce my bias.

To reach a trustworthy level of credibility, member checking was employed. The Chinese–English translations were double checked by a person who is familiar with both Chinese and English. I shared observation transcripts, analytical thoughts, and drafts of the final report with committee members and at least one doctoral student to make sure the representations were accurate (Glesne, 2011).

RESEARCHER'S DISPOSITION

In qualitative inquiry, the cultural backgrounds of the investigator and the participants influence the research processes and data collections (Kwan et al., 2011). Since I was born in Taiwan and am a native Mandarin-Chinese speaker, I have the capability to communicate with Mandarin speakers and am sensitive to Chinese cultural concepts, such as Confucian philosophy. Also, as an international student, I have experienced both

Chinese and American cultural contexts and effects, similar to Chinese immigrants. In addition, as a mother of two children who were born in the United States, I am also a Chinese immigrant parent. My personal experiences make me an insider among Mandarin speakers and Chinese immigrants and help me to build trust with the participating Chinese immigrant families. However, as an investigator of a qualitative research study, I maintained my role as an outsider when observing children's behaviors in play. As a qualitative researcher, I am a noninterventionist (Stake, 1995) and ensured the trustworthiness of the data through triangulation.

SUMMARY

This study employs a qualitative inquiry to obtain rich and in-depth information about Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in their social pretend play during free play time. Children were observed and their conversations digitally video recorded. Transcripts of the children's conversations, personal reflection journal, parent and teacher interviews, and field notes were coded and analyzed through the qualitative research software HyperRESEARCH. Information obtained from these sources provided evidence to answer the research questions. This multiple-source data collection is also called triangulation. Using qualitative data coding and the theories mentioned above, this study analyzed the data by focusing on the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors as well as their parents' and teachers' descriptions about children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play. Prolonged engagement, triangulation, and member checking were utilized to establish the trustworthiness and credibility of this study.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

This study set out to describe the characteristics of the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors as initiators or receivers in sharing instances, as well as the Chinese immigrant parents' and teachers' descriptions of the Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. Observations of six Chinese immigrant children (Ken, Kevin, Noah, Tom, Maggie, and Yolanda) during their Center Time were conducted in their classroom. The Chinese immigrant children's parents and their classroom teachers were interviewed, and field notes were taken. All of the observations were video recorded and transcribed. The analysis focused on the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play as well as parents' and teachers' descriptions of the six Chinese immigrant children, and only those incidents involving the Chinese immigrant children were analyzed.

To answer the research questions, this section was categorized into three main sections: sharing behaviors that the six Chinese immigrant children display, parents' descriptions of the Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors, and teachers' descriptions of the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. Each one has subtitles to describe the findings of this study. The structure of the categories is illustrated in Figure 3.

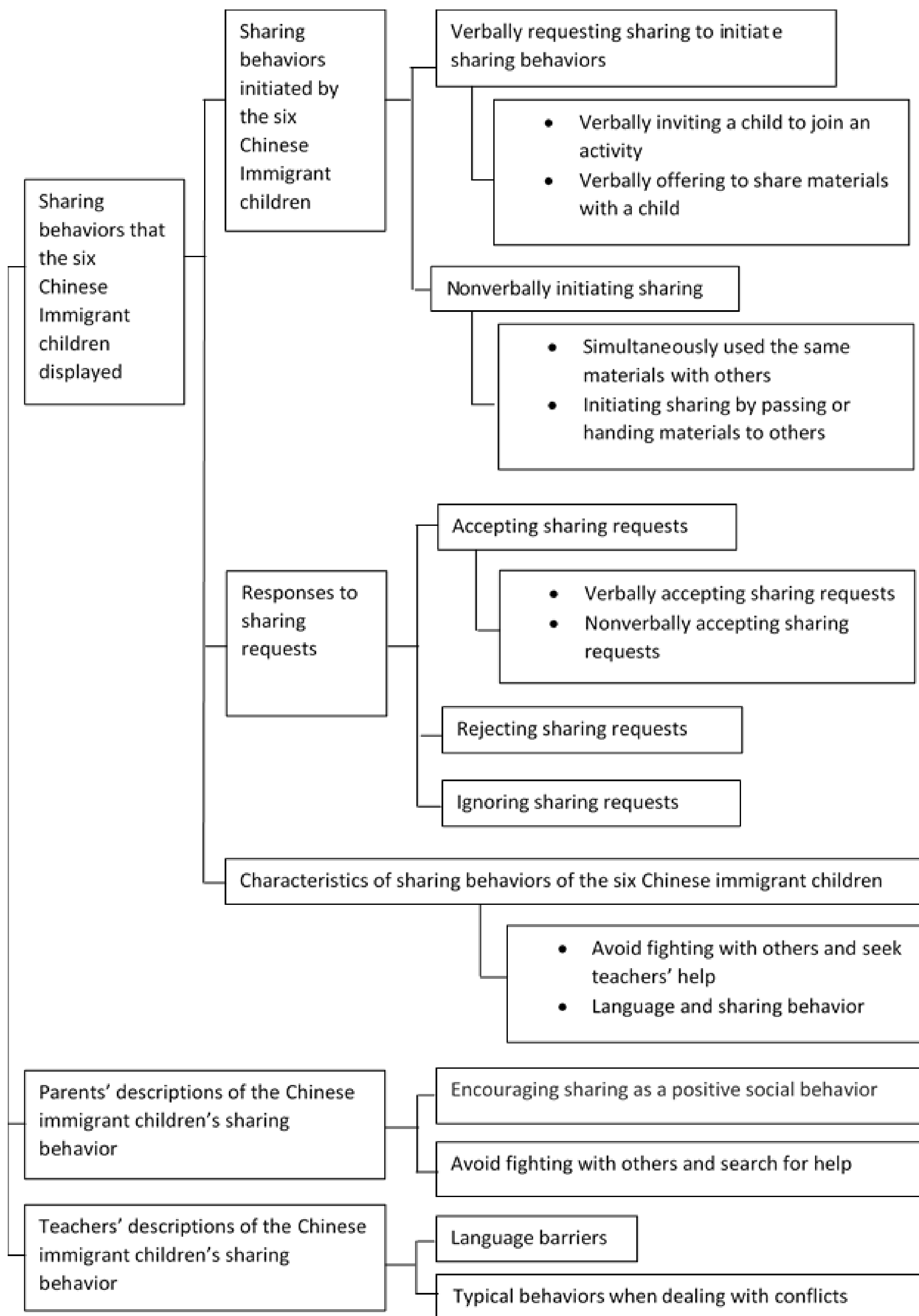

Figure 3: Categories of the findings

SHARING BEHAVIORS THAT THE SIX CHINESE IMMIGRANT CHILDREN DISPLAYED

The four Chinese immigrant boys (Ken, Kevin, Noah, and Tom) and two Chinese immigrant girls (Maggie and Yolanda) initiated sharing and responded to sharing requests in social pretend play. They verbally requested sharing to initiate sharing behaviors and displayed nonverbal sharing behaviors such as "simultaneously used the same materials with others" and "initiating sharing by passing or handing materials to others." Because this study focuses on the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors, the instances in which the six Chinese immigrant children were initiators were analyzed. The receivers could be the other Chinese immigrant children or non-Chinese students.

Sharing Behaviors Initiated by the Six Chinese Immigrant Children

Verbally requesting sharing to initiate sharing behaviors

In this study, only three of the Chinese immigrant children were recorded making requests for sharing. The boy Noah and the two Chinese immigrant girls, Maggie and Yolanda, verbally requested sharing in their social pretend play. All the sharing requests involved asking for materials: the toy cake, cup, knife, teaspoon, phone, and blankets. The three Chinese children used direct statements and questions beginning with "Can I …?" "I want …" "I need …" or "Give me …" to express their intentions of sharing. In addition, Yolanda also used tag questions. For example:

> Yolanda (unfolding a blanket): I need this.
> Maggie grabbed the other corner of Yolanda's blanket.
> Maggie–Yolanda (both of them pulling the blanket): It's my blanket!
> Yolanda–Maggie (smiling): Cover us. Cover two people, okay?
> Maggie nodded and stopped pulling. Yolanda tried to cover both of them with the blanket. (Observation, Tape 115)

The Chinese immigrant children in this study requested sharing through oral communications in their social pretend play. All of them verbally requested sharing

materials, and most of them were materials used in pretend play scenarios. Directive questions and tag questions were used to ask for sharing. Only one Chinese immigrant boy (Noah) requested sharing, while both of the two Chinese immigrant girls (Maggie and Yolanda) displayed sharing requests.

> Noah–Maggie (raised the "knife"): Can I cut the cake?
> Maggie nodded and looked at the "cake" as Noah "cut" it with the "knife."
> Maggie–Noah (pointed at one piece): I want that!
> Noah: Get it now.
> Maggie grabbed the piece and "bit" it. May grabbed another piece and "bit" it.
> Noah got the last piece and "bit" it. (Observation, Tape 92)

The sentence "You have to share" was said by Maggie only once among the six Chinese children. She used the sentence not to request sharing for herself but to initiate sharing between two other girls (as two kitties). This is a "within pretend talk" in which Maggie asked the two kitties (Linda and Valeria) to share a cup of medicine in their "doctor" scenario.

> Maggie (talking to herself): This is the medicine. You have to drink the medicine.
> Linda: Meow … Meow …
> Valeria: Meow.
> Maggie (turning to Valeria): NO. NO.
> Linda (pointing at the "cup"): That's mine.
> Maggie–Linda: I know. You have to share. Okay?
> Maggie extended the "cup" to Linda. Linda "drank" it.
> Maggie then extended the "cup" to Valeria. Valeria "licked" it. Maggie "fed" Linda and Valeria in turns. (Observation, Tape 25)

Verbally inviting a child to join an activity. The six Chinese immigrant children verbally invited their peers to join activities related to the ongoing pretend scenarios in their social pretend play. They used directive questions, "tag questions," imperatives, informative statements, requests for permission, and requests for joint action (Corsaro,

1985). An example of a directive question could be, “You wanna hold the hamburger?” and “Want to cook, Mommy?” In this way, children directly asked someone to join a pretend play scenario, sometimes with an assigned pretend role (e.g., Mommy). Tag questions are questions with a clear question mark—for example, “Cat, you sleep here, okay?” and “Let’s go and hit some monsters, okay?” Imperatives, such as, “Eat the hamburger. Eat it,” and, “Okay, you will be the baby, and I am going to be David,” were a more powerful way to ask a child to join a pretend play scenario. Informative statements were usually used to claim an assigned pretend role or to tell a peer what the pretend theme was about—for instance, “I [am] the sister. You [are] the sister,” and “I just buy you the medicine.” Request for permission (e.g., “I the sister. How about that?”) and request for joint action (e.g., “How about we hide by there?” and “Let’s get some medicine to protect the sister.”) were also used to invite peers to join a pretend play scenario.

The Chinese immigrant children in this study shared make-believe ideas, sometimes with shared materials, to initiate a pretend scenario and to invite a friend to join the pretend play. For instance, Kevin asked Kate to look at two dolls lying on the “bed.” He spontaneously shared a make-believe idea of “taking care of babies” with Kate. Kate took the idea, covered the dolls with a blanket, and gave a compliment to the “babies.” Kevin invited Kate to his pretend scenario by sharing an idea and the dolls; Kate accepted the invitation and joined the pretend play.

> Kevin went to take care of the “baby.”
> Kevin (turning to Kate with a smile): You guys look at the babies!
> Kate (walking towards the “babies”): So cute!
> Kate (trying to put a “blanket” to cover both dolls): Let’s give them a blanket.
> (Observation, Tape 79)

In addition, the Chinese immigrant children in this study sometimes made "within pretend talk" with a relative pretend role to begin a conversation. In this way, if the recipient responded to the "role" (instead of to the child in the real world) with a proper pretend role, the recipient showed that he or she accepted the invitation, and then a joint pretend scenario began. In the example below, Maggie spoke to May like a "mommy" and assigned May a pretend role: a cat. May took the role and responded with what a cat would say: "Meow!" The pretend scenario was initiated and kept going.

> Maggie (came to the "bed" where May was lying): Mommy is going to sleep here, Okay.… Maybe …
> Maggie–May (patting the corner of the "bed"): Cat, you sleep here, okay? Let me switch sides.
> May (rolled to the inner side of the "bed" adjacent to the wall): Meow!
> Maggie "slept" on the outer side of the "bed." (Observation, Tape 5)

Verbally offering to share material with a child. All six of the Chinese immigrant children verbally offered to share materials with peers. The boys (Ken, Kevin, Tom, and Noah) verbally offered to share food props, such as a toy onion, a toy egg, and coffee. They also shared a wooden block as a "sword," a toy pan, and a blanket as a sheet for a doll. The two Chinese girls (Maggie and Yolanda) verbally offered more various items than the Chinese immigrant boys did. Other than food props and blankets, the girls verbally offered dolls, dining utensils, a "bandage" for dolls, a toy watch, a "schoolbag," a "pillow" made out of a blanket, and "medicine" represented by a toy cup. The transcription below shows that Kevin verbally offered a toy onion to Yolanda by saying, "Yolanda, take this onion."

