GUAN AND SHAMING AMONG CHINESE FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES: THE MODERATING EFFECTS OF PERCEIVED CULTURAL NORMATIVENESS

Jason Chiang
Syracuse University

Abstract

This study utilized a confluence of propositions within interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory, the developmental niche model, model of acculturation strategies, and the cultural normativeness hypothesis to examine links between shaming and training parenting strategies, and psychological and academic outcomes among children of Chinese immigrants living in the U.S. The sample consisted of 51 Chinese ninth and tenth grade children and their mothers residing in the Cleveland metropolitan area. Mothers and children were asked to complete the Parental Training Scale, Critical Comparison and Shaming Questionnaire (CCS), and also asked about their perception of the normativeness of these parenting practices in their community. Mothers also filled out the Kessler 10 Psychological Distress Scale, and children were asked to report on their end of year letter grades. The research questions explored included: (1) What was the prevalence of the use of guan and shaming among Chinese-American mothers and did they vary by generational status and socio-economic status? (2) What were the direct associations between maternal use of guan and shaming and Chinese American 9th and 10th grade children's psychological distress and academic performance? and (3) Did children's perceptions of the normativeness of the use of guan and shaming moderate the associations between the use of guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance? Did mother's perceptions of the normativeness of the use of guan and shaming moderate the associations between their use of guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance? Data were analyzed using one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and multiple regression techniques. Results indicated that mothers in the study strongly endorsed guan parenting, but less so shaming parenting. Mothers' reports of shaming was a significant predictor of children's psychological distress, but not children's academic performance. Children's reports of guan and shaming were significant predictors of their academic performance, but not their

psychological distress. Children's perceived cultural normativeness moderated the relation between maternal use of shaming and children's psychological distress such that the association between mothers' reports of the use of shaming and children's psychological distress was stronger for children perceiving low cultural normativeness of shaming than for those perceiving high cultural normativeness of shaming. Findings are discussed in terms of the prevalence of the two indigenous parenting practices in Chinese immigrant families and their associations with children's social adjustment and academic outcomes.

GUAN AND SHAMING AMONG CHINESE FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES: THE
MODERATING EFFECTS OF PERCEIVED CULTURAL NORMATIVENESS

by

Jason Chiang

B.Sc., University of Toronto, 2009
M.S., University at Albany, SUNY 2010

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Human Development and Family Science

Syracuse University
May 2018

Acknowledgements

First, and foremost, I would like to thank my wife, Jill, for your unconditional support. You are my backbone and my cheerleader. To my daughter, Gabby, you have given me endless strength and helped me to believe in myself. I would not have been able to complete this degree without both of you by my side. I would like to thank my parents whose guidance are with me in whatever I pursue in life. Both of you have scarified your health, your dream, and everything that you could have had, so that I could study abroad and eventually achieve my goal. I love you both. I am blessed to be your child.

I would like to thank my dissertation advisor, Dr. Jaipaul Roopnarine. As my teacher and mentor, you have taught me more than I could ever give you credit for here. You have shown me, by your example, what a respectable scholar, and more importantly, a wonderful person, should be. Thank you so much for the time and effort you have put in to correct my papers. I am truly grateful for your high expectation. It is a testament to your mentorship that I produced a dissertation that I am proud of. As Confucius said in Analects: Once a teacher, for life a father-figure. You will always be my teacher and a father figure to me.

I am forever indebted to my dissertation committee: Drs. Eunjoo Jung, Joan Newman, Joseph Fanelli, Bruce Carter, and Alejandro Garcia. Your thoughtful feedbacks have helped shaped this dissertation into something of which I am very proud. I am forever indebted to Dr. Ambika Krishnakumar for her continuing support since my first year in the program.

Finally, I would like to thank our beloved administrative assistant, Ms. Kathy Rainone, for her support throughout the process.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Since Baumrind's (1971) and Maccoby and Martin's (1983) seminal conceptualizations of the different types of parenting styles, extensive research has been conducted in the field of child development/developmental psychology and family science to assess the impact of parenting styles on childhood development. Studies that have adopted Baumrind's (1971) parenting style typologies have consistently found that children reared by authoritative parents, those who were exposed to high parental warmth and high parental control, were more socially, psychologically, and academically competent. Children whose parents display an authoritarian style of parenting marked by low responsiveness and high control, or permissive style in which parents are responsive but there is limited or little control, were less socially competent (Lamborn, Monuts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991). Likewise, children of parents who are neglectful also showed a range of social and psychological difficulties (Knutson, DeGarmo, & Reid, 2004; Steinberg, 2001).

Despite the robustness of the associations between parenting styles and childhood outcomes across several cultural communities (see Sorkhabi, 2005), questions remain about whether parenting styles as conceived by Baumrind (1971) and Maccoby and Martin (1983) accurately capture parenting in cultural groups that use shaming and child training that involve guan or control. For example, Chinese childrearing practices have been described as harsh, cold, hostile, psychologically controlling, and intrusive (Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2009). While these parenting behaviors are associated with children's externalizing and internalizing behavior problems among European-Americans (Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994; Barber, 1996), the findings are inconsistent among Chinese (Chao, 2001) and Chinese immigrant samples in the U.S. Two indigenous Chinese practices that have been discussed in the cross-cultural parenting

literature are guan and shaming. The impact of these parenting behaviors on childhood outcomes remain unclear. Some studies have found negative associations between these practices and childhood behavioral difficulties (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997; Kim, Wang, Shen, & Hou, 2015; Nelson, Hart, Yang, Olsen, & Jin, 2006), but others have found no significant associations between these parenting strategies and negative childhood outcomes (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Xia, Wang, Li, Wilson, Bush, & Peterson, 2015).

In view of the implications of psychological and behavioral control for children's social adjustment and academic achievement (see Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994, and Barber, 1996), the current study proposes that the conflicting findings in the parenting literature of guan and shaming result from researchers' differential theoretical perspectives. Specifically, to date most research in this area has been guided by either a "universalist perspective" or "culture-specific perspective" (Pomerantz & Wang, 2009). Researchers with a universalist viewpoint argue that guan and shaming are harmful to children's development because they either intrude on children's autonomy or send messages of rejection and hostility. Moreover, guan is often equated with authoritarian parenting, and parental shaming is perceived as a form of psychological control (Fung & Lau, 2009; Fung & Lau, 2012). By contrast, researchers who side with the culture-specific perspective believe that parenting behaviors should be seen as a part of cultural practices, and therefore can only be correctly interpreted through the eyes of cultural insiders (Berry, 1989). Accordingly, within the later perspective, guan and shaming are seen as indigenous Chinese practices that are fundamentally different from either authoritarian parenting or psychological control. The two parenting practices are derived from culturally significant qualities: academic excellence and interpersonal competence (Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2012). Because of parental wishes to "train" the child to be culturally competent in Chinese society,

guan and shaming parenting behaviors are often viewed as benevolent even if they seem harsh from a Western standpoint.

Instead of taking either of these extreme views (i.e. universalist or culture-specific perspective), the current study adopted the "universalism without uniformity" perspective proposed by Shweder and Sullivan (1993). The approach synthesized the two extreme views, and argue that while every child reacts negatively to aversive parenting, the strength and the domain of reaction may vary as a result of perceived cultural normativeness of a given parenting practice (Deater, Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Mason, Walker-Barnes, Tu, Simons, & Martinez-Arrue, 2004). Because the "universalism without uniformity" approach is the synthesis of both the culture-specific and universalist perspectives, theories/frameworks derived from less extreme views helped to formulate the research questions and hypotheses in the current study. These frameworks included interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory, the developmental niche model, model of acculturation strategies, and the cultural normativeness hypothesis.

Informed by the abovementioned theoretical frameworks, the current study investigated (1) the use of guan and shaming among Chinese immigrant mothers in the U.S. (2) the association between maternal use of shaming and guan and psychological difficulties and children's grades, and (3) the moderating role of cultural normativeness of the use of guan and shaming on the associations between the use of guan and shaming and children's psychological adjustment and academic performance. In the following chapter, a review of the parenting research on Western and Chinese families is provided, which is followed by a discussion of the universalist and culture-specific perspectives. Next, the two indigenous Chinese parenting practices, guan and shaming, as well as their associations with children's psychological and academic outcomes are discussed. Finally, the "universalism without uniformity" perspective is

introduced, which is followed by a discussion of the general limitations of the past literature on

guan and shaming parenting practices.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Research on parenting styles and practices and their links to childhood outcomes has been conducted extensively in the United States and in several cultural communities around the world (see Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). In her conceptualization of parenting, Baumrind outlined three parenting styles: authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative. Authoritarian parents are seen as cold and harsh toward their children. They establish a set of standards that need to be followed unquestionably by their children. Attempts to shape and control children's behaviors through parental request of total obedience are frequently observed in these families. By comparison, permissive parents show high acceptance of their children, exhibit great warmth toward them, but make few demands for appropriate and mature behaviors. Between these two extremes is the authoritative parenting style. Parents who adopt an authoritative parenting style are responsive to their children's needs, encourage emotional autonomy, but are firm about setting limits for their children's behaviors and requests (Baumrind, 1971).

Maccoby and Martin (1983) later used dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness (which have been labeled as control-warmth dimensions by other researchers) to categorize Baumrind's parenting styles. Specifically, permissive parenting is characterized by low demandingness and low responsiveness, authoritarian parenting is defined by high demandingness and low responsiveness, and authoritative parenting is regarded as high demandingness and high responsiveness. Acknowledging Baumrind's parenting styles, Maccoby and Martin (1983) proposed an additional parenting style: neglectful parenting, which is characterized by low demandingness and low responsiveness.

Studies that have utilized Baumrind's parenting typologies have generally found that children reared by parents who employ an authoritative parenting style are more socially,

psychologically, and academically competent, whereas those reared by parents who use an authoritarian or permissive style are less instrumentally competent (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Kaufmann, et al., 2000; Lamborn, Monuts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Pinquart, 2016; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Zhao & Wang, 2010). Likewise, studies that have assessed Maccoby and Martin's two-dimensional framework have demonstrated the beneficial effects of parental warmth on children's social adjustment (Baker & Hoerger, 2012; Chen, Liu, & Li, 2000; Roopnarine, Wang, Krishnakumar, & Davidson, 2013). Those who have assessed the influence of parental control have found different childhood development outcomes depending on the types of control exerted by parents. Behavioral control, defined as the regulation of child behavior by providing guidance and structure and assessed in terms of the extent to which parents monitor and know about child behavior, is linked to higher academic performance, while the lack of behavioral control is associated with externalizing behaviors in children in the U.S (Barber et al. 1994; Barber, 1996; Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007). Psychological control, involving intrusion of children's thoughts and manipulation of children's feelings, is assessed in terms of parental shaming, guilt-induction, and withdrawal of love. It is associated with emotional distress and lower self-esteem among children in the U.S. (Barber, et al., 1994; Wang et al., 2007). Psychological control is also associated with relational aggression, physical aggression, and other forms of behavioral problems in children in China, Canada, and the U.S. (Arim & Shapka, 2008; Blossom, Fite, Frazer, Cooley, & Evans, 2016; Wang, Feng, & Zhang, 2013).

After several decades of work on parenting practices and styles around the world, the authoritative style of parenting that is characterized by parental warmth and appropriate behavioral control has become the ideal childrearing practice in the U.S. The common message

is that the warm, communicative, limit-setting, autonomy-granting, and highly responsive

authoritative parenting style is the most appropriate approach to rearing socially and

academically competent children (Steinberg, 2001).

Parenting Research among Chinese Families

In recent years, there has been growing interest in investigating parenting practices in

Chinese and Chinese immigrant families in the U.S. (e.g.; Shek, 2007; Fung & Lau, 2009; Fung

& Lau, 2012; Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013). Lau and Yeung (1996) and

McBride-Chang and Chang (1998) provided several explanations for the increasing attention on

this population. First, researchers wish to explore the factors that contribute to the exceptional

academic performance demonstrated by Chinese-American students. These factors, researchers

believe, may be useful in guiding the academic performance of European-American students.

Second, most parenting theories and models have been constructed in the U.S. on European

American middle-class samples. It is necessary to understand how parenting theories and

frameworks apply to other cultural groups such as Chinese families—one of the world's largest

population groups. Third, the increasing interest in Chinese immigrant parenting is simply due to

the realization that the Chinese-American population is one of the fastest growing among all

ethnic groups, and has shown a 37.9% increase between 2000 and 2010 in the U.S. Currently,

more than 3 million individuals of Chinese ancestry reside in the United States (United States

Census Bureau, 2010).

To better understand parental roles in Chinese and Chinese immigrant families in the

U.S., it is important to consider how mothers and fathers are portrayed in Confucian principles.

Chinese fathers are defined as the head of the family, and enjoy greater power and authority

compared to Chinese mothers. Because gender roles are strictly assigned in Chinese culture, fathers are often not encouraged to get involved in daily parenting activities. The common Chinese saying *Nan zhu wai nu zhu nei*, which translates to "men in charge of issues outside the home and women in charge of issues inside the home" best describes this Chinese mentality (Chuang & Su, 2009). Because of the strict gender roles imposed by Confucian teaching, Chinese fathers are often cold and distant, while mothers are warm and nurturing toward children (Shek, 2001). Although more recent research found that Chinese fathers are just as likely to engage in childrearing activities as Chinese mothers (i.e. Chao & Kim, 2000), these Confucian prescribed parental roles still guide parenting responsibilities and maintain harmony within many Chinese families (Chuang & Su, 2009).

As research on Chinese parenting has become more prominent, many findings have revealed that Chinese and European-American parents differ in their childrearing practices (Chao, 1994). One of the most noted differences is the seemingly authoritarian style that many Chinese parents endorse. Studies have shown that, unlike the authoritative parenting approach characterized by communicative and high autonomy-granting parenting behaviors, traditional Chinese childrearing practices are often seen as authoritarian by American society (Chao, 1994). From an European-American perspective, an expectation of total obedience and lack of negotiation is tantamount to poor parenting. Indeed, in Western societies this type of parenting practice is often associated with low academic performance and internalized behavioral symptoms such as anxiety and depression (Steinberg, 2001; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Kaufmann et al., 2000; Lamborn et al. 1991; Pinquart, 2016; Steinberg et al., 1991; Zhao & Wang, 2010).

In addition to being perceived as authoritarian, traditional Chinese parenting practices are often described as psychologically controlling. It has been suggested that psychologically

controlling parenting is detrimental because it impedes children's development of self-identity and individuality, and convey the message of rejection and hostility (Barber & Harmon, 2002). Because traditional Chinese parenting is perceived as both authoritarian and psychologically controlling, some Western researchers have equated it with "harsh parenting" (Nelson et al., 2006).

Contemporary Chinese Parenting in Mainland China

While traditional Chinese socialization goals are marked by expectations of obedience and modesty, recent research indicates that Mainland Chinese parents have adopted parenting styles that can be characterized as encouraging creativity, autonomy, and assertiveness, and a concern for emotional well-being. This shift is likely due to dramatic economic and social changes and the one-child policy in Mainland China (Chang, Chen, & Ji, 2011; Chen & Chen 2010; Chen, Bian, Xin, Wang, & Silbereisen, 2010; Chuang, 2009; Chuang & Su, 2009; Fong, 2007; Naftali, 2009; Way et al., 2013; Xu, Farver, Zhang, Zeng, Yu, & Cai, 2005). It is also possible that Chinese parents are becoming more cognizant that creativity, autonomy, and assertiveness are essential in a competitive market economy. Accordingly, they show a willingness to adopt parenting practices that foster the development of these traits. Furthermore, because most families can only have one child, parents seem to place a good deal of emphasis on children's emotional well-being (Liu, Lin, & Chen 2010).

Although the Confucian influence of parental expectation for high academic achievement still exists, parents are reluctant to adopt strict parenting to achieve this goal. Instead, parental monetary sacrifice as a means to child success has become a common practice in contemporary Mainland Chinese families (Fong, 2010; further discussion on monetary expense for children's

success can be found later in this Chapter under Within-Group Heterogeneity in Chinese Parenting practices). Today, it is safe to say that parenting strategies in Mainland China increasingly follow Western parenting ideologies that are characterized by concern for children's emotional well-being and success in a competitive market economy (Chuang 2009; Friedlmeier, Corapci, & Cole, 2011; Naftali, 2009; Way et al., 2013). The result is that Mainland Chinese children are becoming more autonomous, assertive, and willing to express their feelings and ideas, resembling what children do in Western societies (Chang et al. 2011; Chuang 2009; Friedlmeier et al. 2011; Ho 1989; Naftali 2009; Way et al. 2013).

The Universalist Perspective

Unlike the changes in childrearing strategies witnessed in Mainland Chinese families, parents in Taiwan and Hong Kong are more likely to endorse traditional parenting practices that resemble harsh parenting by Western standards (Berndt, Cheung, Lau, Hau, & Lew, 1993; Lai, Zhang, & Wang, 2000). The general consensus is that harsh parenting is universally harmful, and Chinese children are not immune to its detrimental effects. To date, some empirical evidence seems to confirm this proposition. For instance, Nelson et al. (2006) reported that psychological control was associated with relational aggression among Chinese girls. In a similar vein, Olsen et al. (2002) found that psychological control was predictive of Chinese preschoolers' internalizing and externalizing behavioral difficulties. In a cross-cultural study, Wang et al. (2007) also found psychological control to be predictive of children's dampened emotional functioning in both the U.S. and China. These findings are congruent with the universalist perspective (Pomerantz & Wang, 2009), which argues that regardless of cultural background, harsh parenting negatively affects children's socio-emotional well-being.

Culture as a Parenting Variable: Culture-Specific Perspective

Instead of labelling traditional Chinese parenting as "harsh", "authoritarian", or "psychologically controlling", other researchers have questioned the transcultural validity of Baumrind's parenting typology. For example, McBride-Chang and Chang (1998) found that Hong Kong parents were largely unclassifiable in the authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive styles framework. They suggested that the classification of parenting typologies developed by Baumrind may not be culturally relevant for the Chinese population. Along the same lines, Chao (1994) asserted that, "the concepts often used to describe Chinese parenting (i.e., "authoritarian," "controlling," or "restrictive") have been rather ethnocentric and misleading" (p. 1111). While parenting practices preferred by middle-class, European-American families are often seen as the "norm", parenting practices found in families in other cultural groups are usually perceived as harmful or aversive (e.g. Nelson et al., 2006). For example, shaming children in public, a parenting strategy which is often witnessed in some Asian cultural communities, would be considered by European-American parents as harmful to children's self-esteem (Fung, 1999). However, when considering that 60% of the world's population live in Asia (United Nations, 2009), it becomes clear that the practices endorsed by a small percentage of white, middle-class parents may not necessarily be the norm for childrearing among Asian parents.

To reflect the important role that culture plays in childrearing (Stewart, Bond, Kennard, Ho, & Zaman, 2002; Rogoff, 2003; Bornstein & Cheah, 2006), a group of parenting researchers have adopted a culture-specific perspective to study Chinese parenting (e.g. Pomerantz & Wang, 2009). A culture-specific perspective was first proposed by Berry (1989) to study psychological processes in different cultures. According to Berry, phenomena in a given culture can only be fully understood "through the eyes of the people in a particular culture" (Berry, 2013, p.58). The

imposition of foreign concepts on the people studied needs to be avoided. Following this tradition, scholars have argued that in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding about the influence of parenting practices on Chinese children, the cultural context needs to be taken into consideration (Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2012).

Adopting a culture-specific perspective, researchers have proposed the cultural normativeness hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, what constitutes normative parenting varies vastly across cultural groups (Lansford et al., 2005). One thing that parents across cultures have in common is the ultimate goal of socializing the child to function well within his/ her culture of origin (Kağitçibaşi, 1996). In collectivist cultures, such as Taiwan and Hong Kong, the goals of the group are often emphasized and personal will is ignored or sacrificed, especially when the two are in conflict with each other (Triandis, 1996). Therefore, parenting practices such as high parental control which emphasizes emotional constraint and teaches self-control is considered as functional (Fung & Lau, 2012), and is perceived as "normal and good" in collectivist societies (Kağitçibaşi, 1996). But the same parenting practice (i.e. high parental control) in individualist societies (e.g., the U.S.) may be perceived as inappropriate or detrimental simply because it violates the cultural value of autonomy, assertiveness, and independence (Fung & Lau, 2012), and therefore may not lead to optimal child outcomes in those cultures.

Guan, Shaming, and Their Confucian Origins

The recognition of the importance of culture in understanding parenting has led researchers to investigate indigenous Chinese parenting constructs. Among them, guan (training) and shaming (chi) are the most extensively studied because they comprise the core of Chinese

family socialization practices. Both constructs are derived from Confucianism, the ultimate cultural reference point that governs every aspect of a Chinese person's life. The following section discusses Confucianism, followed by a detailed description of guan and shaming parenting, and Confucian influences on these two indigenous parenting beliefs and practices.

Confucianism. Confucianism influences Chinese childrearing practice through its emphasis on parent's role in a child's life, and can be best understood as an ethical-socio-political teaching in Ancient China (Chao, 1994). The teaching and dialogues between Confucius and his disciples are recorded in the *Analects (Lunyn)* (Cua, 2003). Many virtues, such as benevolence (*ren*), ritual propriety (*li*), righteousness (*yi*), among others, are promoted throughout *The Analects* (Cua, 2003). *Ren, Li,* and *Yi* are considered the fundamental concepts in Confucianism, while virtues such as filial piety and modesty are dependent concepts. Dependent concepts are usually established through connection with fundamental ones (Cua, 2003). Although dependent concepts can be effortlessly translated into English, it is not the case for fundamental ones (i.e. *ren, li, and yi*) (Cua, 1996). Therefore, it is necessary to consider each of these concepts in detail in order to confidently make connections between Chinese parenting and Confucianism.

The Confucian virtues of ren, li, and yi. *Ren* literally means benevolence. It is also a homophone for humanity and human beings. It can be extended to mean "the capacity for benevolence inherent in every human being" (Fu, 2003, p.65). Everyone is capable of achieving the state of *ren* through "the recognition that personal character is a consequence of cultivating one's relationship with others" (Ames, 2003, p. 62). In this regard, *ren* can be interpreted as a construct that is interdependent in nature. In Confucian thinking, there is no individual or self. One is defined by the role that one plays in the family and society (e.g. I am a good son), and

one's relationships with others (e.g. I am someone's so and so). The solitary self is insignificant

in comparison to one's relationship with others (Ames, 2003). Because others are so important in

relation to the self, humanity can only be defined through establishing harmonious relationships

with others and acting appropriately in one's roles. For Confucius, the only thing that truly

characterizes humanity is the genuine consideration of other human beings (Ames, 2003). It

should be noted that filial piety and fraternity are the two primary dependent virtues of *ren,* for"

the family is the nature home and the foundation for the extension of *ren*-affection" (Cua, 2003,

p.76)*.* In sum, *ren* can be conceptualized as the realization of the importance of relationships

with others, and consideration for others. In a central way, *ren* acts as an umbrella term for

virtues such as filial piety. It is a concept that is highly collectivist and interdependent, which is

congruent with the collectivist-oriented nature of Chinese culture.

   Li, or ritual propriety, can be best understood as "a set of formal prescriptions for proper

behavior" (Cua, 2003 a, p. 77). It is a set of prescriptions in "a particular relationship" (Cua,

1998). The prescriptions cover a person's relationships in private life (e.g., how many years

should one mourn for a dead parent) as well as in public life (e.g., table manners) (Ames, 2003).

They serve to prevent human conflict, provide conditions for the satisfaction of desire within

prescribed rules, and ennoble the self. Every member of society is able to harmoniously

communicate and establish meaningful relationships with one another because everyone

understands and follows these rules (Cua, 2003; Ames, 2003). To Confucius, *li* and *ren* are

interdependent. As Fu (2003) suggested, "Human nature is perfected only through a union of *ren*

and *li*. *Ren* constitutes the inner aspect and *li* the outer aspect of ideal humanity" (p. 66).

However, it should be stated that Confucius still sees *ren* as the foundation of *li*. This is fully

expressed in his remark: "if a man has no *ren*, what has he to do with the *li*?" (Fu, 2003, p.65).

Because appropriate behaviors are performed according to prescribed rules, harmony within

family and society can be expected.

Even though *li* covers every aspect of proper conduct in human life, there are exceptions

when following *li* that just do not work. *Yi*, or a sense of righteousness, becomes the behavioral

guidelines in difficult situations. Mencius, the great Confucian philosopher, argued that *li* is not

intended to guide behaviors in extraordinary situations. One should be guided by one's sense of

righteousness in ethical perplexity. As in the relationship between *ren* and *li*, *yi* and *li* are also

interdependent. *Li* represents the established rules for right behaviors in normal circumstance,

while *yi* embodies reasoned judgment for right behaviors in addressing moral dilemmas. Both

share the same objective: to ensure the performance of correct behavior in social situations (Cua,

2003). One can be confidently assured that in normal situations, the behaviors carried out

according to *li* will be appropriate and benevolent, because "to master oneself in line with *li* is

ren" (Fu, 2003, p.66). When the situation is less clear-cut, one should follow *yi*, the reasoned

judgment concerning the right thing to do.

Guan (training). Chao (1994) proposed a genuinely indigenous concept in parenting that

is tied to Chinese culture: guan (Chinese word for parental training and governance, as well as

love and concern). Guan as an indigenous parenting practice, is mostly characterized by three

elements: (1) maintaining physical proximity to the child and providing a nurturing environment

for the child before age 6, (2) high parental sacrifice and high expectations for children's

educational attainment, and (3) strict parental control and high obedience toward parental

authority. In the child's early life, an ideal Chinese parent would maintain physical proximity to

the child, and be highly responsive to his/her every need. For instance, unlike many Western

parents who prefer to let infants sleep in a separate room, Chinese parents would prefer a room-

sharing practice (i.e., sleep in the same room with the parents) (Chao, 1994). In addition, Chinese parenting practices are often characterized by a great deal of indulgence and immediate gratification of children's needs without any demands placed on them (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Once children reach the age of 6, or the "age of understanding", a shift toward a parenting style characterized by an emphasis on academic success, high parental control, obedience, and respect toward parental authority is often observed. When children are ready for school, parents express high academic expectation of them, provide endless support and motivation for their children, and are willing to sacrifice their own needs to help their children succeed academically (Chao & Tseng, 2002). The parental sacrifice for children's educational attainment is especially salient in many working class Chinese immigrant families in the United States. For instance, Louie (2004) noted that while many Chinese parents enter the United States "with low levels of education and must work long hard hours at low wages to make ends meet" (p. 23), they understand the value of having access to education, and would allocate most of the financial resources available to help children achieve academically.

