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The present study examined the specific situations in which European American (EA) and Chinese American (CA) mothers expressed warmth and control. Ninety-four EA and 90 CA mothers of preschool-aged children were interviewed. EA mothers emphasized expressing warmth when structuring their children's daily routines, during playtime activities, and moments that pull for physical intimacy. In contrast, CA mothers emphasized expressing warmth when their children faced difficulties. Both groups equally emphasized the importance of expressing warmth during moments of positive child behaviors and learning. EA mothers emphasized control in areas involving children's physical safety and interpersonal behaviors. CA mothers used control with children's difficult behaviors and moral conduct. Both groups similarly emphasized expressing control in situations of child learning and daily schedules. More enculturated CA mothers were more likely to express warmth during moments of positive child behaviors and parenting control in situations of child physical danger and daily schedules.

UNDERSTANDING WHEN AND WHERE EUROPEAN AMERICAN AND
CHINESE AMERICAN MOTHERS EXPRESS WARMTH AND CONTROL

By

Kathy Thi Tuong Vu

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, father, and sister.

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I would like to express my sincere gratitude to everyone who provided me with support throughout my educational adventure. First, I would like to thank my academic mentor, Dr. Charissa S. L. Cheah, for her continual support, guidance, undying trust, and belief in me. Without her encouragement, I would not have been able to achieve all that I have accomplished.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Parental warmth and control are two key and independent dimensions of parenting that together comprise the overall parenting style (Baumrind, 1971). Parental warmth refers to expressions of affection, love, appreciation, nurturance, support, kindness and regard and is depicted as a positive dimension of parenting (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Skinner et al., 2005). Parents can express warmth in physical (e.g., kissing and hugging), verbal (e.g., praising and complimenting), and symbolic (e.g., cooking and self-sacrifice) forms (Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2005).

Cultural variation in practices that parents use to express warmth have been found (Chao & Tseng, 2002), but parental warmth is consistently associated with positive child psychological well-being and adjustment, strong parent-child bonds, and an emotional climate that leads to successful socialization across different cultures (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Karreman, Tuijl, van Aken, & Dekovic, 2006; Khaleque, 2013). Moreover, parental warmth has been associated with more prosocial behavior, better self-regulation, emotional adjustment and school achievement in children (Cheah et al., 2009; Chen, Liu, & Li, 2000; Padilla-Walker, Nielson, & Day, 2015).

In contrast, parental control pertains to behaviors intended to modify children's thoughts, emotions and behaviors (Barber, 1996; Baumrind, 2012). Two forms of parental control have been most frequently studied. The first form of control is behavioral control, which refers to parental practices that are used to achieve child compliance, and emphasizes controlling and regulating children's behaviors (Barber, 1996; Barber, Olsen & Shagle, 1994). Parents can engage in behavioral control through monitoring, setting rules, removing privileges, physically

redirecting, and consistently exercising consequences when the child misbehaves (Barber et al., 1994; Baumrind et al. 2010; Baumrind, 2013; Shek, 2005).

The second form of control, psychological control, refers to manipulative parental practices that intrude on children's psychological and emotional worlds (Barber, 1996; Baumrind et al., 2010; Baumrind 2013; Li et al., 2013). Examples of such strategies include guilt induction, shaming, love withdrawal, invalidating feelings, expressing disappointment, suppression of emotions, and constraining of verbal expressions (Aunola, Tolvanen, Viljaranta, & Nurmi, 2013; Barber, 1994; Barber, & Xia, 2013; Louie, Oh, & Lau, 2013; Shek, 2005).

Parental behavioral control is often associated with positive outcomes for children, such as higher self-efficacy, self-reliance, and psychosocial maturity in children (Li et al., 2013), resulting in more competent, well-adjusted and academically successful children (Baumrind et al., 2010; Steinberg et al., 1989; Stright & Yeo, 2013). These findings appear to be consistent across various cultural contexts. However, the associations between parental psychological control and child outcomes are more complex and culturally variable. Psychological control has been found to be associated with a wide range of negative child outcomes, such as negative emotions, low self-esteem and higher levels of aggression, delinquency, depression, and anxiety, in European American families (Alessandri & Lewis, 1993; Aunola et al., 2013; Barber, 1996; Barber et al., 1994; Baumrind et al., 2010; Kuppens, Laurent, Heyvaert, & Onghena, 2013; Louie et al., 2013; Nanda, Kotchick, & Grover, 2011; Nelson et al., 2013; Nix et al., 1999). However, the effects of parental psychological control on Asian and Asian American children and adolescents appear to be less negative (e.g., Fung & Lau, 2009; Chao & Tseng, 2002). Among Chinese children in particular, it has been posited that certain forms of psychological control, such as guilt induction and shaming, are dominant moral training tools to guide children to be

aware of others and to teach the child right from wrong without the intention of harming the child (Fung, 1999; Wu et al. 2002). These specific forms of psychological control emphasize the importance of child obedience and respect of elders in order to promote harmonious relationships (Chao, 1995) and are also viewed as an important component of being a supportive parent in Chinese culture (Kim et al., 2013).