> Kevin picked up an "onion" and approached Yolanda with "ice cream cone" and the "onion."
> Kevin–Yolanda (Ken stood up and leaned against the table next to Yolanda): Yolanda，給你"洋蔥" ["Yolanda, take this onion."]
> Kevin threw the "onion" in the cabinet, and then it bounced out.

(Observation, Tape 70)

Some sentences that the Chinese immigrant children used to offer materials were as follows: "I got __for you," "I will get you __," "This is your __," "You want this?" "I found a __ for the baby," "I have a __," "What do you want?" "You can take this with you," "Get this," and "Use this." Although the two Chinese immigrant girls (Maggie and Yolanda) verbally offered to share various materials, they verbally offered materials only to female peers. The boys verbally offered materials to both boys and girls in social pretend play. The two girls, unlike the boys, also explained why they wanted to offer the items. For instance, when Yolanda offered a blanket to cover another girl, May, she said, "I will cover your face with the blanket so no one can come and get you, okay?"

> Yolanda folded a blanket into a "pillow" and put in on the sofa. May "slept" on the sofa, her head on the "pillow."
> Yolanda went to get a large blanket from the "washing machine."
> Yolanda covered May with the blanket.
> Yolanda–May: I will cover your face with the blanket so no one can come and get you, okay? (Yolanda covered May's face with another blanket.)
> (Observation, Tape 89)

In some cases, children shared a material with another child in a pretend play scenario even though the receiver didn't really touch it. With verbal descriptions of the goal of giving the material to the receiver, the sharer verbally shared the material and the idea simultaneously to enrich the play scenario. In the below example, Yolanda shared some food props with Linda. Of these "foods," Linda didn't touch the "sausage" or the "cheese" since Yolanda insisted on holding them herself. By saying, "Eat this!" Yolanda shared the food props with Linda. Although Linda didn't touch the "food," she accepted

the shared materials and also their meanings. Hence, Linda "ate" the "food" in the air, and the play scenario went on.

> Yolanda put the "plate" and the "bowl" on the "chopping board."
> Yolanda–Linda (brought the "chopping board" with a plate of two pieces of "cake" and a bowl of "grapes," "sausage," and "cheese" to Linda): Here! (Linda took the "bowl" and "ate" the "grapes," but the "grapes" fell. Yolanda took away the "bowl" and passed the "plate" to Linda. Yolanda extended a "sausage" toward Linda). Eat it. (Linda tried to grab the "sausage," but Yolanda held it in her hand, refusing to allow Linda to touch it.) I'm holding it. (Linda "ate" the "sausage.") Yolanda dropped the "sausage" on the floor, extended a "cheese" to Linda) Eat this! (Linda "ate" it. Yolanda dropped it on the floor.)
> Yolanda put the empty "bowl" on the chair and put the "chopping board" on the other chair. (Observation, Tape 16)

Nonverbally initiating sharing

Simultaneously used the same materials with others. The Chinese immigrant children in this study used materials with others at the same time. They spontaneously used the same materials with playmates, and they allowed their peers to use the same materials at the same time with them. Regardless of gender, all six of the Chinese immigrant children used the same materials with boys and girls in their class. They spontaneously used toy medical tools, food props, and dining furniture together with peers. For instance, children covered themselves or dolls with a blanket or a napkin. They used a toy spoon, toy cups, toy cakes, and food props to "feed" one another. A toy otoscope was used simultaneously with two children pretending to be a doctor and a patient. A menu was looked at and pointed to by a "waitress" and a "customer." Among these materials, blankets were simultaneously used most frequently since children used them for hiding from "witches," making a bed, and covering dolls. In the instance below, Yolanda and Maggie ultimately used a strip,

pretending it was a “bandage” for a doll. Yolanda and Maggie used the “bandage” simultaneously for the doll in their social pretend play.

> May dropped another doll on the floor, next to Yolanda’s doll.
> Yolanda (picking up May’s doll): No. He need to … he need to go to doctor.
> Maggie: Yeah.…
> Yolanda–Maggie: Come here, Maggie (extending the strip of paper to Maggie). Here is the bandage.
> Maggie (came over with her doll in arms.): The baby has a big blood.
> Yolanda–Maggie (put the strip of paper on the forehead of Maggie’s doll): Keep it on there. (Maggie held the “bandage” on the doll’s forehead.)
> (Observation, Tape 24)

Initiating sharing by passing or handing materials to another child. The six Chinese immigrant children passed or handed materials to other children. Ken, Kevin, Noah, Maggie, and Yolanda spontaneously passed or handed materials to playmates. There is no record of Tom’s passing or handing materials to others, however. Some of the materials were food props (e.g., toy ice cream cone, onion, sausage, and hamburger), dining supplies resembling food (e.g., a cup represented “milk”), and toy medical tools. Girls usually spontaneously passed play materials to girls, while boys passed materials to both boys and girls. Regardless of gender, these Chinese children spontaneously passed or handed the materials they were using in the ongoing play scenarios. For instance, Yolanda handed food props to Linda several times.

> Yolanda looked at Linda, tried to pass the “egg” to Linda.
> Yolanda grabbed the “sausage” that was falling off, put the “sausage” and the “cheese” into the “bowl.”
> Linda reached for the “egg” in Yolanda’s hand. Yolanda gave it to her.
> Yolanda took some “grapes,” took back the “egg,” and gave Linda the “grapes.”
> Linda “ate” the “grapes.”
> Yolanda passed the “peach slices” to Linda.
> Linda turned around, facing the back of the sofa.

Yolanda tried to grab the "grapes," but Linda held them tightly in her hands. Yolanda took away the "grapes" and gave Linda the "peach slices." Linda "ate" them. (Observation, Tape 16)

In another example, Yolanda passed a "bowl" to Linda and shared an idea that the kitties (Linda was pretending to be a kitty) were hungry. Yolanda initiated the pretend scenario by sharing the materials with an idea.

Linda–Yolanda (looking for items in the cabinet): I want to be a kitten.
Yolanda (taking the "bowl" and the water jar to the table): En … Come on.
Yolanda put the "grapes" and the "sausage" into the "bowl."
Linda and Ada came to the table.
Yolanda (passed the "bowl" to Linda): Kitties are hungry.
Linda "ate" the "sausage." (Observation, Tape 10)

The instance above also shows that when sharing materials, nonverbal sharing sometimes accompanied verbal sharing. Children verbally described their intentions or commands (verbal sharing) while passing materials to others (nonverbal sharing). In the following example, Maggie passed a "phone" and told Helen to "talk to the doctor."

Helen: Can I talk to the phone?
Maggie–Helen: I HAVE IT FIRST! I am calling the doctor!
Maggie–Helen (passing her the "phone"): Talk to the doctor!
Helen (talking on the "phone"): Hello.
(Observation, Tape 24)

Take Yolanda's case as another example; she spontaneously shared a blanket with May. She covered May with the blanket and explained to her why she did this.

Yolanda took out the blanket. Yolanda covered May with the blanket.
Yolanda–May: I will cover your face with the blanket so no one can come and get you. Okay? (Yolanda covered May's face with another blanket. Kate came to sit down on a sofa next to May.)

Yolanda–Kate (leaned toward her, tenderly): No one will come to get your sister.
Yolanda (moved cheerfully, with a smile): Now she is a baby.
(Observation, Tape 89)

Responses to Sharing Requests

Accepting sharing requests

In social pretend play, the six Chinese immigrant children responded to others' sharing requests. Because this study focused on the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors, no matter who requested sharing, Chinese immigrant children or non-Chinese children, only those responses that the Chinese immigrant children displayed were analyzed. The Chinese immigrant children in this study verbally accepted invitations to join in play but both verbally and nonverbally rejected or ignored sharing requests if they didn't want to share.

Verbally accepting an invitation to join in an activity. When someone invited the Chinese immigrant children to join in an activity in social pretend play, they accepted the invitation verbally. Four (Kevin, Noah, Maggie, and Yolanda) of the six Chinese immigrant children were recorded answering to their peers' invitations in this study. They simply answered "okay" or "yeah" or otherwise responded to the invitation. Alan asked children playing in the Dramatic Play Center to join his scenario by saying, "Okay. Sing 'Happy Birthday'! Let's sing 'Happy Birthday'!" Yolanda sang the song with Alan and joined his "birthday" theme.

When the invitation included a pretend role, the Chinese immigrant children in this study responded to the role. For example, Kate asked Kevin to be the "dad" and claimed that she was the "mommy." Kevin accepted the invitation by calling Kate "mommy" and

shared an idea of having food to extend the pretend scenario. By answering an invitation to the pretend role, Kevin joined in Kate's pretend scenario.

> Kevin looked for materials in the closet.
> Kate (gathering materials): I am the mommy.
> Kate–Kevin: You wanna be the dad? I am mommy.
> Kevin–Kate: Mommy, you want the food?
> Kate: NO! (Observation, Tape 79)

Nonverbally accepting an invitation to join in an activity. Sometimes the six Chinese immigrant children nonverbally accepted an invitation to join an activity. For example, Yolanda passed Kevin a red "cup" and claimed it was tea. Kevin just took the "cup," pretended to drink it, and smiled. He nonverbally accepted Yolanda's sharing invitation, and the pretend scenario, consequently, began.

> Kevin looked at the cabinet and Yolanda.
> Yolanda–Kevin (passing him a red "cup"): Prepare yourself. 這是茶. [This is tea.]
> Kevin "drank" the "tea" and smiled.
> Kevin–Yolanda: 這是什麼茶呀? [What tea is this?]
> Yolanda–Kevin (moving closer to Kevin): 這是紅豆茶。[This is red bean tea.] (Observation, Tape 90)

In another instance, Yolanda expressed her idea of having some water or tea to invite Maggie to join her pretend play. Maggie responded by physically pointing to the "teapot" without a word, indicating that she accepted the invitation.

> Yolanda took some "cups" and the "teapot" to the table.
> Yolanda–Maggie: Do you want some water or hot tea?
> Maggie pointed at the "teapot."
> Yolanda–Maggie: That's tea.… Water? Okay.
> Maggie "poured" "tea" into the yellow "cup."

Maggie took the "cup." Yolanda walked away with the "teapot."
(Observation, Tape 48)

Rejecting sharing requests

When someone requested sharing or initiated sharing without the sharer's permission, rejection occurred. In social pretend play, the Chinese immigrant children in this study rejected their peers' sharing intentions if they didn't want to share materials, share ideas, share a play space, share a pretend role, or allow someone to join an existing pretend episode (share the right to play in the pretend episode). Rejections were displayed verbally and nonverbally. The Chinese immigrant children verbally refused others' sharing requests most frequently and sometimes refused them with nonverbal expressions, such as shaking heads. The Chinese immigrant children were also rejected by peers in social pretend play. They were mostly rejected by their playmates when they shared ideas regarding pretend roles, shared materials, shared knowledge, or requested permission to join an activity. This section describes the findings on how the six Chinese immigrant children rejected others' sharing intentions and how they were rejected by their peers in terms of sharing in social pretend play.

In social pretend play, the Chinese immigrant children in this study rejected their peers' sharing intentions when they didn't want to share. They were also rejected by peers if the peers didn't accept their sharing requests. The Chinese immigrant children rejected their peers' intentions to share ideas most frequently, including ideas about pretend roles, pretend scripts, and adding food props to the existing ones. They also rejected peers' intentions of joining the ongoing activities and intentions of sharing a doll. The Chinese immigrant children verbally or nonverbally conveyed their negative opinions about peers' sharing intentions, sometimes even using both methods. Verbal rejection was used most frequently, occasionally with physical movements. Saying "no" was the most common way

children rejected peers' sharing intentions, and shaking their heads was also sufficient body language to express rejection.

When peers verbally asked for sharing, the Chinese children in this study usually rejected them using words; when peers physically took the desired items, the Chinese children usually physically protected the items or took them back. For instance, when Kevin took the pan without Ken's permission, Ken held the pan and said "Hey! I need that!" to stop him. Then, Kevin grabbed the burger Ken had just "made," and Ken stopped him by grabbing the burger back. When Kevin said he would "eat the hamburger," Ken responded, "Don't eat the hamburger."

> Ken "stirred" the "egg" in the "pan" and then put it in the "steamer."
> Kevin came closer to Ken to grab the "pan," with a smile.
> Ken–Kevin (holding the "pan"): Hey! I need that!
> Kevin let go.
> Kevin put the "tomato" on the "stove," giggling.
> Ken quickly went to the "stove" and picked up the "tomato."
> Kevin went to the table to grab the "burger." Kevin (giggling): I will eat the hamburger.
> Ken: Don't eat the hamburger!
> Ken quickly went to grab the "burger" back, and Kevin giggled.
> Ken–Kevin: STOP! You need to …
> Kevin tried to grab more things on the table. Ken tried to stop him.
> Kevin grabbed a "cabbage."
> Ken–Kevin (trying to grab the "cabbage"): Hey, what are you doing with this?
> Kevin raised the "cabbage" in the air, giggling. (Observation, Tape 79)

When the sharing interaction was about materials, it usually involved nonverbal rejections, and nonverbal rejections typically came with verbal descriptions. On the other hand, when an interaction was about sharing an idea, it was always shared verbally and involved verbal rejections. All six of the Chinese immigrant children rejected sharing using verbal sentences. Two of the Chinese boys and both girls mainly verbally rejected their

peers' shared ideas of pretend roles and pretend scripts. Example 1 shows that Kevin verbally rejected the pretend role that Yolanda assigned to him. In Example 2, Noah disagreed with Kate's idea of the pretend script.