In the process of emphasizing educational attainment, a culturally ideal Chinese parent would assume the role of teacher seriously because academic achievement is heavily emphasized in Confucian cultures. A culturally ideal Chinese parent would put priority on the development of specific academic skills and usually use didactic methods, instead of "fun methods" (e.g. playing with them, letting them explore the environment, or being interested in what they are doing) to teach their children at home (Huntsinger, Jose, Larson, Krffig, & Shaligram, 2000). Reading, drawing, teaching to write and use of numerals are common activities that parents engage in with children. Activities such as helping children complete their homework (e.g.,

assisting children with math or science questions) is valued and carried out by parents in daily life (Klein, 2008).

In comparison to Western parenting where verbal give-and-take with parents is encouraged, and where children's autonomy is highly valued, in guan parenting children are often discouraged from expressing their own feelings and opinions. Little effort is devoted to explanation or inductive reasoning. Parental rules are expected to be followed unquestionably by their children. All of these practices are in accordance with Confucian teaching of the hierarchical relationship between parents and children. The common saying: "children should be seen and not heard" best describes this domain of guan parenting (Wang & Supple, 2010). The explicit expression of parental love through kissing and hugging, which are commonly found in Western parenting practices, are rare in guan parenting (Chao, 2001). Chinese parents express love through high involvement in children's daily lives (as perceived by Western standards as high control and overprotection), high expectation of academic performance, and unlimited support in children's education (both financially and otherwise). There is the prevailing belief that protecting children from daily hassles allows them to be more focused on school work, and that academic achievement leads to children's life-long happiness.

Shaming (chi). It has been observed that because of their preference for an interdependent relationship, Chinese parents often utilize psychologically controlling strategies to achieve the ultimate parenting goal: to educate their children to be culturally competent individuals who are sensitive to others' feelings and needs, emotionally reserved, and behave in accordance with Confucian ethics (e.g., Fung & Lau, 2012). One such parenting strategy is commonly known as shaming, or *chi* (Fung & Lau, 2012; Shek & Yu, 2014). Fung (1999) argues

that shaming is a functional parenting practice among Chinese families and defines this practice

as:

> … a stretch of interaction in which at least one participant (1) anticipated wrongdoing or
>
> attributed it to the focal child, (2) used a variety of communicative resources to
>
> reprimand the focal child and put him or her in an unfavorable light, and (3) attempted
>
> not only to forestall or bring an end to the transgression, but also to elicit shame feelings
>
> from the child (p. 191).

Fung (1999) suggests that Chinese culture teaches children to be attentive to how others think of them from early on. When children's behaviors do not meet societal expectation, parents let their children know instantly and use shaming to highlight the inappropriateness of the behavior exhibited by children. This method is known as "opportunity education," teaching the lesson right after the immediate misdeed (Fung, 1999). Instead of teaching in the abstract, opportunity education utilizes shaming practices which allows young children to grasp the moral concepts in a specific, meaningful, and concrete way. As a part of shaming practices, children's own behaviors are always compared to others around them, and they are offered explanations as to why the behaviors are either desired or not (e.g., "Even your baby brother knows better"; Fung & Chen, 2001). Parents even engage in explicit gestures such as telling children "shame on you" or "you are making me lose face" to convey the meaning of shame, teach morality, and motivate children to alter their behavior (Fung, 1999). Such practices are well intended. Being attuned to the perceptions of others is especially important in an interdependent society, where maintaining harmonious relationships is very much valued (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Parents hope that through repeated episodes of emotional arousal triggered by parental shaming, children will internalize the social expectations and therefore be protected from severe social sanctions in the

future (Lo & Fung, 2011). To reiterate, Chinese parents believe that shaming helps instill social sensitivity in children. A sense of shaming functions as a moral compass that allows children to behave in a manner that is consistent with societal expectation (Fung, Lieber, & Leung, 2003; Fung, 1999).

As a form of psychological control in the Western conceptualization of parenting, shaming is often considered harmful to children's psychological development (e.g. Nelson, Yang, Coyne, Olsen, & Hart, 2013). For example, it has been found that parental shaming during childhood is correlated with the challenges of keeping a positive self-evaluation in adulthood (Dutton, van Ginkel, & Starzomski, 1995), childhood depression (Barber, 2002; Camras, Sun, Li, & Wright, 2012), antisocial behavior, and school effort (Camras et al., 2012). Nelson et al. (2013) also found correlations between physical and relational aggression and parental shaming in preschool aged children.

However, as proposed by Fung and Lau (2012), parental shaming in the East and the West should be seen as separate constructs. While shaming practices are often viewed as hostility toward children in Western societies, they are often motivated by parental concern and love in Chinese society. Rather than the unhealthy expression of hostility, inducing shame helps the child behave in accordance with collectivistic values, which avoids harsher societal sanction later on. Another characteristic that distinguishes Eastern and Western shaming parenting is the degree of harshness. Because parental shaming is often an expression of parental rage and hostility in Western societies, it embodies hostile acts such as publicly humiliating children. Even the less severe form of parental shaming could include verbal aggression such as telling the child "How could you be so stupid?" "You can't do anything right." "This is why no-one likes you." (McBride, 2012).

In Chinese culture, parental shaming is far less harsh because it is induced by parental concern for children's fit into a collectivist society, and is often followed by reasoning and explanation. Thus, the parenting practices often focus on the misbehavior, not the child. More concretely, emphasis centers on how the misbehavior could negatively affect others, especially parents. For example, Chinese mothers often present themselves as the victims of the child's misconduct as a strategy to modify the behavior by eliciting children's feeling of guilt (Fung & Lau, 2012). Research has suggested that among Chinese-American children, shaming and guilt induction are rated as similar parenting constructs, suggesting the overlap between the two parenting strategies in Chinese culture, children's positive perception toward shaming, and parents' benign intention behind shaming practices (Yu, Cheah, Hart, Sun, & Olsen, 2015). These characteristics have led Fung and Lau (2012) to suggest that parental shaming in Chinese culture is in fact parallel with the Western parenting concept of relational induction, a positive parenting practice that aims to elicit empathy for others.

Confucian influences on guan and shaming. The Confucian teaching of *ren*, *li*, and *yi* have a tremendous impact on parenting beliefs and practices of guan and shaming in Chinese culture. (Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song, 2013). *Ren*, for instance, teaches about the importance of interpersonal relationships in a person's life, which contributes to the belief and practice of guan in Chinese parenting. According to Chao (1994), the notion of guan is derived from Confucianism, which teaches about the significance of five types of relationships in a person's life. They are "relationships between sovereign and subject, father and son, older brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend" (p. 1113). The most important relationship, based on Confucian teaching, is father and son. In this relationship, father (or mother) and son (or daughter) are expected to act according to the role descriptions they have

been assigned in Chinese culture. Fathers and mothers are responsible for teaching, training, governing, and disciplining their children. For their part, sons and daughters are required to respect and follow their parents' demands and teachings. Because in Chinese culture a person is defined by the role that s/he plays in relationships with others. These relationships are often structured hierarchically and reinforced strictly. Both subordinate (i.e., child) and superordinate members (i.e., parents) of the relationships tend to honor the responsibilities assigned by the roles (Chao, 1994). In this sense, parental control is seen as common and necessary by both parents and children, because it is interpreted as a part of parental duties.

Zhi, or acquiring knowledge, a dependent concept derived from *ren*, also contributes to Chinese parents' use of guan that involves expectations regarding children's academic success. As indicated repeatedly in this document, academic achievement is much emphasized in Confucian cultures (Pomerantz, Ng, & Wang, 2008). However, the virtue of *zhi* does not see the acquisition of knowledge as the end-point, but rather puts greater emphasis on the essential role of effort in the learning process (Luo et al., 2013). The popular Chinese saying "As one eats the bitterest of bitter, he becomes the best of men" captures the essence of this Chinese parenting element; the emphasis is on hard work and de-emphasis on innate abilities. The idea that through hard work one can achieve any dream one desires can be traced to Confucian philosophy. The effort-oriented mindset in Confucian principles is clearly elucidated in the writings of the Chinese philosopher Hsun Tzu, who wrote:

> Achievement consists of never giving up. . . If there is no dark and dogged will, there
> will be no shining accomplishment; if there is no dull and determined effort, there will be
> no brilliant achievement" (Watson, 1967, p. 18).

A classical study neatly demonstrates Chinese, Chinese American, and European American parents' different beliefs and attitudes on children's abilities (Hess, Chang & McDevitt, 1987). Chinese parents from the People's Republic of China (PRC), Chinese American parents, and European American parents were asked to give causal explanations for their children's mathematics performance. While all three groups acknowledged the importance of effort on mathematics performance, PRC parents believed the lack of effort was the only cause of underachievement in mathematics and disregarded all other potential causes (e.g. innate ability, school training, luck etc.). European American parents placed equal weight on all causes (including innate ability). Chinese American parents' responses revealed the influence of attitudes in Chinese and American culture approaches. They attributed the cause to both ability as well as effort to achievement.

As a Chinese indigenous parenting construct, shaming serves to guide behaviors in various social settings, and is best understood as a significant aspect of Chinese people's emotional lives. The significance of shaming is rooted in ancient Chinese sayings such as "What distinguishes the human being from the animal is shame (*chi*)" (Zhai, 1995, p. 232). Its vital role in Chinese culture becomes even more evident when considering that more than 10% of the chapters in the Analects, one of the most important Confucian writings, discuss the virtue of shame (Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004). Its appearance as one of the four Chinese character carvings on the gate to Boston's Chinatown further demonstrates its cultural prevalence and significance (Li et al., 2004).

As in guan, the teachings of *ren*, *li* and *yi* are integral to the shaming belief and practice in Chinese parenting as well. As stated earlier, the concept of *ren* sees one as defined by one's relationship with others, and the solitary self is not as important in comparison to one's

relationship with others. Furthermore, whether one is seen as successful is not only evaluated by one's academic career, or financial achievement, but also by whether one can establish harmonious relationships with others. Recall that the concepts of *li* and *yi* emphasize proper behavior in both ordinary and extraordinary circumstances (Ames, 2003). These concepts have led Chinese parents to place a good deal of emphasis on self-control, emotional restraint, and the accommodation of others in their childrearing practices. It is through the emphasis of these childrearing practices that interpersonal harmony can be achieved (Fung & Lau, 2012).

In summary, Confucian ideologies have had significant influences on Chinese childrearing practices. Today, the principles of *ren*, *yi*, and *li* continue to help shape Chinese parents' socialization goals, which in turn affect their childrearing strategies. Studies have shown that depending on parental perception of the importance of each socialization goal, parents choose the most appropriate parenting approaches to reach that goal (Li, Costanzo, & Putallaz, 2010; Luo et al., 2013). When parents endorse traditional Chinese socialization goals characterized by an emphasis on academic achievement and collectivism, which are values derived from Confucian virtues of *ren*, *yi*, and *li*, they are more likely to practice guan and shaming (Chao, 2000; Li et al., 2010; Fung & Lau, 2012). This is hardly surprising, as both types of indigenous parenting constructs work together to promote children's academic achievement, consideration of the role obligations of both parents and children, and interpersonal skills essential in a Confucian-oriented society (Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2012).

The Effects of Guan and Shaming on Chinese Children

Whereas the two indigenous parenting constructs of guan and shaming have been extensively investigated in recent decades, their associations with Chinese children's social

adjustment remain inconclusive. Unlike the positive relation found between guan and Chinese children's academic performance, the relation between guan and Chinese children's psychological functioning is less clear. Proponents of the culture-specific perspective argue that guan should have a similar association with Chinese children's psychological well-being as it does with their academic performance. By accepting parental decisions as their own, children harmonize with their parents, thereby acting in accordance with the highly valued cultural practices (Pomerantz & Wang, 2009; Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). Findings also seem to suggest that Chinese children tend to view parental control more favorably than children in the Western world because they see parental control as an expression of love and involvement. For example, Stewart et al. (2002) asked Hong Kong nursing students to fill out questionnaires that consist of items representing guan, parental control, and parental warmth. They found that the responses on items of guan significantly overlap with those of parental warmth. As a matter of fact, because the concept of guan involves both discipline and love, when Chinese children receive only little control and discipline from their parents, they feel rejected and neglected (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Similarly, other studies also found a link between guan and Hong Kong Chinese adolescents' physical health and life satisfaction (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Stewart et al., 1998), as well as high emotional closeness with parents among Chinese American students (Chao, 2001). Some scholars contend that since guan parenting practices convey the messages of rejection and hostility, and intrude on psychological autonomy, when Chinese children experience this type of childrearing practice, the outcomes should be similar to those found among European-American children (Luo et al., 2013). There is evidence indicating that the guan parenting behavior predicts Chinese children's psychological maladjustment because it resembles the authoritarian parenting

style, which is characterized by low parental warmth and high parental control (Chang,

Schwartz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2003; Liu, Cheng, & Leung, 2011).

While there have been attempts to understand the effects of parental shaming on child

outcomes in Chinese families, the findings have been equivocal. Some studies (e.g. Barber,

Stolz, & Olsen, 2005; Nelson, Hart, Yang, Olsen, & Jin, 2006; Olsen et al., 2002) have adopted

Barber's (1996) view and treat parental shaming as one of the parenting dimensions within a

broader construct of psychological control, and have found relations between parental shaming

and negative childhood outcomes. As indicated above, Nelson et al. (2006) and Olsen et al.

(2002) found parental shaming to be predictive of preschoolers' behavioral difficulties in China.

In a more recent cross-cultural study, higher levels of parental shaming have been found to be

associated with greater depression, greater antisocial behavior, and less school effort for both

Chinese and American children (Camras et al., 2012). By comparison, studies adopting a culture-

specific perspective have found parental shaming to be less harmful, or even beneficial to

Chinese children's development. For instance, Fung and Lau (2012) found social comparison as

a part of the parental shaming construct was not associated with children's problem behaviors

among Chinese families in Hong Kong. Kim et al.'s (2013) findings further confirm that parental

shaming is an important component of the "supportive parenting style" in Chinese culture, and is

beneficial to adolescents' development including higher academic achievement and lower level

of depressive symptoms.

The Variability in the Effects of Guan and Shaming as a Function of Differential

Theoretical View Points

Arguably, the equivocal findings on the effects of guan and shaming can be attributed to the differential theoretical perspectives and the operational definition of the constructs adopted by the scholars who study parenting across cultural communities. Those taking a "universalist perspective" (Pomerantz & Wang, 2009) argue that regardless of cultural background, children's psychological well-being will be negatively affected by parenting practices that involve the authoritarian approach and psychological control. This group of scholars contends that guan and shaming are conceptually identical to authoritarian parenting and psychological control, respectively. Because authoritarian parenting and psychological control convey the messages of rejection and hostility, and intrudes on psychological autonomy, when Chinese children experience these two types of harsh parenting practices, the outcomes should be similar to those found among European-American children (Nelson et al., 2006).

But researchers who use a "culture-specific perspective" believe guan and shaming, as indigenous Chinese parenting constructs, are fundamentally different from more harsh forms of childrearing, namely authoritarian parenting and psychological control. According to this group of researchers, the two indigenous parenting practices are derived from culturally valued parenting goals: raising an academically and interpersonally skillful child (Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2012). As discussed throughout this chapter, because of the importance placed on educating children to be an academically and culturally competent individuals, these behaviors are often expressed with love and concern, instead of rejection and hostility. Consequently, it can be expected that the affective meaning of guan and shaming will overlap with that of parental warmth. Moreover, researchers with a culture-specific perspective also believe that every society has what it intuitively believes to be the right way to raise a child. When a given parenting

practice is considered culturally normative in a society, even if it seems harsh through the eyes of the cultural outsider, it may not negatively affect children's development.

The Universalism without Uniformity Perspective

Instead of taking either extreme views (i.e. universalist or culture-specific perspective), the current study adopted Shweder and Sullivan's (1993) "universalism without uniformity approach" to study the effects of guan and shaming parenting practices. According to Shweder and Sullivan (1993), "the goal of theory in cultural psychology is to develop a conception of psychological pluralism or group difference psychology that might be described as "universalism without uniformity" (p. 517). The extant literature seems to support the perspective of universalism without uniformity. While it is true that regardless of the cultural background, children are affected negatively when parenting behaviors are characterized as intruding, pressuring, or dominating, the negative consequences of these parenting behaviors may be stronger in the West than in the East. Moreover, when parents exert control over academics, children in the West tend to react more negatively than those raised in East Asian families (Pomerantz & Wang, 2009). These cultural nuances, instead of denying the existence of common psychological processes shared by all humanity, reflect the diversity of cultural norms that act to shape human behaviors by activating common psychological processes in all humanity. In other words, the extent to which children across cultures react differently to the same parenting practice is not a testimony to their fundamental differences in emotionality; rather, it serves as a reminder of how powerful cultural norms are to manifest themselves in influencing childhood development.

Within-Group Heterogeneity in Chinese Parenting practices

Although substantial effort has been devoted to studying Chinese parents' controlling practices and their effects on children's development, most studies have perceived Chinese families as a homogeneous group, and therefore the findings obtained in one Chinese society (e.g. Hong Kong) is often assumed as generalizable to other Chinese populations. However, it is imperative to acknowledge that Chinese is merely a convenient label used to group individuals with diverse backgrounds into one category. The term "Chinese", when used to refer to ethnicity, is usually understood as an umbrella term for people identified as having Chinese ancestry (Lin & Ho, 2009). In the area of family research, the term is often used to refer to four groups of people, for their shared ancestral origin in Mainland China. These four groups of people are Mainland Chinese, Taiwan Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, and Chinese-Americans.

It should be mentioned that although there are some commonalities shared by the four groups, important political-social-cultural differences also exist among them that cannot be overlooked. In as much as Chinese in Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States share the same cultural roots (i.e. Confucianism), historical events such as colonization, the Cultural Revolution, and migration to the West might have led each of the four groups to develop unique cultural perspectives. For example, after the Chinese Civil War and Cultural Revolution, Mainland China has been characterized by changes in traditional cultural philosophy (Liang & Sugawara, 1992). Additionally, the implementation of the one-child policy in 1978 has further amplified the differences between Mainland China and the other three groups. Similarly, one hundred and fifty years of British Colonization has transformed Hong Kong into a mixture of Chinese and English cultural practices (Chan & Lee, 1995). By the same token, fifty years of Japanese Colonization and the re-introduction of traditional Chinese culture afterwards have also contributed to Taiwan's distinct cultural values which are not shared by Hong Kong, Mainland

China, or overseas Chinese communities (Hsiao, 2011). Because each of the four Chinese groups has its own cultural values that are not shared by the other, parenting practices may differ vastly across Chinese societies. The current research investigated the relation between the two indigenous parenting practices and their outcomes in Chinese-American immigrant families in the U.S. The reason for studying Chinese-American immigrant families are three-fold, and are discussed in the following paragraphs.

First, past research has shown that Mainland China has undergone dramatic social changes (e.g., communism, economic changes, and one child policy). As a result, some traditional parenting beliefs and practices may no longer be endorsed in China, especially in urban centers (Chen et al., 2010). In Camras et al.'s (2012) study, parents in Chicago were actually rated higher than parents in Shanghai on their use of power assertion, which demonstrates that at least in some parts of China, traditional Confucian ideologies (in this case, filial beliefs and hierarchical familial relations) may not be strongly embraced. Due to the restriction of having only one child, Mainland Chinese parents often treat their only child with extra care and undivided attention (Chang et al., 2011; Chen & Chen 2010; Chen, Bian, Xin, Wang, & Silbereisen, 2010; Chuang, 2009; Chuang & Su, 2009; Naftali, 2009; Way et al., 2013; Xu et al., 2005). Furthermore, parents often have very high expectations for their child to succeed, and are willing to spend huge amounts of time and money to achieve that goal. Liang and Sugawara (1992) have provided explicit depictions of how Mainland Chinese parents would raise an only child:

> In China, not many offices are equipped with computers, yet a lot of young parents buy these computers for their children…Foods…Toys…In fact, anything labeled "wisdom-sharpening", find their way from the shops to households, no matter how expensive they

are…parents are often seen helping their child with personal hygiene tasks, even when their child is old enough to perform them. In addition, when a child is doing homework or studying, parents often hang around, just in case their child needs some help (p. 19).

Be that as it may, contemporary China may no longer be the ideal place for the study of traditional Chinese parenting such as guan and shaming.

Second, it has been suggested that compared to Chinese families in Asia, Chinese-American immigrant parents endorse more traditional beliefs due to their efforts in preserving traditional values and maintaining control over children (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990; Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992). Research findings suggest that Chinese-American immigrant families may be better candidates for the study of traditional parenting practices. Third, past research has shown that when children live in a culture or community where harsh parenting is the norm, they are more likely to perceive the parenting as fair, and are less likely to be negatively affected by it (Gershoff, Grogan-Kaylor, Lansford, Chang, Zelli, Deater-Deckard, & Dodge, 2010). Such findings pose unique challenges for children of Chinese immigrants, as they live in an environment where two distinctively different cultures co-exist. By comparing the parenting treatment that they receive with other Chinese-American children, or even most Asian-American children, children of Chinese immigrants may perceive guan and shaming as normative, and may be less likely to be negatively affected by it. By contrast, if Chinese-American children compare the same parenting practice to their European-American peers, they might see such practices as aberrant and unreasonable, which could eventually lead to problem behaviors.

General Limitations of the Past Literature

There are several limitations in this area of inquiry. First, few studies have adopted the "universalism without the uniformity" perspective in examining parenting in Chinese immigrant families in the U.S. (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993). Most studies have either adopted the universalist perspective (e.g. Chang et al., 2003 Olsen et al., 2002) or culture-specific perspective (e.g. Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2012) in shaping their research questions and hypotheses. The current study realized the possibility that the equivocal findings in this line of research could be a result of the theoretical bias of parenting researchers. Instead of taking either extreme view to examine the effects of guan and shaming, the current study adopted the "universalism without the uniformity" perspective. It was expected that when parenting practices intrude on children's psychological autonomy and convey the messages of rejection and hostility, children in all cultures may be affected adversely. However, it was also expected that perceived cultural normativeness might potentially moderate the potentially negative effects of controlling parenting practices on childhood outcomes.

Although perceived cultural normativeness has been found to buffer the negative effects of punitive parenting strategies, the focus has mainly been on physical discipline (e.g. Lansford et al., 2005). Physical discipline (or corporal punishment) refers to parental use of punitive strategies such as spanking, slapping, or hitting with an object in response to childhood transgressions. Straus and Kantor (1994) defined corporal punishment as "the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for the purposes of correction or control of child's behavior" (p. 4). This type of punitive parenting behavior is fundamentally different from either guan or shaming. Therefore, whether cultural normativeness buffers the effects of guan and shaming requires further investigation. The current study aimed to bridge the gap in the literature by examining the moderating role of perceived cultural

normativeness on the relation between two indigenous parenting practices and child academic and psychological outcomes.

Finally, while shaming and guan are both prevalent parenting practices in Chinese culture, few researchers have investigated both indigenous practices in one study. There are several advantages for investigating the two concepts in one study. First, it allowed direct comparison between the two parenting practices. Such an approach informs us which of the two parenting strategies is more harmful or beneficial to children's development. Second, guan has received a lot of attention in the last few decades, with comparatively less attention paid to parental shaming behavior. One of the primary goals of the current study was to build on prior work by examining parental shaming in an understudied immigrant population. By studying two parenting strategies simultaneously, it will allow for a more rigorous test of the applicability of the cultural normativeness hypothesis in another cultural group. Put differently, this study examined how children's and mothers' perceived normativeness of guan and shaming parenting practices were linked to childhood development.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The current study adopted the "universalism without uniformity" approach proposed by Shweder and Sullivan (1993) to study the associations between guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance. The universalism without uniformity perspective can be roughly understood as the combination of the culture-specific perspective and the universalist perspective. It agrees with the culture-specific perspective in that the true value of a given parenting practice can only be understood through the eyes of members in that society. At the same time, it also agrees with the universalist view by postulating that harsh and intruding parenting practices undermine children's development of autonomy and self-esteem.

This chapter discusses major propositions within interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory, the developmental niche model, model of acculturation, and the cultural normativeness hypothesis. Propositions within these theoretical perspectives and models have helped in framing the research questions, formulating the hypotheses, and providing a rationale for the statistical methods that were used to test the hypotheses. Only the major components of the theories and models that are relevant to this study are discussed herein. More detailed discussions of these theories can be found elsewhere (Super & Harkness, 1986; Berry, 1997; Berry, 1989; Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2004). These theories and models were chosen because each has guided work on cultural pathways to childhood development across cultural communities and have been concerned with indigenous versus pan-cultural patterns of socialization and childhood development.

Cultural Normativeness Hypothesis

It has been suggested that children across cultures and communities may perceive the meaning of the same parenting behaviors differently, and therefore react differently to them

(Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Lansford et al., 2005, Mason et al., 2004). For instance, how does a child feel when the mother says to him/her "you are making me lose face" or "Even your baby brother knows better"? Does the child feel loved? Does the child feel compelled to do better the next time? Or, does s/he feel angry and rejected? As proposed by Mason et al. (2004), the subjective experience of the child is very important in this regard. What makes one child feel loved or warm could make another child feel rejected or angry, depending on the cultural background of the child. For instance, even though the above example of parental shaming technique tends to evoke negative feelings for European-American children, the opposite might be true for other ethnic groups in the U.S., such as Asian-American children (Fung & Lau, 2009). Similarly, whereas most studies suggest that authoritarian control is associated with negative childhood outcomes, whether the parenting behavior is considered authoritarian or authoritative is entirely determined by the child him/herself. The same parental controlling behavior may be perceived as authoritarian in one cultural group and possibly authoritative in another.