Due to the culturally variable meanings, practices and potential consequences of parental warmth and control, researchers have urged for culturally- and contextually-based examinations of parenting. Such examinations should consider cross-cultural similarities and differences in the ways that parents strive to enable children's developmental competence through the exploration of parental beliefs and values (Harkness & Super, 1992; Kagitcibasi, 2007; Pomerantz & Wang, 2009).

In order to address the complexities of parental warmth and control and its effects on child development in Western and Chinese cultures, a more in-depth examination of these constructs in the both the European American and Chinese American context is warranted. Thus, the overarching goal of the present research is to utilize a mixed-method approach to understand European American and Chinese American mothers' use of warmth and control. Specifically, the key socialization moments or situations when European American and Chinese American mothers report expressing warmth towards and being strict with their young children will be examined. By exploring mothers' ethnotheories (Chao, 2000) regarding key socialization moments in these two groups, we aim to reveal both similar and culturally unique socialization priorities and motivations for engaging in such practices. The findings of this study can help enrich our understanding of parenting and promote the positive development of children of Chinese American families.

Cultural Variations in Maternal Warmth and Control: A Focus on Chinese Cultures

Researchers posit that parenting behaviors illustrate parents' goals to aid their children towards developing attributes that are considered expected and acceptable within their cultural group (Bornstein & Lansford, 2010; Harkness & Super, 1992). Although parental warmth is found in all cultures (Deater-Deckard et al., 2011), the actual amount and expressions of parental warmth may vary cross-culturally, and the meanings of such behaviors may also differ (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Chinese American mothers were found to express lower rates of warmth in comparison to their European American counterparts (Camras, Kolmodin, & Chen, 2008; Cheah, Li, Zhou, Yamamoto, & Leung, 2015; Jose & Huntsinger, 2009; Juang, Qin, & Park, 2013; Wu et al., 2002). Moreover, Chinese American mothers also emphasize cultural-specific ways of expressing affection that focus on more functional (e.g., through caretaking) and less direct/outward forms (e.g., hugging and kissing) (Cheah et al., 2015). Confucian-based values of emotional restraint may lead mothers to limit direct/outward forms of affection (Cheah et al., 2013; Ho, 2008).

Compared to maternal warmth, maternal control may be even more culturally variable in terms of actual expressions, meaning and associated child outcomes (Deater-Deckard et al., 2011). The restrictiveness and harshness of Chinese parental control has been highlighted in comparative research with Western families. In particular, Chinese and Chinese American parents have often been characterized as being more controlling than their European American counterparts (e.g., Chao, 1994, 2001; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Lin & Fu, 1990).

In one study, European American parents reported using withholding privileges and time-outs more often than Chinese American parents (Jose et al., 2000). In contrast, Cheah and Rubin (2003) found that European American mothers used more modeling compared to Chinese

mothers, who preferred using direct instructions and guidance. Similarly, some research found that Taiwanese and Chinese mothers were more likely to use reasoning or instructive means than European American parents (Cheah & Rubin, 2003; Jose et al., 2000), perhaps because Chinese mothers may emphasize using reasoning and guidance in order to teach their children moral values (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Moreover, Cheah et al. (in press) recently found that Chinese American mothers emphasized using more confrontive behavioral control (e.g., limit setting, timeouts and monitoring) as compared to coercive behavioral control (e.g., spanking). Consistent with these recent findings, Cheah et al. (2013) found that Chinese American mothers were aware of their need to decrease their use of punitive practices after moving to the U.S. because spanking was less normative and thus more detrimental to their children in the new cultural context. In addition, Chinese mothers tend to practice higher levels of psychological control than European American mothers, including higher levels of love withdrawal (Chen, 2012; Wu et al., 2002).

Maternal Warmth and Control within Specific Situations

In order to gain a more thorough understanding of maternal warmth and control across cultural contexts, the specific situations in which parents from different cultures view the utilization of warmth and control to be particularly important should be examined. These areas of development that parents feel are important to pass on key socialization messages highlight the priorities and goals parents have for their children, and the contexts within which they believe children are most receptive to these messages. Moreover, cultural differences and similarities between European American and Chinese American mothers' key socialization moments and areas of focus illustrate culturally-unique as well as shared parenting priorities and motivations.

European American families. European American culture emphasizes promoting positive child affect and independence (Chao, 1995). Thus, European American mothers may infuse warmth when structuring a child-focused environment in order to grant more autonomy and foster independence in the child. Moreover, European American mothers have expressed the importance of building self-esteem and using warm parenting practices, such as praise and positive reinforcement (Chao, 1995), in order to help foster high self-esteem in their children. By fostering positive child affect, these mothers may be helping their children feel important and to value themselves (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009), in order to develop construals of the self as independent and competent (Chao, 1996).

European American culture also encourages open expressivity in children and open communication between the mother and child, which highlights cultural values of individuality and expressivity. For instance, European American mothers reported expressing warmth by encouraging emotional talk and focusing on their children's feelings (Cheah et al., 2015). Thus, European American mothers may infuse warmth into their speech and moments of communication with their children in order to encourage their children's open expressivity and individuality.