Example 1

Kevin: I will be the brother.
Yolanda (hopped on her feet): How about, Kevin be the brother and Noah be the dad?
Kevin–Yolanda: No, I want to be the brother. The Spiderman.
(Observation, Tape 90)

Example 2

Kate (covered herself with a blanket and knelt down): I am going to hide. The witch is coming today! The witch is coming.
Noah: No. (Looked around) Not right now. (Observation, Tape 92)

Except for Tom, who was not recorded making any nonverbal rejections during my observations, the Chinese immigrant children displayed nonverbal rejections in their social pretend play. When someone grabbed a material, including a toy, food prop, toy cooking prop, toy dining utensil, and blanket, the Chinese immigrant children turned away with it, hid it behind their bodies, held it tight, grabbed it back, blocked the peer from grabbing it, or grabbed it before the peer could. Among the shared materials, blankets were used a lot in girls' pretend play. A blanket could be transformed into a bed frame, a shelter to hide from witches or monsters, or a sheet to cover a doll or the children themselves. It could also be put on the ground, indicating a play area. When someone verbally or nonverbally requested sharing of a blanket, a Chinese immigrant girl who rejected the sharing idea grabbed and pulled the blanket back or hid it behind her.

The Chinese boys (Ken, Kevin, and Noah) only nonverbally rejected peers' sharing intentions for materials, including toys, food props, toy cooking stuffs, and wood blocks. However, the two Chinese girls (Maggie and Yolanda) not only nonverbally rejected

materials but also physically rejected a material with an idea, an idea for a pretend script, an idea for a pretend role, a play space, an invitation to an activity, and ideas of what a person in a pretend role should do (social status of the pretend role). Example 3 to Example 9 illustrate Maggie's and Yolanda's physical rejections of a material and other elements.

Example 3 – *Maggie physically rejected sharing materials with an idea*

> Kate went back to the Dramatic Play Center. Maggie followed her.
> Kate covered the sofa with the colored blanket.
> Maggie–Kate: What's that?
> Kate–Maggie: It's your bed frame.
> **Maggie–Kate:** Frame? I don't need a frame. **(Threw away the color blanket)** I want that one.
> Kate– Maggie (spreading the dark blanket on the sofa): You want this one first? You just hold here, okay? (Observation, Tape 18)

Example 4 – *Maggie physically rejected sharing an idea for a pretend script*

> Kate–Maggie (sitting on the sofa): Come here! Come here! (Maggie sat down) No. Lie down.
> Kate–Maggie: You lie down here. (Spread the "blanket" on the floor).
> Maggie lay face down on the blanket. Kate covered her with the blanket and pat Maggie several times. Maggie tried to get up.
> Kate: (Pushed Maggie down) Don't get up! (Kate covered Maggie with the brown blanket)
> **Maggie stood up, walked toward the table, and "ate" a piece of "food."** (Observation, Tape 18)

Example 5 – *Maggie physically rejected sharing an idea for a pretend role*

> Maggie–Ada (standing behind Ada, patting her back gently): Sleep. Sleep … (Ada turned around.) Sleep, okay?
> Ada sat down next to Maggie and "slept," leaning against the shelf.
> Kate–Maggie: Meow … Meow, meow, meow …("passing" something to Maggie)
> **Maggie waved her hand toward Kate in a gesture of "no" and turned to look at Ada.**
> Kate walked away. (Observation, Tape 22)

Example 6 – *Maggie physically rejected sharing play space*

> Maggie played with the "watch." May piled the "finished food" in front of Maggie.
> **Maggie–May:** Hey Stop! **(Maggie pushed the "food" toward May)**

Maggie took a "plate" and then continued to play with the "watch." (Observation, Tape 44)

Example 7 – *Maggie physically rejected sharing play space*

Maggie brought the "detergent" to the "washing machine." Maggie separated a small "blanket." Maggie "poured" the "detergent" into the "washing machine" for a long time and looked into the distance.
Sophie came over and looked into the "washing machine."
Maggie–Sophie (frowning, closing the "lid"): No, not now! They are not even yours! No, it's not your house.
Sophie opened the "lid."
Maggie–Sophie: Close it!
Sophie closed the "lid" and left.
Maggie went back to the table. (Observation, Tape 92)

Example 8 – *Maggie physically rejected an invitation to join an activity*

Yolanda–Maggie (opened the blanket, patted the sofa): Maggie, sleep with me!
Maggie shook her head.
Maggie passed the doll to Yolanda and then talked with May.
Yolanda put Maggie's doll next to hers. (Observation, Tape 23)

Example 9 – *Yolanda physically rejected an idea on what a pretend role should do*

Yolanda–Linda (pointing to the empty chair): This is for you to sit.
Linda tried to get a slice of "cake."
Yolanda–Linda (stopping her): Hey. Don't get it for yourself. Okay?
Yolanda–Linda (holding the "cake"): That's your cake! Let me get you a plate!
Linda: (reached her right hand to the "cake")
Yolanda: (stopped Linda from getting the "cake" by holding the "cake" with her hands). Let me give you a plate (**shaking Linda's hand**). Don't touch it! Lie down! Then Mommy will give you. (Observation, Tape 16)

Nonverbal rejections usually came with verbal rejections, especially when it came to sharing materials. Physical movements came with imperative sentences, such as "Don't eat the hamburger!" "Give me back!" "It's mine!" "It's not yours!" "Don't touch it!" "Leave it alone!" and "I need that!" Other words that were used frequently were "No!" "Mine!" and "Stop!" The Chinese boys used the imperative sentences to stop others from taking materials from them without further descriptions. Nevertheless, the two Chinese

girls explained more to the takers than the Chinese boys did. The following are two examples.

Example 10

Maggie brought the “detergent” to the “washing machine.” Maggie separated a small “blanket.” Maggie “poured” the “detergent” into the “washing machine” for a long time and looked into the distance.
Sophie came over and looked into the “washing machine.”
Maggie–Sophie (frowning, closing the “lid”): No, not now! They are not even yours! No, it’s not your house.
Sophie opened the “lid.”
Maggie–Sophie: Close it!
Sophie closed the “lid” and left.
Maggie went back to the table. (Observation, Tape 92)

Example 11

Ken “stirred” the “egg” in the “pan” and then put it in the “steamer.”
Kevin came closer to Ken to grab the “pan” with a smile.
Ken–Kevin (holding the “pan”): Hey! I need that!
Kevin let go.
Kevin put the “tomato” on the “stove,” giggling.
Ken quickly went to the “stove” and picked up the “tomato.”
Kevin went to the table to grab the “burger.” Kevin (giggling): I will eat the hamburger.
Ken: Don’t eat the hamburger!
Ken quickly went to grab the “burger” back, and Kevin giggled.
Ken–Kevin: STOP! You need to …
Kevin tried to grab more things on the table. Ken tried to stop him.
Kevin grabbed a “cabbage.”
Ken–Kevin (trying to grab the “cabbage”): Hey, what are you doing with this?
Kevin raised the “cabbage” in the air, giggling.
Ken–Kevin (put the “pan” on Kevin’s head and hit him): No!
Kevin put the “cabbage” on Ken’s head, giggling.
Ken (continued to look for materials on the table): I cook chicken.
Kevin took a “papaya”, took a bite, and then came closer to Ken, trying to “eat” him.
Ken–Kevin: Stop!
Kevin went to the “microwave” with a “cabbage” and a “papaya” next to Kate. (Observation, Tape 79)

Example 10 and Example 11 have a similar context: one child was in his or her own pretend scenario; another child (same gender) came close to him or her with the intention of taking or using something that the first child had already been using. In Example 10, the Chinese immigrant girl Maggie was "using" a toy washing machine. Sophie came, approached the washing machine, and looked into it. Maggie stopped Sophie by saying "No!" along with her explanation: the machine was her own property in her house. For Maggie, it seemed that Sophie had broken into her house and tried to use her property. On the other hand, in Example 11, a Chinese boy, Ken, was "cooking." Another Chinese boy, Kevin, tried several times to take Ken's pan or food. Ken stopped Kevin by saying "No!" "Stop!" "Hey! I need that!" "Don't eat the hamburger!" and "Hey, what are you doing with this?" without further explanation.

Therefore, the Chinese immigrant children in this study verbally and nonverbally rejected sharing requests when they didn't want to share in social pretend play. They verbally rejected verbal sharing requests and physically protected or took back the items that they didn't want to share. The Chinese immigrant children rejected peers' shared ideas most frequently, including ideas of pretend roles and pretend scripts.

In terms of expressions of rejections, the Chinese immigrant children in this study verbally refused sharing requests most frequently and sometimes did so along with physical movements, such as shaking their heads. Requests for sharing materials were usually nonverbally rejected, while ideas were verbally rejected. Ideas for pretend roles were verbally rejected most frequently regardless of the Chinese children's gender. The Chinese boys (Ken, Kevin, and Noah) only nonverbally rejected peers' sharing intentions for materials, while the two Chinese girls (Maggie and Yolanda) not only nonverbally rejected materials but also physically rejected a material along with an idea, an idea for a pretend script, an idea for a pretend role, play spaces, an invitation to participate in an activity, and

ideas of what a person in a pretend role should do. Furthermore, nonverbal rejections usually came with verbal rejections, especially when it came to sharing materials. The boys used imperative sentences to stop others from taking materials from them without further explanation, while the two girls explained their opposition to the takers.

Ignoring sharing requests

When the six Chinese immigrant children didn't want to share, besides rejecting sharing requests verbally or nonverbally, they ignored the requestors without any response. To distinguish "ignoring" and "didn't pay attention," when a child met one of these two criteria, he or she was coded as ignoring someone's sharing intention: 1) when conversations were ongoing but a child stopped verbally responding to another child's sharing intention with or without eye contact, or 2) when a child initiated a conversation with sharing intention or called for another child's attention, but the child didn't respond verbally with or without eye contact.

Similar to rejecting others' sharing intentions, the Chinese immigrant children mostly ignored their peers' intentions of sharing ideas for pretend scripts and pretend roles and for sharing toys. All of the six Chinese children except for Kevin ignored someone's sharing intentions. Most often, the children didn't say anything and kept doing what they were doing; sometimes they did something else or even walked away. Take the instance, for example, when Yolanda first rejected sharing a hamburger with Linda by turning away from her and saying, "No more!" Then, Yolanda ignored Linda's intention of sharing her idea of making a sandwich for Kitty. Yolanda had interacted with Linda for a while in the existing play scenario, but she didn't say anything and walked away with a smile when Linda asked her about making a sandwich for Kitty.

Yolanda walked around the table with one yellow “spoon” in her hand. Yolanda came back to the “fridge” and grabbed the “bread” on top of the “fridge.” Yolanda looked at the table. Yolanda put the “bread” back on the “fridge,” took a “bun” from the table, and put a piece of “meat,” “sausage,” and “lettuce” on the “bun.” Yolanda grabbed the long “sausage” from the yellow “bowl” next to Linda.
Linda–Yolanda (grabbed the “sausage” from Yolanda, held it tightly, and shook her head): No. No. (Linda tried to grab the “hamburger” from Yolanda.)
Yolanda–Linda (turned around to face the “fridge”): No more!
Linda–Yolanda (put the “sausage” in the “hot dog bun,” showed the “hot dog” to Yolanda): This is a hot dog! (Linda “ate” the “hot dog.”) Kitty likes to eat doggies. Mmmm. Yum. Yum … (Grabbed “chicken” from the table and “bit” it.) And chicken! (Looked at the “chicken” closely) This is made from a chicken (shook the “chicken” to the camera). This chicken was real.
Yolanda looked around for another “bun.” Yolanda found it on the table and put it on top of the “hamburger.”
Linda–Yolanda: Are you making a sandwich for Kitty? (Pointed to herself) This one?
Yolanda walked away with a smile.
Linda continued to “bite” the “chicken.” (Observation, Tape 10)

Characteristics of Sharing Behaviors of the Six Chinese Immigrant Children

Avoid fighting with others and seek teachers’ help

Sometimes the six Chinese immigrant children rejected sharing what they were currently holding or argued for something with peers in social pretend play. Not all rejections were peacefully accepted or resolved; children argued for elements engaging in their social pretend play, such as materials, play spaces, and play ideas. In terms of sharing, the Chinese immigrant girls tended to have conflicts with other girls, while boys had conflicts with both boys and girls. Both mostly argued for materials with their playmates, followed by arguing for ideas of play scenarios and play spaces. Girls also argued about who should pretend to be whom in a play scenario and who could join in a scenario. Ms. T provided information about conflicts in the Dramatic Play Center.

In the Dramatic Play Center, it's common that children argue for the pretend roles of family members. Some children prefer playing as animals, such as kitty, doggie, or something crawling on the ground. (Teacher interview, Ms. T)

There was only one case involving conflict over the sharing of knowledge: Kevin argued with Ada about the name of a toy vegetable. Kevin insisted that it was called "Tsai Tsai," (菜菜) which is a Chinese nickname for "vegetable," and Ada insisted that it was called a "green bean." This was also a conflict in the children's languages.