Why do children of different ethnic backgrounds react differently to the same parenting behavior? Lansford et al. (2005) provided a possible explanation through the cultural normativeness hypothesis. Derived from the culture-specific perspective (Berry, 1989) and developmental niche model (Super & Harkness, 1986), the cultural normativeness hypothesis (Lansford et al., 2005) postulates that both children's and parents' perception of cultural normativeness for some parenting behaviors (e.g., discipline) may buffer the negative effects of such behaviors on children's psychological development and intellectual skills. On the one hand, when a given parental technique is considered normative by children of a particular culture or community, it is more likely to be perceived by them as fair, less likely to be seen as aberrant,

and as a result is more effective in terms of achieving parental goals. On the other hand, if the same parenting practice is believed to be deviant from what their peers receive, children may reject the parental message that is embedded in the practice, and may become rebellious toward such parenting practice (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997). Parents' perceptions of normativeness may also determine the effectiveness and the consequences of a parenting practice. That is, when parents believe that the parenting strategy is normative, they are more likely to use it in a mindful and consistent way. Consequently, children who are raised in such a family environment are less likely to show negative outcomes than their counterparts who do not view the parenting strategy as normative (Holden, Miller, & Harris, 1999; Straus & Mouradian, 1998).

The normativeness hypothesis has been used to assess the impact of physical discipline on childhood behaviors in families across cultural settings. In one study, Lansford et al. (2005) assessed children's and mothers' perception of disciplinary practices in India, China, Italy, Kenya, the Philippines, and Thailand to better understand whether the link between the use of physical discipline and children's behavioral and psychological adjustment would be moderated by how they perceive physical discipline in these countries. They found that even though in all countries physical discipline was positively associated with childhood aggression and anxiety, the link was weaker in countries where physical discipline was considered a norm, suggesting that the perception of the cultural normativeness of physical discipline buffers the negative effect of physical discipline. In another study, researchers compared the effect of physical discipline between European-American families and African-American families, and found that the use of physical discipline was positively associated with externalizing behaviors such as aggression, violence, and trouble at school and with the police for European-American children, while the same practice was negatively associated with these behaviors for African-American children. In

other words, physical discipline could be either harmful or beneficial to children's development depending upon children's racial background. The researchers concluded that children's perception of physical discipline, which differs between the two groups, moderated the relation between the use of physical discipline and children's adjustment (Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 2004). Whereas African-American children perceive spanking and other forms of physical discipline as normative and legitimate, European-American children perceive it as a frightening experience caused by parents' angry outbursts (Lansford et al., 2004). Building on previous research, the current study further investigated the normativeness principle in the assessment of the associations between guan and shaming parenting and psychological distress and academic performance in children of Chinese immigrants in the US. Because guan and shaming parenting are endemic to Chinese socialization practices, it is hypothesized that the perceived normativeness of these behaviors could moderate their influence on childhood outcomes.

Developmental Niche Model

Drawing on the cultural ecological model of Whiting and Whiting (1975), Super and Harkness (1986) formulated the "developmental niche" model to identify and explain the sources of similarities and differences in parenting practices across cultural groups. This model emphasizes the importance of taking into account three important factors within which children are embedded in order to explain family socialization practices: the physical and social settings of daily life, the customs and cultural norms of child care, and the psychology of the caretakers which reflects ethnotheories or ideas about childrearing practices. The physical and social setting includes the environmental and social resources of the family (e.g. whether the baby has her own bedroom) and opportunities and hazards within the home environment and community that

influence socialization and childhood development. Customs refer to childrearing practices and parenting behaviors that are typical of and shared by the community in which the family belongs (e.g. the bed-sharing practice). Parental ethnotheories refer to beliefs or internal working models about the nature of children (e.g. whether they are born good or evil), the socialization goals (whether to raise children to be independent or obedient), and the ideas about effective parenting techniques (e.g. whether physical punishment is effective). The three components interact with one another within the larger ecology of the family and culture to guide parenting practices and the organization of daily life for children and families, and ultimately advance childhood development (Super and Harkness, 1986).

The developmental niche model has been used to assess early patterns of socialization across diverse cultural settings. For example, it has been used to assess beliefs about childhood developmental milestones (Roopnarine, Logie, Davidson, Krishnakumar, & Narine, 2015), parenting practices such as harsh parenting (Roopnarine, Jin, & Krishnakumar, 2014), parental beliefs about play (Roopnarine & Jin, 2012), the effect of maternal education on child academic outcomes (Harding, Morris, & Hughes, 2015), the effect of parental ethnotheories and customs of childrearing (Penderi & Petrogiannis, 2011) , parental childcare involvement (Hossain, Roopnarine, Masud, Muhamed, Baharudin, Abdullah, & Juhari, 2005), and residential child care (Raj & Raval, 2013). In view of its focus on childrearing practices in situ, the developmental niche model is well suited for guiding the present study. Noteworthy are variations in the social and economic conditions of Chinese-American families (physical and social setting), the differing socio-cultural roots of parenting practices between Chinese and other cultural groups (i.e., customs of child care), and the unique parenting beliefs and socialization goals in Chinese culture (guan and shaming). Of particular interest is how childrearing practices influence

Chinese-American children's social and intellectual development. Informed by this model, families' socioeconomic status will serve as a covariate, for its link with the physical and social setting of daily life. Even though the developmental niche model focuses on central aspects of the ecology of family socialization, the participants of this study (i.e. Chinese-Americans) invite a consideration of acculturation processes to help explain the evolving nature of childrearing within the United States.

Model of Acculturation Strategies

As immigrants move from their natal culture to another country, they experience several changes in their lives. The changes include all three components of the developmental niche mentioned above: physical and social (e.g., a new country, new living space, new employment, interracial relations), the customs of child care (e.g., whether high parental control is normative), and the psychology of caretakers (e.g., parenting belief about high academic achievement versus balanced development). It is assumed that major changes in any of the three components may result in shifts and adaptations in parenting practices depending on discrepancies in beliefs about childrearing in the natal and host cultural settings. Variations exist even within the same socio-cultural group as families undergo the process of acculturation.

Acculturation has been defined as the process of cultural socialization as a result of social contact between individuals from different cultural backgrounds (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Realizing the different patterns of psychological adjustments and the differential effects of acculturation on immigrant families, Berry (1997) proposed four acculturation strategies based on whether individuals retain or reject their native culture, and whether they adopt or reject the dominant culture. They are separation, marginalization, assimilation, and integration. The families who disconnect from the dominant culture and at the

same time maintain contact with their own culture are engaging in the separation strategy. Individuals who are considered as assimilated are those who actively interact with the dominant culture while disconnecting from their own culture. Integrated individuals, while actively participating in the host culture, also embrace the identity of their native culture. Finally, those who are marginalized are disconnected from both the dominant and their own culture (Berry, 1997).

Research substantiates the four patterns of adjustment outlined by Berry (1997; Berry & Sabatier, 2011). Studies conducted on immigrants in Canada (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Chia & Costigan, 2006), the United States (Consedine, Chentsova-Dutton, & Krivoshekova, 2014; Jang, Kim, Chiriboga, & King-Kallimanis, 2007; Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006), Australia (Lu, Samaratunge, & Härtel, 2011), and Europe (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2014; Kosic, 2002; Sabatier & Berry, 2008) showed that each acculturation strategy often led to particular psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Specifically, marginalization has been linked to various psychosocial problems, including low self-esteem, low life satisfaction, psychological problems, poor school adjustment, and behavioral problems. Separation, or high ethnic involvement-low mainstream social contact, is associated with positive psychological outcomes, but poor sociocultural adaptation (in the form of poor school performance and behavioral issues. Assimilation leads to poor psychological health and positive sociocultural adaptation (Berry et al., 2006). Individuals adopting the assimilation approach reported the least social difficulty among the four groups (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Finally, it has been suggested that the integration approach (also known as biculturalism; BenetMartı´nez & Haritatos, 2005) is linked to the most optimal psychosocial outcomes, especially for younger immigrants (e.g., Coatsworth, Maldonado-Molina, Pantin, &

Szapocznik, 2005; David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009). The individuals adopting an integrated approach tend to exhibit higher self-esteem, lower depression, more prosocial behaviors (Chen, Benet-Martı́nez, & Bond, 2008; Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Jarvis, 2007; Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980) and are willing to accept ideas from different cultures and integrate them into their natal cultural practices (Benet-Martı́nez & Haritatos, 2005; Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009).

It should be noted, however, that the extent to which individuals are able to integrate beliefs and practices from within their own culture and the host culture is related to the degree of similarity between the two cultures (Rudmin, 2003). For example, if the native language and the language of the host culture are both English, it can be expected that families will experience less stress and integrate more easily into the host culture compared to those whose native language is not English. For example, even from the same geo-cultural region such as the Caribbean, Jamaicans raised in an English-speaking environment might encounter less discrimination and experience less stress in the United States than many Haitian immigrants (whose first language would not be English). By the same token, we can expect that first-generation Chinese immigrants, whose first language is most likely Chinese, may experience more acculturative stress than second generation Chinese-Americans. Because generational status is associated with the level of acculturative stress, which is then related to parenting difficulties (Fung & Lau, 2010), an attempt was made to assess mother's generational status and use of guan and shaming.

Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection Theory

Interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory, which is comprised of three sub-theories that deal with independent but interrelated issues: personality sub-theory, sociocultural systems sub-theory, and coping sub-theory (Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2004; Rohner, 2016).

Personality sub-theory explores the psychological effects of interpersonal acceptance and rejection. Sociocultural systems sub-theory focuses on the sociocultural correlates of interpersonal acceptance-rejection around the world. Finally, coping sub-theory attempts to explain why some people are better at coping with the experience of rejection than others. Perhaps the most notable feature about interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory is that its propositions are based on ethnographic and other investigations on parent-child relationships in the U.S. as well as across the globe conducted over four decades (see meta-analyses by Khaleque & Rohner, 2012).

Data from 66 cultural settings in 22 countries involving 19,511 participants in 5 continents point to the powerful role of parental acceptance in charting a course of positive social adjustment and psychological health in individuals, and the negative impact of hostility and rejection on children's social and cognitive skills (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012). The rich data suggest a shared meaning-structure used by children and adults worldwide to determine if they are loved (parental acceptance) or not (parental rejection). Rohner, Khaleque, and Cournoyer (2005) argue that parental acceptance and rejection are the two opposite end points of the warmth dimension. The warmth dimension is characterized by the emotional bond, physical proximity, and verbal expression of love. While the presence of these elements indicates parental acceptance, the absence of them shows parental rejection. In short, the theory mainly postulates two points: (1) the four classes of parental rejection behaviors- cold, aggressive, neglectful, and undifferentiated- convey the same symbolic meanings to children across cultures and (2) there is a universal tendency for children worldwide to respond negatively to parental rejection (Rohner et al., 2004). Children's perceptions of excessive parental control (i.e. intrusiveness, pressure, and domination) could be harmful, as it conveys the message of parental rejection (aggression/

hostility), which then leads to negative child outcomes "across all races, languages, genders, cultures, ethnicities, and other such defining conditions of humankind" (Rohner et al., 2004, p. 86).

Research findings across cultures consistently confirm the proposition that parental rejection has substantial negative effects on children's and adults' personality traits, psychological adjustment, and behavioral functioning (Rohner, 2016; Rohner et al., 2005). In the United States, parental rejection has been linked to clinical depression, conduct disorders, externalizing behavior, delinquency, and substance abuse in different ethnic groups, including African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, and Hispanic Americans (Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Crook, Raskin, & Eliot, 1981; Chen, Greenberger, Lester, Dong, & Guo, 1998; Coombs, Paulson, & Richardson, 1991; Greenberger & Chen 1996; Marcus & Gray, 1998; Myers, Newcomb, Richardson, & Alvy, 1997; Shedler & Block, 1990; Whitbeck, Conger, & Kao, 1993). The same effects have also been found in other countries including Australia, China, Egypt, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Sweden, Turkey, Bahrain, Croatia, India, Norway, Canada, England, Netherlands (Parker, 1983; Chen, Rubin, & Li, 1995; Erkman, 1992; Chen, Rubin, & Li, 1997; Ajdukovic, 1990; Saxena, 1992), and in several longitudinal studies (Chen et al. 1995; Ge, Best, Conger, & Simons, 1996; Lefkowitz & Tesiny 1984; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber 1986; Simons, Robertson, & Downs, 1989).

Within interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory, the concepts of guan and shaming that involve excessive parental control and the use of psychologically intruding techniques, respectively, would seem to fall under the category of parental rejection, and therefore presumably would be harmful to children's development, regardless of the cultural background of the children. However, the developmental niche model suggests that when considering the

impact of guan and shaming on children's development, the context in which they are implemented, which includes the cultural norms, the parenting ethnotheories, and the physical settings, should be taken into consideration, because they could affect the direction of the impact of these parenting behaviors on childhood development. Similarly, cultural normativeness hypothesis argues that as long as guan and shaming practices are perceived as normal by parents and children, the two parenting strategies would not send a message of rejection, and their negative influences s should be mitigated. The current study aimed to study the influence of both guan and shaming on children's psychological distress and academic performance to help shed further light on the normativeness principle.

Summary

The current study adopted the "universalism without uniformity" perspective (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993) by drawing on principles within the developmental niche model (Super and Harkness, 1986), model of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997), the normativeness hypothesis (Deater, Deckard & Dodge, 1997), and interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory (Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2004; Rohner, 2016).

Based on the proposition of interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory, parental use of guan and shaming practices were selected as the predictor measures of children's development because they exemplify the disciplinary style that involves excessive control and psychological intrusiveness. In view of research findings that demonstrate the negative impact of rejecting parenting style on children's mental health and school performance, psychological distress and academic achievement were chosen as the outcome measures in this study (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012; Rohner et al. 2004). Relying on propositions within the developmental niche model, which address the influence of ethnotheories, childrearing customs, and physical setting, and the

cultural normativeness hypothesis, which emphasizes the effect of normative perception for any given childrearing practice, children's and mother's perception of cultural normativeness were selected as the moderating variable that could potentially affect the relation between parenting strategies and child outcomes (Super and Harkness, 1986; Lansford et al., 2005). Furthermore, informed by the developmental niche model, families' socioeconomic status, which was assessed by mother's education level, occupation, and annual income, served as a covariate, because of its link with the physical and social setting of daily life.

Finally, because the population of interest in the current study was Chinese immigrant families, the model of acculturation strategies was adopted to help understand the factors that affect immigrant parents' use of guan and shaming (Berry, 1997). Given that research findings (see Rudmin, 2003) demonstrate whether immigrants accept the beliefs and practices of the host culture to a large extent depends on the degree of similarity between the host culture and their culture of origin, it is expected that second-generation Chinese-American parents who are U.S.-born, and typically identify with American culture, would be less likely to use guan and shaming than first-generation Chinese immigrant parents. Therefore, immigrant mother's generational status was selected as a covariate when assessing the relation between the use of the two indigenous childrearing strategies and childhood adjustment.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Based on propositions within the cultural normativeness hypothesis (Lansford et al., 2005), developmental niche model (Super & Harkness, 1986), interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory (Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2004; Rohner, 2016), and the model of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997), this study sought answers to the following questions regarding the use

of guan and shaming parenting strategies and their influence on children's psychological distress and academic achievement:

Research Question 1. What is the prevalence of the use of guan and shaming among Chinese parents and do they vary by mother's generational status and socio-economic status?

Hypothesis 1. It is predicted that the practice of guan and shaming will vary among Chinese mothers. Given prior research findings (Rudmin, 2003), it is further predicted that first-generation Chinese mothers will practice significantly more guan and shaming than second generation Chinese mothers. Based on research findings on the relation between parenting and socioeconomic status (Hoff, Laursen, &Tardif 2002), it is further predicted that mothers from lower socioeconomic backgrounds will practice significantly more guan and shaming than those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds.

Research Question 2. What are the direct associations between maternal use of guan and shaming and Chinese 9th and 10th grade children's psychological difficulties and academic performance?

Hypothesis 2. After controlling for covariates, mothers' and children's reports of maternal guan and shaming behavior will significantly predict Chinese children's lower academic performance and higher psychological distress. The hypothesis is based on interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory which suggests that regardless of the cultural background, children's psychological adjustment is negatively affected by excessive parental control, as it conveys the message of parental rejection (aggression/ hostility) which affects children's development negatively (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012; Lim & Lim, 2003; Rohner et al., 2004). Research findings (Nelson et al., 2013; Nelson et al., 2006; Camras et al., 2012) also

indicate that as a form of psychological control in Western studies, parental shaming predicts psychological distress, lower school effort, and low academic achievement.

Research Question 3A. Do children's perceptions of the normativeness of the use of guan and shaming moderate the associations between the use of guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance?

Research Question 3B. Do mother's perceptions of the normativeness of the use of guan and shaming moderate the associations between the use of guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance?

Hypothesis 3. It is hypothesized that children's, as well as mother's perceived normativeness of guan and shaming parenting will each separately moderate the effect of both parenting practices on children's development after controlling for covariates. This hypothesis is based on the cultural normativeness principle, and the findings that children's and mothers' perceived normativeness moderate the effect of harsh parenting on children's adjustment (Lansford et al., 2005; Holden et al., 1999; Straus & Mouradian, 1998).

Chapter 4: Methods

Sample

The sample consisted of 51 Chinese Grades 9 and Grade 10 children (between 14 and 16 years old) and their mothers residing in the Cleveland metropolitan area. This age group was chosen because children at this age, while still needing their parents' love and support, start to seek autonomy and independence, which leads to increased salience of parental control (Wong, Leung, & McBride-Chang, 2010). In this study, Chinese was loosely defined as American and/or Chinese citizens with Chinese heritage. Because the number of Chinese immigrants in Cleveland metropolitan area is not large enough to form their own residential community, the families in this study lived within European-American neighborhoods, and children attend schools where their peers were mostly European-American Children (Zink & Fletcher, 1987; Aronson & Kent, 2008; United States Census Bureau, 2010). The possible impacts on the findings as a result of living in proximity to European-American families and acculturation process are discussed in the last chapter. Most families had two children (35 families). While every attempt was made to include equal numbers of boys and girls, more girls participated in the study (18 boys; 33 girls). In terms of the birth order, more than half of the children (N=27) were the oldest in the family, and more than one-third of the children (N=17) were the youngest in the family. There were a small number of children who were either the only child or the middle child in the family (5 and 2 children, respectively)

Almost all of the mothers were first-generation immigrants (98%). The majority of the mothers were either married or in a domestic partnership (94.1%). The families were chosen from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. About one-third (31.4%) of the families made less

than $50,000 a year, one-third (33.33%) made between $50,000-$100,000 a year, and little over

a third (35.27%) made more than $100,000 a year. The median annual income was between

$50,000 and $74,999. Ninety-eight percent of the mothers finished at least 13 years of formal

education. Fifty-three percent of the mothers had obtained a bachelor's or higher degree. The

mean age of mothers was 45.55 years, and on average had been living in the U.S. for 25.24

years. Using Hollingshead's (1975) Four-Factor Index of Socioeconomic Status classification

system, mothers' occupations were classified into nine categories:(a) higher executive, proprietor

of large businesses, major professional; (b) administrators, lesser professionals, proprietor of

medium-sized business; (c) smaller business owners, farm owners, managers, minor

professionals; (d) technicians, semi-professionals, small business owners (business valued at

$50,000-70,000); (e) clerical and sales workers, small farm and business owners (business

valued at $25,000-50,000); (f) smaller business owners (<$25,000), skilled manual laborers,

craftsmen, tenant farmers; (g) machine operators and semi-skilled workers; (h) unskilled

workers; and (i) farm laborers, service workers, students, housewives, (dependent on welfare, no

regular occupation). Forty-one percent of the mothers had occupations that fell within the first

two categories of Hollingshead's classification system (i.e. highly professional and prestigious

occupations such as college professors, engineers, and company executives). About one-fourth

(23.6 %) of the mothers had a variety of non-professional occupations including small business

owners, clerical workers, and sales workers. About one-third (35.3%) of the participants were

stay-home mothers. Since Chinese-Americans only constitute about 5% of the total American

population (United States Census Bureau, 2010), random sampling would likely yield a small

sample of Chinese-Americans. Therefore, a non-probability sampling technique was utilized.

Table 1 presents specific information regarding the demographic characteristics of the mothers

and children.

Table 1 *Demographic Information for Mothers and Children*

Variable	n	%
Mother		
Marital status		
Married or domestic partnership	48	94.1%
Widowed or divorced	3	5.9%
Occupation		
Professional and administrative positions	21	41%
Non-professional positions	12	23.6%
Stay-home mothers	18	35.5%
Education		
No bachelor degree	12	23.6%
Bachelor degree	15	29.4%
Master's degree	18	35.3%
Doctoral degree	6	11.8%
Annual family income		
Less than $25,000	6	11.8%
$25,000 to $50,000	10	19.6%
$50,000 but less than or equal to $100,000	17	33.33%
Over $100,000	18	35.27%
Generational status		
First generation	50	98%
1.5 generation	1	2%
Child		
Number of children in the family		
One	5	9.8%
Two	35	68.6%
Three	11	21.6%
Sex		
Male	18	35.3%
Female	33	64.7%
Birth order		
Only child	5	9.8%

Oldest child	27	52.9%
Middle child	2	3.9%
Youngest child	17	33.3%

Data Collection Procedure

After obtaining IRB approval from Syracuse University, participants were recruited from the Cleveland metropolitan area in Ohio. Three recruitment strategies were utilized. The first strategy involved recruitment from Chinese schools, Chinese churches, Buddhist temples, and Chinese community centers in the greater Cleveland area. The researcher informed the leaders at the abovementioned community settings about the study, and asked their assistance in distributing a one-page write-up of the study and participants' role in it to potential participants. Those who indicated an interest were asked to contact the researcher directly via phone or email, and to meet with him. At the meeting, the researcher explained the study to participants, including the risks and the freedom to not participate in the study, and to withdraw at any time they wished. Both parent and child consents were obtained prior to the distribution of the instruments. The child's consent was sought in all cases. After informed consent was obtained and all questions and concerns were answered, the participants then completed all the instruments used in the study. Each time there was only one participant in the room (i.e. either mother or child) completing the instruments to ensure confidentiality and avoid mother's coercion. The researcher was in the same room with either mother or child participant to answer questions throughout the data collection process. Being in the same room with participants could potentially influence the findings. The possible impact of his presence is discussed later on.

In addition to recruiting at the abovementioned locations, potential participants were also made aware of the study through flyers and word-of-mouth. Flyers contained a brief description of the study and the participant's role in it, as well as contact information on the researcher. Word-of-mouth sampling has been a common data collection strategy for psychological research that involves ethnic minority groups. As families in ethnic minority groups are often apprehensive about psychological studies, they are trustful of the recommendations of friends and relatives (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Ying, Lee, Tsai, Yeh, & Huang, 2000). Through flyers and word-of-mouth, participants who expressed an interest contacted the researcher directly, and met with him. Similar to the abovementioned procedure, each time there was only one participant signing the consent form and completing the instruments in the same room with the researcher. In the end, only those who signed consent forms and completed all the measures served as the final sample.

Measures

Each mother-child dyad filled out the maternal guan practice scale (Stewart et al., 2002), the Critical Comparison and Shaming (CCS) questionnaire (Camras et al. ,2012) and the perceived normativeness of these practices using these same scales. Mothers also filled out a sociodemographic questionnaire and a psychological distress scale (Kessler et al., 2002) on their child. Each child furnished their end of year letter grades for Algebra and Language Arts. Participants were given the option to complete the instruments in English or Chinese. The scales were translated from English to Chinese and back translated to ensure there was no drift in meaning (Chapman & Carter, 1979; Chao, 2000)

Sociodemographic questionnaire. The sociodemographic questionnaire contained 10 items that asked for information about: (1) mother's marital status and length of time married, (2)

mother's education level, (3) mother's age, (4) child gender, (5) maternal employment status, (6) family annual income (7) mother's length of time spent in the U.S, (8) mother's generational status (i.e. whether first, second, or third generation), (9) child birth order, and (10) number of children at home (See Appendix A). These variables have been shown to relate to children's academic performance, psychological well-being, and psychological distress, and therefore were considered as covariates (Huppert, 2009; Amato & Sobolewski, 2001; De Coster, 2012; Murray, 2012; Palkovitz, Fagan, & Hull, 2013; Roggman, Bradley, & Raikes, 2013).

Maternal guan practice. An eight-item Likert-type parent training scale developed by Stewart, et al. (2002) was used in this study. Items were developed to measure maternal guan practice. As noted in chapter 2, guan is an indigenous form of parental control, thought to represent a class of child-rearing practices observed in Chinese culture intended to help children develop self-regulation and succeed academically (Chao, 1994). Items on the mother's scale include "I help my child with his/her studies as much as my education allows" and "I emphasize self-discipline" (See Appendix A). Items on child's scale include "mother helped me with my studies as much as her education allowed" and "My mother emphasized self-discipline" (see Appendix B). Participants rated how strongly they agree with each of the eight statements on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). A final score was obtained by calculating the mean score of the ratings of all eight items. This scale has been used with female nursing students ranging in age from 18 to 23 years in Hong Kong, Pakistan, and the United States (Stewart et al., 2002). In prior work, the Cronbach's alphas for this scale were: Hong Kong Chinese = .89, Pakistan = .66 and United States = .83 (Stewart et al., 2002). All items were factor analyzed which resulted in a unidimensional scale. The item loadings for the "training" factor among individuals in Hong Kong ranged from .05 to .73, for individuals in

Pakistan from .09 to .80, and for those in United States from .00 to .74 (Stewart et al., 2002). In this study, the Cronbach alpha was 0.56 for mother report, and 0.73 for child report.

Maternal shaming practice. A fourteen-item Likert-type Critical Comparison and Shaming (CCS) questionnaire developed by Camras et al. (2012) was used to assess maternal shaming practice. As an indigenous form of disciplinary strategy, shaming practice is closely tied to the emphasis on collectivism and in-group harmony in Chinese culture, and is commonly observed in Chinese parenting intended to instill moral principles and a consideration for others in Chinese children (Fung & Lau, 2012). Items include "I often tell my child about how other children are better than him/her" and " I like to discuss my child's problems in front of other people" on mother's questionnaire (See Appendix A), and "My parents often tell me how other children are better than me" and "My parents like to discuss my problems in front of other people" on child's questionnaire (See Appendix B). Participants rated how strongly they agree with each of the fourteen statements on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = not true at all to 5 = very true. This scale has been used with Chinese and European-American children (Camras et al., 2012). In prior work, the Cronbach's alphas for this scale were .67 for European American and .71 for Chinese adults (Cameras et al., 2012). In this study the Cronbach alpha was 0.76 for mother report, and 0.83 for child report.