Ada–Kevin: Okay. Put that. (Ada reached for the "vegetables," looked at them, and then put them in the "bowl.")
Kevin–Ada: What's that?
Ada–Kevin: It's green beans. (Ada put the "teapot" on the table.)
Kevin–Ada: Green beans? Not green beans. It's 菜菜 [vegetables.] Ha ha. 菜菜 [Vegetables.]
Ada–Kevin (looking at the "vegetables"): It's green beans.
Kevin–Ada (giggling): 菜菜 [Vegetables.]
Ada–Kevin (looking at the "vegetables"): GREEN BEANS!
Kevin–Ada (giggling): 菜菜 [Vegetables.]
Ada–Kevin (shouting loudly, staring at Kevin): GREEN BEANS!
Kevin–Ada (giggling, in a louder voice): 菜菜 [Vegetables.]
Ada–Kevin (crawling under the table): Green beans.
Kevin–Ada (giggling, bending to talk to Ada under the table): 菜菜 [Vegetables.]
Ada–Kevin (from under the table): GREEN BEANS.
(Ada and Kevin spoke back and forth several times.)
Kevin–Ada: Green bean.
Ada–Kevin: Green bean, green bean, green bean.
Kevin: Ha ha ha ha…
Kevin (in a singing voice): Na na na na na na (Kevin dragged down the blanket).
Ada–Kevin (putting "food" on the floor into a "bowl"): Stop it.
Kevin (in a singing voice): Ha ha ha ha ha ha.
Kevin passed the "vegetables" to Ada and then sat on the sofa.
(Observation, Tape 50)

When having conflicts in terms of sharing, Chinese immigrant children in this study displayed passive behaviors to avoid conflicts. *Avoid conflicts* means that when children

argued for materials, play spaces, or play ideas, the targeted child ultimately let go or stopped insisting on his or her own ideas to avoid or end the conflicts.

The Chinese immigrant boys in this study mostly avoided conflicts with other boys. They argued for materials (Ken, Kevin, Noah, Tom), play spaces (Noah), protecting existing structures (Ken), and joining a group (Kevin). The Chinese immigrant boys let go, gave up arguing, or even didn't argue at all, choosing instead to turn away and find other supplements. For example, when Sophie and Ken grabbed some cars from Kevin's box that he had taken from the Manipulative Center, Kevin wanted to walk away. However, Ken went after him and grabbed more cars (Observation, Tape 42). Although Kevin rejected sharing the cars and tried to escape from Sophie and Ken, he failed and didn't fight back. Noah, another Chinese immigrant boy, didn't try to physically take the material or to negotiate with a boy when the boy refused to share material with him. Rather, Noah complained to another child or searched for a teacher's assistance. In the following instance, Noah searched for a teacher's assistance when Ada refused to share. Noah didn't try to physically take the piece he wanted or try to negotiate (such as trading toys) with Ada. Afterward, Noah complained to his friend Justin about Ada's having too many blue pieces. Noah stood aside and felt upset without directly arguing with Ada. Then, Noah talked to the teacher again about getting one piece of the toy from Ada. The teacher ultimately asked Ada to give Noah one.

> Noah–Ada (walking toward Ada, pointing at the blue piece in Ada's constructed toy): Ada! Ada! Ada! Can we share with you?
> Ada was swinging her constructed toy. The toy fell down, and the pieces fell out. Ada knelt down to collect the pieces.
> Noah–Ada (knelt down and picked up a blue piece): Give me one.
> Ada grabbed the blue piece from Noah and reconstructed the toy.
> Noah: I only need one! (Walked away).
> Noah–Ms. M (walking toward Ms. M): She is not sharing.

Ms. M (talking in Ada's direction): Why aren't you sharing, Ada?
Noah–Ms. M (looked at Ada and then Ms. M): She is not sharing the blue piece.
Ada: I am not finish.
Ms. M–Noah: When she is finished, I will give it to you. (Noah shrugged his shoulders and stood with his arms akimbo.) There are some more in there. (Noah looked in the direction Ms. M was pointing.)
Noah–Ms. M: There were no more.
Ms. M–Noah: The round ones. The circle ones. I see some in the box.
Noah walked toward the box where Justin was standing and looked inside.
Noah (towards the direction of Ms. M): No. It's not! (Grabbed a piece from the box) Ms. M! Ms. M! Ms. M! (Walking toward Ms. M, showing her the piece) I am not finding this. (Noah put the piece back in the box.)
Justin came over to Noah and passed him a piece.
Noah–Justin (walking toward Justin): I don't like that one.
Justin–Noah: Which one?
Noah–Justin (pointed in the direction of the blue piece): That one! (Noah stood with arms akimbo.)
Justin–Noah (adjusted his toy): Go get the blue one first.… I got the blue one first, and I found it.
Noah–Justin (stood close to Justin looking around): Ada got too many.
Justin–Noah: Why do you need it? (Pointed toward the blue piece in the center of his toy) For this? The circle one?
Noah–Justin (looking in the direction of Ada, with his arms akimbo): Ada has too too too many. We just have seven.
Justin–Noah: Just seven, and she is … I can't give mine to you. Get a new one! (Played with his toy)
Noah walked toward Ms. M with his arms crossed. Ms. M walked toward the shelf. Noah followed her and tried to talk to her.
Noah–Ms. M: I just want one. (Observation, Tape 11)

Besides the Chinese immigrant boys, the two Chinese girls in this study also displayed passive behaviors to avoid conflicts in terms of sharing. Like the Chinese boys, the Chinese immigrant girls mostly argued for materials, but their most common response was letting the material go without argument. As for the strategies the Chinese immigrant girls used, Maggie once expressed her own opinion through speaking for her doll without direct arguments. She didn't directly express her thought but used an indirect way to reach

her goal: she stopped Alan from covering their laps with a blanket by speaking for the doll. She refused Alan's sharing intention in a more gentle way of saying "no."

> Alan and Helen were on the sofa. Maggie tried to sit on the sofa, where Alan was sitting.
> Alan stood up and moved to an adjacent sofa.
> Maggie sat down.
> Alan pulled up the blanket to cover their laps.
> Maggie–Alan: My baby don't like it. I don't need this. (Observation, Tape 129)

Maggie once rejected Ada's request for sharing indirectly. Because this incident happened outside the Dramatic Play Center, the video didn't catch the scene. However, it was recorded in my field notes.

> At 9:30 a.m., Maggie and May were playing puzzles. Ada went to them.
> Ada–Maggie: Maggie, may I play?
> Maggie–Ada: No, this is for two people.
> Ada–Maggie: I want to play. We are friends.
> Maggie–Ada: We can play tomorrow. I will be your friend tomorrow, okay?
> May: I will be your friend tomorrow, too.
> Ada (Walked away)
> Maggie and May kept playing. (Field note, April 22)

Yolanda used a strategy I named "take second best." She didn't directly fight for the material with her peers but declared that the peer had "borrowed" the material instead of taking it away. This led to a second-best situation: at least Yolanda could play with the material along with the peers rather than losing it.

> Valeria tried to grab Yolanda's doll.
> Yolanda (holding the doll): NO. NO. NO!
> Yolanda held the doll horizontally and passed it to Valeria.
> Yolanda–Valeria: You can hold this … borrow it. (Valeria carried the doll in her arms and shook it gently.)
> Maggie–Valeria: Her baby is sleeping.

Yolanda covered the doll with the "napkin."
Valeria put the doll on Yolanda's lap. (Observation, Tape 24)

In another situation, Maggie grabbed Yolanda's blanket and claimed that the blanket was hers. Yolanda first pulled the blanket and struggled with Maggie, but then she immediately suggested that both of them could be covered by it.

Maggie grabbed the other corner of Yolanda's blanket.
Maggie–Yolanda (both of them were pulling the blanket): It's my blanket!
Yolanda–Maggie (smiling): Cover us. Cover two people, okay?
Maggie nodded and stopped pulling.
Yolanda tried to cover both of them with the blanket.
Kate tried to get under their blanket too. (Observation, Tape 115)

Similar to Noah, Yolanda also asked for a teacher's help when she encountered conflict in terms of sharing. One morning, Yolanda and Maggie were playing with two dolls in the Dramatic Play Center. Valeria took a doll from them without their permission several times. Yolanda tried to get it back with Maggie, but Valeria kept stealing the doll. Yolanda then called for a teacher's help.

Valeria took Maggie's doll away and gave it to Kate at the Reading Corner.
Yolanda saw it.
Yolanda–Valeria (loudly, hitting the table with her hand): NO! Valeria!
Yolanda–Maggie (pointing in Kate's direction): No. GO GET IT!
Maggie: Okay!
Valeria passed the doll to Kate, who was sitting on a chair beside the bookshelf.
Maggie ran to Kate with her doll.
Kate–Maggie (standing up): GO AWAY! I AM NOT PLAYING WITH YOU!
Kate ran around. May followed her, cheering for Kate. Valeria passed the doll to Ray, who was sitting opposite Yolanda at a table.
Maggie came back to Yolanda.
Yolanda pointed at the floor under the table.
Valeria and Ray went to hide the doll at the shelf, blocking the shelf with a pillow.
Yolanda pointed at Valeria and Tom.
Yolanda (walking toward the teacher): Ms. T! Valeria steals the baby from me.

Teacher–Yolanda: Okay.
Yolanda tried to talk to Ms. T again, but Ms. T was engaged in another conversation.
Yolanda went to the shelf.
Valeria quickly went back to the shelf and blocked it with her body.
Yolanda walked toward Valeria. Maggie came over and hit Valeria with her hand.
Yolanda–Valeria: Do you still want my strawberry candy?
Valeria put the pillow to the side and walked away.
Maggie (looked underneath the shelf and reached for the doll): I get it for you.
Yolanda: Thank you. (Took the doll and ran away cheerfully.)
Maggie: Me get it. Me get it!
Yolanda put her doll on the "hospital bed" with a smile. (Observation, Tape 24)

In conclusion, conflicts occurred in children's pretend play when someone didn't want to share with peers. The Chinese immigrant boys in this study had conflicts in terms of sharing with peers regardless of gender, while the Chinese immigrant girls tended to have conflicts with female peers. Regarding the things they argued about, both the Chinese immigrant boys and girls mostly argued for materials with their playmates, followed by arguing for ideas about play scenarios and play spaces. In addition, the Chinese immigrant girls also argued about who should pretend to be whom in a play scenario and who could join in a scenario. Kevin is the only one who argued about the name of a vegetable. He shared his knowledge of the vegetable with a girl, but she didn't agree with him.

When encountering conflicts in terms of sharing in social pretend play, the six Chinese immigrant children tried to avoid conflict instead of engaging in confrontation. They let go, gave up arguing, or even didn't argue at all, choosing instead to turn away or find other excuses, such as speaking up for a doll or taking the second-best option. No matter what strategies they used, the children shared in response to elicitations or passively shared the materials, ideas, or play spaces. The Chinese immigrant parents encouraged their children to be nice and share with others. They also suggested that children search for teachers' help when having conflicts with peers.

Language and sharing behavior

Teachers' descriptions of the six Chinese immigrant children's language barrier shed light on relations between the Chinese immigrant children's language ability and sharing behaviors. Except for Maggie, who always spoke English, the Chinese immigrant children spoke Mandarin to Chinese children and spoke English to teachers and non-Chinese peers.

Tom, who speaks very limited English, usually played with Mandarin-speaking children. In my reflection journal, I noted that Tom displayed different strategies to join play scenarios. He verbally shared materials and ideas with Yolanda, another Mandarin speaker, and remained in the play scenario with verbal conversation in Mandarin. However, he used more body language to show his intention for joining in play with English-speaking boys.

> When Tom went to the classroom with his father, Ray and Justin were playing. Tom approached them and joined them in progress. He was an onlooker first, watching them playing for a while. Then, he picked up some pieces of the toy. The two boys didn't reject him, so he began constructing. They then went into parallel play. They played with the same material and beside each other, but Tom and the other two boys didn't share the same play goal. Just before cleaning time, Tom raised his "plane" and said, "Look!" Ray and Justin noticed, and they began to talk with Tom in English. It's a pity that the game didn't go on because of the cleaning time. However, Tom showed his strategies of joining in a pretend scenario.
>
> After Circle Time, children went into centers. Yolanda pulled out a box of animals, and Tom went and picked up the toy animals directly. This time, he didn't use the approaching strategies showed previously with the two boys. He started playing with Yolanda with conversations in Mandarin. They fought their toy lions, lined the animals up, and paired them as "families." Linda doesn't speak Mandarin. She held a toy dinosaur and watched them playing. Linda finally joined Tom and Yolanda's play, but she spoke English only. Tom and Yolanda spoke Mandarin throughout the scenario, even when speaking to Linda.
>
> It's interesting to see how Tom joined a game in different groups. When the playmates were English speakers, he joined them step by step. On the

contrary, when the playmate was a Mandarin speaker, he directly joined her play and spoke a lot in Mandarin. Now here is the question: Do Chinese immigrant children display different sharing behaviors toward Mandarin-speaking children from English-speaking children? (Reflection journal, April 13)

All of the six Chinese immigrant children were born in the United States. Their language capabilities, however, are not equal. Due to different heritage languages used by their families, the children spoke different languages besides English. Ken and Yolanda spoke Cantonese and Mandarin; Kevin and Noah spoke Mandarin; Maggie understood Cantonese and Mandarin but spoke English only; and Tom spoke Mandarin only. Tom and Kevin spoke Mandarin to each other and played together quite often. During the observation period, Tom always spoke Mandarin. In the following example, Tom and Kevin communicated in Mandarin for the whole play. This is part of the play scenario.