Cultural normativeness. Following prior studies that have investigated perceived cultural normativeness of specific parenting practices (e.g. Lansford et al. 2005; Gershoff et al., 2010), the current study assessed mothers' and children's perceptions of how frequently other parents use guan and shaming discipline stated in the eight-item training parenting scale and the fourteen-item CCS questionnaire (1=never, 2=less than once a month, 3=about once a month, 4=about once a week, 5=almost every day) described above. In this study, the Cronbach alphas

were 0.86 for mother report, and 0.75 for child report for the perceived cultural normativeness of guan, and 0.60 for mother report, and 0.71 for child report for the cultural normativeness of shaming. Because of the sample size, it was not possible to conduct factor analysis on these scales.

Outcome Measures

Academic performance. Based on other studies (Chao, 2001; Pinquart, 2016), children's school grades were used as an outcome measure. Children were asked to provide their end of year letter grades in Language Arts and Algebra. Both academic subjects were chosen as outcomes because (1) they have often been used in past studies on parenting (e.g., Feldman, Guttfreund, & Yerushalmi, 1998; Kim, Wang, Chen, Shen, & Hou, 2015; Gubbins & Otero, 2016; Weis, Trommsdorff, & Muñoz, 2016; Lv, Zhou, Guo, Liu, Liu, & Luo, 2016; Wang, Deng, & Du, 2017; Zhang, Eisenberg, Liang, Li, & Deng, 2017; Ren, Zhang, Yang, & Song, 2017), and (2) both literacy and mathematics learning are greatly emphasized in Chinese immigrant families (Li & Wang, 2013). The letter grades were recorded as 1= F, 2= D (including D-, D, D+), 3= C (including C-, C, C+), 4= B (including B-, B, B+), or 5= A (include A-, A, A+). The two grades were averaged to produce a final score for each child participant.

Psychological distress. The Kessler 10 Psychological Distress Scale (K10), a brief dimensional scale was used to measure non-specific psychological distress. Items address fatigue, nervousness, hopelessness, restlessness, depression, loss of energy, and worthlessness. Participants rated each item on a scale of 1 (none of the time) to 5 (all of the time). A total score was calculated by summing up the responses on the 10 items. Higher scores indicate higher levels of non-specific psychological distress. The K10 has strong psychometric properties and

can be used as a valid predictor of DSM-IV mood and anxiety disorders (Furukawa, Kessler, Slade, & Andrews. 2003; Slade, Grove, & Burgess, 2011). Its brevity and desirable psychometric properties have led to its popularity in both clinical and non-clinical research. Although the K10 was developed for non-specific psychological distress in the upper 90th–99th percentile range of the general population, it is also widely used in clinical settings (Sunderland, Mahoney, & Andrews, 2012). This scale was chosen for the current study because it has been used with an adolescent sample in China (Huang, Xia, Sun, Zhang, & Wu, 2009). Its high internal consistency has been reported in various studies (e.g. α=.84 in Hides et al., 2007, α=.87 in Spies et al., 2009). Spies et al. (2009) also reported that the scale has good validity, as there is significant agreement between the K-10 and the MINI International Neuropsychiatric Interview-defined depressive and anxiety disorders. Using confirmatory factor analysis, Sunderland et al. (2012) investigated the factor structure of the K-10. The results suggested one factor: psychological distress. In this study the Cronbach alpha for the K10 was 0.92.

Data Analysis

Because of the abovementioned data collection procedure, there were no missing data in this study (i.e. the researcher in the same room with the participants answering any question and concern). Bivariate correlations were computed among all variables. A one-way between groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to explore differences due to generational and socioeconomic status in the use of guan and shaming. To assess the associations between maternal guan and shaming practices and children's academic performance and psychological distress, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted. Mother's marital status, year in the marriage, mother's education level, mother's age, number of children in the family, child gender, child birth order, maternal occupation, annual household income, mother's length of time

spent in the U.S, and mother's generational status (i.e. whether first, second, or third generation) have been variously reported to influence academic performance and psychological adjustment in different studies (Tynkkynen, Vuori, & Salmela-Aro, 2012; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Huppert, 2009; Amato & Sobolewski, 2001; De Coster, 2012; Murray, 2012). Accordingly, correlations were computed between these variables and the two child outcome measures. Based on the correlations between variables, only child gender and maternal education level were entered as controls in the regression analysis.

Preliminary analysis was conducted to ensure that there was no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity. To test the associations between children's and mothers' reports of guan and academic performance, children's and mothers' reports of maternal guan served as predictor variables. Child's academic performance served as the criterion variable. Child gender was entered in step 1 as a control variable. Children's report of maternal guan behavior was entered in step 2 to determine if it explained unique variance in academic performance after controlling for child gender. Identical analyses were followed when assessing the association between the use of guan and psychological distress (with scores obtained from K10 serving as the criterion variable, and mother education level as control variable), the association between shaming and academic performance (child gender as control variable), and shaming and psychological distress (maternal education level as control variable). This approach has been used widely in the developmental psychology literature (e.g., Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O'Connor, 1994; Renshaw & Brown, 1993; Shek, 1999; Shek, 2007).

To examine the moderating role of the perceived cultural normativeness on the association between maternal use of guan and shaming practices and children's psychological

distress and academic performance, each of the parenting practices and the perceived

normativeness constructs were centered at the mean. Interaction terms were created and entered

in the analyses as per guidelines indicated by Aiken and West (1991) and Frazier, Tix, and

Barron (2004). At each step of the analysis, *R* square, *F* statistic, and *F* change values were

assessed along with standardized beta coefficients (*β*), and probability values. Each significant

interaction was probed using guidelines suggested by Aiken and West (1991).

Chapter 5: Results

This chapter first presents the descriptive statistics including the mean and standard deviations of all measured variables and the bivariate correlations between predictor and outcomes measures. Next, the prevalence of guan and shaming parenting, the associations between the two indigenous parenting practices and child academic and psychological outcomes, and the moderating role of cultural normativeness on the associations between predictor and criterion variables are presented.

Descriptive Statistics

The current study investigated the relation between two indigenous parenting practices, guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance among Chinese families in the U.S. Overall, Chinese children in this study showed high academic performance: 88.3% (N=45) received a grade of B or above, and 70.6% (N=36) received an A as the average score of their end of year letter grade on Algebra and Language Arts. They also showed good psychological health (mother rating: M=17.47, SD=7.24). The mothers and children strongly endorsed the use of guan, with a mean rating of 3.73 out of 5 and 3.71 out of 5, and standard deviations of 0.49 and 0.66, respectively. Drawing on the individual items, most Chinese mothers disfavored physical punishment (mother rating: $M=1.82$, $SD=1.05$; child rating: $M=1.65$, $SD=0.82$). They emphasized self-discipline (mother rating: $M=4.3$, $SD=0.89$; child rating: $M=3.84$, $SD=1.24$), neatness and organization (mother report: $M=4.02$, $SD=0.76$; child report: $M=4.02$, $SD=0.93$), the importance of hard-work (mother report: $M=4.51$, $SD=0.7$; child report: $M=4.39$, $SD=1.06$); practiced co-sleeping when the child was younger (mother report: $M=3.65$, $SD=1.26$; child report: $M=3.88$, $SD=1.26$); helped children with their studies (mother report: $M=3.71$, $SD=1.08$; child report: $M=3.84$, $SD=1.3$); were concerned about children's

needs (mother report: *M*= 4.14, *SD*=0.94; child report: *M*=4.3, *SD*=0.93); and pointed out good behaviors in others as a role model (mother report: *M*= 3.69, *SD*=1.1; child report: *M*=3.82, *SD*=1.29).

Conversely, the use of shaming was less prevalent, with a mean rating of 2.6 (*SD*=0.53) out of 5 for mothers, and a mean rating of 2.69 (*SD*=0.62) out of 5 for children. An examination of individual items showed that mothers engaged in low levels of blaming children when others did better than them in school (mother rating: *M*=2.2, *SD*=1.27; child rating: *M*=1.73, *SD*=1.25), discussing children's problems in front of other people (mother rating: *M*=1.8, *SD*=1.1; child rating: *M*=1.96, *SD*=1.2), shaming children before family and friends (mother rating: *M*=1.69, *SD*=1.07; child rating: *M*=1.69, *SD*=1.09), telling children about how other children were better than them (mother rating: *M*=2.14, *SD*=1.25; child rating: *M*=2.31, *SD*=1.45), asserting that children must do better than everyone else (mother rating: *M*=2.39, *SD*=1.2; child rating: *M*=2.31, *SD*=1.45), and criticisms directed at children (mother rating: *M*=2.1, *SD*=1.32; child rating: *M*=2.31, *SD*=1.32). Finally, the rating reflected that Chinese mothers cared a lot about their own or family's reputation (mother rating: *M*=3.37, *SD*=1.3; child rating: *M*=3.04, *SD*=1.34).

When asked how frequently other parents that they knew (their friends, relatives, co-workers, people in their community and neighborhood) practiced guan and shaming, both mothers and children agreed that guan parenting was frequently observed among Chinese immigrant parents in the U.S. (mother rating: *M*=3.25, *SD*= 0.86; child rating: *M*=3.27, *SD*=0.76). By contrast, shaming was not a popular parenting strategy among these mothers (mother rating: *M*=2.9, *SD*= 0.39; child rating: *M*=2.7, *SD*=0.49). In general, mothers' and children's reports of their own family practices tended to be consistent with parenting practices

in the community, with the exception of co-sleeping (mother rating: *M=3.65* V.S. *M=2.72,* child

rating: *M=3.88* V.S. *M=2.76*) and comparing children's school performance with other children

(mother rating: *M=2.67* V.S. *M=3.41*, child rating: *M=3.09* V.S. *M=2.98*). Table 2 displays the

mean ratings and standard deviations of the two indigenous parenting strategies in participants'

own family and in their community as reported by both mothers and children.

Table 2
Mean and Standard Deviations of Guan and Shaming

Parenting practices	n	Mother report		Child report	
		M	SD	M	SD
Guan within family	51	3.73	0.49	3.71	0.66
Shaming within family	51	2.6	0.53	2.69	0.62
Guan in the community	51	3.25	0.86	3.27	0.76
Shaming in the community	51	2.9	0.39	2.7	0.49

The bivariate correlations between predictor and outcomes measures for maternal reports

and child reports were computed using Pearson product-moment correlations. With the exception

of a strong positive correlation between maternal reports of shaming and child psychological

distress (r=.45, n=51, *p*<.01), with high level of maternal shaming associated with high

psychological distress, there were weak associations between all predictor measures (i.e.,

mothers' reports of guan, children's reports of guan, children's reports of shaming) and the two

outcome measures. Table 3 displays the bivariate correlations for all measured mother predictor

and child outcome variables. Table 4 displays bivariate correlations for all measured child

predictor and child outcome variables.

Table 3
Bivariate Correlations for Mother Report Predictor and Child Criterion Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Mother report guan	1					
2. Mother report shaming	.14	1				
3. MPG	.26	-.11	1			
4. MPS	0.03	.16	.27	1		
5. Psychological Distress	.22	.45*	.02	.10	1	
6. Academics	-.02	.12	.07	-.06	.11	1

* p< .01 (2-tailed). MPG: mother perceived normativeness of the use of guan; MPS: mother perceived normativeness of the use of shaming

Table 4

Bivariate Correlations for Child Report Predictor and Child Criterion Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Child report guan	1					
2. Child report shaming	-.16	1				
3. CPG	.65*	-.05	1			
4. CPS	-.05	.70*	.02	1		
5. Psychological distress	-.03	.04	.11	.05	1	
6. Academics	-.24	-.22	.35*	-.18	.11	1

*$p < .01$ (2-tailed). CPG: child perceived normativeness of the use of guan; CPS: child perceived normativeness of the use of shaming

Research Question 1. What is the prevalence of the use of guan and shaming among Chinese-immigrant parents in the U.S. and does it vary by mother's generational status and socio-economic status?

For the most part, mothers in the study strongly endorsed guan parenting, but less so shaming parenting (Table 2). Since almost all mothers in the study were first-generation immigrants (98%, N=50), the difference in the use of guan and shaming among mothers of different generational status could not be determined. Specifically, since the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated as a result of unequal number of subjects in each group (i.e., first generation V.S. second generation V.S. third generation), a one-way between groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) could not be conducted to investigate whether the use of guan

and shaming varied by generational status (Keppel & Zedeck, 1989). A one-way between groups

analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to explore whether the use of guan and shaming

varied by socioeconomic status. Specifically, differences due to annual household income,

mother's education level, and mother's occupation were assessed. Mothers were divided into

four groups according to their annual household income (Group 1: less than $25,000; Group 2:

$25,000-$50,000; Group 3: $50,000-$100,000; Group 4: greater than $100,000), and four groups

were created according to level of education (Group 1: less than bachelor degree; Group 2:

Bachelor degree; Group 3: Master's degree; Group 4: Doctoral and professional degree). There

was no statistically significant difference at the $p<.05$ level in the use of guan and shaming

parenting by income levels: mothers' reports of guan, $F_{(3, 45)} = 1.481$, $p = 0.23$, mothers'

reports of shaming, $F_{(3, 45)} = 0.928$, $p = 0.44$, children's reports of guan, $F_{(3, 45)} = 0.983$, $p =$

0.41, children's reports of shaming, $F_{(3, 45)} = 0.564$, $p = 0.64$. The same was true for different

levels of educational attainment: mothers' reports of guan, $F_{(3, 47)} = 0.768$, $p = 0.52$, mothers'

reports of shaming, $F_{(3, 47)} = 0.229$, $p = 0.88$, children's reports of guan, $F_{(3, 46)} = 0.417$, $p =$

0.74, children's reports of shaming, $F_{(3, 47)} = 0.621$, $p = 0.61$.

Mother's occupation was also used as an indicator of socioeconomic status. Mothers

were divided into three groups (Group1: professional and administrative positions; Group 2: non-

professional positions; Group 3: stay-home mother). There was a statistically significant

difference at the $p < .05$ level in maternal use of guan parenting by occupational groups, $F_{(2, 48)}$

$= 3.438$, $p = 0.04$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score

for stay-at-home mothers ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 0.48$) was significantly different from those of non-

professional working mothers ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 0.50$). Mother's occupation did not influence the

use of guan parenting as reported by children, $F_{(2, 47)} = 0.535$, $p = 0.59$, the use of shaming as

reported by mothers, F (2, 48) =0.227, $p = 0.8$, and the use of shaming as reported by children, F (2,48) = 0.852, $p = 0.43$.

Research Question 2. What are the direct associations between maternal use of guan and shaming and 9th and 10th grade children's psychological distress and academic performance in Chinese immigrant families in the US?

Because of the significant associations between mother's education and children's psychological distress (r = -0.32), and child gender and children's child academic performance (r = 0.28), these variables were entered as controls in assessing the direct associations between maternal guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance. Maternal education level served as a covariate when the relation between parenting practices and child psychological distress was determined, and child gender was entered as a covariate when the relation between parenting practices and school performance was determined.

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to assess the ability of maternal use of guan and shaming to predict children's psychological distress and academic performance, after controlling for the influence of covariates. Mothers' reports of shaming was a significant predictor of children's psychological distress, but was not a significant predictor of children's academic performance. Children's report of guan was a significant predictor of their academic performance, but was not a significant predictor of their psychological distress. Likewise, children's reports of shaming was a significant predictor of their academic performance, but was not a significant predictor of their psychological distress. Mothers' reports of guan was not a significant predictor of children's psychological distress or children's academic performance (see Table 5 and Table 6).

Table 5

Association between Mother Report Predictor and Child Outcome Variables

Variables	Academic performance			Psychological distress		
	Beta	*SE*	*β*	*Beta*	*SE*	*β*
Model 1						
Child gender	**0.303***	0.137	0.296			
Mother education				**-0.334***	1.029	-2.523
F		**4.64***			**6.016***	
R²		0.092			0.111	
Model 2						
Child gender	**0.303***	0.138	0.292			
Mother education				**-0.290***	0.899	-2.149
MG	0.003	0.135	0.003	0.140	1.814	2.070
MS	0.162	0.128	0.145	**0.418****	1.660	5.684
F		**4.527***			**7.151****	
R²		0.236			0.338	
FΔ		2.203			3.758	
R²Δ		0.158			0.226	

Note. *p* <.05. ***p* <.01. Significant coefficients are bolded. MG: Mothers' reports guan; MS: Mothers' reports shaming

Table 6

Association between Child Report Predictor and Child Outcome Variables

Variables	Academic performance			Psychological distress		
	Beta	*SE*	*β*	*Beta*	*SE*	*β*
Model 1						
Child gender	**0.303***	0.137	0.296			
Mother education				**-0.334***	1.029	-2.523
F		**4.64***			**6.016***	
R²		0.092			0.111	
Model 2						
Child gender	**0.303***	0.138	0.292			
Mother education				**-0.290***	0.899	-2.149
CG	**-0.308***	0.094	-0.217	0.025	1.574	0.281
CS	**-0.278***	0.105	-0.218	0.051	1.724	0.630
F		**4.527***			**7.151****	
R²		0.236			0.338	
FΔ		2.203			3.758	
R²Δ		0.158			0.226	

Note. *p* <.05. ***p* <.01. Significant coefficients are bolded. CG: Children's reports guan; CS: Children's reports shaming

Research Question 3A. Do children's perceptions of the normativeness of the use of guan and shaming moderate the associations between the use of guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance?

To test whether children's perceptions of the normativeness of the use of guan and shaming parenting moderate the associations between children's perceptions of the use of guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and academic performance, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted. Mothers' education and child gender were entered in model 1 as covariates. In model 2, mother and child reports of guan and shaming were entered as predictor variables. Next, all interaction terms (i.e. mother report guan*child perceived normativeness, mother report shaming*child perceived normativeness, child report guan*child perceived normativeness, child report shaming*child perceived normativeness) were entered in model 3 as predictor variables. Based on the results of these analyses, non-significant interactions were dropped, and the models were rerun. For children's psychological distress, one interaction (mother report shaming* child perceived cultural normativeness) was a significant predictor (see Table 7). Post hoc probing indicated that the association between mothers' reports of the use of shaming and child psychological distress was stronger for children perceiving low cultural normativeness of shaming (Unstandardized *Beta* = 10.084, $p < 0.001$) than for those perceiving high cultural normativeness of shaming (Unstandardized *Beta* = 2.559, $p = 0.282$) (see Figure 1).

None of the interactions between the two indigenous parenting practices and children's perceived normativeness of the use of these practices were significant predictors of children's academic performance (see Table 7).

Table 7

Interaction between Predictors and Child Perceived Normativeness

Variables	Academic performance			Psychological distress		
	Beta	*SE*	*ß*	*Beta*	*SE*	*ß*
Model 3						
MS×CP	-0.079	0.263	-0.146	**-0.258***	3.287	-6.91
CG×CP	-0.221	0.081	-0.097	-0.359	1.296	-2.476
CS×CP	0.134	0.171	0.134	0.289	2.286	4.548
F	1.484			1.882		
R^2	0.376			0.525		
FΔ	0.817			1.061		
$R^2Δ$	0.127			0.139		

Note. *p* <.05. Significant coefficients are bolded. MS: Mothers' reports shaming; CG: Children's reports guan; CS: Children's reports shaming; CP: Children's perceived normativeness

Figure 1. the interaction effect between mother report shaming and child perceived

normativeness

Research Question 3B. Do mother's perceptions of the normativeness of the use of guan and

shaming moderate the associations between the use of guan and shaming and children's

psychological distress and academic performance.

To test whether mother's perceptions of the normativeness of guan and shaming

moderate the associations between the use of guan and shaming and children's academic

performance and psychological distress, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were

conducted. Again, mothers' education level and child gender were entered in model 1 as

covariates. In model 2, mothers' and children's reports of guan and shaming were entered as predictor variables. Next, all interactions terms (i.e., mother report guan*mother perceived normativeness, mother report shaming*mother perceived normativeness, child report guan*mother perceived normativeness, child report shaming*mother perceived normativ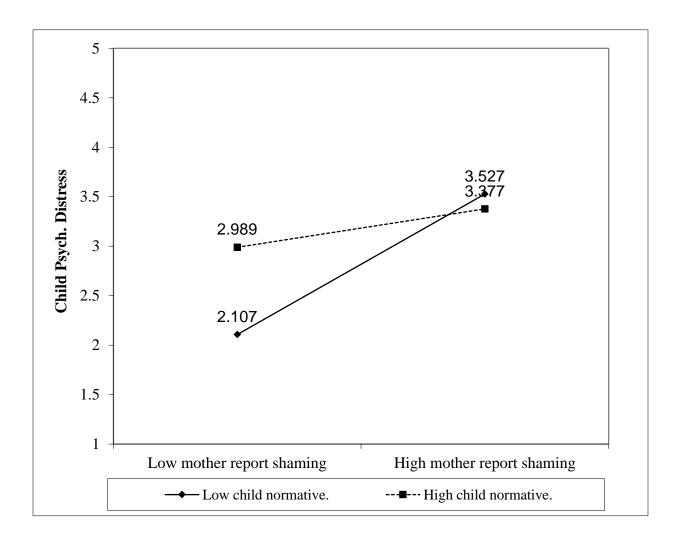eness) were entered in model 3 as predictor variables. None of the interactions between the two indigenous parenting practices and mother's perceptions of the normativeness of the use of these practices were significant predictors of children's academic performance and psychological distress (see Table 8).

Table 8
Interaction between Predictors and Mother Perceived Normativeness

Variables	Academic performance				Psychological distress		
	Beta	*SE*	*β*		*Beta*	*SE*	*β*
Model 3							
MS×MP	0.018	0.37	0.045		-0.055	5.2	-2.079
CG×MP	-0.252	0.096	-0.108		-0.035	2.6	-0.642
CS×MP	0.240	0.268	0.467		0.005	4.1	0.159
F	1.484				1.882		
R²	0.376				0.525		
FΔ	0.817				1.061		
R²Δ	0.127				0.139		

Note. *p <.05. MS: Mothers' reports shaming; CG: Children's reports guan; CS: Children's report shaming; MP: mothers' perceived normativeness

Chapter 6: Discussion

During the 50 years since Baumrind (1971) developed her parenting styles typology and outlined their implications for children's development, parenting research across the world has grown exponentially (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). Numerous studies have indicated that the authoritative parenting style is the most ideal parenting style as it is linked to desirable developmental outcomes in children. By contrast, children raised with an authoritarian style of parenting are less socially, psychologically, and academically competent (Dornbusch, et al., 1987; Kaufmann, et al., 2000; Lamborn, et al., 1991; Pinquart, 2016; Steinberg, et al., 1991; Zhao & Wang, 2010). Similarly, children whose parents practice psychological control, involving the use of manipulation, devaluation, and intrusion of children's feelings, have shown a variety of social difficulties, including emotional distress, low self-esteem, relational aggression, and physical aggression (Barber, et al., 1994; Wang et al., 2007; Arim & Shapka, 2008; Blossom et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2013).

Often characterized by their emphasis on academic performance and less concern over parental warmth (Chao, 1994), childrearing practices among Chinese families have received increasing attention. In the main, Chinese parenting has been labeled as "harsh parenting" (Nelson et al., 2006) due to its seemingly authoritarian and psychologically controlling nature. However, unlike the robustness of the research findings on the associations between parenting styles on childhood development across several cultural communities (see Sorkhabi, 2005), the findings on parental control and childhood development among Chinese (Chao, 2001) and Chinese immigrant families in the US remain inconsistent. While some studies (e.g. Nelson et al., 2006; Olsen et al., 2002; Wang et al., 2007) show that Chinese children are not immune to the detrimental effects of authoritarian parenting and psychological control, other studies have

concluded that Chinese children are not negatively affected by these parenting practices (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Xia et al., 2015).

In light of the implications of different parenting styles for Chinese children's psychological adjustment and academic achievement (see Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994, and Barber, 1996), the current study sought to further explore the meaning of guan and shaming parenting practices among Chinese immigrants residing in a mid-western community in the United States. Prior studies have mainly been couched either within a "universalist perspective" or "culture-specific perspective" (Pomerantz & Wang, 2009). Using these two theoretical viewpoints, researchers have come to the conclusion that Chinese parenting practices of guan and shaming are either equivalent to authoritarian parenting and psychological control (Nelson et al., 2006; Olsen et al., 2002; Wang et al., 2007), or they are indigenous practices that are derived from culturally emphasized qualities of academic excellence and interpersonal competence (Berry, 1989; Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2012). Instead of adopting either extreme viewpoints, the current study was guided by the "universalism without uniformity" perspective (Shweder and Sullivan, 1993) which argues that while harsh parenting is universally harmful, the strength and the direction of child reaction may vary as a result of perceived cultural normativeness of a given parenting practice (Deater, Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Mason, Walker-Barnes, Tu, Simons, & Martinez-Arrue, 2004).

Accordingly, to explore the associations between guan and shaming parenting practices and adolescents' psychological distress and academic performance, this study was informed by "universalism without uniformity" and accompanying theoretical frameworks such as interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory, the developmental niche model, the acculturation model, and the cultural normativeness hypothesis that have guided research on parenting and

childhood outcomes in cultural communities around the world (see Super & Harkness, 1986; Berry, 1997; Berry, 1989; Rohner et al., 2004). The current study investigated (1) the degree of the use of guan and shaming among Chinese immigrant parents in the U.S, (2) the associations between shaming and control and psychological distress and school grades in 9th and 10th grade children of Chinese immigrants, and (3) the moderating role of cultural normativeness of the use of guan and shaming on the associations between the use of guan and shaming and children's psychological distress and school grades. This chapter describes the findings of this study in accordance with the research questions and hypotheses explored, discusses the limitations of the study, and provides some recommendations for future research in this area of inquiry.

Mother and Child Characteristics

As mentioned earlier, unlike much of the work on the parenting strategies of Chinese families living in the U.S. that utilized samples that mainly represented middle-class families living in large metropolitan areas on the West coast (e.g. Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2012), the current study relied on a sample from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds living in mid-sized city (i.e. Cleveland) in a Midwest region of the U.S. About one-third of the families were considered working class, one-third middle class, and about one-third upper-middle class based on annual household income (see sample description in Chapter 3). While a majority of mothers had at least a high school diploma, and more than half of the sample obtained at least a bachelor's degree, education level did not seem to predict household income. Kossoudji (1988) suggested that this phenomenon is common among first-generation immigrants, which made up almost the entire sample in the current study. Furthermore, Kossoudji argued that many highly skilled and educated first-generation immigrants were either unemployed or employed in low-skilled, labor-intense market mainly due to lack of language proficiency and immigration issues.

Overall, Chinese children in the sample did well academically, which is in agreement with most findings in research with children of Chinese immigrants. As discussed in past studies (Chao, 1994; Chao, 1996, Chao, 2001; Li & Wang, 2013) and literature reviews (Li et al., 2004), academic achievement is highly valued in Confucian-based societies, where education attainment has a greater impact on financial improvement in the East (Pomerantz, Ng, & Wang, 2008). Because of its cultural significance, Chinese parents hold high expectations for their children's academic success, and the amounts of school work that they think their children can take (Chao & Tseng, 2002). When children fail in school, instead of attending to what children did right and minimizing the failure, Chinese parents often emphasize the failure, and proceed to teach children strategies to do better the next time (Pomerantz, Ng, Cheung, & Qu, 2014). Moreover, parents often engage in formal teaching methods at home (i.e. parent-led home assignment activities) by establishing specific periods for studying at home, as well as teaching reading, writing, and simple arithmetic skills before their children start formal schooling (Schneider & Lee, 1990). Because parents and early childhood educators in the U.S. have been largely influenced by Piagetian theories, which emphasizes children's natural abilities to construct knowledge by actively exploring the environment, formal teaching has often been seen as developmentally inappropriate for younger children. In fact, The National Association for the Education of Young Children has explicitly listed the practices that are inappropriate for young children under age 6. The list includes memorization, the use of flash card, the use of workbook, drill, and all other structured teaching methods (Huntsinger et al., 2000). Despite the general consensus in the U.S., studies that investigated the effect of parental teaching at home in the early years have generally yielded results that support structured parental teaching of academics to their young children. For example, it has been found that first-grade children who learn

mathematics through didactic methods at home are able to show higher mathematics achievement (Young-Loveridge, 1989). Similar results were also found in a longitudinal study: Huntsinger et al. (2000) found that second-generation Chinese American preschool and kindergarten children whose parents engage in systematic teaching methods at home show significantly higher performance than European Americans in reading and mathematics at the third- and fourth grade levels. Based on these findings, it seems the definition of "developmentally appropriateness" requires further examination.

Chinese children in this study showed good psychological adjustment. In their article, Pomerantz et al. (2014) noted that while showing great academic success, Chinese children often suffered psychologically and emotionally. However, this was not the case in the current study. Two possible explanations are offered for the lack of heightened psychological distress in the face of good academic performance on the part of the children in this study. First, a majority of mothers in this sample were well-educated, which could contribute to children's optimal psychological condition (Newland et al., 2013; Harding et al., 2015). Indeed, the analysis showed that mother's education level was significantly associated with children's psychological distress, with higher education level predicting lower distress. Second, mother and child reports of family practices tended to be consistent with parenting practices in the community. As suggested by cultural normativeness hypothesis (Lansford et al., 2005), this could impart positive influences on children's psychological adjustment, especially when parenting practices are less than ideal.

Prevalence of Guan and Shaming

As predicted, Chinese mothers in the study endorsed guan parenting. One of the goals in this study was to determine the relation between mother's generational status and the use of the

two parenting strategies. However, because almost all of the families in the sample were first-generation immigrants, it was unclear whether Chinese mother's generational status had an effect on their choice of parenting strategies as past studies have suggested (Chao, 2001). Two possible explanations are proffered here for the prevalence of first- generation immigrants in the sample. First, unlike immigrants in the coastal regions of the United States (e.g. California and New York City) where Chinese-American populations have resided for generations, most Chinese immigrants in the Cleveland metropolitan area have only established residency in recent decades (Zink & Fletcher, 1987; Aronson & Kent, 2008; United States Census Bureau, 2010). Also, the main recruitment methods utilized in this study, which involved contacting various Chinese organizations including Chinese language schools, Chinese churches, Buddhist temples, and Chinese community centers in the greater Cleveland area, could have contributed to the high proportion of first-generation Chinese immigrants in the sample. Such techniques preclude more acculturated Chinese immigrant families (i.e., second and third generations) from participating in the study, as they might not be as likely to be affiliated with any Chinese organization that are commonly utilized by new immigrants.

In this study, the endorsement of guan did not vary by mothers' level of education, or annual household income, suggesting that guan parenting was prevalent among Chinese families from all socioeconomic backgrounds. However, when looking at whether guan varied by mother's occupation, the results indicated that stay-at-home mothers were more likely to practice guan than non-professional working mothers (i.e., mothers working in low-skilled jobs). One could argue that many of the guan practices require great time commitment, psychological resources, and physical presence (e.g. mother helped children with school work), which may not

be possible for mothers working in labor-intense, low skilled jobs. Whether this is indeed the case will require further investigation.

Contrary to popular perception, Chinese mothers in the study did not use physical punishment as a form of disciplinary strategy. This finding could be attributed to mother's high level of education. As Day, Peterson, and McCracken (1998) suggested, the higher the mother's educational attainment, the less likely they are to use physical punishment. Thus, the finding on the low use of physical punishment by Chinese immigrant mothers is congruent with those of other studies (e.g., Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992; Chen, Chen, & Zheng, 2012; Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013). However, participants did report that guan parenting practices were prevalent in their communities, which again reflects the cultural significance of guan parenting. It seems to be actively practiced in Chinese cultural communities in the Cleveland area.

The opposite appears to be the case for the use of shaming. It was not as prevalent as guan parenting both within families and in the communities in which they resided. Nor did the use of shaming vary by mothers' level of education, occupation, or annual household income. This contradicts the findings of previous research. For example, Wu et al. (2002) found that Chinese mothers in Mainland China used shaming more frequently than North American mothers. When looking at responses to individual items on the shaming questionnaire, it was found that Chinese mothers, both within the families and in communities, cared a lot about their own and/or their family's reputations. This may suggest a greater overall emphasis on collectivism and interdependence in Chinese cultural communities in general and in some immigrant communities in North America (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Through Confucian teaching, Chinese families believe that one's success or failure affects the entire family's

reputation (Chiu & Ho, 2006). Arguably, while mothers in the study may not have strongly endorsed shaming as a form of parenting, they still valued Chinese ethics embraced by shaming parenting within their developmental niche.

The Effects of Acculturation

As stated earlier, the immigrant families in the current study live predominately within European-American neighborhoods. In addition, the mothers have on average lived in the United Stated for over two decades. These characteristics pose interesting questions for the effects of acculturation: does living in proximity to European-American families change parenting practices in Chinese families as a result of acculturation, and does mother's length of staying in the United Stated influence the findings of this study? According to the current findings, it appears that the mothers retain some Chinese parenting beliefs and practices while at the same time adopting some of the childrearing ideologies of host culture. The prevalence of guan parenting and emphasis on family reputation found in this study suggest that Chinese mothers make great efforts to preserve traditional belief systems in the family. The prolonged stay in the U.S. and living within predominantly European-American neighborhoods did not seem to change their view on the importance of guan and family reputation. On the contrary, disfavoring physical punishment as a form of disciplinary technique and the less prevalent use of shaming possibly indicate that the mothers may have adopted the Westerner's view on shaming and physical punishment (i.e. they are harmful to children's psychological development).

These findings are consistent with past literature which suggests the selective nature of acculturation among immigrant families. While some traditional parenting beliefs and practices are no longer embraced as a result of assimilating into the new culture, others are retained (Jain & Belsky, 1997; Kelly & Tseng, 1992; Gibson, 2001, Zhou, 1997). For example, in one study,

while relying on yelling and physical punishment as disciplinary strategies, Chinese mothers also adopted reasoning as a new form of parenting practice after living in the U.S. for two years (Kelly & Tseng, 1992). In another study, acculturation seemed to shape every dimension of Indian immigrant fathers' parenting behavior except playing with children, which remained rare among Indian immigrant fathers (Jain & Belsky, 1997). Similar findings on selective acculturation have been reported in numerous studies, including Korean immigrant families in the U.S. (Choi, Kim, Pekelnicky, & Kim, 2013), Asian Indian immigrant families in the U.S. (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007), Mexican immigrant families in the U.S. (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007), and Sudanese, Iraqi, and Lebanese immigrant families in Australia (Renzaho, McCabe, & Sainsbury, 2011). As Zhou (1997) pointed out, immigrants "tend to select carefully not only what to pack in their trunks to bring to America, but also what to unpack once settled" (p.73). Future research should investigate what factors determine the retention and the loss of traditional family socialization practices in a host culture as well as elucidate the process of selective acculturation among immigrant families.

The Relation Between Indigenous Parenting Practices and Child Outcomes

One of the goals of this study was to determine the relation between the two indigenous parenting strategies and children's psychological distress and academic performance. In doing so, this study adopted the position espoused by interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory that guan as a form of excessive parental control, and shaming as a form of psychological control, would predict lower academic performance regardless of the cultural background, because both parenting strategies convey the message of parental rejection and hostility (Rohner et al., 2004). A positive association has been found between guan parenting and Chinese children's academic achievement in some studies (e.g. Chao, 1994, 2000, 2001) and with special emphasis on its

cultural significance for Chinese families. Nevertheless, consistent with prediction, children's reports of both guan and shaming were associated with lower academic performance. Given that guan parenting was highly prevalent in the current study, and it had a demonstrated link to lower academic performance, one would expect that children's low academic performance would have suffered. However, a majority of Chinese children in the study demonstrated good success in school, with over 70% receiving an A as their end of year letter grade on Language Arts and Algebra as per their report cards. As will be discussed later, children perceived cultural normativeness did not buffer the negative effects of guan and shaming on academic performance, and therefore could not be the reason for their academic success. Notably, it appears that children in the study achieved high academic success independent of the two parenting strategies. It would be interesting to find how parental emphasis on family reputation or other Chinese indigenous beliefs, such as filial piety (Yeh, 2003), contribute to academic achievement in Chinese children and children of Chinese immigrants.

It was proposed that guan parenting as reported by both mother and children would be associated with psychological distress in children. This was not the case. The lack of association between the two sets of constructs is at odds with the propositions in interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory. The lack of associations between guan parenting and psychological distress also did not support Chao's (1994) contention that guan, as a form of indigenous Chinese parenting, connotes "to love and care for" as well as "parental control" (i.e., the higher the level of guan, the more love felt by the child). Based on her propositions, and the findings on the relation between parental warmth/love and positive child outcomes in past studies (e.g., Lim & Lim, 2003), a negative association would be expected between guan parenting and psychological distress (i.e. the higher guan the less psychological distress). However, the lack of association

between the two constructs suggests that children in this study may not perceive guan as equivalent to parental love, unlike what Chao (1994) proposed. Alternatively, the lack of association could indicate that guan was perceived by children as neither parental control nor parental love, but a rather common Chinese practice that does not carry affective meaning. It could also reflect a mediational relation between guan and psychological distress (i.e. the indirect effect of guan parenting on children's psychological outcome through a mediator variable such as lack of initiative or lack of self-regulation). Further exploration on the relation between the two constructs is required.

Consistent with prediction and the findings of previous investigations (e.g. Barber, 2002; Nelson et al., 2006; Nelson et al., 2013; Camras et al., 2012), maternal reports of shaming significantly predicted child psychological distress. According to Nelson et al. (2006), whether it is practiced in Chinese or American families, parental shaming as a form of psychological control is universally harmful to children's psychological adjustment, as it conveys parents' negative attitudes and feelings toward their children. The association between maternal shaming and psychological distress adds confidence to this argument. However, this finding does not lend support to the notion that psychologically controlling practices such as shaming are perceived as relational induction in some East Asian cultural communities, and therefore are benign, even beneficial, to children's development (Fung & Lau,2012).

The Moderating Effects of Cultural Normativeness

A final focus of this research project was whether mother/child perceived cultural normativeness of the use of guan and shaming moderates the associations between the use of these indigenous parenting practices and children's psychological distress and academic performance. Consistent with the hypothesis proffered in this study, child perceived

normativeness of shaming moderated the relation between the use of shaming (mother report) and child psychological distress. Specifically, while the use of shaming was a significant predictor of child psychological distress, the negative effect of shaming was buffered when the child perceived the use of shaming as culturally normative. That is, the association between mothers' reports of the use of shaming and child psychological distress was weaker for children perceiving high cultural normativeness of shaming.

Previous studies have reported that perceived cultural normativeness buffered the negative effects of punitive parenting strategies on children's social and cognitive skills (Lansford et al., 2005; Gershoff et al., 2010; MacKenzie, Nicklas, Waldfogel, & Brooks-Gunn, 2013). For example, Lansford et al (2005) investigated the links between 11 disciplinary strategies and children's behavioral difficulties in an international sample of mothers and children from China, India, Italy, Kenya, Philippines, and Thailand, and determined whether mothers' and children's perceived normativeness of disciplinary strategies moderated the abovementioned associations. The results indicated that children's (not mother's) perceptions of normativeness moderated some of these associations. The moderation analyses in this study produced findings that are identical to those of Lansford et al. (2005) in that it was found that children's, but not mother's, perceptions of the normative use of shaming moderated the association between parenting practice and childhood outcome.

The significance of the moderating role of child perception on the effects of discipline techniques has also been reported in other studies. For example, Camras et al. (2012) found that although harsh parenting was universally harmful, it was the children's perception of parenting goals (i.e., was the parenting behavior targeted at the benefit of the child or the parent) that ultimately determined the effects of parenting for both American and Chinese children. It is

likely that mothers' perceptions of normativeness and children's perceptions of normativeness have different functions. As discussed in chapter 3 and in other studies (Holden et al., 1999; Straus & Mouradian, 1998), mother's perceptions of normativeness may affect the severity of punishment, which then affects child outcome. Put differently, when mothers believe that the parenting strategy is normative, they are more likely to use it in a mindful and consistent way. Consequently, children who are raised in such a family environment are less likely to show problematic outcomes (Holden, Miller, & Harris, 1999; Straus & Mouradian, 1998). Further research into the moderating and mediating role of parents' perceived normativenesss in childrearing practices across cultures that employ psychological and physical control as methods of childrearing and child training is needed.

It is also interesting to see that while children's beliefs about the normativeness of shaming did buffer the association between maternal shaming behavior and child psychological difficulties, the slopes were positive, such that more use of shaming still predicted higher psychological distress. Even when there was a significant interaction between the use of shaming and child perceived normativeness, the direction of the association between shaming and psychological difficulties was never reversed. This finding indicates that shaming as a form of psychological control is inherently harmful to children's psychological development. While children's beliefs about the prevalence of shaming may act as a buffer, it could only decrease the magnitude of the effects and not transform the meaning of shaming as Fung and Lau (2012) and other proponents of the culture-specific perspective would suggest.

Whereas children's reports of the use of guan significantly predicted children's lower academic performance, neither mother's nor children's perceived normativeness of guan moderated the association between the use of guan and children's academic performance as

measured by their end of year grades on Algebra and Language Arts. As previously discussed, these children of Chinese immigrants exhibited high academic performance despite the prevalence of the use of guan parenting in the family. It was unclear what other factors, if any, could have buffered the negative effects on children's academic success. A possible explanation for these findings could be that academic achievement is strongly tied to family reputation, thanks to Chinese culture's strong emphasis on collectivism and interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The Chinese immigrant mothers in this study may have been overly concerned about their personal and family reputation, and thus had high academic expectations of their children. It is well known in Chinese families that high academic achievement brings family honor. It has been shown that a positive association exists between parental aspiration/expectation in academics and children's school success (e.g. Fan & Chen, 2001). It would have been worthwhile to find out to what degree these Chinese immigrant mothers' beliefs in family honor contributed to the high academic achievement in children through high parental aspiration/expectation.

Conclusions

This study provides some evidence that regardless of socioeconomic status, Chinese immigrant mothers in the U.S. use guan to parent their children. However, the use of guan did vary by mother's occupation, with stay-at-home mothers using more guan practices than non-professional mothers with labor-intensive jobs. Contrary to prior claims, Chinese mothers used low levels of physical punishment as a form of disciplinary strategy. Some researchers (e.g., Wu et al., 2002) have suggested that Chinese mothers do not use shaming to educate their children. The latter was confirmed in this study. However, both within families and their communities, Chinese mothers cared a lot about their own and/or family reputations, which is an indicator of

shaming belief derived from Confucian virtues of *ren, yi, li,* and the idea that one's own behavior has a profound impact on the reputation of one's own family.

As per prediction, both guan and shaming predicted lower academic performance. It was unexpected that children showed high academic performance despite the prevalence of the use of guan parenting by their mothers. Guan parenting reported by both mothers and children was not linked to children's psychological distress. This is contrary to the tenets of Rohner's interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory (see Rohner et al., 2004) and may imply that guan was not perceived as "love and care" by Chinese children (see Chao, 1994). Propositions within interpersonal acceptance rejection theory has been validated in diverse cultures around the world. Eleven meta-analyses that involved 125,437 respondents across 31 countries indicate that parental control is associated with child psychological distress, and parental love is linked to positive psychological adjustment (Rohner, 2016). The finding that guan parenting was not linked to child psychological outcome in either direction in the current study suggested that guan was perceived by children as neither control nor love.

Consistent with prediction, child perceived normativeness of shaming moderated the relation between the use of shaming and child psychological distress. In other words, the negative associations between shaming and psychological distress was buffered when children perceived the use of shaming as culturally normative. It should be mentioned that, while children's beliefs about the normativeness of shaming did buffer the association of maternal shaming behavior and child psychological difficulties, it only acted to decrease the magnitude of the negative effects of shaming without reversing the direction of the association between shaming and child psychological difficulty. That is, parental shaming still predicted child psychological difficulties even in the presence of high child perceived cultural normativeness.

This finding adds support for the "universalism without uniformity perspective", which suggests that while harsh parenting is universally harmful, the strength of child reaction may vary as a result of perceived cultural normativeness of a given parenting practice. Finally, the use of guan robustly predicted lower academic performance even when guan was normative in the community.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. First of all, the sample does not reflect the actual Chinese population in the U.S. because of its small size (i.e., 51 families), non-probability sampling technique, homogeneous generational status (i.e. only first-generation mothers), and unequal child gender ratio (33 girls versus 18 boys). These characteristics pose concerns for generalizability, and therefore categorizes this research as exploratory in nature. While preliminary conclusions may be made, a much larger sample drawn with probability sampling technique, with diverse generational statuses, and equal child gender ratio will certainly improve the generalizability of the findings.

A second limitation is that the current study only obtained information on parenting behaviors and criterion variables from mother's and children's self-reports. Social desirability may have affected mother's and children's ratings (Neuman, 2010), especially given that in this study the predictor and criterion variables were considered sensitive issues in Chinese cultural communities in the US. For example, the grades from the last semester of the school year were obtained from children's self-report. Since academic performance is strongly tied to moral achievement in Chinese culture, and high achievement implies high integrity (Li, 2005), it would not be surprising if children did not provide accurate accounts of their grades in this study. While every attempt was made to address response bias and inaccurate reporting by (1) letting mother

and child complete the questionnaires alone at different times, (2) informing the child that the responses on the questionnaires would not be revealed to anyone, and (3) informing the child that the responses would not be linked to individual names, the way the data was collected (i.e. the researcher in the same room with either the mother or the child) could have inhibited the mothers and children and could have influenced the findings. For instance, children could have been concerned that their response may cause them to lose face, or worse yet revealed to their mothers, and as a result, did not report their true grades. Similarly, since psychological disorders have been stigmatized in Chinese society (Lv, Wolf, & Wang, 2013), in order to "save face", mothers may have been reluctant to reveal their children's true psychological condition. Mothers could also have been concerned about their parenting practices being seen as "harsh", and therefore did not reveal their actual day-to-day parenting practices on the questionnaire. Future study should include observations and interviews of parenting practices in order to tap into these culturally sensitive topics in Chinese societies.

A final limitation of this study is that it assessed mothers and children's perceptions of parenting at one point in time. Therefore, causal relations between predictor and criterion variables cannot be established. For example, do parents' use of guan and shaming predict more psychological distress and lower academic performance in children, or do children with psychological difficulties and lower academic performance elicit more guan and shaming from parents? Similar questions have been raised with regard to the use of physical punishment (Baumrind, Larzelere, & Cowan, 2002). While children's poor school grades and psychological difficulties could trigger more use of guan and shaming in Chinese families, the reverse could also be true. Longitudinal and time varying effect research is required to determine the causal

relation between the two indigenous parenting techniques and academic and psychological

adjustments in children of Chinese and other immigrant groups in the United States.

Recommendations for Future Research

Built on previous research on Chinese parenting (e.g. Chao, 1994; Fung & Lau, 2012),

the current study draws preliminary conclusions about the prevalence of guan and shaming in

Chinese families and communities, the associations between the two parenting strategies and

childhood outcomes, as well as the moderating role of perceived cultural normativeness on the

associations between the two parenting practices and children's grades and psychological

distress. In addition to the suggestions noted above regarding the need for improvements in

methodology, several recommendations are provided here for future research. First, research

should include father participants as additional informants. Although mothers have often been

seen as more involved in childrearing tasks, and therefore are considered more influential in

child development than fathers are (Larson & Richards, 1994), findings from more recent studies

suggest that only studying maternal parenting may overlook Chinese fathers' important and

specific influence on children's psychological well-being and academic performance. It is

noteworthy that indulgence by fathers and not mothers predicted Chinese children's adjustment

difficulties. Furthermore, paternal warmth has been found to significantly predict child social and

academic achievement above and beyond the contribution of maternal warmth in Chinese

families (Chen, Liu, & Li, 2000). These findings suggest the unique and crucial role Chinese

fathers play in children's development. Future research should take paternal influence into

consideration when investigating the effects of parenting practices in Chinese families.

Additionally, research should investigate the effects of participants' generational status on childhood outcomes. In the current study, all except one of the mothers were first generation immigrants (98%, N=50). Therefore, the links between mother's generational status and the use of guan and shaming could not be determined. As a result, cultural differences between first generation immigrant children and second-generation Chinese-American children may have been overlooked. According to Chao (2001), second generation Chinese-American children have spent their entire lives in American society and thus think and act more like European-Americans than first generation immigrant children. For example, it has been found that while authoritative parenting is strongly linked to better school performance for both European-American and second-generation Chinese-American children, it does not have a positive influence on first generation immigrant children's achievement (Chao, 2001). Cultural differences were also found between first and second-generation Chinese-American children in their perceptions of parent-child interactions. Costigan, Bardina, Cauce, Kim, and Latendresse (2006) showed videotapes to first- and second-generation children of Chinese immigrants. It was found that first generation Asian-American (including Chinese American) students rated the videotaped interactions between mother and daughter as more reciprocal, while the second generation saw the interactions as problematic.

In the current study, Chinese children demonstrated school success as measured by grades despite living in a guan-prevalent environment. This puzzling finding could be potentially explained by a mediating relation between parental emphasis on family reputation, high parental academic aspiration, parenting practices, and child academic success. According to Darling and Steinberg (1993), parental beliefs affect child outcome indirectly through parenting practices. Moreover, it has been confirmed that a positive association exists between parental

aspiration/expectation in academics and children's school success (e.g. Fan & Chen, 2001).

Inferred from mother's emphasis on personal and family reputation in this study, it is

hypothesized that such emphasis may have promoted high parental expectation in academics,

which then leads to parenting practices that predict child academic success. It would be

worthwhile to investigate this mediating relation to further determine what specific parenting

practices promote Chinese children's school achievement, and whether identical practices would

remain academically effective across different cultural groups in the U.S.

Appendix A: Mother Questionnaire (English)

Part I. PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF

Q. Age: What is your age?

_____

Q. Gender: What is the gender of the child participating in this study?

_____

Q. Marital Status: What is your marital status?

☐ Single, never married

☐ Married or domestic partnership

☐ Widowed

☐ Divorced

☐ Separated

Q. If you are married or in a domestic partnership, what is the length of time married, or in the case of domestic partnership, what is the length of time of the partnership?

_____years _____months

Q. What is your occupation?

_____

Q. Education: What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? If currently enrolled, highest degree received.

☐ No schooling completed

☐ Nursery school to 8th grade

☐ Some high school, no diploma

☐ High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent (for example: GED)

☐ Some college credit, no degree

☐ Trade/technical/vocational training

☐ Associate degree

☐ Bachelor's degree

☐ Master's degree

☐ Professional degree

☐ Doctorate degree

Q. What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?

☐ Less than $25,000

☐ $25,000 to $34,999

☐ $35,000 to $49,999

☐ $50,000 to $74,999

☐ $75,000 to $99,999

☐ $100,000 to $149,999

☐ $150,000 to $199,999

☐ $200,000 or more

Q. What is the number of children in family

_____

What is the birth order of the child participating in this study?

☐Only child

☐Oldest child

☐Middle child (i.e. not only child, oldest, or youngest)

☐Youngest child

How long have you lived in the United States?

_____

Please select the generational status that best describes you. Choose the one you IDENTIFY with the most:

☐First generation Chinese or Chinese-American (being born in another country and having moved to the U.S after the age of 15)

☐1.5 generation Chinese-American (being born in another country and having moved to the U.S before the age of 15)

☐Second generation Chinese-American (parents born in another country)

☐Third generation Chinese-American (grandparents born in another country)

☐Other

Part II. PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR PARENTING STYLE

Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each of these statements regarding your parenting style.

1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree. Place an "X" mark in the box of your answer.

Maternal Training Practice	1	2	3	4	5
I use physical punishment when my child misbehaves.					
I emphasize self-discipline.					
My child was allowed to sleep in my bed until much older.					
I help my child with his/her studies as much as my education allows.					
I emphasize neatness and organization.					
My main concern is the children's needs.					
I emphasize the importance of hard work.					
I point out good behaviors in others as a model for my child.					