Kevin put a white hard hat on.
Tom picked up a blue gun-like object and put it in his "belt" made by a long strip of fabric.
Tom–Kevin: 我有槍。[I have a gun.]
Kevin picked up his "sword" and put it in his "belt."
Kevin: 我有刀。[I have a knife.]
Tom–Kevin: 你有劍啦! [You have a sword!]
Kevin: 我有劍。[I have a sword.]
Tom held his "gun" and struck a pose. Kevin's hard hat fell off his head, and his "sword" fell out of his "belt." He went to pick up the hat and "sword.")
Tom waited for Kevin to readjust the "sword."
Tom: 走! [Let's go!]
(Observation, Tape 101)

Yolanda and Noah spoke English and also Mandarin to each other. For example, Yolanda reminded Noah in Mandarin that he had left a cloth on the ground. Noah responded in Mandarin, and the two children began a pretend scenario about ordering water. They shared ideas and knowledge in Mandarin in this pretend play scenario.

Noah walked away from the "washing machine" after he closed the lid.
Yolanda ran back by the "washing machine."
Yolanda–Noah: 還有一個 [There's one more.] (Yolanda picked up another identical red cloth.)
Noah–Yolanda: 你想要喝什麼? [What do you want to drink?] (Noah hopped toward Yolanda.)
Yolanda–Noah: 我想要喝冰水 [I want to drink iced water.] (Yolanda and Noah headed toward the "kitchen" side.)
Noah–Yolanda: 冰水太冰你會生病，我給你喝冷水 [Iced water is too cold to make you sick. I will give you cool water.]
Yolanda went beside Noah to a basket full of "menus" and flipped through them.
Yolanda–Noah: 我還想要吃這個，還要一些水的 menu. [I want to eat this too, and I want some menu for water.] (Observation, Tape 76)

In another example, Noah wanted to share with Yolanda his idea of putting a toy pear on the toy bun. So he put the toy pear on the bun with which Yolanda was planning to make a burger. Yolanda rejected Noah in Chinese so that she could continue her burger making.

Yolanda started to make the "burger."
Noah approached Yolanda and put the "pear" on Yolanda's "bun."
Yolanda–Noah (put away the "pear"): 不要 [No!]
Noah put "beans" on the other "bun" and smiled at Yolanda.
(Observation, Tape 68)

In my reflection journal, I described how the six Chinese immigrant children employed Mandarin. Generally speaking, they spoke English to children who didn't speak Mandarin and communicated with Chinese children in both English and Mandarin. If there were non-Chinese and Chinese children in the same play scenario, the Chinese immigrant children spoke English mostly because everyone understood them this way.

> Yolanda spoke English throughout the play. I noticed when she speaks Mandarin or Cantonese, she uses longer sentences and always speaks louder. When speaking English, Yolanda lowers down her voice. I even cannot hear what she is saying. I noticed that for those who speak Mandarin, such as Noah, Yolanda, Tom, and Kevin, they know who can also speak Mandarin, and they use Mandarin naturally with each other in play and in daily life. (Reflection journal, April 5)

Therefore, language preference and ability influence the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. Better language ability leads to better social involvement and smoother sharing interactions with peers. The six Chinese immigrant children shared materials and ideas, as well as expressed rejections, in Mandarin. Due to Tom's English inefficiency, he seldom played with non-Chinese peers and mostly shared with Chinese children. Therefore, language plays an important role in the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors.

PARENTS' DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S SHARING BEHAVIORS

Encouraging sharing as a positive social behavior

All six of the Chinese immigrant parents who were interviewed stated that sharing is a positive social behavior that should be encouraged. They taught their children to share with others and to be nice to their friends. For example, Ken's mother asked her son to share with peers.

> If someone grabs his toy while he is playing, it seems like he would grab it back. If he wants to play with the toy, yes, he will grab it back. However, if I tell him, "You cannot do that, and you need to share with other kids," he will let the other kids take his toy. I usually teach him to share with other kids, and generally speaking he will share and play with others (Parent interview, Ken's mother).

Noah's mother also stated that her husband and she encouraged their children to share since this is part of their education philosophy.

> It is definitely related to the parent's education philosophy, how they teach their kids. My husband and I generally teach our two kids to be generous, be nice and to share. (Parent interview, Noah's mother)

Yolanda's father expressed that his daughter should share with others but doesn't need to share immediately. He encouraged his daughter to take another similar toy or ask others to wait for a little while.

> While in school or at other kids' homes, I sometimes ask my kid to share with others and go take another similar toy. Generally, I will encourage her to tell the other kids to take turns and let them know that she will share with them after a little while. (Parent interview, Yolanda's father)

Avoid Fighting with Others and Search for Help

The Chinese immigrant parents guided their children to share and not fight with others for something. If conflicts occurred, the parents encouraged their children to search for adults' help rather than deal with the conflicts on their own. Kevin's mother taught him not to fight because she doesn't want him to construct a characteristic of fighting. She mentioned that if someone hit Kevin, he needed to protect himself and report it to teachers, because it is teachers' responsibility to deal with issues between children.

> What I usually tell him is if another kid tries to grab your toy, you just give it to him and go take another one, or you can talk to the teacher, but you don't fight with him. I told him that if another kid beats you, you need to run away and tell the teacher but not fight with the kid. If you fight in school, you might get hurt; instead you just need to tell the teacher and she will deal with this issue. I don't think it is good to teach the kid to fight when he is young; otherwise, he will form the philosophy of fighting for things since his childhood, which I think is not good for him. I think the kids need to learn to talk with the teachers since it is the responsibility of teachers to deal with issues between kids, but not the kids themselves. First you need to protect yourself and try to avoid fighting and getting hurt, and then you need to tell the teacher and let the teacher deal with this. You don't fight with other kids. (Parent interview, Kevin's mother)

Ken's mother said that her son seldom fights for toys with others. If conflicts happen, she guides Ken to share with others.

> I don't think my kid fights with others. If someone grabs his toys, he simply gives them to him/her and goes to play with the other toys. He has been acting like that since he was very young. I've never seen Ken fight for toys with other kids—well, very rarely. If another kid wants to play what Ken is playing, I will tell him to share and play with others together. (Parent interview, Ken's mother)

Yolanda's father stated that if someone of the same age requested to share, Yolanda should not give up the toy. She could fairly hold onto the toy because all the players are the same age. However, if a younger one asked her to share a toy, Yolanda should share because she should share with younger peers just like she shares with her younger sister. He didn't like for his daughter to get something through fighting with others. Yolanda's father encouraged her to get help from adults when she encountered conflicts in terms of sharing when she could not handle them herself with the strategies he had taught her.

> If all the kids are about the same age, it is fair to take turns and I will encourage my kid to tell others, "I want to play with this toy first, but I will share with you later." I don't encourage her to give up her toy to other kids of the same age. It is fair to hold on to her own thing since everyone is at the same age level and they are not her younger siblings, after all. Anyway, I like her to learn sharing with others, and I don't want her to take the toy for herself after fighting with others. Regardless of whether it's her own toy or others', I like to see her share with others. If the strategies I told her don't work well, sometimes I ask her to get help from adults. (Parent interview, Yolanda's father)

Therefore, the Chinese immigrant parents in this study considered sharing to be a good virtue and encouraged their children to share with others. Fighting for something with peers was discouraged and considered something to be avoided. When conflicts occurred, searching for adults' help was the method that the Chinese immigrant parents encouraged.

TEACHERS' DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S SHARING BEHAVIORS

Language Barriers

Children with better English abilities understood more what their peers wanted and knew how to respond appropriately. Teachers noticed that the six Chinese immigrant children's English abilities influenced their social competences.

> I notice that they … especially those Chinese children, if American children grab their toys, they know they need to speak English to them because the American children cannot understand Mandarin. But the problem is, those Chinese children's English ability is not developed well, not at a sufficient level, so they often stutter when speaking English. This *is* a problem. I think they will be fine when they get older, because … they just need more time to practice. They will be fine in the future, but now it is difficult for them. (Teacher interview, Ms. L)

Of the six Chinese immigrant children, Tom spoke the most limited English. He usually played with children who could speak Mandarin. Ms. T described Tom's situation in English learning. She mentioned that Tom not only could not respond to her English commands but also hardly played with English-speaking peers.

> Tom's parents don't speak English, or speak simple English sentences. And then … people around him, such as neighbors, spoke Mandarin also. His sister was in my class; she spoke Mandarin only, just like Tom. His sister was just attending elementary school; I hope she can learn more English and teach Tom to speak English. Basically, Tom didn't speak English at all. I found that he cannot respond to my English commands. I am surprised that this child was here for almost two years but cannot understand simple English. I don't know if he just didn't want to follow my English commands. I think his English inferiority influences his social interactions. (Teacher interview, Ms. T)

Typical Behaviors When Dealing with Conflicts

Teachers in this study demonstrated that the six Chinese immigrant children tended to avoid conflict in social pretend play, especially the Chinese immigrant girls. Ms. M

described Yolanda's responses when she faced conflicts. Ms. M noticed Yolanda's passive behaviors when dealing with conflicts in terms of sharing. For her, this characteristic is good, and she "kind of likes that."

> Yolanda is not a fighter, and she doesn't argue. So she is more ladylike. She will wait until another person's done, or she will just tell me. And I kind of like that, 'cause I don't have to go around and say, "No, you have to stop!" Usually when I see Yolanda's face, if it looks like really sad, I know somebody took something from her. Maggie also does it. She was very quiet, but now she talks a lot. She uses her words, like, "Stop." (Teacher interview, Ms. M)

Ms. T mentioned how the six Chinese immigrant children deal with conflicts in terms of sharing. According to her descriptions, the Chinese immigrant children displayed some common characteristics when encountering conflicts.

> It does seem there exist some similarities among Chinese kids. Well, there are certainly cases where they would fight when their stuff is taken away by others; but compared to non-Chinese kids, such cases are rare. Most kids seek attention from their teachers and hope for judgments in their favor. When they feel bullied, they cry out to the teachers and tell that their toys have been taken away just as they got them. They will be very loud. In many other cases, if they had played with the toys for a while before they got taken away, they'll be like "Whatever … I'll find something else," and move on with other toys. (Teacher interview, Ms. T)

According to the teachers in this study, the six Chinese immigrant children displayed passive behaviors to avoid conflicts. They tended not to fight with peers for something they wanted; rather, they found something else. They usually were quiet, but sometimes they eventually cried out loud. The teachers did not know the reasons for the children's passive behaviors. It was considered a common feature among the Chinese immigrant children.

SUMMARY

The six Chinese immigrant children initiated sharing and responded other's sharing requests during social pretend play. They requested sharing verbally and rejected sharing requests verbally and nonverbally. Concrete materials and abstract elements were shared spontaneously, passively, or in response to others' requests. When they encountered rejection and conflicts in terms of sharing in social pretend play, the Chinese immigrant children accepted rejections by abandoning their sharing intentions, doing something else, or turning to follow their playmates' commands. They avoided conflicts by letting go, giving up arguing, offering no arguments, turning away, or finding other supplements.

Requests about sharing materials were usually nonverbally rejected, while shared ideas were verbally rejected. Ideas about pretend roles were verbally rejected most frequently regardless of the gender of the Chinese immigrant children in this study. Nonverbal rejections usually came with verbal rejections, especially when it came to sharing materials. Compared to the Chinese immigrant boys, the Chinese immigrant girls often explained to the takers the reasons for their rejections.

The Chinese immigrant parents in this study considered sharing to be a good virtue and encouraged their children to share. Arguing or fighting for something with peers was not encouraged by these parents. They taught their children some strategies to use when having conflicts with peers; searching for adults' help was the most common one. As for teachers, they noticed that Chinese immigrant children's English inferiority caused poor social interactions with English-speaking children. Generally speaking, the English language efficiency of the six Chinese immigrant children influenced their sharing behaviors. They tended to share ideas and knowledge in Mandarin with Chinese children. If a child didn't speak English well, he or she used different strategies to join a group or initiate play with English-speaking peers and Mandarin-speaking ones.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Implications

To examine Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior in their social pretend play in a US preschool setting, this study observed six Chinese immigrant children in their social pretend play. The Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior as well as their parents' and teachers' descriptions of their sharing behaviors were investigated. Findings of this study revealed characteristics of Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors and their parents' and teachers' concepts about their sharing behaviors in social pretend play. This chapter will discuss topics generated based on the findings, including the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play, sharing and social pretend play, responses to sharing requests in social pretend play, and gender differences. These features are similar to those described in studies that focused on non-Chinese immigrant children. In this chapter, parents' and teachers' perceptions on children's sharing behaviors are discussed, revealing the six Chinese immigrant children's unique behaviors in sharing in social pretend play. Implications for educators and parents, as well as recommendations for future research, are described at the end of this chapter.