Maternal Shaming Practice	1	2	3	4	5
I blame my child when other children do better than him/her in school.					
I often shame my child in front of other people.					
I like to discuss my child's problems in front of other people.					
I do not compare my child to someone else who I think is better					
I believe that my child is smarter than other kids.					
I often shame my child before family and friends.					
I care a lot about my own or my family's reputation					
I encourage my child in a positive way to do as well as other kids.					
I feel that my child must do better than other kids that are his/her age.					
I feel confident that my child can do better than other kids.					
I often am critical of my child when I compare him/her with other kids.					
I often tell my child about how other children are better than him/her.					
I judge my child's school performance without comparing him/her to other kids					
I always think my child must do better than everyone else					

.

Please indicate <u>how frequently</u> other parents that you know (e.g. people in your community, neighborhood, your friends, your relatives, your co-workers) engage in the following parenting practices

1=never, 2=less than once a month, 3=about once a month, 4=about once a week, 5=almost every day. Place an "X" mark in the box of your answer.

Frequency of each of the following Training Practices	1	2	3	4	5
Parent uses physical punishment when child misbehaves.					
Parent emphasizes self-discipline.					
The child was allowed to sleep in parents' bed until much older.					
Parent helps the child with his/her studies as much as the parent's education allow.					
Parent emphasizes neatness and organization.					
Parent's main concern is the children's needs.					
Parent emphasizes the importance of hard work.					
Parent points out good behaviors in others as a model for the child.					

Frequency of each of the following Shaming Practices	1	2	3	4	5
Parent blames the child when other children do better than him/her in school.					
Parent often shames the child in front of other people.					
Parent likes to discuss the child's problems in front of other people.					
Parent does not compare the child to someone else who the parent thinks is better					
Parent believes that the child is smarter than other kids.					
Parent often shames the child before family and friends.					
Parent cares a lot about parent's own or the family's reputation					
Parent encourages the child in a positive way to do as well as other kids.					
Parent feels that the child must do better than other kids that are his/her age.					
Parent feels confident that the child can do better than other kids.					
Parent often is critical of the child when the parent compares him/her with other kids.					
Parent often tells the child about how other children are better than him/her.					
Parent judges the child's school performance without comparing him/her to other kids					
Parent always thinks the child must do better than everyone else					

Part III. PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR CHILD

The following questions concern how your child has been feeling over the past 30 days

1= none of the time; 2= a little of the time; 3= some of the time; 4= most of the time;

5= all of the time.

Place an "X" mark in the box of your answer.

1 2 3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5
how often did your child feel tired out for no good reason					
how often did your child feel nervous					
how often did your child feel so nervous that nothing could calm him/her down					
how often did your child feel hopeless?					
how often did your child feel restless or fidgety					
how often did your child feel so restless he/she could not sit still					
how often did your child feel depressed					
how often did your child feel that everything was an effort					
how often did your child feel so sad that nothing could cheer him/her up					
how often did your child feel worthless					

Please tell us one event in which you and your child spent quality time together.

Appendix B: Child Questionnaire (English)

Part I. PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR MOTHER

Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each of these statements.

1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree. Place an "X" mark in the box of your answer.

Maternal Training Practice	1	2	3	4	5
My mother uses physical punishment when I misbehave.					
My mother emphasizes self-discipline.					
I was allowed to sleep in my mother's bed when I was young.					
My mother helps me with my studies as much as her education allows.					
My mother emphasizes neatness and organization.					
My mother's main concern is my needs.					
My mother emphasizes the importance of hard work.					
My mother points out good behaviors in others as a model for me.					

Maternal Shaming Practice	1	2	3	4	5
My mother blames me when other children do better than me in school.					
My mother often shames me in front of other people.					
My mother likes to discuss my problems in front of other people.					
My mother does not compare me to someone else who she thinks is better					
My mother believes that I am smarter than other kids.					
My mother often shames me before family and friends.					
My mother cares a lot about her own or the family's reputation					
My mother encourages me in a positive way to do as well as other kids.					
My mother feels that I must do better than other kids that are my age.					
My mother feels confident that I can do better than other kids.					
My mother often is critical of me when she compares me with other kids.					
My mother often tells me about how other children are better than me.					
My mother judges my school performance without comparing me to other kids					
My mother always thinks I must do better than everyone else					

Please indicate <u>how frequently</u> other parents that you know (e.g. people in your community, neighborhood, your friends' parents, your relatives) engage in the following parenting practices

1=never, 2=less than once a month, 3=about once a month, 4=about once a week, 5=almost every day. Place an "X" mark in the box of your answer.

.

Frequency of each of the following Training Practices	1	2	3	4	5
Parent uses physical punishment when child misbehaves.					
Parent emphasizes self-discipline.					
The child was allowed to sleep in the parents' bed until much older.					
Parent helps the child with his/her studies as much as the parents' education allow.					
Parent emphasizes neatness and organization.					
Parent's main concern is the children's needs.					
Parent emphasizes the importance of hard work.					
Parent points out good behaviors in others as a model for the child.					

Frequency of each of the following Shaming Practices	1	2	3	4	5
Parent blames the child when other children do better than him/her in school.					
Parent often shames the child in front of other people.					
Parent likes to discuss the child's problems in front of other people.					
Parent does not compare the child to someone else who the parent thinks is better					
Parent believes that the child is smarter than other kids.					
Parent often shames the child before family and friends.					
Parent cares a lot about parent's own or the family's reputation					
Parent encourages the child in a positive way to do as well as other kids.					
Parent feels that the child must do better than other kids that are his/her age.					
Parent feels confident that the child can do better than other kids.					
Parent often is critical of the child when the parent compares him/her with other kids.					
Parent often tells the child about how other children are better than him/her.					
Parent judges the child's school performance without comparing him/her to other kids					
Parent always thinks the child must do better than everyone else					

Please tell us the final letter grades shown on your end of year report card (e.g. A, B…)

Language Arts	
Algebra	

Please tell us one event in which you and your mom spent quality time together.

Appendix C: Mother Questionnaire (Chinese)

母親問卷

第一部分. 請回答下列個人背景問題

Q. 年紀: 您今年幾歲?

＿＿＿＿＿＿

Q. 性別: 請問是您的女兒或兒子參加這項研究?

＿＿＿＿＿＿

Q. 婚姻: 請問下列哪項是您目前的婚姻狀況?

☐ 單身,從來未婚

☐ 已婚,或同居

☐ 丈夫去世

☐ 離婚

☐ 分居

Q. 您與現任伴侶已婚或同居多久了?

＿＿＿＿＿年 ＿＿＿＿＿月

Q. 您目前的職業是?

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

Q. 教育程度: 您最高學歷是?

☐ 未完成任何學歷

☐ 8 年級

☐ 完成部分高中課程, 但未畢業

☐ 高中或同等學歷

☐ 完成部分大學課程, 但未畢業

☐ 工商專科學校

☐ 副學士學位

☐ 學士學位

☐ 碩士學位

☐ 專業學位 (如醫學 MD, 法學 JD…等)

☐ 博士學位

Q. 去年一整年 (12 個月) 您稅前的收入是?

☐少於 $25,000

☐$25,000 到 $34,999

☐$35,000 到 $49,999

☐$50,000 到 $74,999

☐$75,000 到 $99,999

☐$100,000 到 $149,999

☐$150,000 到 $199,999

☐多於$200,000

Q. 您總共有幾個小孩?

_____

請問參加這項研究的是您的第幾個小孩?

☐獨生子女

☐老大

☐中間子女 (只要不是獨生子女, 老大, 或老么)

☐老么

您在美國住多久了?

_____

下列何項最能表達您的身分:

☐第一代華人或華裔美國人 (您在另一個國家出生, 15 歲後才來美國)

☐1.5 代 華裔美國人 (您在另一個國家出生, 但是 15 歲前搬來美國)

☐第二代華裔美國人 (您在美國出生, 父母在另一個國家出生)

☐第三代華裔美國人 (您與父母都在美國出生, 祖父母在另一個國家出生))

☐其他

第二部份: 請依照你對自己的認識回答以下問題

請指出你對以下形容的認同與不認同程度

1= 非常不認同; 5=非常認同 . 請用 X 標註在你的答案格中

母親教養方式 (A)	1	2	3	4	5
當我孩子不乖的時候, 我會體罰他					
我很重視孩子的自律					
我孩子小的時候可以跟我一起睡					
我會幫助我孩子學習學校教的課程					
我很重視整齊和清潔					
我最關心的是我孩子的需求					
我重視孩子勤勞, 努力的美德					
我會告訴我孩子關於別人表現良好的例子,希望他拿他們當學習對象.					

母親教養方式 (B)	1	2	3	4	5
當我孩子在學校的課業表現比別人糟糕的時候，我會責怪他					
我常當著大家面前說我孩子不好的地方					
我喜歡當別人面討論我孩子的缺點					
我不會把我孩子和別的孩子做比較					
我相信我孩子比其他孩子還聰明					
我常在朋友和家人前責備我孩子					
我很在乎自己與家庭的名聲					
我用正面的力量鼓勵我孩子					
我希望我孩子比同齡的孩子優秀					
我相信我孩子可以做得比別人好					
我常常批評我孩子，並且常把他和其他孩子拿來比較					
我常覺得別的孩子比我孩子還棒					
我不會把我孩子的學校表現拿來和別人比較					
我總是覺得我孩子一定要比別人表現更好					

.

第三部份: 請依照你對其他父母(例如, 你們生活圈, 鄰居, 你朋友, 你的親戚)的認識回答以下問題

1= 從未; 2=少於一個月一次; 3=大概一個月一次;4=大概一周一次; 5= 幾乎每天. 請用 X 標註在你的答案格中

.

出現以下教養方式的頻率(A)	1	2	3	4	5
當孩子不乖的時候, 其他父母會用體罰處罰孩子					
其他父母很重視孩子的自律					
其他孩子和他們的父母一起睡					
其他父母幫助他們小孩學習學校教的課程					
其他父母很重視整齊和清潔					
其他父母關心他們孩子的需求					
其他父母重視孩子勤勞, 努力的美德					
其他父母會告訴自己孩子關於別人表現良好的例子,希望自己孩子能拿他們當學習對象.					

出現以下教養方式的頻率(B)	1	2	3	4	5
其他的父母會因為課業表現責怪自己的小孩					
其他父母常當大家面前說自己小孩不好的地方					
其他父母當別人面討論自己小孩的缺點					
其他父母不會把自己孩子和他們覺得更棒的孩子做比較					
其他父母相信自己孩子比其他孩子還聰明					
其他父母常在朋友和家人前責備自己小孩					
其他父母很在乎自己與家庭的名聲					
其他父母用正面的力量鼓勵自己小孩					
其他父母希望自己小孩比同齡的孩子優秀					
其他父母相信自己孩子可以做得比別人好					
其他父母常常批評自己小孩,並且常把自己小孩和其他孩子拿來比較					
其他父母常常覺得別的孩子比自己的孩子還優秀					
其他父母不會把自己孩子的學校表現拿來和別人比較					
其他父母總是覺得自己小孩一定要比別人孩子表現更好					

第四部份: 請回答以下問題

1= 從未; 2= 幾乎沒有; 3= 有時候; 4= 大部分; 5= 總是. 請用 X 標註在你的答案格中

關於您的孩子在過去 30 天的表現	1	2	3	4	5
你的孩子有多常無原因感覺疲勞					
你的孩子多常感到緊張					
你的孩子多常感覺緊張並且無法安撫他的情緒					
你的孩子多常感覺無助					
你的孩子多常覺得不安或慌張					
你的孩子多常感覺不安並且無法乖乖坐好					
你的小孩多常感到憂鬱					
你的孩子多常感覺任何事都很費力					
你的孩子多常感覺憂傷, 並且沒有任何事可以讓他開心起來					
你的孩子多常感覺自己沒有用					

最後,請分享您與孩子最近一次相處的快樂時光

Appendix D: Child Questionnaire (Chinese)

兒童問卷

第一部份: 請依照你對你媽媽的認識回答以下問題

請指出你對以下形容的認同與不認同程度

1= 非常不認同; **5**=非常認同**.** 請用 **X** 標註在你的答案格中

母親教養方式 (A)	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
當我不乖的時候, 我媽媽會用體罰處罰我					
我媽媽很重視我的自律					
我小的時候可以跟媽媽一起睡在她的床上					
我媽媽會幫助我學習學校教的課程					
我媽媽很重視整齊和清潔					
我媽媽最關心的是我的需求					
我媽媽重視勤勞, 努力的重要性					
我媽媽會告訴我關於別人表現良好的例子,希望我拿他們當學習對象.					

母親教養方式 (B)	1	2	3	4	5
當我在學校的課業表現比別人糟糕的時候，我媽媽會責怪我					
我媽媽常當著大家面前說我不好的地方					
我媽媽喜歡當別人面討論我的缺點					
我媽媽不會把我和她覺得更棒的孩子做比較					
我媽媽相信我比其他孩子還聰明					
我媽媽常在朋友和家人前責備我					
我媽媽很在乎她自己與家庭的名聲					
我媽媽用正面的力量鼓勵我					
我媽媽希望我比同齡的孩子優秀					
我媽媽相信我可以做得比別人好					
我媽媽常常批評我，並且常把我和其他孩子拿來比較					
我媽媽常覺得別的孩子比我還棒					
我媽媽不會把我的學校表現拿來和別人比較					
我媽媽總是覺得我一定要比別人表現更好					

第二部份: 請依照你對其他父母(例如, 你們生活圈, 鄰居, 你朋友的父母, 你的親戚)的認識回答以下問題

1= 從未; 2=少於一個月一次; 3=大概一個月一次;4=大概一周一次; 5= 幾乎每天. 請用 X 標註在你的答案格中

出現以下教養方式的頻率(A)	1	2	3	4	5
當孩子不乖的時候, 其他父母會用體罰處罰孩子					
其他父母很重視孩子的自律					
其他孩子和他們的父母一起睡					
其他父母幫助他們小孩學習學校教的課程					
其他父母很重視整齊和清潔					
其他父母關心他們孩子的需求					
其他父母重視孩子勤勞, 努力的美德					
其他父母會告訴自己孩子關於別人表現良好的例子,希望自己孩子能拿他們當學習對象.					

出現以下教養方式的頻率(B)	1	2	3	4	5
其他的父母會因為課業表現責怪自己的小孩					
其他父母常當大家面前說自己小孩不好的地方					
其他父母當別人面討論自己小孩的缺點					
其他父母不會把自己孩子和他們覺得更棒的孩子做比較					
其他父母相信自己孩子比其他孩子還聰明					
其他父母常在朋友和家人前責備自己小孩					
其他父母很在乎自己與家庭的名聲					
其他父母用正面的力量鼓勵自己小孩					
其他父母希望自己小孩比同齡的孩子優秀					
其他父母相信自己孩子可以做得比別人好					
其他父母常常批評自己小孩,並且常把自己小孩和其他孩子拿來比較					
其他父母常常覺得別的孩子比自己的孩子還優秀					
其他父母不會把自己孩子的學校表現拿來和別人比較					
其他父母總是覺得自己小孩一定要比別人孩子表現更好					

請填上去年年底以下課目總成績 (例如 A, B...)

語言課	
計算課	

最後,請分享您與母親最近一次相處的快樂時光

Appendix E: Institutional Review Board Approval

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
MEMORANDUM

TO: Jaipaul Roopnarine
DATE: July 6, 2017
SUBJECT: **Full Board Approval - Use of Human Participants**
IRB #: 17-134
TITLE: *Guan and Shaming Among Chinese Families in the United States: The Moderating Effects of Perceived Cultural Normativeness*

The above referenced protocol was reviewed at the **June 15, 2017** convened meeting of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and has been evaluated for the following:

1. the rights and welfare of the individual(s) under investigation;
2. appropriate methods to secure informed consent; and
3. risks and potential benefits of the investigation.

The IRB determined that your protocol conforms to the University's human participants research policy and its assurance to the Department of Health and Human Services, available at: http://orip.syr.edu/human-research/human-research-irb.html.

Your protocol is approved for implementation and operation from **July 5, 2017** until **June 14, 2018** (Continuing review must occur within one year of the date of the convened IRB meeting). Attached is the protocol's approved informed consent document, date-stamped with the expiration date. This document is to be used in your informed consent process. If you are using written consent, Federal regulations require that each participant indicate their willingness to participate by signing the informed consent document and be provided with a copy of the signed consent form. Regulations also require that you keep a copy of this document for a minimum of three years.

CHANGES TO APPROVED PROTOCOL: Proposed changes to this protocol during the period for which IRB approval has already been given, cannot be initiated without IRB review and approval, except when such changes are essential to eliminate apparent immediate harm to the participants. Changes in approved research initiated without IRB review and approval to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the participant must be reported to the IRB within five days. Protocol changes are requested on an amendment application available on the IRB web site; please reference your IRB number and attach any documents that are being amended.

CONTINUATION BEYOND APPROVAL PERIOD: To continue this research project beyond **June 14, 2018**, you must submit a renewal application for review and approval. A renewal reminder will be sent to you approximately 60 days prior to the expiration date. *(If the researcher will be traveling out of the country when the protocol is due to be renewed, please renew the protocol before leaving the country.)*

UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS INVOLVING RISKS: You must report any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others within 10 working days of occurrence to the IRB at 315.443.3013 or orip@syr.edu.

STUDY COMPLETION: Study completion is when all research activities are complete or when a study is closed to enrollment and only data analysis remains on data that have been de-identified. A Study Closure Form should be completed and submitted to the IRB for review (Study Closure Form).

Thank you for your cooperation in our shared efforts to assure that the rights and welfare of people participating in research are protected.

Katherine McDonald
IRB Chair

DEPT: FALK Human Development & Family Science, 174 White Hall   **STUDENT:** Jason Chiang

Appendix F: Consent and Assent Forms (English Version)

Syracuse University   IRB Approved

JUL 5- 2017   JUN 14 2018

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY SCIENCE

Suite 144 White Hall, Syracuse, NY 13244

The relation between Chinese parenting style and child adjustments

My name is Jason Chiang, and I am a Ph.D. Candidate in Human Development and Family Science at Syracuse University. My advisor Dr. Roopnarine and I are inviting you and your child to participate in a research study. Involvement in the study is voluntary, so you and your child may choose to participate or not. This sheet will explain the study to you and please feel free to ask questions about the research if you have any. I will be happy to explain anything in detail if you wish.

I am interested in learning more about the links between parenting practices and adolescent development in Chinese families living in the United States. You will be asked to complete a set of questionnaires that includes questions about your parenting practices, and if other parents that you know share the same practice. You can choose to complete the survey in either Chinese or English. This will take approximately 30 minutes of your time. Your child will also be asked to complete a set of similar questions, and to report his/her final grades on Language Arts and Algebra for this past academic year, which should take about another 30 minutes of his/ her time. Both you and your child will complete questionnaires individually in separate rooms at Kent Chinese Friends Church. I will assign a number to your and your child's responses. However, I will not be able to link your name with the assigned number.

To qualify for the study, you must be

-born to either a Chinese mother or father
-18 and older
-live in Greater Cleveland Area
-the child's biological mother,
-the child's caretaker since his/her childhood, and

your child must have just completed 9th or 10th grade (i.e. he/she is ineligible to participate ifhe /she will enter 9th grade after this summer), and is also living in Greater Cleveland Area. If you have more than one child just completed 9th or 10th grade, the youngest one will participate in this study. If they are exactly the same age (e.g. twins), I will choose randomly which child to participate. The ethnicity of the father does not affect the child's Chinese ethnicity.

Yours and your child's study data will be kept as confidential as possible, with the exception of certain information (such as child abuse or intent to hurt yourself or others) we must report for legal or ethical reasons.

To ensure privacy and confidentiality, only two sessions will be scheduled each day; one in the morning and one later in the afternoon. Additionally, you and your child will complete the paper surveys independently and will not be in the same room at the same time. You will be asked to complete the survey in the room first, after you are excused, your child will be invited into the room to do the same. I will remain in the room while you and/or your child complete the survey, but will not be reading the survey to either of you, asking any questions, or recording any responses.

The benefit of this research is that you and/or your child will be helping us to better understand the nature and the effects of parenting practices among Chinese families living in the United States. There are no immediate benefits to either of you.

The risks to you or your child participating in this study is that some of the questions may make you or your child feel uncomfortable. For example, the question "My mother uses physical punishment when I misbehave." could cause your child to recall unpleasant memories. Should this happen, you and/or your child have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty.

The participation is voluntary. If you or your child do not want to take part, both of you have the right to refuse to take part, without penalty. If you or your child decide to take part and later no longer wish to continue, both of you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty.

Contact Information:

If you or your child have any questions, concerns, complaints about the research, please contact Dr. Jaipaul Roopnarine at 315-443-4586, or Jason Chiang at 330-814-2127. You can also e-mail Jason Chiang at jachiang@syr.edu. If you or your child have any questions about your rights as a research participant, have questions, concerns, or complaints that you wish to address to someone other than the investigator, if you cannot reach the investigator, contact the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board at 315- 443-3013.

Syracuse University   IRS Approved

JUL 5- 2017   JUN 14 2018

All of my questions have been answered, I am 18 years of age or older, and I wish to participate in this research study. I have received a copy of this consent form.

I have provided permission for my child to participate in this study.

_____ _____
Signature of participant   Date

_____
Printed name of participant

_____
Printed name of your child

_____ _____
Signature of researcher   Date

_____
Printed name of researcher

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY SCIENCE

Suite 144 White Hall, Syracuse, NY 13244

Informed Assent Form for
The relation between Chinese parenting style and child adjustments

My name is Jason Chiang, and I am from the Department of Human Development and Family Science at Syracuse University (SU). My advisor Dr. Roopnarine and I are asking you to participate in this research study because you have been born to a Chinese mother, have been raised in a Chinese family in Greater Cleveland Area, and have just completed grade 9 or grade 10 this past semester.

PURPOSE: In this study, we are trying to learn more about Chinese parenting practices.

PARTICIPATION: If you decide you want to be part of this study, you will be asked to fill out a few questionnaires about your mother's parenting practices, and to report your final grades on Language Arts and Algebra for this past academic year, which should take about 30 minutes.

You can choose to complete the questionnaires in either English or Chinese. You will complete the questionnaire individually at Kent Chinese Friends Church. Your mother will not be in the same room with you while you complete the questionnaires. While I will remain in the room while you complete the survey, I will not be reading the survey to you, and will not be recording responses.

I will assign a number to your survey responses. However, I will not be able to link your name with the assigned number.

RISKS & BENEFITS: There are some things about the study you should know. Some of the questions may make you feel uncomfortable. For example, the question "My mother uses physical punishment when I misbehave." could cause you to recall unpleasant memories. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer and can stop at any time and no one will be angry with you. I have to let you know that if you were to tell me about anyone or anything that has hurt you or made you feel very upset whether is related to this study or not, I would have to tell someone who is not in the study.
There may not be a benefit to you for taking part in the study, but the information could be used to make programs that help Chinese families in the US.

REPORTS: When we are finished with this study we will write a report about what was learned. This report will not include your name or that you were in the study. Also, your mother will not be told whether you decide to complete the survey.

VOLUNTARY: Voluntary means that you do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be. We have already asked your mother if it is ok for us to ask you to take part in this study. Even though your mother said we could ask you, you still get to decide if you want to be in this research study. No one will be mad at you or upset if you decide not to do this study. If you decide to stop after we begin, that's okay too. You can also skip any of the questions you do not want to answer.

QUESTIONS: You can ask questions now or whenever you wish. If you want to, you may call me at 330-814-2127, or you may call Dr. Roopnarine, my advisor, at 315-443-4586. If you are not happy about this study and would like to speak to someone other than me, you or your parents may call the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 315-443-3013.

Please sign your name below, if you agree to be part of my study. You will get a copy of this form to keep for yourself.

Signature of Participant_____ __ Date __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __

Name of Participant _____

Signature of Investigator_____Date_____ __

I agree to report my end of year grades on Language Arts and Algebra.

☐Yes ☐No

Syracuse University IRB Approved

JUL 5- 2017   JUN 14 2018

Assent form 1   2

Appendix G: Consent and Assent Forms (Chinese Version)

Syracuse University   IRB Approved

JUL 5- 2017   JUN 1 4 2018

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY SCIENCE

Suite 144 White Hall, Syracuse, NY 13244

知情同意書 (母親)
研究項目: 美國華人家庭之親子教育方法與文化認知以及子女之發展

您好. 我們是雪城大學(Syracuse University)人類發展與家庭科學(Human Development and Family Science)的研究團隊. 我們的名字是 Jason Chiang 和 Roopnarine 教授.我們正在進行一項研究,並且想要透過這項研究, 了解華人父母的教育理念, 親子教育方式, 華人文化, 與子女學校成績及心理發展之間的關係.

我們誠懇邀請您和您的孩子參加這項研究

參加這項研究需要在肯特華人教會(Kent Chinese Friends Church)填寫問卷. 填寫這份問卷大約花 30 分鐘, 您和您的小孩可以選擇用中文或英文填寫問卷. 此項研究結束,我們會寫一份研究報告,但是您的姓名將不會出現在報告中. 換句話說,我們會完全保密您的隱私.

為了保護您與孩子的隱私,每次填寫問卷,只會有一人填寫,您會先填寫問卷,等您填寫完,您會暫時離開問卷現場,再換您的小孩填寫,雖然我會在問卷現場,但是不會左右您的答案,也不會讀問卷給您或您的孩子,更不會錄音

您必須符合以下條件才能參加這項研究

-您父親或母親是華人
-您滿 18 歲
-您住大克里夫蘭地區
-您是參加這項研究小孩的親生母親
-您小孩從小就是您帶大的

Consent form 2

您的小孩必須

-住大克里夫蘭地區

-剛完成九年級或十年級

如果您有不只一位小孩符合條件,我們會希望最小年紀的那位能參加

雖然參與這項研究對您並沒有直接的好處,但是透過您的參與,我們將有機會更進一步的了解美國華人親子教育方式,以及文化認知,此項研究結果能有效的告知美國政府以及學術界,使其能發展出更適合華人移民家庭的親子教育課程

您在填寫問卷時,某些問題可能會讓您回想到過去與孩子不愉快的經驗,舉例來說,當問您"是否常在朋友和家人前責備孩子"或是否" 常當著大家面前說孩子不好的地方",您可能會因此不愉快

如果填寫問卷造成不愉快,以下心理諮商機構可以幫助您 (請參考附件)

您有權利決定是否參加這項研究,此外, 如果您想要**退出研究**,您可以於**任何時間點,不需要任何的理由**,退出研究

關於任何問題: 如果您有任何問題, 請打我的電話 (330) 814-2127, 或是 Roopnarine 教授的電話(315) 443-4586,或是 e-mail 我. 我的 e-mail 是 jachiang@syr.edu. 我們會盡快的回答您的疑問.

雪城大學的科研倫理委員會 (Institutional Review Board) 電話是(315) 443-3013.

如果您年齡大於 18 歲,對於這項研究沒有任何疑問,並且同意參加這項研究,請在下方簽名,您跟研究團隊會各保存一份相同文件

您的簽名 _____   **日期** _____

您的姓名 _____

Consent form 2

孩子姓名 _____

研究員簽名 _____ 日期 _____

研究員的姓名 _____

Consent form 2

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY SCIENCE

Suite 144 White Hall, Syracuse, NY 13244

知情同意書 (子女)
研究項目: 美國華人家庭之親子教育方法與文化認知以及子女之發展

您好. 我們是雪城大學(Syracuse University)人類發展與家庭科學(Human Development and Family Science)的研究團隊. 我們的名字是 Jason Chiang 和 Roopnarine 教授. 因為您在大克里夫蘭的華人家庭長大, 而且剛完成九年級或十年級, 所以您符合參加這項研究的條件.

我們誠懇邀請您參加這項研究

目標: 我們想要透過這項研究, 了解親子教育方式與兒女學校成績及心理發展之間的關係.

參與: 參加這項研究需要在肯特華人教會(Kent Chinese Friends Church)填寫問卷. 填寫這份問卷大約花 30 分鐘, 問卷會問您關於母親的教育方式, 和您過去這年的語文(Language Arts) 和計算(Algebra)的成績, 您可以選擇用中文或英文填寫問卷, 為了保護您的隱私, 每次填寫問卷, 只會有一人填寫, 您母親會先填寫問卷, 等她填寫完, 她會暫時離開問卷現場, 再換您填寫, 雖然我會在問卷現場, 但是不會左右您的答案, 也不會讀問卷給您, 更不會錄音

風險及好處: 以下是參與這項研究的風險與好處.

> **好處:** 雖然參與這項研究對您並沒有直接的好處, 但是透過您的參與, 我們將有機會更進一步的了解美國華人親子教育方式, 以及文化認知, 此項研究結果能有效的告知美國政府以及學術界, 使其能發展出更適合華人移民家庭的親子教育課程.

> **風險:** 您在填寫問卷時, 某些問題可能會讓您回想到過去與母親不愉快的經驗, 舉例來說, 當問您"母親是否常在朋友和家人前責備您"或是否" 常常著大家面前說您不好的地方", 您可能會因此不愉快

Assent form 2

如果填寫問卷造成不愉快,以下心理諮商機構可以幫助您

研究報告: 此項研究結束,我們會寫一份研究報告,但是您的姓名將不會出現在報告中.換句話說,我們會完全保密您的隱私

自由選擇參加研究的權利: 雖然我們已經有徵求您的母親的同意,但是您還是自己有權利決定是否參加這項研究,此外,如果您想要**退出研究**,您可以於**任何時間點,不需要任何的理由**,退出研究

關於任何問題: 如果您有任何問題, 請打我的電話 (330) 814-2127, 或是 Roopnarine 教授的電話(315) 443-4586,或是 e-mail 我. 我的 e-mail 是 jachiang@syr.edu. 我們會盡快的回答您的疑問.

雪城大學的科研倫理委員會 (Institutional Review Board) 電話是(315) 443-3013.

如果您同意參加這項研究,請在下方簽名,您跟研究團隊會各保存一份相同文件

您的簽名 _____   **日期** _____

您的姓名 _____

研究員簽名 _____   **日期** _____

研究員的姓名 _____

我同意告知研究員過去這年的語文(Language Arts) 和計算(Algebra)的成績

☐願意 ☐不願意

Assent form 2

References

Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Allen, J. P., Hauser, S. T., Bell, K. L., & O'Connor, T. G. (1994). Longitudinal assessment of autonomy and relatedness in adolescent-family interactions as predictors of adolescent ego development and self-esteem. *Child Development, 65,* 179–194.

Amato, P. R., & Sobolewski, J. M. (2001). The effects of divorce and marital discord on adult children's psychological well-being. *American Sociological Review, 66*, 900-921.

Ames, R. T. (2003). Confucianism: Confucius. In A. S. Cua (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy.* (pp. 58-63). New York: Routledge.

Aronson, E. & Kent, R. (2008). A Midwestern Chinatown? Cleveland, Ohio in North American Context, 1900-2005. *Journal of Cultural Geography, 25*(3), 305-329.

Arim, R. G., & Shapka, J. D. (2008). The impact of pubertal timing and parental control on adolescent problem behaviors. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *37*(4), 445-455.

Atkinson, R., and Flint, J., 2001, Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations—Snowball research strategies: University of Surrey Social Research Update, v. 33. Accessed on November 2, 2016, at http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.html.

Bacallao, M. L., & Smokowski, P. R. (2007). The Costs of Getting Ahead: Mexican Family System Changes After Immigration. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies*, *56*(1), 52-66.

Baker, C. N., & Hoerger, M. (2012). Parental child-rearing strategies influence self-regulation, socio-emotional adjustment, and psychopathology in early adulthood: Evidence from a retrospective cohort study. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *52*(7), 800-805

Barber, B. K. (1996). Parental psychological control: Revisiting a neglected construct. *Child Development, 67*, 3296-3319.

Barber, B. K., & Harmon, E. L. (2002). Violating the self: Parental psychological control of children and adolescents. In B. K. Barber, B. K. Barber (Eds.). *Intrusive parenting: How psychological control affects children and adolescents* (pp. 15-52). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Barber, B. K., Olsen, J. E., & Shagle, S. C. (1994). Associations between parental psychological and behavioral control and youth internalized and externalized behaviors. *Child Development, 65*, 1120-1136.

Barber, B. K., Stolz, H. E., & Olsen, J. A. (2005). Parental support, psychological control, and behavioral control: Assessing relevance across time, culture, and method: VI. Assessing relevance across method: U.S. dominance analyses. *Monographs of The Society for Research in Child Development*, *70*(4), 73-103.

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology, 4*, 1-103.

Baumrind, D., Larzelere, R. E., & Cowan, P. A. (2002). Ordinary physical punishment: Is it harmful? Comment on Gershoff (2002). *Psychological Bulletin, 128*, 580–589.

Belsky, J., & Pensky, E. (1988). Marital change across the transition to parenthood. *Marriage & Family Review*, *12*(3-4), 133-156

Benet-Martínez, V., & Haritatos, J. (2005). Bicultural Identity Integration (BII): Components and Psychosocial Antecedents. *Journal of Personality*, *73*(4), 1015-1050

Berndt, T. J., Cheung, P. C., Lau, S., Hau, K., & Lew, W. J. F. (1993). Perceptions of parenting in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong: Sex differences and societal differences. *Developmental Psychology, 29*, 156-164.

Berry, J. W. (1989). Imposed etics-emics-derived etics: The operationalization of a compelling idea. *International Journal of Psychology, 24*, 721-735.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *46*(1), 5-34

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *55*(3), 303-332.

Berry, J. W., & Sabatier, C. (2010). Acculturation, discrimination, and adaptation among second generation immigrant youth in Montreal and Paris. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *34*(3), 191-207.

Berry, J. W., & Sabatier, C. (2011). Variations in the assessment of acculturation attitudes: Their relationships with psychological wellbeing. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *35*(5), 658-669.

Berry, J. W. (2013). Achieving a global psychology. *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne, 54*, 55-61.

Blossom, J. B., Fite, P. J., Frazer, A. L., Cooley, J. L., & Evans, S. C. (2016). Parental psychological control and aggression in youth: Moderating effect of emotion dysregulation. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *44*12-4420

Bornstein, M. H., & Cheah, C. L. (2006). The Place of 'Culture and Parenting' in the Ecological Contextual Perspective on Developmental Science. In K. H. Rubin, O. B. Chung, K. H. Rubin, O. B. Chung (Eds.), Parenting beliefs, behaviors, and parent-child relations: A cross-cultural perspective (pp. 3-33). New York, NY, US: Psychology Press.

Brown, L., & Iyengar, S. (2008). Parenting styles: The impact on student achievement. *Marriage & Family Review*, *43*(1-2), 14-38.

Camras, L. A., Sun, K., Li, Y., & Wright, M. F. (2012). Do Chinese and American children's interpretations of parenting moderate links between perceived parenting and child adjustment? *Parenting: Science and Practice*, *12*(4), 306-327

Chan, H., & Lee, R. P. L. (1995). Hong Kong families: At the crossroads of modernism and traditionalism. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 26*, 83-99.

Chang, L., Chen, B. B., & Ji, L. Q. (2011). Attributions and attitudes of mothers and fathers in China. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 11*(2–3), 102–115.

Chang, L., Schwartz, D., Dodge, K. A., & McBride-Chang, C. (2003). Harsh Parenting in

Relation to Child Emotion Regulation and Aggression. *Journal of Family Psychology*,

17(4), 598-606

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding

Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development, 65*, 1111-

1119.

Chao, R. K. (2000). Cultural explanations for the role of parenting in the school success of

Asian-American children. In R. D. Taylor, & M. C. Wang (Eds.), *Resilience across contexts*

(pp. 333-363). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Chao, R. K. (2001). Extending research on the consequences of parenting style for Chinese

Americans and European Americans. *Child Development, 72*, 1832-1843.

Chao, R. K., & Kim, K. (2000). Parenting differences among immigrant Chinese fathers and

mothers in the United States. *Journal of Psychology in Chinese Societies*, *1*(1), 71-91.

Chao, R., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of

parenting: Social conditions and applied parenting*, (Vol. 4, pp. 59-93). Mahwah, NJ:

Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Chapman, D. W. & Carter, J.F. (1979). Translation procedures for the cross-cultural use of

measurement instruments. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 1,* 71-76.

Chen, X. & Chen, H. (2010). Children's socioemotional functioning and adjustment in the changing Chinese society. In R. K. Silbereisen & X. Chen (eds.), *Social change and human development* (pp. 209–226). London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.

Chen, X., Bian, Y., Xin, T., Wang, L., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2010). Perceived social change and childrearing attitudes in China. *European Psychologist, 15*(4), 260–270.

Chen, X. & Chen, H. (2010). Children's socioemotional functioning and adjustment in the changing Chinese society. In R. K. Silbereisen & X. Chen (eds.), *Social change and human development* (pp. 209–226). London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.

Chen, X., Dong, Q., & Zhou, H. (1997). Authoritative and Authoritarian parenting practices and social and school performance in Chinese children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *21*(4), 855-873.

Chen, X., Bian, Y., Xin, T., Wang, L., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2010). Perceived social change and childrearing attitudes in China. *European Psychologist, 15*, 260-270.

Chen, S. X., Benet-Martínez, V., & Bond, M. H. (2008). Bicultural identity, bilingualism, and psychological adjustment in multicultural societies: Immigration-based and globalization-based acculturation. *Journal of Personality*, *76*(4), 803-838

Chen, J. L., Chen, T., & Zheng, X. X. (2012). Parenting styles and practices among Chinese immigrant mothers with young children. *Early Child Development and Care*, *182*(1), 1-21

Chen, C., Greenberger, E., Lester, J., Dong, Q., & Guo, M. (1998). A cross-cultural study of family and peer correlates of adolescent misconduct. *Developmental Psychology*, *34*(4), 770-781.

Chen, X., Liu, M., & Li, D. (2000). Parental warmth, control, and indulgence and their relations to adjustment in Chinese children: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Family Psychology, 14*, 401-419.

Chen, X., Rubin, K. H., & Li, Z. (1995). Social functioning and adjustment in Chinese children: A longitudinal study. *Developmental Psychology*, *31*(4), 531-539

Chen, X., Rubin, K. H., & Li, B. (1997). Maternal acceptance and social and school adjustment in Chinese children: A four-year longitudinal study. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *43*(4), 663-681

Chia, A., & Costigan, C. L. (2006). Understanding the multidimensionality of acculturation among Chinese Canadians. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science / Revue Canadienne Des Sciences Du Comportement*, *38*(4), 311-324.

Chiu, M. L., Feldman, S. S., & Rosenthal, D. A. (1992). The influence of immigration on parental behavior and adolescent distress in Chinese families residing in two western nations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *2*(3), 205-239.

Chiu, M. M., & Ho, E. C. (2006). Family Effects on Student Achievement in Hong Kong. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, *26*(1), 21-35.

Choi, Y., Kim, Y. S., Pekelnicky, D. D., & Kim, H. J. (2013). Preservation and modification of culture in family socialization: Development of parenting measures for Korean immigrant families. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *4*(2), 143-154.

Chuang, S. S. (2009). Transformation and change: Parenting in Chinese societies. In J. A. Mancini & K. A. Roberto (eds.), Pathways of human development: Explorations of change (pp. 171–190). Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books

Chuang, S. S., & Su, Y. (2009). Says who? Decision-making and conflicts among Chinese–Canadian and mainland Chinese parents of young children. Sex Roles, 60, 527–536.

Chuang, S. S., & Su, Y. (2009). Do we see eye to eye? Chinese mothers' and fathers' parenting beliefs and values for toddlers in Canada and China. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *23*(3), 331-341.

Coatsworth, J. D., Maldonado-Molina, M., Pantin, H., & Szapocznik, J. (2005). A Person-Centered and Ecological Investigation of Acculturation Strategies in Hispanic Immigrant Youth. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *33*(2), 157-174

Consedine, N. S., Chentsova-Dutton, Y. E., & Krivoshekova, Y. S. (2014). Emotional acculturation predicts better somatic health: Experiential and expressive acculturation among immigrant women from four ethnic groups. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *33*(10), 867-889.

Coombs, R. H., Paulson, M. J., & Richardson, M. A. (1991). Peer vs. parental influence in substance use among Hispanic and Anglo children and adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *20*(1), 73-88

Crook, T., Raskin, A., & Eliot, J. (1981). Parent–child relationships and adult depression. *Child Development*, *52*(3), 950-957

Cua, A. S. (Ed) (2003). *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*. New York: Routledge.

Cua, A. S. (1996). The Nature of Confucian, Ethical Tradition. *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, *23*(2), 133-151.

Cua, A. S. (1998) *Moral Vision and Tradition: Essays in Chinese Ethics.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press.

Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin, 113*(3), 487-496.

Day, R. D., Peterson, G. W., & McCracken, C. (1998). Predicting spanking of younger and older children by mothers and fathers. *Journal of Marriage and The Family*, *60*(1), 79-94.

David, E. R., Okazaki, S., & Saw, A. (2009). Bicultural self-efficacy among college students: Initial scale development and mental health correlates. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *56*(2), 211-226.

De Coster, S. (2012). Mothers' work and family roles, gender ideologies, distress, and parenting: Consequences for juvenile delinquency. *The Sociological Quarterly, 53*, 585-609.

Deater-Deckard, K., & Dodge, K. A. (1997). Spare the rod, spoil the authors: Emerging themes in research on parenting and child development. *Psychological Inquiry, 8*, 230-235.

Dimitrova, R., Chasiotis, A., Bender, M., & van de Vijver, F. R. (2014). Turks in Bulgaria and the Netherlands: A comparative study of their acculturation orientations and outcomes. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *40*76-4086

Dornbusch, S. M., Ritter, P. L., Leiderman, P. H., Roberts, D. F., & Fraleigh, M. J. (1987). The relation of parenting style to adolescent school performance. *Child Development, 58*, 1244-1257.

Dutton, D. G., van Ginkel, C., & Starzomski, A. (1995). The role of shame and guilt in the intergenerational transmission of abusiveness. *Violence and Victims*, *10*(2), 121-131.

Erkman, F. (1992) Support for Rohner's Parental Acceptance-Rejection Theory as a Psychological Abuse Theory in Turkey. In S. Iwawaki, Y. Kashima, and K. Leung (Eds.) *Innovations in Cross-Cultural Psychology.* (pp. 384-395). Liets: Swets and Zeitlinger

Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental involvement and students' academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, *13*(1), 1-22.

Feldman, R., Guttfreund, D., & Yerushalmi, H. (1998). Parental care and intrusiveness as predictors of the abilities–achievement gap in adolescence. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *39*(5), 721-730.

Fong, V. L. (2007). Morality, cosmopolitanism, or academic attainment? Discourses on "quality" and urban Chinese only children's claims to ideal personhood. *City and Society, 19*(1), 86–113.

Fong, V. L. (2010). Parent-child communication problems and the perceived inadequacies of Chinese only children. In R. A. LeVine, R. A. LeVine (Eds.), Psychological anthropology: A reader on self in culture (pp. 220-238). Wiley-Blackwell.

Frazier, P. A., Tix, A. P., & Barron, K. E. (2004). Testing moderator and mediator effects in counseling psychology research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*, 115-134.

Friedlmeier, W., Corapci, F., & Cole, P. M. (2011). Emotion socialization in cross-cultural perspective. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 5*(7), 410–427

Fu, P. J. (2003). Confucianism: Constructs of Classical Thought. In A. S. Cua (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy.* (pp. 64-68). New York: Routledge.

Fung, H. (1999). Becoming a moral child: The socialization of shame among young Chinese children. *Ethos, 27*, 180-209.

Fung, J. J., & Lau, A. S. (2009). Punitive discipline and child behavior problems in Chinese-American immigrant families: The moderating effects of indigenous child-rearing ideologies. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 33*, 520-530.

Fung, J. J., & Lau, A. S. (2010). Factors associated with parent-child (dis)agreement on child behavior and parenting problems in Chinese immigrant families. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, *39*(3), 314-327.

Fung, H., Lieber, E., & Leung, P. L. (2003). Parental beliefs about shame and moral socialization in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States. In K. Yang, K. Hwang, P. B. Pedersen, I. Daibo, K. Yang, K. Hwang, ... I. Daibo (Eds.), *Progress in Asian social psychology: Conceptual and empirical contributions* (pp. 83-109). Westport, CT, US: Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group.

Fung, J., & Lau, A. S. (2012). Tough love or hostile domination? Psychological control and relational induction in cultural context. *Journal of Family Psychology, 26*, 966-975.

Furukawa, T. A., Kessler, R. C., Slade, T., & Andrews, G. (2003). The performance of the K6 and K10 screening scales for psychological distress in the Australian national survey of mental health and well-being. *Psychological Medicine, 33*, 357-362.

Ge, X., Best, K. M., Conger, R. D., & Simons R. L. (1996). Parenting behaviors and the occurrence and co-occurrence of adolescent depressive symptoms and conduct problems. *Developmental Psychology, 32,*717-731.

Gershoff, E. T., Grogan-Kaylor, A., Lansford, J. E., Chang, L., Zelli, A., Deater-Deckard, K., & Dodge, K. A. (2010). Parent discipline practices in an International sample: Associations with child behaviors and moderation by perceived normativeness. *Child Development*, *81*(2), 487-502.

Gibson, M. A. (2001). Immigrant adaptation and patterns of acculturation. *Human Development*, *44*(1), 19-23.

Greenberger, E., & Chen, C. (1996). Perceived family relationships and depressed mood in early and late adolescence: A comparison of European and Asian Americans. *Developmental Psychology*, *32*(4), 707-716.

Gubbins, V., & Otero, G. (2016). Effect of the parental involvement style perceived by elementary school students at home on Language and Mathematics performance in Chilean schools. *Educational Studies*, *42*(2), 121-136.

Harding, J. F., Morris, P. A., & Hughes, D. (2015). The relationship between maternal education and children's academic outcomes: A theoretical framework. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *77*(1), 60-76.

Hess, R. D., Chang, C., & McDevitt, T. M. (1987). Cultural variations in family beliefs about children's performance in mathematics: Comparisons among People's Republic of China, Chinese-American, and Caucasian-American families. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 79*, 179-188.

Ho, D. Y. F. (1989). Continuity and variation in Chinese patterns of socialization. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51*, 149-163.

Hochhausen, L., Perry, D. F., & Le, H. (2010). Neighborhood context and acculturation among Central American immigrants. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *12*(5), 806-809

Hoff, E., Laursen, B., & Tardif, T. (2002). Socioeconomic status and parenting. In M. H. Bornstein, M. H. Bornstein (Eds.), *Handbook of parenting: Biology and ecology of*

parenting, Vol. 2, 2nd edition (pp. 231-252). Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum

Associates Publishers.

Hollingshead, A. B. (1975). Four Factor Index of Social Status. New Haven, CT: Department of

Sociology, Yale University

Holden, G. W., Miller, P. C., & Harris, S. D. (1999). The instrumental side of corporal

punishment: Parents' reported practices and outcome expectancies. *Journal of Marriage and*

The Family, *61*(4), 908-919

Hossain, Z., Roopnarine, J. L., Masud, J., Muhamed, A. A., Baharudin, R., Abdullah, R., &

Juhari, R. (2005). Mothers' and fathers' childcare involvement with young children in rural

families in Malaysia. *International Journal of Psychology*, *40*(6), 385-394

Hsiao, H. M. (2011). One colonialism, two memories: Representing Japanese colonialism in

Taiwan and South Korea. In G. Shin, & D. C. Sneider (Eds.), History textbooks and the

wars in Asia: Divided memories (pp. 173-190). New York, NY: Routledge/Taylor &

Francis Group.

Hsin, A., & Xie, Y. (2014). Explaining Asian Americans' academic advantage over Whites.

PNAS Proceedings of The National Academy of Sciences of The United States of America,

111(23), 8416-8421.

Huang, J. P., Xia, W., Sun, C. H., Zhang, H. Y., & Wu, L. J. (2009). Psychological distress and

its correlates in Chinese adolescents. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry,*

43, 674-681.

Huntsinger, C. S., Jose, P. E., Larson, S. L., Balsink Krieg, D., & Shaligram, C. (2000). Mathematics, vocabulary, and reading development in Chinese American and European American children over the primary school years. Journal of Educational Psychology, 92(4), 745-760.

Huppert, F. A. (2009). A new approach to reducing disorder and improving well-being. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 4*, 108-111.

Inman, A. G., Howard, E. E., Beaumont, R. L., & Walker, J. A. (2007). Cultural transmission: Influence of contextual factors in Asian Indian immigrant parents' experiences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *54*(1), 93-100.

Iyengar, S. S., & Lepper, M. R. (1999). Rethinking the value of choice: A cultural perspective on intrinsic motivation. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 76*, 349-366.

Jain, A., & Belsky, J. (1997). Fathering and acculturation: Immigrant Indian families with young children. *Journal of Marriage and The Family*, *59*(4), 873-883.

Jang, Y., Kim, G., Chiriboga, D., & King-Kallimanis, B. (2007). A bidimensional model of acculturation for Korean American older adults. *Journal of Aging Studies*, *21*(3), 267-275.

Kaufmann, D., Gesten, E., Santa Lucia, R. C., Salcedo, O., Rendina-Gobioff, G., & Gadd, R. (2000). The relationship between parenting style and children's adjustment: The parents' perspective. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *9*(2), 231-245.

Kağitçibaşi, Ç. (1996). *Family and human development across cultures: A view from the other side*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kessler, R. C., Andrews, G., Colpe, L. J., Hiripi, E., Mroczek, D. K., Normand, S. T., & ...

    Zaslavsky, A. M. (2002). Kessler Psychological Distress Scale.

Keppel, G., & Zedeck, S. (1989). *Data analysis for research designs: Analysis of variance and*

    multiple regression/correlation approaches. New York, NY, US: W H Freeman/Times

    Books/ Henry Holt & Co.

Kelley, M. L., & Tseng, H. (1992). Cultural differences in child rearing: A comparison of

    immigrant chinese and caucasian american mothers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,*

    23(4), 444-455.

Klein, A. (2008). From Mao to Memphis: Chinese immigrant fathers' involvement with their

    children's education. The School Community Journal, 18(2), 91-117.

Khaleque, A., & Rohner, R. P. (2012). Transnational relations between perceived parental

    acceptance and personality dispositions of children and adults: A meta-analytic review.

    Personality and Social Psychology Review, *16*(2), 103-115

Kim, S. Y., Wang, Y., Orozco-Lapray, D., Shen, Y., & Murtuza, M. (2013). Does 'tiger

    parenting' exist? Parenting profiles of Chinese Americans and adolescent developmental

    outcomes. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *4*(1), 7-18

Kim, S. Y., Wang, Y., Shen, Y., & Hou, Y. (2015). Stability and change in adjustment profiles

    among Chinese American adolescents: The role of parenting. *Journal of Youth and*

    Adolescence, *44*(9), 1735-1751.

Kim, S. Y., Wang, Y., Chen, Q., Shen, Y., & Hou, Y. (2015). Parent–child acculturation profiles as predictors of Chinese American adolescents' academic trajectories. *Journal of Youth And Adolescence*, *44*(6), 1263-1274.

Knutson, J. F., DeGarmo, D. S., & Reid, J. B. (2004). Social disadvantage and neglectful parenting as precursors to the development of antisocial and aggressive child behavior: Testing a theoretical model. *Aggressive Behavior*, *30*(3), 187-205.

Kossoudji, S. (1988). English Language Ability and the Labor Market Opportunities of Hispanic and East Asian Immigrant Men. *Journal of Labor Economics, 6*(2), 205-228.

Kosic, A. (2002). Acculturation attitudes, need for cognitive closure, and adaptation of immigrants. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *142*(2), 179-201.

Lai, A. C., Zhang, Z., & Wang, W. (2000). Maternal child-rearing practices in Hong Kong and Beijing Chinese families: A comparative study. *International Journal of Psychology, 35*, 60-66.

Lamborn, S. D., Mounts, N. S., Steinberg, L., & Dornbusch, S. M. (1991). Patterns of competence and adjustment among adolescents from authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful families. *Child Development, 62*, 1049.

Lansford, J. E., Deater-Deckard, K., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., & Pettit, G. S. (2004). Ethnic differences in the link between physical discipline and later adolescent externalizing behaviors. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *45*(4), 801-812

Lansford, J. E., Chang, L., Dodge, K. A., Malone, P. S., Oburu, P., Palmérus, K., . . . Quinn, N. (2005). Physical discipline and children's adjustment: Cultural normativeness as a moderator. *Child Development, 76*, 1234-1246.