The Six Chinese Immigrant Children's Sharing Behaviors in Social Pretend Play

In research studies, sharing was categorized as spontaneous sharing, elicited sharing, and passive sharing by children's sharing concrete materials (Birch & Billman, 1986; Rao & Stewart, 1999). Findings of the current study demonstrated that no matter what kind of sharing behaviors the six Chinese immigrant children displayed or what elements they shared, pretend scenarios were initiated or extended. This supports the fact that children communicate, share ideas, and negotiate with one another to construct common frames of reference when creating play scenarios in social pretend play (Garvey, 1990; Göncü & Kessel, 1988; Nicolopoulou, 1997, 2010; Parsons & Howe, 2013).

Verbal and Nonverbal Sharing

The six Chinese immigrant children displayed verbal and nonverbal sharing behaviors as initiators or to respond to sharing requests, but they didn't display the behaviors termed "verbally accept a child's offer to share materials" or "verbally offer to trade materials with a child" in this study. They didn't verbally accept objects because they accepted the materials directly without verbal responses. It is apparent that the children's use of language for sharing is different from adults' as the politeness is absent. Interestingly, some short and simple Chinese language was also used. Moreover, it is important to point out that no trading behaviors were seen during the observation sections, which may be related to the age of the children or the setting of the school. More research on this topic is needed in the future.

To begin a conversation in social pretend play, the six Chinese immigrant children made "within pretend talk" with a relevant pretend role (Corsaro, 1985). When someone invited the Chinese immigrant children to join a pretend scenario with a pretend role, they responded to the role instead of to the peer him- or herself. By responding to the role with a proper pretend role, the children showed that they accepted the invitation, and then a joint pretend scenario began. Therefore, "when children add to, or respond to, their partner's ideas and actions in the play, they extend the shared meanings already established" (Dockett, 1998, p. 113). Moreover, the findings stated above support Dockett's statement: "Complex shared pretense would not occur without strong verbal communication" (1998, p. 113). Dockett described two types of verbal communications: pretend communications and metacommunications (1998). When a child adopts the role of the play episode and both the words and the tone that he or she uses are appropriate to the role, he or she is using pretend communication. Metacommunications are defined as "a verbal statement or action which explains how messages about pretend play should be interpreted" (Farver, 1992, p.

502). It serves to separate the real world from pretend and frame the play by setting contexts and directions for the ongoing nature of the play. Metacommunications occur outside the play frame, while pretend communications occur within the play frame. Children can move in and out of the play frames, negotiating with the partners to continue a play episode (Dockett, 1998). Accordingly, the Chinese immigrant children in this study accepted other children's invitations by employing pretend communications. Once the pretend communication began, the new pretend episode was created or an existing pretend script was extended.

Request for Sharing—"You Have to Share"

In this study, making direct requests for sharing with imperative sentences such as "You have to share" was not a strategy frequently used among the six Chinese immigrant children. Only three of the Chinese immigrant children had records of requesting for sharing, and the sentence "You have to share" was said by Maggie only once among the six Chinese children. According to Corsaro (2003), directly asking, "Can I play?" or "You have to share" may cause a failure to enter a play scenario (Corsaro, 2003). A successful entry requires access strategies that show that the attempting child can fit into the ongoing play (Corsaro, 2003). Therefore, the Chinese immigrant children in this study join in with a pretend scenario by indirectly expressing their intentions. Since responding with "within pretend talk" showed an understanding of the ongoing play scenario and qualified as entry into the play flow (Corsaro, 2003), the Chinese immigrant children requested sharing and accepted invitations to join a pretend scenario using that strategy. In addition, the data from the current study suggested that the six Chinese immigrant children often requested to share verbally, supporting the idea that sharing is learned in social interactions, which has been proven by Vygotsky's social-construction theory.

Share Concrete Materials and Abstract Elements

When the Chinese immigrant children shared materials, they usually simultaneously shared related ideas. According to Vygotsky, "in play thought is separated from objects and action arises from ideas rather than from things: a piece of wood begins to be a doll and a stick becomes a horse. Action according to rules begins to be determined by ideas and not by objects themselves" (1978, p. 97). For Vygotsky (1978), in play, an object (for example, a stick) become a pivot point for severing the meaning of "house" from a real house. Children spontaneously separate meanings from objects without knowing they are doing it (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky's theories explain the six Chinese immigrant children's behaviors of sharing materials along with ideas. In addition, "in pretense, people intentionally misrepresent objects as having fictional identities and properties (e.g., a stone can represent a shark), and people recognize and share in one another's pretense. Hence, pretend play allows everyday objects to be used to convey a limitless range of scenarios" (Sutherland & Friedman, 2013, p. 1,661). Sharing materials with ideas makes pretend scenarios limitless. With the pivot that transforms objects to fantastical ones, the Chinese immigrant children enrich their social pretend play with unlimited meanings.

In some cases, children shared a material with another child in a pretend play scenario without touching it. They, instead, verbally shared the material and the idea simultaneously to enrich the play scenario. This finding challenges the definitions of *sharing*. In social pretend play, verbal sharing and nonverbal sharing can occur simultaneously. *Nonverbal sharing* cannot be merely defined as "passing or handing materials to another child" and "using the same material simultaneously" (Rogers-Warren & Baer, 1976; Alvord & O'Leary, 1985). In children's social pretend play, children expressed the intentions of sharing an object by simply showing the object or putting it

near the intended recipient and verbally giving reasons for sharing the object. Because the recipients understood the underlying theme, they realized what the sharers were thinking and wanting. By sharing an understanding of the goal (Howe et al., 2005) and meanings of the theme (Brenner & Mueller, 1982), children cooperatively acted to maintain or prolong the pretend scenario.

Of the sharing experiences, sharing a blanket was usually accompanied by a significant meaning: sharing play space. The Chinese immigrant children in this study used blankets as something they could lay on and somewhere they could hide from witches. They shared the blanket, the idea of hiding, and the play space to hide. Corsaro's (2003) statements can explain this phenomenon: "In peer culture, children share a concern about danger, and they see it as something that can occur at any time" (2003, p. 98). They recognize the danger, avert it, and then escape from it. In this kind of activity, children share relief and joy (Corsaro, 2003). Therefore, "children are able *to share and feel in control of* various dangers, fears, or threats to their safety" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 102). When the Chinese immigrant children were sharing blankets and hiding from wicked things under the blankets, they were also sharing a sense of being safe.

SHARING AND SOCIAL PRETEND PLAY

Among social-interactive behaviors, sharing tangible objects can be considered as one of the most effective ways for children to positively interact with others (Hay, 1979). In this study, sharing materials can initiate a pretend scenario. By sharing materials with ideas related to pretend themes, the six Chinese immigrant children developed scripts to initiate or maintain a joint dialogue and action, and the pretend scenarios were extended. O'Connor (1969) also indicated that peer interactions among nursery school children begin with the sharing of toys (O'Connor, 1969). Chinese immigrant children in this study also

shared make-believe ideas, sometimes along with shared materials, to initiate a pretend scenario and to invite friends to join the pretend play. By responding to the "role" with a proper pretend role, the children showed that they accepted the invitation, and then a joint pretend scenario began. Therefore, sharing can be one way to gain admission to an activity or to include a child in a play scenario (Damon, 1988). By sharing concrete and abstract elements, social pretend play was initiated and the script was prolonged and enriched.

RESPONSES TO SHARING REQUESTS IN SOCIAL PRETEND PLAY

Responded to Sharing Invitations

The phenomenon in which the six Chinese immigrant children responded to the pretend roles that the inviters in this study were engaging in supports Howes's (1985) theories about children's strategies of joining a pretend scenario. Howes defined three strategies that children used to integrate pretense into their social play: recruitment, imitation, and join. Among the strategies, verbal recruitment and "join" were found to be more effective than imitation or nonverbal recruitment. "Join" occurs when a child displays a fantasy action and does not direct the partner to follow suit, but the partner responds with a fantasy action, either directing the action to the initiating child or just naming the action the child displayed (Howes, 1985). The Chinese immigrant children "joined" the pretend scenario with proper fantasy actions.

Rejections in Sharing Behaviors

The six Chinese immigrant children verbally and nonverbally rejected sharing requests when they didn't want to share in social pretend play. Sometimes children reject others' joining in their play to protect their play space. This desire to protect interactive space is not selfish. They instead want to keep sharing what they are already sharing (Corsaro, 2003). Refusing others' requests for sharing play space or materials is a way to

keep sharing the existing play themes and to continue the play flow. Therefore, "what might seem like selfish behavior is really an attempt to keep sharing" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 43). Accordingly, the Chinese immigrant children in this study rejected sharing intentions from others as a result of their desire to keep the existing pretend scenario going.

Moreover, conflicts occurred when offers of sharing were not accepted. "Conflict is a central feature of kids' peer culture" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 193). Both Chinese immigrant boys and girls in this study mostly argued for materials with their playmates, followed by arguing for ideas of play scenarios and play spaces. The girls also argued about who should pretend to be whom in a play scenario and who could join in a scenario. The findings support Madrid and Kantor's (2009) statements that it was typical for preschool girls to decide who would be the mother(s) at the beginning of their social pretend play. Furthermore, the finding is supported by Corsaro's statements about conflicts in peer culture. According to Corsaro (2003), conflicts among the Caucasian middle-class American children he studied were mostly related to the nature of play and disputes over objects (Corsaro, 2003). The six Chinese immigrant children demonstrated a pattern similar to that of the Caucasian middle-class American children as they argued about ideas that were related to the nature of the play and for materials used in the underlying pretend scenario, as Corsaro stated.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Gender differences existed in the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. In this study, unlike the Chinese immigrant boys, who verbally offered materials to both male and female peers in social pretend play, the Chinese immigrant girls verbally offered materials only to female peers. They usually spontaneously passed play materials to girls, and they also tended to share some elements with female peers more than male

peers in social pretend play, while boys passed to both male and female peers. Corsaro explained that when playing, boys are more open to accept nonclique members. Compared to girls, boys dispute less about friendship within the clique (Corsaro, 2003). Cliques are "groups of kids who played together on a regular basis and referred to each other as good or best friends" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 72). Disputes and conflicts that occur in girls' cliques are more frequent, emotional, and long-lasting (Corsaro, 2003). Accordingly, girls tended to play with clique members and were more exclusive in choosing playmates.

Moreover, Birch and Billman (1986) once concluded that boys' sharing behaviors, unlike girls', were not affected by gender or quality of relationship. The finding of this study proved that Birch and Billman's conclusion can also be implied in the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play. Compared to the two Chinese immigrant girls, the four Chinese immigrant boys were less exclusive. The boys mostly shared with both genders.

In addition, in the current study, the Chinese immigrant girls used oral communications more than the Chinese immigrant boys in social pretend play. Burford et al. (1996) indicated that girls are more likely than boys to negotiate when interacting with others. This feature of girls is supported by the findings of this study. Hence, gender differences in terms of sharing existed among Chinese immigrant children. Further research is needed on this topic.

PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND CHILDREN'S SHARING BEHAVIORS—REASONS FOR AVOIDING CONFLICTS

The findings of this study demonstrated that when they encountered conflicts in terms of sharing in social pretend play, the six Chinese immigrant children tried to avoid them. The Chinese immigrant parents taught this strategy and encouraged their children to search for adults' help. However, the Chinese immigrant children hesitated to ask for

teacher's help when encountered conflicts. I argued that this results from their parents' traditional Chinese concepts about social interactions that were conveyed to them, their language barriers, and the intentions of keeping the items they want.

Children's behavior in terms of avoiding conflict is supported by the literature. In Madrid and Kantor's study (2009), the preschool girls showed that avoiding arguments was part of the peer-culture routine in their social pretend play. In addition, recent research has indicated that Chinese people consider being direct in communications as offensive and insulting. They tend to give no response rather than offend someone and are reluctant to express their opinions in public (Cheung et al., 2005). Therefore, children consciously or unconsciously express their needs indirectly to avoid conflicts.

Generally speaking, Chinese people are expected to maintain good social relationships and avoid conflicts (Gao et al., 1996). They tend to "avoid conflict and will not challenge anyone whom they regard as an expert" (Cheung et al., 2005, p. 5). In learning environments, Chinese students consider teachers as the highest authorities (He, 1996). Since Confucius emphasizes interrelatedness and kindness in Chinese culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), children are taught to be kind and generous to others. They are also taught to respect their elders (Greenfield, 2000), including older siblings and adults. Accordingly, Chinese immigrant children in this study were encouraged to search for teachers' help when they encountered conflicts in social interactions.

Sharing occurs for many reasons; it can be encouraged by parents because it is defined as a positive social way to interact with people (Cheah & Rubin, 2003). Normally, parents tell their children that it is a way of being "nice" to others (Damon, 1988). The Chinese immigrant parents in this study conveyed the concept of sharing to their children. Vygotsky's (1978) theories of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) and scaffolding indicate that children construct their concepts about the world and learn how to behave

through interacting with others. Children also learn and employ the cultural tools of thought in their play. Children learn to use the thinking tools provided by the culture through their interactions with more skilled people in their ZPDs (Vygotsky, 1978). Accordingly, the six Chinese immigrant children's development of sharing behaviors is scaffolded by their parents. Since Chinese culture, which is considered to be interdependent, emphasizes group cohesion and social norms of play in which children interact actively with peers (Farver, Kim, & Lee, 1995; Curry, 1996; Mariano et al., 1999), Chinese children learn to be kind and generous to others. They are encouraged to communicate indirectly and implicitly (Kwan et al., 2011). These concepts of sharing are conveyed by their parents through daily conversations or life experiences. Therefore, instead of adhering to concept such as "You have to share," the six Chinese immigrant children tend to express the concept as, "We can share."

The Chinese immigrant children in this study passively shared materials and play spaces to maintain group harmony. The parent interviews revealed that the Chinese immigrant parents had taught their children to be kind and avoid conflicts. They tended to teach their children to avoid arguing with peers. When they encountered conflicts, instead of arguing with peers, the children were taught to search for teachers' help. However, interestingly, interviews of the two teachers in this class revealed that the Chinese immigrant children didn't search for teachers' help very much when they encountered conflicts in terms of sharing in the classroom. The American teacher, Ms. M, claimed, "In my class, most of the time [it] is the … [children of] other races that asked me to help. Most of the time when people were not sharing with them—they came to me" (Teacher interview, Ms. M). The Chinese teacher, Ms. T, also agreed with this statement.

> Mostly the English-speaking kids would seek more help from me. I cannot understand why; maybe the Chinese kids are afraid that their teacher would scold

> them if they got involved in any fighting, so they prefer to hide conflicts from their teachers. But English-speaking kids don't have such concerns. They'll just cry out for your attention when anything happens. Well, there are cases where Chinese kids cry out, but usually they choose to back off, like, "Well, if you want it, just have it." (Teacher Interview, Ms. T)

Taking children's language proficiency into consideration, the six Chinese immigrant children passively shared to avoid conflicts that may result from the language barrier. Yolanda showed more confidence when talking in Mandarin and Cantonese than when talking in English. Tom didn't speak English, and Kevin spoke Mandarin with Chinese children often. If they were to search for teachers' help, speaking English was required since English was the main language in the classroom. Although there was a Chinese teacher in the class, she was not always in the classroom, and she always spoke English to the class. Moreover, when the Chinese children were arguing with non-Chinese peers and sought help, the teachers usually asked them to explain their needs and describe the conflict. With insufficient English capabilities, the six Chinese immigrant children may experience frustration in this process. They learned that searching for teachers' help may not work for them.

In addition, the rule of the class indicated that children should keep materials located in the centers they belonged to. For example, dolls should stay in the Dramatic Play Center, and blocks should be played with in the Block Center. However, since materials in all learning centers are reciprocal, sometimes children took objects from other centers to the Dramatic Play Center. A long block could become a sword in children's pretend play. Sometimes teachers allowed children to break the rule if the material benefited the play scenario. When conflicts occurred because the materials did not belong in a center, teachers always asked children to return the objects and end the conflict. To prevent losing the

objects they used in social pretend play that had been taken outside the Dramatic Play Center, children may be hesitant to ask for teachers' help and avoid conflicts.

CONCLUSION

Vygotsky's and Corsaro's theories provided theoretical frameworks for the findings of this study. Vygotsky's (1978) pivot theory explained the six Chinese immigrant children's behaviors of sharing materials along with ideas. The ZPD and scaffolding theories support that the Chinese immigrant children's development of sharing behaviors is scaffolded by their parents. Also, Vygotsky's concepts of self-regulation shed light on the children's ability to control their desire to own an object and instead share with others to maintain and prolong pretend scenarios. Corsaro's theories (2003) explained several phenomena that have been found in this study. His statements explain why the children verbally accept others' invitations by responding to the pretend role instead of the child him- or herself with "within pretend talk." Corsaro suggested that when the six Chinese immigrant children were sharing blankets and hiding from wicked things under them, they were also sharing a sense of being safe. When they refused others' requests for sharing play spaces or materials, they were trying to keep sharing the existing play themes and to continue the play flow. Moreover, Corsaro's theories provided explanations for gender differences in sharing.

Therefore, the findings of this study revealed the fact that six Chinese immigrant children displayed some unique characteristics in sharing behavior. During social pretend play, they requested to share and also rejected to share. Sometimes they didn't want to share but passively shared to avoid conflicts. They had been taught to search for help, but they hesitated to do so because of their language barriers, or they don't want to lose the items they would like to play with. The Chinese immigrant parents in this study prompted sharing

and encouraged their children to avoid directly arguing with peers. The teachers in this study noticed characteristics and language barriers among the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. Their attitudes toward these features potentially influenced the Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. All in all, sharing was one way to gain admission to an activity or to include a child in a play scenario, and language played an important role in the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors. Since sharing is the largest part of young children's friendships, initiating Chinese immigrant children's sharing in social pretend play triggers their social interactions. Better sharing capacities lead to better involvement in peer culture. Hence, sharing and play benefit each other. They are like the two sides of a coin. If we try to split them apart, neither of them will be complete.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings indicated that the six Chinese immigrant children shared concrete and abstract elements. Spontaneous sharing, elicited sharing, and passive sharing were displayed verbally and nonverbally. They requested sharing, yet they also rejected sharing requests if they didn't want to share. When they encountered conflicts in terms of sharing in social pretend play, the six Chinese immigrant children tended to avoid them and use indirect ways to express their needs. Children's language skills influence their ability to engage effectively in interactions with their peers (Hebert-Myers et al., 2006); better language abilities predicted higher levels of compliance with peers' sharing requests. Because of the English inefficiency of some Chinese children, they tended to engage in social pretend play with those who could speak Chinese and used different strategies to engage in play. Moreover, due to the language barriers, the six Chinese immigrant children

did not exhibit typical behaviors of asking adults and authority figures to help solve the disputes that happened during social pretend play.

Implications for Early Childhood Educators in the United States

Features of the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors make their sharing in social pretend play remarkable, such as avoiding conflicts and expressing themselves indirectly. Corsaro (2003) stated that adults have a duty to contribute to children's positive involvement in their peer culture. "To learn about kids' cultures from their perspective, we need to shed our adult point of view and get inside the children's worlds" (Corsaro, 2003, p. 5). Huber (2000) also indicated that "almost every person holds some type of bias or prejudice" (p. 235). When making curricula, teachers take the characteristics of students, students' families, and the school into consideration (Kulinna, Silverman, & Keating, 2000). Educators must recognize that their own cultural heritages affect their perspectives on what is considered the best interests of children (Rodd, 1996). Teachers cannot expect to know everything about all other cultures; however, they can increase their awareness of cultural differences. By exploring one culture at a time and interacting with parents, teachers can gain knowledge and understanding of diverse cultures (Huber, 2000). Hence, to facilitate Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors, classroom teachers can be a bridge between the Chinese culture and the American culture with improved consideration and awareness of cultural differences.

An antiracist pedagogy encourages children to share their experiences about differences among people (Doucet & Adair, 2013). Teachers who use this pedagogy are open-minded regarding children's unique cultural features and welcome them to share these differences. Findings of this study provide teachers who use this pedagogy more information about Chinese immigrant children and their sharing behaviors. Through

understanding features of Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play, teachers are more capable of dealing with conflicts involving sharing among Chinese immigrant children and their English-speaking peers. Teachers can intervene in children's arguments about sharing properly, for example, by encouraging Chinese immigrant children to speak up for themselves in appropriate ways rather than passively avoiding conflicts. Although Chinese immigrant children were taught to seek teachers' help instead of arguing for themselves, they were usually reluctant to ask for teachers' help. As a result, when conflicts occur, teachers should pay more attention to Chinese immigrant children to see if they need guidance to deal with the conflict more effectively. Further, teachers can show Chinese immigrant children how to communicate with peers when arguing for something by themselves, improve their oral communication skills, and give them more support to deal with the conflicts in terms of sharing on their own. Teachers' support will help Chinese immigrant children better involve themselves in their peer culture.

Children reproduce social and cultural values as well as rules in their play. In play, immigrant children have opportunities to assimilate the elements of their original culture heritages and enrich them with new ones (Germanos, 1993). Vygotsky's statement that pretend play has an important role in children's development of self-regulation has also been supported by recent studies (e.g., Elias & Berk, 2002; Berk, Mann, & Ogan, 2006). Thus, social pretend play is a proper context in which young children can learn how to share. They regulate their desires for owning materials and share with others to make the pretend play possible. If considered through multicultural pedagogies, social pretend play is a good context in which to involve children from diverse cultures to share. Children learn to share by interacting with one another, and the interaction is scaffolded with more experienced ones. In addition, pretend play with peers rather than adults may require greater communicative clarity because peers, particularly same-age peers, are less able than

adults to scaffold meaning (Howes & Lee, 2004). Accordingly, classroom teachers should understand that among the learning centers in the classroom, the Dramatic Play Center is particularly important to facilitate children's social competence because children learn about themselves and their world in this learning center (Huber, 2000). According to Morrison (1995), "sociodramatic play centers act as a nonsexist and multicultural arena in which all children are equal" (p. 262). In this center, children pretend to be different people and animals and explore new social roles with their peers. Children take control of situations and use and learn languages to describe their roles or activities (Huber, 2000). Therefore, providing more materials in the Dramatic Play Center, increasing the number of opportunities for children to explore the center, and encouraging all children to participate in social pretend play can benefit children's social interactions and learning to share. For instance, among the materials that children shared in the Dramatic Play Center in this study, blankets were simultaneously used with ideas most frequently. Children used them for hiding from "witches," making a bed, and covering dolls. Providing various and ample blankets in the Dramatic Play Center could increase children's social interactions and enrich their social pretend play. Children's sharing behaviors can also be triggered.

Teachers can notice differences between children's behaviors that emerge from families' prosocial expectations, which are influenced by their original cultures. These behaviors are reflected in children's pretend play and interactions with peers (Hyson & Taylor, 2011). Fortunately, parents are a good resource for knowledge about culture and children's concepts of sharing. "Parents are often willing to share about their culture or act as a resource for the teacher" (Huber, 2000, p. 235). As it encouraged in the anti-racist pedagogy, families and communities are welcomed to be involved in classroom conversations (Doucet & Adair, 2013). Communicating more with Chinese immigrant parents leads to learning more about their concepts about sharing and how they teach their

children to share. Teachers are encouraged to invite Chinese immigrant parents to share the cultural features of their traditions or share traditional legends with children in class. For teachers, providing more opportunities for Chinese immigrant parents to be involved in classroom activities helps to build bonds with them.

The findings of this study demonstrated that sometimes children rejected sharing requests so that they could remain in their existing pretend scenarios. They refused to share not because they were selfish but to protect the existing sharing that was ongoing. Accordingly, educators should empower children, giving them the power to decide when to share and what to share. Sometimes, it's acceptable to not share if sharing will ruin the ongoing play. This requires educators' careful observations and a sensitivity to children's needs. When conflicts in terms of sharing occur among children, educators can figure out the reason of the rejection first and then help children deal with the conflicts. Giving children more time and power to handle the conflicts provides them opportunities to learn how to share in the peer culture.

According to the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC), "Because culture and language are critical factors of children's development, practices cannot be developmentally appropriate unless they are responsive to cultural and linguistic diversity" (Benekamp & Copple, 1997, p. 4). Botsoglou and Kakana (2003) also claimed that early childhood teachers play a very important role in improving immigrant children's everyday lives. Teachers' positive attitudes toward diverse cultures and languages help children understand that there may be many lifestyles, languages, and points of view (Botsoglou & Kakana, 2003). Therefore, Hyson and Taylor (2011) suggested that "educators can promote prosocial development by building secure relationships, creating classroom community, modeling prosocial behavior, establishing prosocial expectations, and supporting families" (p. 76). Conversations in antiracist

pedagogy also build upon trust among parents, teachers, and the communities (Doucet & Adair, 2013). Teachers play a crucial role in involving Chinese immigrant children and their parents in class, physically and mentally. Showing more understanding of children's sharing behaviors and respecting their diverse cultures helps immigrant children and parents get comfortably involved in American culture.

Implications for Chinese Immigrant Parents

Families are children's first and most influential teachers for their prosocial development (Hyson & Taylor, 2011). Sharing is defined as part of prosocial behavior of young children (Yarrow et al., 1976; Hay, 1994) and is valuable in both Chinese and American cultures. Since play helps children adopt and assimilate the social values (Germanos, 1993), it is suggested that parents encourage children to engage in play. Further, pretend play involves symbolic transformation and requires shared meaning, shared knowledge, shared understanding, imagination, and creativity, as well as interpersonal negotiations, sharing initiates, prolonging, and enriching children's pretend scenarios in social pretend play. Engaging in more social pretend play helps children develop sharing strategies, and better social competence for sharing facilitates the improvement of abilities in joining social pretend play.