Larson, R. W., Richards, M. H., & Perry-Jenkins, M. (1994). Divergent worlds: The daily emotional experience of mothers and fathers in the domestic and public spheres. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67*, 1034-1046.

Lau, S., & Yeung, P. W. (1996). Understanding Chinese child development: The role of culture in socialization. In S. Lau (Ed.), *Growing up the Chinese way* (pp. 29–44). Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Lefkowitz, M. M & Tesiny E. P. (1984). Rejection and depression: Prospective and contemporaneous analyses. *Developmental Psychology,* 20, 776-785.

Li, Y., Costanzo, P. R., & Putallaz, M. (2010). Maternal socialization goals, parenting styles, and social-emotional adjustment among Chinese and European American young adults: Testing a mediation model. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology: Research and Theory on Human Development, 171*, 330-362.

Li, J., Wang, L., & Fischer, K. W. (2004). The organisation of Chinese shame concepts. *Cognition and Emotion*, *18*(6), 767-797.

Li, J. (2005). Mind or virtue: Western and Chinese beliefs about learning. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 14*, 190-194.

Li, G., & Wang, J. (2013). Chinese immigrant parents' perspectives on literacy learning,

homework, and school-home communication. In E. L. Grigorenko, E. L. Grigorenko (Eds.),

U.S. immigration and education: Cultural and policy issues across the lifespan (pp. 337-

353). New York, NY, US: Springer Publishing Co.

Liang, S., & Sugawara, A. I. (1992). Reflections on parenting practices in urban China today.

Early Child Development and Care, 81, 15-24.

Lim, S., & Lim, B. K. (2003). Parenting style and child outcomes in Chinese and immigrant

Chinese families -- current findings and cross-cultural considerations in conceptualization

and research. *Marriage & Family Review, 35*, 21-43.

Lin, L., & Ho, Y. (2009). Confucian dynamism, culture and ethical changes in Chinese

societies—A comparative study of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. *The International

Journal of Human Resource Management*, *20*(11), 2402-2417

Liu, J., Cheng, H., & Leung, P. L. (2011). The application of the Preschool Child Behavior

Checklist and the Caregiver–Teacher Report Form to Mainland Chinese children: Syndrome

structure, gender differences, country effects, and inter-informant agreement. *Journal of

Abnormal Child Psychology*, *39*(2), 251-264

Liu, R. X., Lin, W., & Chen, Z. Y. (2010). School performance, peer association, psychological

and behavioral adjustments: A comparison between Chinese adolescents with and without

siblings. *Journal of Adolescence, 33*(3), 411–417

Louie, V. S. (2004). *Compelled to Excel: Immigration, Education, and Opportunity Among Chinese Americans*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Lo, A. & Fung, H. (2011). "Shaming." In *Handbook of Language Socialization*. (pp. 169-189). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Loeber, Rolf, & Magda Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) Family Factors as Correlates and Predictors of Juvenile Conduct Problems and Delinquency. In M. Tonry and N. Morris, (Eds) *Crime and Justice*, vol.7. (pp. 29-149). Chicago: University of Chicago

Luo, R., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., & Song, L. (2013). Chinese parents' goals and practices in early childhood. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *28*(4), 843-857.

Lv, Y., Wolf, A., & Wang, X. (2013). Experienced stigma and self-stigma in Chinese patients with schizophrenia. *General Hospital Psychiatry*, *35*(1), 83-88.

Lv, B., Zhou, H., Guo, X., Liu, C., Liu, Z., & Luo, L. (2016). The relationship between academic achievement and the emotional well-being of elementary school children in China: The moderating role of parent-school communication. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *7*

Maccoby, E., & Martin, J. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent-child interaction. In E. M. Hetherington (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Socialization, personality, and social development* (Vol. 4, pp. 1-101). New York: Wiley.

MacKenzie, M. J., Nicklas, E., Waldfogel, J., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2013). Spanking and child development across the first decade of life. *Pediatrics*, *132*(5), e1118-e1125.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*(2), 224-253

Mason, C. A., Walker-Barnes, C., Tu, S., Simons, J., & Martinez-Arrue, R. (2004). Ethnic differences in the affective meaning of parental control behaviors. *The Journal of Primary Prevention, 25*, 59-79.

McBride-Chang, C., & Chang, L. (1998). Adolescent–parent relations in Hong Kong: Parenting styles, emotional autonomy, and school achievement. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology: Research and Theory on Human Development, 159*, 421-436.

McBride, K. (2012, September 10). Shaming children is emotionally abusive [Web log comment]. Retrieved from https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-legacy-distorted-love/201209/shaming-children-is-emotionally-abusive

McGillicuddy-De Lisi, A. (1985). The relationship between parental beliefs and children's cognitive level. In I. E. Sigel, (Ed), *Parental belief systems: The Psychological Consequence for Children* (pp. 7-24). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Marcus, R. F., & Gray, L. J. (1998). Close relationships of violent and nonviolent African American delinquents. *Violence and Victims*, *13*(1), 31-46.

Murray, A. (2012). The relationship of parenting style to academic achievement in middle childhood. *The Irish Journal of Psychology, 33*, 137-152.

Myers, H. F., Newcomb, M. D., Richardson, M. A., & Alvy, K. T. (1997). Parental and family risk factors for substance use in inner-city African-American children and adolescents. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment*, *19*(2), 109-131

Naftali, O. (2009). Empowering the child: Children's rights, citizenship and the state in contemporary China. *The China Journal, 61*, 79–103

Nelson, D. A., Hart, C. H., Yang, C., Olsen, J. A., & Jin, S. (2006). Aversive parenting in China: Associations with child physical and relational aggression. *Child Development, 77*, 554-572.

Nelson, D. A., Yang, C., Coyne, S. M., Olsen, J. A., & Hart, C. H. (2013). Parental psychological control dimensions: Connections with Russian preschoolers' physical and relational aggression. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *34*(1), 1-8.

Newland, L. A., Chen, H., Coyl-Shepherd, D. D., Liang, Y., Carr, E. R., Dykstra, E., & Gapp, S. C. (2013). Parent and child perspectives on mothering and fathering: The influence of ecocultural niches. *Early Child Development and Care*, *183*(3-4), 534-552.

Olsen, S. F., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Robinson, C. C., Wu, P., Nelson, D. A., . . . Wo, J. (2002). Maternal psychological control and preschool children's behavioral outcomes in China, Russia, and the United States. In B. K. Barber (Ed.), (pp. 235-262). Washington, DC US: American Psychological Association.

Palkovitz, R., Fagan, J., & Hull, J. (2013). Coparenting and children's well-being. In N. J. Cabrera, C. S. Tamis-LeMonda, N. J. Cabrera, C. S. Tamis-LeMonda (Eds.), *Handbook of*

father involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives, 2nd edition (pp. 202-219). New York, NY, US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Parker, G. (1983) Parental 'Affectionless Control' as an Antecedent to Adult Depression. *Archives of General Psychiatry,* 40, 956-96

Penderi, E., & Petrogiannis, K. (2011). Parental ethnotheories and customs of childrearing in two Roma urban communities in Greece: Examining the developmental niche of the 6-year-old child. *Journal of Social, Evolutionary, And Cultural Psychology*, *5*(1), 32-50

Pinquart, M. (2016). Associations of parenting styles and dimensions with academic achievement in children and adolescents: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, *28*(3), 475-493.

Pomerantz, E. M., Ng, F. F., & Wang, Q. (2008). Culture, parenting, and motivation: The case of East Asia and the United States. In M. L. Maehr, S. A. Karabenick & T. C. Urdan (Eds.), *Social psychological perspectives: Advances in motivation and achievement* (Vol. 15, pp. 209-240). Bingley, England: Emerald Group Publishing.

Pomerantz, E. M., & Wang, Q. (2009). The role of parental control in children's development in Western and East Asian countries. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 18*, 285-289.

Raj, S. P., & Raval, V. V. (2013). Residential child care in Malaysia: An exploratory qualitative study of caregiver–child interactions. *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation*, *2*(3), 194-206.

Ren, L., Zhang, X., Yang, W., & Song, Z. (2017). Relations among parenting, child behavioral

    regulation and early competencies: A study on chinese preschoolers. *Journal of Child and*

    Family Studies, doi:10.1007/s10826-017-0898-y

Renshaw, P. D., & Brown, P. J. (1993). Loneliness in middle childhood: Concurrent and

    longitudinal predictors. *Child Development, 64,* 1271–1284.

Rohner, R. P., Khaleque, A., & Cournoyer, D. E. (2004). Cross-national perspectives on parental

    acceptance-rejection theory. *Marriage & Family Review, 35*, 85-105.

Renzaho, A. N., McCabe, M., & Sainsbury, W. J. (2011). Parenting, role reversals and the

    preservation of cultural values among Arabic speaking migrant families in Melbourne,

    Australia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *35*(4), 416-424.

Rohner, R. P., Khaleque, A., & Cournoyer, D. E. (2005). Parental Acceptance-Rejection:

    Theory, Methods, Cross-Cultural Evidence, and Implications. *Ethos*, *33*(3), 299-334

Rohner, R. P. (2016). Introduction to Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection Theory (IPARTheory)

    and Evidence. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture, 6*(1).

    http://dx.doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1055

Roggman, L. A., Bradley, R. H., & Raikes, H. H. (2013). Fathers in family contexts. In N. J.

    Cabrera, C. S. Tamis-LeMonda, N. J. Cabrera, C. S. Tamis-LeMonda (Eds.), *Handbook of*

    father involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives, 2nd edition (pp. 186-201). New York,

    NY, US: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. New York, NY, US: Oxford

    University Press

Roopnarine, J. L., & Jin, B. (2012). Indo Caribbean immigrant beliefs about play and its impact

    on early academic performance. *American Journal of Play*, *4*(4), 441-463.

Roopnarine, J. L., Wang, Y., Krishnakumar, A., & Davidson, K. (2013). Parenting practices in

    Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago: Connections to preschoolers social and cognitive skills.

    Revista Interamericana De Psicología, *47*(2), 313-327

Roopnarine, J. L., Jin, B., & Krishnakumar, A. (2014). Do Guyanese mothers' levels of warmth

    moderate the association between harshness and justness of physical punishment and

    preschoolers' prosocial behaviours and anger? *International Journal of Psychology*, *49*(4),

    271-279

Roopnarine, J. L., Logie, C., Davidson, K. L., Krishnakumar, A., & Narine, L. (2015).

    Caregivers' knowledge about children's development in three ethnic groups in Trinidad and

    Tobago. *Parenting: Science and Practice*, *15*(4), 229-246

Rosenthal, D. A., & Feldman, S. S. (1990). The acculturation of Chinese immigrants: Perceived

    effects on family functioning of length of residence in two cultural contexts. *The Journal of

    Genetic Psychology: Research and Theory on Human Development*, *151*(4), 495-514

Rudmin, F. W. (2003). Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation,

    separation, integration, and marginalization. *Review of General Psychology*, *7*(1), 3-37.

Sabatier, C., & Berry, J. W. (2008). The role of family acculturation, parental style, and perceived discrimination in the adaptation of second-generation immigrant youth in France and Canada. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *5*(2), 159-185.

Saxena, V. (1992). Perceived Maternal Rejection as Related to Negative Attention-Seeking Classroom Behavior among Primary School Children. *Journal of Personality and Clinical Studies* 8, 129-135.

Schneider, B., & Lee, Y. (1990). A model for academic success: The school and home environment of East Asian students. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *21*(4), 358-377.

Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., & Jarvis, L. H. (2007). Ethnic identity and acculturation in Hispanic early adolescents: Mediated relationships to academic grades, prosocial behaviors, and externalizing symptoms. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *13*(4), 364-373

Schwartz, S. J., Unger, J. B., Zamboanga, B. L., & Szapocznik, J. (2010). Rethinking the concept of acculturation: Implications for theory and research. *American Psychologist*, *65*(4), 237-251.

Sessa, F. M., Avenevoli, S., Steinberg, L., & Morris, A. S. (2001). Correspondence among informants on parenting: Preschool children, mothers, and observers. *Journal of Family Psychology, 15*, 53-68.

Shek, D. L., & Yu, L. (2014). Confucian virtues and Chinese adolescent development. In D. L. Shek, T. Y. Lee, J. Merrick, D. L. Shek, T. Y. Lee, J. Merrick (Eds.) , *Promotion of holistic*

development of young people in Hong Kong (pp. 15-29). Hauppauge, NY, US: Nova Science Publishers.

Shek, D. T. L. (1999). Parenting characteristics and adolescent psychological well-being: A longitudinal study in a Chinese context. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs, 125*, 27-44.

Shek, D. L. (2001). Paternal and maternal influences on family functioning among Hong Kong Chinese families. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology: Research and Theory on Human Development*, *162*(1), 56-74.

Shek, D. T. L. (2007). A longitudinal study of perceived differences in parental control and parent-child relational qualities in Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 22*, 156-188.

Shedler, J., & Block, J. (1990). Adolescent drug use and psychological health: A longitudinal inquiry. *American Psychologist*, *45*(5), 612-630.

Shweder, R. A., & Sullivan, M. A. (1993). Cultural psychology: Who needs it? Annual Review of Psychology, 44, 497-523.

Simons, R. L., Joan F. R., & William R. D. (1989) The nature of the association between parental rejection and delinquent behavior. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence,* 18, 297-310.

Slade, T., Grove, R., & Burgess, P. (2011). Kessler psychological distress scale: Normative data from the 2007 Australian national survey of mental health and wellbeing. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 45*, 308-316.

Sorkhabi, N. (2005). Applicability of Baumrind's parent typology to collective cultures: Analysis of cultural explanations of parent socialization effects. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *29*(6), 552-563.

Sorkhabi, N., & Mandara, J. (2013). Are the effects of Baumrind's parenting styles culturally specific or culturally equivalent? In R. E. Larzelere, A. S. Morris, A. W. Harrist, R. E. Larzelere, A. S. Morris, A. W. Harrist (Eds.). *Authoritative parenting: Synthesizing nurturance and discipline for optimal child development* (pp. 113-135). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Spies, G., Kader, K., Kidd, M., Smit, J., Myer, L., Stein, D. J., & Seedat, S. (2009). Validity of the K-10 in detecting DSM-IV-defined depression and anxiety disorders among HIV-infected individuals. *AIDS Care, 21*, 1163-1168.

Steinberg, L. (2001). We know some things: Parent–adolescent relationships in retrospect and prospect. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 11*, 1-19.

Steinberg, L., Mounts, N., Lamborn, S., & Dornbusch, S. (1991). Authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment across various ecological niches. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 1, 19-36.

Stewart, S. M., Bond, M. H., Kennard, B. D., Ho, L. M., & Zaman, R. M. (2002). Does the Chinese construct of guan export to the west? *International Journal of Psychology, 37*, 74-82.

Stewart, S. M., Rao, N., Bond, M. H., McBride-Chang, C., Fielding, R., & Kennard, B. D. (1998). Chinese dimensions of parenting: Broadening Western predictors and outcomes. *International Journal of Psychology, 33*, 345-358.

Straus, M. A., & Kantor, G. K. (1994). Corporal punishment of adolescents by parents: A risk factor in the epidemiology of depression, suicide, alcohol abuse, child abuse, and wife beating. *Adolescence*, *29*(115), 543-561

Straus, M. A., & Mouradian, V. E. (1998). Impulsive corporal punishment by mothers and antisocial behavior and impulsiveness of children. *Behavioral Sciences & The Law*, *16*(3), 353-374.

Sunderland, M., Mahoney, A., & Andrews, G. (2012). Investigating the factor structure of the Kessler psychological distress scale in community and clinical samples of the Australian population. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment, 34*, 253-259.

Super, C. M., & Harkness, S. (1986). The developmental niche: A conceptualization at the interface of child and culture. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *9*(4), 545-569.

Szapocznik, J., Kurtines, W. M., & Fernandez, T. (1980). Bicultural involvement and adjustment in Hispanic-American youths. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *4*353-4365.

Tadmor, C. T., Tetlock, P. E., & Peng, K. (2009). Acculturation strategies and integrative complexity: The cognitive implications of biculturalism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *40*(1), 105-139.

Triandis, H. (1996). The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. *American Psychologist, 51*(4), 407-415.

Tynkkynen, L., Vuori, J., & Salmela-Aro, K. (2012). The role of psychological control, socioeconomic status and academic achievement in parents' educational aspirations for their adolescent children. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 9*, 695-710.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). The Asian Population: 2010. *2010 Census Briefs.* Retrieved September 7th, 2013, from http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-11.pdf

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2009). *2007 demographic yearbook* (Report no. ST/ESA/STAT/SER.R/38). New York: United Nations.

Wallen, G. R., Feldman, R. H., & Anliker, J. (2002). Measuring acculturation among Central American women with the use of a brief language scale. *Journal of Immigrant Health*, *4*(2), 95-102.

Wang, Y. C., & Supple, A. J. (2010). Parenting behaviors and adolescent psychosocial adjustment in China: An indigenous perspective. *Marriage & Family Review*, *46*(6-7), 480-497.

Wang, Q., Pomerantz, E. M., & Chen, H. (2007). The role of parents' control in early adolescents' psychological functioning: A longitudinal investigation in the United States and China. *Child Development, 78*, 1592-1610.

Wang, M., Feng, L., & Zhang, P. (2013). Parental control and adolescent problem behavior: Mediating of perfectionism. *Chinese Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *21*(5), 811-814.

Wang, C. D., & Mallinckrodt, B. (2006). Acculturation, attachment, and psychosocial adjustment of Chinese/Taiwanese international students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *53*(4), 422-433.

Wang, M., Deng, X., & Du, X. (2017). Harsh parenting and academic achievement in Chinese adolescents: Potential mediating roles of effortful control and classroom engagement. *Journal Of School Psychology*, doi:10.1016/j.jsp.2017.09.002.

Ward, C., & Rana-Deuba, A. (1999). Acculturation and adaptation revisited. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *30*(4), 422-442

Watson, B. (1967). Basic writings of Mo Tzu, Hsun Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu. New York: Columbia University Press.

Way, N., Okazaki, S., Zhao, J., Kim, J. J., Chen, X., Yoshikawa, H., . . . Deng, H. (2013). Social and emotional parenting: Mothering in a changing Chinese society. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *4*(1), 61–70.

Weis, M., Trommsdorff, G., & Muñoz, L. (2016). Children's self-regulation and school achievement in cultural contexts: The role of maternal restrictive control. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *7*

Whitbeck, L. B., Conger, R. D., & Kao, M. (1993). The influence of parental support, depressed affect, and peers on the sexual behaviors of adolescent girls. *Journal of Family Issues*, *14*(2), 261-278.

Whiting, B. B., & Whiting, J. W. (1975). *Children of six cultures: A psycho-cultural analysis*. Oxford, England: Harvard University Press

Wong, S. M., Leung, A. N., & McBride-Chang, C. (2010). Adolescent filial piety as a moderator between perceived maternal control and mother adolescent relationship quality in Hong Kong. *Social Development, 19*, 187-201.

Wu, D. H. & Tseng, W. S. (1985). Introduction: the characteristics of Chinese culture. *Chinese Culture and Mental Health. Wen-Shing Tseng And David Y. H. Wu, Eds*, 3-13.

Wu, M. (2013). The concept of guan in the Chinese parent-child relationship. In C. Yi, C. Yi (Eds.), *The psychological well-being of East Asian youth* (pp. 29-49). New York, NY, US: Springer Science + Business Media.

Wu, P., Robinson, C. C., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Olsen, S. F., Porter, C. L., et al. (2002). Similarities and differences in mothers' parenting of preschoolers in China and the United States. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 26*, 481–491.

Xu, Yiyuan, Farver, J., Zhang, Z., Zeng, Q., Yu, L., & Cai, B. (2005). Mainland Chinese parenting styles and parent–child interaction. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 29(6),* 524–531.

Yeh, K. (2003). The beneficial and harmful effects of filial piety: An integrative analysis. In K. Yang, K. Hwang, P. B. Pedersen, I. Daibo, K. Yang, K. Hwang, ... I. Daibo (Eds.), *Progress in Asian social psychology: Conceptual and empirical contributions* (pp. 67-82). Westport, CT, US: Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group.

Ying, Y., Lee, P. A., Tsai, J. L., Yeh, Y., & Huang, J. S. (2000). The conception of depression in Chinese American college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *6*(2), 183-195.

Young-Loveridge, J. M. (1989). The relationship between children's home experience and their mathematical skills on entry to school. *Early Child Development and Care*, *43*43-4359.

Yu, J., Cheah, C. L., Hart, C. H., Sun, S., & Olsen, J. A. (2015). Confirming the multidimensionality of psychologically controlling parenting among Chinese-American mothers: Love withdrawal, guilt induction, and shaming. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *39*(3), 285-292.

Zhang, G., Eisenberg, N., Liang, Z., Li, Y., & Deng, H. (2017). The relations of migrant status and parenting to Chinese adolescents' adjustment. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *41*(3), 320-328.

Zhao, J., & Wang, M. (2010). Relationships among mother's parenting style and preschoolers' behavior problems, peer interaction. *Chinese Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *18*(5), 664-666

Zhai, X. W. (1995). *The Chinese concept of Face.* Taipei, Taiwan: Gui Guan. (In Chinese).

Zhou, M. (1997). Growing up American: The challenge confronting immigrant children and children of immigrants. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *23*63-2395.

Zink, S. D., & Fletcher, J. (1987). The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History (Book). *Library Journal*, *112*(17), 75.

Jason Chiang
Syracuse University
Human Development and Family Science
Syracuse, NY 13244
jachiang@syr.edu

Curriculum Vitae

Education:

- Ph.D., Human Development and Family Science, Syracuse University, May 2018
- Master of Science, Educational Psychology and Methodology, State University of New York at Albany, May 2010
- Honors Bachelor of Science, Psychology, University of Toronto, May 2009

Full-time Faculty:

- **Assistant Professor of Instruction in Child Development**, University of Akron (Fall 2016-Current)
- **Assistant Professor of Psychology**, Berkshire Community College (Fall 2014-Summer 2016)

Adjunct Faculty:

- PY 210 Evaluation, Research, & Measurement in Behavioral Science, Mohawk Valley Community College (Spring 2014)
- CFS 448 Contemporary American Families and Communities, Syracuse University (Spring 2014)
- CAS 102 Summer Start Seminar (Intro to University), Syracuse University (Summer Session 2012)

Teaching Assistant (Fall 2010-Spring 2013)

Award and Recognition:

- Fellow, Institute for Life-Span Development & Gerontology, University of Akron (Fall 2017-Current)
- Dean Edith Smith Dissertation Grant, Syracuse University (Awarded April 2017)
- 2016 Massachusetts Colleges Online Course of Distinction (COD) Award (Awarded Spring 2016)

Manuscripts In Press (Book Chapter):

- Roopnarine, J. L., & Chiang, J. The Current State of Early Childhood Education in English-Speaking Caribbean Countries: Possible Salubrious Effects. In C. Pascal, A. Bertram, & M. Veisson (Eds.), *Early childhood education and change in diverse cultural contexts.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Manuscripts under Review:

- Jung, E., Zhang, Y, & Chiang, J. Early Mathematics Experiences and Mathematics Learning in Kindergarteners,
  International Journal of Educational Research.

Doctoral Dissertation completed:

- Chiang, J. Guan and Shaming among Chinese Families in the United States: The Moderating Effects of Perceived Cultural Normativeness.

Conference Presentation:

- Jung, E., Zhang, Y, & Chiang, J. (2016, April). Early Mathematics Experiences and Mathematics Learning in Kindergarteners. Roundtable Session "Teaching and Learning Math: Examining Student and Teacher Experiences with Math Education". *At the 2016 AERA Annual Meeting.* Washington D.C.
- Chiang, J. (2013, November). What does insecure attachment tell us about college drinking behavior? Poster presentation at *The Society for the Study of Human Development (SSHD) 8th Biennial Conference*. Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Chiang, J. (2013, May). Ethnic identity, adult attachment, and drinking among college students in the U.S. Poster presentation at *The 2013 Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement conference*. Toronto, ON.

Brown Bag and Forum Presentation

- Chiang, J. & Dupuis, K. (2015, October). National Trends in Service-Learning and Civic Engagement. Brown Bag Presentation at *Berkshire Community College*. Pittsfield, MA.

Research Interests:

- Parental Control and Involvement; Parenting Practices in Immigrant Families; Early Childhood Education; Adult Attachment Style; Adolescent psychological development

Professional Service:

- Serving as a guest lecturer at Ohio Contemporary Chinese School on orientation day (in Columbus, Ohio).
  Topic presented: *Attachment Theory and Family Relations*
- Serving as a guest lecturer during Professional Development Week at Center for Child Development at University of Akron, Fall 2016
- Serving as a member of the Diversity Committee, Berkshire Community College, Fall 2015-Spring 2016
- Serving as a member of the Service-Learning Faculty Committee, Fall 2014-Spring 2016
- Serving as a member of the Search Committee for <u>Academic Counselor</u>, Berkshire Community College, Fall 2015
- Serving as a member of the Search Committee for the <u>Director of Safety and Security</u>, Berkshire Community College, Summer 2015
- Serving as a member of the Strategic Planning Committee, Engaged Learning Subcommittee, Berkshire Community College, Fall 2014-Spring 2016
- Serving as a member of Tenure Review Committee, Dept. of Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University, Fall 2013
- Serving as Recruitment and Membership Chair, Syracuse Student Council on Family Relations, Syracuse University, January- August, 2013

Professional Development:

- Participation in Authentic Leadership in Service Learning and Civic Engagement Conference. 2015 May 19th-21st.
- Participation in "Beyond Diversity to Inclusion: Next Steps for BCC" professional day workshop, February 26, 2015
- Participation in Massachusetts Teachers Association Ethnic Minority Affairs Committee 35th Anniversary Conference, December 2014
- Participation in *Future Professoriate Program*, Syracuse University, 2012 Fall-Current
- Participation in the 5th On New Shores Conference, October 25-26, 2012, Toronto

Professional Affiliations:

- American Educational Research Association, January 2016-Current
- National Council on Family Relations (NCFR), September 2012-Current
- Society for the Study of Human Development (SSHD), September 2012-Current
- Phi Beta Delta International Honor Society, Alpha Sigma Chapter, January 2013-Current
- American Association of University Professors (AAUP), Fall 2016-Current
- Massachusetts Teachers Association (MTA), August 2014-May 2016