Furthermore, children identified friends as people playing together, sharing, and doing things on their own without others' interventions, including adults and other kids (Corsaro, 2003). To help Chinese immigrant children get involved in American culture and make friends more smoothly, Chinese immigrant parents can encourage children to actively share with peers. When conflicts occur in terms of sharing in play, parents can give children some time to deal with the conflicts on their own. Because Chinese immigrant children tend to avoid conflicts with peers, parents can encourage children to speak up for

themselves with the proper words instead of searching for teachers' help as the first step. If parents intervene to help children solve the conflicts too early, children miss opportunities to learn how to express themselves. Also, sometimes children rejected sharing requests because they wanted to protect what they had been sharing in social pretend play. Through acquiring more appropriate ways and more time to deal with conflicts of sharing, the Chinese immigrant children can be empowered to solve the problem and learn how to share at their own pace.

Recommendations for Future Research

There are a number of factors that influence the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behavior that could not be controlled for in this study. This study was conducted in the naturalistic environment of a preschool classroom. Attendance of the six Chinese immigrant children and other children in the class may have affected the outcome of children's sharing behaviors. For example, one of the Chinese immigrant boys, Tom, was usually late to school and missed Center Time. His video records of social pretend play contained much less data than those of the other Chinese immigrant children. Tom's parents also refused to be officially interviewed, so information about his family came from the head teacher's formal and informal interviews. Moreover, the sample of the Chinese immigrant children in this study does not represent all preschool Chinese immigrant children in the United States. The findings presented in the current study are not broad enough to apply to all Chinese immigrant children.

Findings of this study reveal that the six Chinese immigrant children shared concrete and abstract elements in social pretend play. Although this study has pointed out that sharing these elements prolongs social pretend play, the factors that caused children to share these elements and the strategies they used to share were not investigated in this

study. In addition to parents' concepts about sharing and Chinese cultural philosophy, the six Chinese immigrant children's birth order, number of siblings, and the relationships between recipients could be influencing factors on their sharing behaviors. These factors need to be examined in the future. Also, gender differences in the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play have been found in this study, yet what causes the differences is still unknown. More variables that influence Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors need to be explored and examined.

Language influences the six Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors, but no research study has explained how strongly children's language capacity impacts their sharing behaviors. For instance, Chinese immigrant parents in this study encourage their children to search for teachers' help when they encounter conflicts in terms of sharing in play. However, based on the teachers' interviews, the six Chinese immigrant children asked for teachers' help to resolve arguments less often than children from other cultural backgrounds. More research is needed on this topic.

Because of the spontaneity and unpredictability, which are essential elements of children's play, it is challenging for researchers to conduct play studies (Whitebread, Coltman, Jameson, & Lander, 2009). Fortunately, cultural and social influences can be found in children's play; they function within children's play (Johnson et al., 1999). It is necessary to conduct more research studies examining young children's culturally influenced behaviors in play. Except for this study, there are no research studies that focus on Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in social pretend play. More and further studies related to this topic are necessary. What Chinese culture concepts, such as Confucius philosophy, influence Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors? How do Chinese culture and American culture influence Chinese immigrant children's sharing in play? How do parents' and teachers' beliefs about sharing influence children's sharing

behaviors? How can adults facilitate Chinese immigrant children's sharing behaviors in play? These are potential topics to be explored in future research.

Appendix A: Coding Framework

Sharing Behavior (SB)

Code #1: Identity (I)

The role children play in sharing episodes.

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
01–SB–I–S	Sharer	The one who shares material, space, idea, emotion, etc.
01–SB–I–R	Recipient	The one who receives the shared material, space, idea, emotion, etc.

Code #2: Sharing strategies (SS)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
02–SB–SS–SS	Spontaneous sharing	The sharer shares material/ideas/play space with the recipient without request
02–SB–SS–ES	Elicited sharing	The sharer shares material/ideas/play space with the recipient at the request of the recipient
02–SB–SS–PS	Passive sharing	The recipient takes material without asking the sharer and the sharer allows the recipient to take it

Code #3: Sharing with/without verbal language (SVL)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
03–SB–SVL–VS–VI	Verbal sharing– verbally invite a child	Verbally invite a child to join in an activity
03–SB–SVL–VS–VAI	Verbal sharing– verbally accepting an invitation	Verbally accept an invitation to join in an activity
03–SB–SVL–VS–VOS	Verbal sharing–	Verbally offer to share materials with a child

	verbally offer to share materials with a child	
03–SB–SVL–VS–VAO	Verbal sharing–verbally accept a child's offer	Verbally accept a child's offer to share materials
03–SB–SVL–VS–VOT	Verbal sharing–verbally offer to trade	Verbally offer to trade materials with a child
03–SB–SVL–NS	Nonverbal sharing	When a child passes or hands materials to another child and both of them touch the material for at least 5 seconds, as well as when more than one child use the same materials simultaneously
03–SB–SVL–NS–PH	Passes or hands materials	Passes or hands materials to another child
03–SB–SVL–NS–MO	Use the same materials	More than one child use the same materials simultaneously

Code #4: What to share (WS)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
04–SB–WS–PS	Share play space	A child allows other(s) to use part of the play space.
04–SB–WS–I	Share ideas	A child tells another one his/her ideas.
04–SB–WS–E	Share emotion	A child understands the play partner's emotions and mimics the emotion or tries to comfort the partner.
04–SB–WS–K	Share knowledge	A child provides knowledge to another one or corrects a child with right concepts.
04–SB–WS–ME	Share meanings	"A property of social interactions in which each participant acts in accord with a single underlying topic or theme" (Brenner & Mueller, 1982, p. 389). Each participant of the play understands a common theme.
04–SB–WS–May	Share material	Share artifacts (Corsaro & Eder, 1990). Children use one another's play materials simultaneously or take turns.

04–SB–WS–May–TT	Take turns	A stable set of activities or routines (Corsaro & Eder, 1990)
04–SB–WS–U	Share understanding	More than two children realize the goal of the activity they are engaged in.

Code #5: Ignore (I)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
05–SB–I–ISI	Ignore someone's sharing intention	A child doesn't respond to another one's sharing intention.
05–SB–I–IBY	Ignored by others	A child displays sharing intentions but gets no response.

Code #6: Rejection (R)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
06–SB–R–RS–V	Reject to share – Verbal rejection	A child refuses to share with others using spoken language.
06–SB–R–RS–NV	Reject to share – Nonverbal rejection	A child physically refuses to share with others (e.g., grabs the material back, pushes a child out of the play space, or holds the material tight).
06–SB–R–AR	Accept rejection	When rejected by others, a child does not argue or fight back.

Code #7: Share to obey adults' commands (SOE)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
07–SB–SOE	Share to obey adults' commands	A child follow an adult's commands to share with others.

Code #8: Choose to share with a better friend (CSB)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
08–SB–CSB	Share with better friend	A child chooses to share with a better friend.

Peer Culture (PC)

Code #1: Production of community functions in peer culture (PCF) (Corsaro, 1985)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
01–PC–PCF–I	Imperative	"Imperatives are direct commands or warnings which are produced with heavy stress at the end of the utterance and overloud emphatic tone. The main function of the imperative is to control the behavior of other interactants" (Corsaro, 1985, p. 80).
01–PC–PCF–IS	Informative statement	"Informative statements are declaratives produced to provide information relevant to the acknowledged topic or activity, to comment on on-going interaction, or to express personal feelings toward specific features of the interactive scene" (Corsaro, 1985, p. 81).
01–PC–PCF–RP	Request for permission	"Requests for permission are communicative functions which involve the speaker's seeking of permission to engage in specified behavior" (Corsaro, 1985, p. 81). For example: "Let's cook, Mommy."
01–PC–PCF–RJA	Request for joint action	"Requests for joint action refer to the speaker's suggestions for joint activity" (Corsaro, 1985, p. 81).
01–PC–PCF–A	Answer	"Answers (accounts) are declaratives in which the speaker is responding to a previous question or imperative from another interactant, or is accounting for a past action or failure to act" (Corsaro, 1985, p. 81). For example: "No, I don't cook."
01–PC–PCF–DQ	Directive question	"Directive questions are interrogatives which function as directive speech acts" (Corsaro,

		1985, p. 81). For example: “Could you pass me the plate?”
01–PC–PCF–TQ	Tag question	“Tag questions are generally declaratives which have been transformed into interrogatives by a tag marker at the end of the utterance.” (Corsaro, 1985, p. 81). For example: “I am Mommy, right?”
01–PC–PCF–IR	Information request	“Information requests are interrogatives employed by the speaker to obtain information from other interactants which is relevant to the ongoing activity” (Corsaro, 1985, p. 81).
01–PC–PCF–G	Greeting	“Greetings are self-explanatory” (Corsaro, 1985, p. 81).
01–PC–PCF–BAT	Baby and animal talk	“Baby and animal talk refer to phonetic strings often produced with high pitch which are prevocabulary babblings (“goo-goo,” “gee-gee”) or animal sounds (“meow,” “grr-grr”)” (Corsaro, 1985, p. 81).

Play (P)

Code #1: Negotiate the rules of play (NRP)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
01–P–NRP–AR	Assign roles	A child assigns roles related to the pretend play scenario to him- or herself or others.
01–P–NRP–TO	Transform objects with new meanings	Transforming objects by denoting new meanings
01–P–NRP–DS	Develop scripts	Developing scripts to maintain the joint dialogue and action

Code #2: Strategies to integrate pretense into social play (SIS) (Howes, 1985, p. 1,255)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
02–P–SIS–R	Recruitment	“Recruitment occurred when a child who has performed a fantasy action attempts to engage a social play partner in pretend” (Howes, 1985, p. 1,255).
02–P–SIS–R–N	Nonverbal recruitment	“In nonverbal recruitment, a child performs a fantasy action and directs the fantasy action to

		the partner by eye gaze, nonverbal gesture, or offering objects" (Howes, 1985, p. 1,255).
02–P–SIS–R–V	Verbal recruitment	"In verbal recruitment, one child performs a fantasy action and names the pretend action to the partner" (Howes, 1985, p. 1,255).
02–P–SIS–I	Imitation	"In imitation, child A performs a fantasy action and does not direct it to the partner. The partner B only imitates the action and does not verbally or nonverbally direct the fantasy action to A" (Howes, 1985, p. 1,255).
02–P–SIS–J	Join	"In join, A performs a fantasy action and does not direct this action to the partner B but B responds with a fantasy action and either directs the action to the partner, or names the pretend action to the partner as in recruitment. Unlike in recruitment, B only engages in pretend after A is already engaged" (Howes, 1985, p. 1,255).

Social Participations (SI)

Code #1: Conflicts (C)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
01–SI–C–C	Conflicts in terms of sharing	Children argue or fight with each other for materials, play spaces, or ideas.
01–SI–C–A	Avoid conflicts	A child acts or stops his/her talking/actions to avoid arguing or fighting with others.

Code #2: Help (H)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
02–SI–H–AT	Asking for teacher's help	A child asks for teachers' help when arguing or fighting with others.
02–SI–H–AP	Asking for peer's help	A child asks for another peer's help when arguing or fighting with others.
02–SI–H–HO	Helping others	A child verbally or physically helps others.

Code #3: Gender (G)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition

03–SI–G–SS	Same-sex interaction	Two boys or two girls talk to each other.
03–SI–G–GG	Girl to girl	One girl talks to another girl.
03–SI–G–BB	Boy to boy	One boy talks to another boy.
03–SI–G–DS	Different-sex interaction	A girl and a boy talk to each other.
03–SI–G–GB	Girl to boy	One girl talks to one boy.
03–SI–G–BG	Boy to girl	One boy talks to one girl.

Parents' views about sharing (PVS)
Code #1: Children's sharing experiences (CSE)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
01–PVS–CSE–L–SH	Sharing at home	Sharing behaviors display at home.
01–PVS–CSE–L–SO	Sharing outside	Sharing behaviors display out of home.
01–PVS–CSE–RS	Request for sharing	Request for sharing in social interactions.
01–PVS–CSE–RS	Reject to share	Reject to share in social interactions.

Code #2: Parent's guidance for children's sharing (PG)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
02–PVS–PG–ATS	Ask the child to share	Parents ask the child to share with others.
02–PVS–PG–AH	Teach the child to search for adult's help	Parents ask the child to search for adults' help when conflicts occur.
02–PVS–PG–OS	Other strategies	Other strategies parents teach their children in terms of dealing with conflicts.

Teachers' views about sharing (TVS)
Code #1: Teacher's guidance for children's sharing (TG)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition

01–TVS–TG–WI	When to intervene	Under what circumstances the teacher intervened in children's conflicts in terms of sharing
01–TVS–TG–TSC–CT	Circle Time	Teachers teach sharing in Circle Time.
01–TVS–TG–TSC–I	Individually	Teachers teach children sharing individually.

Code #2: Teacher's concerns (TC)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
02–TVS–TC–LB	Language barrier	Language difficulties the Chinese immigrant children displayed or faced in the classroom
02–TVS–TC–CD	Culture differences	Cultural differences the Chinese immigrant children had

Code #3: Interactions with Chinese immigrant parents (ICP)

Hyper–research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
03–TVS–ICP	Interactions with Chinese immigrant parents	Describe what happened in interactions with Chinese immigrant parents.

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