Moreover, European American mothers emphasized the importance of allowing their children to have a fun and enjoyable life by providing unconditional love, support and a variety of materials and activities, such as art materials and educational games (Chao, 1995). These mothers' emphasis on providing a fun life for their children may also foster creativity, independent thinking and exploration of the child's environment, which also reflects European American valuing of individuality (Chao, 1995). These various practices of warmth described above tend to be captured by current measures of warmth most frequently, which may partially

explain why European American parents are often depicted as warmer than Chinese American parents.

In terms of parental control, European American mothers have been found to emphasize the importance of social development, in particular, being able to use words to resolve conflicts and get along with other children (Chao, 1996; Harkness et al., 2016). For instance, European American mothers have reported exerting control in situations where their children engage in physical altercations with others and also guiding their children to use words rather than hitting in order to resolve social conflicts. Moreover, these mothers reported the importance of being polite and respectful to both the family and the community (Chao, 1996). Thus, European American mothers may exert control in situations involving interpersonal relations.

Moreover, European American mothers also emphasize the importance of structuring the child's daily life activities, such as limiting TV time and requiring more reading time (Chao, 1996). European American mothers' emphasis on structuring their children's daily lives may also reflect goals of creating a child-focused environment that fosters individual exploration and learning. Furthermore, European American mothers have also emphasized the importance of personal responsibility and good work-ethic (Chao, 1995). As such, European American mothers reported exerting control and discipline with their children in order to maintain consistency with daily schedules and at-home responsibilities such as chores (Chao, 1996). These mothers also emphasized the importance of maintaining consistency with children at a young age in order to help them operate within different structures in the school and outside of the home. Therefore, European American mothers may emphasize control in situations involving their children's daily schedules and responsibilities.

Chinese American families. Chinese and Chinese American culture emphasizes many Confucian ideologies regarding parenting and the family (Ho, 2008; Chao & Tseng, 2002). These mothers hold strong beliefs about their duties of caring for their children's physical needs (Chen et al., 2012; Keller et al., 2006) and view child health, such as eating behaviors and hygiene, as areas of main concern in childrearing (Fung, 1999; Kelley & Tseng, 1992). Chinese American mothers may especially express warmth during caretaking events, such as cooking nutritious and desired foods, and providing warm clothing and a safe home for their children (Cheah & Li, 2009; Cheah et al., 2015).

Confucian ideologies stress the importance of knowledge as the key for self-improvement and cultivation (Ho, 2008). Specifically, education is viewed as the primary pathway towards morality and social mobility and provides more opportunities for children in the future (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Due to these Confucian ideologies, Chinese and Chinese American parents also highly value education and often place emphasis on promoting their children's academic success (Chao, 1996; Chao, 2000; Cheah et al., 2015; Chen et al., 2012; Fung, 1999). For instance, many Chinese American parents expressed immigrating to the U.S. and sacrificing for their children in order to provide better educational and occupational opportunities for their children (Qin, 2009). Thus, Chinese American parents may especially express warmth toward their children during educational-related moments (e.g., when their children do well academically and during school-related extracurricular activities) (Chao, 1996; 2000; Chen et al., 2012; Jose & Huntsinger, 2009) to promote their children's academic success.

Chinese and Chinese American mothers are also oriented towards family allocentrism, close relationships, maintaining social order and relatedness (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Cheah et al., 2015; Keller et al., 2007), and thus may emphasize the use of warmth in situations involving

family and relationships with others (Cheah et al., 2015). Chinese American mothers may express warmth towards their children particularly when spending quality time with them in order to develop emotional closeness with each other. For example, these mothers reported actively setting times to listen to music and dance with their children despite time-limitations due to other parental duties (e.g., work) (Chen et al., 2012).

Furthermore, Chinese American mothers reported endorsing child characteristics that promote and foster group harmony, including obedience, cooperativeness, helpfulness, honesty, politeness, respectfulness, and concern for others (Cheah et al., 2015; Chen et al., 2012; Chuang & Su, 2009; Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Lu & Chang, 2013). In order to promote close relationships with family and others, Chinese and Chinese American children are often encouraged to be gentle, unselfish and to have good manners (Ho, 2008). As such, these mothers may express warmth towards their children when their children demonstrate positive behaviors towards others and desired interpersonal skills to reinforce these social behaviors and skills.

Relatedly, in terms of parental control, Chinese American mothers may exert higher control during situations in which their children misbehave and engage in disruptive and aggressive behaviors, such as fighting and destroying property (Chen et al., 2012), as these behaviors endanger relationships between relatives and others (Ho, 2008). Confucian-based family systems are more hierarchical than the egalitarian Western-based family systems, which may explain Chinese and Chinese American parents' greater use of control in order to promote child obedience. Therefore, Chinese and Chinese American mothers may emphasize exerting control in areas involving child obedience.

Chinese American mothers also exert control over their children in situations involving their education and academic achievement (Ho, 2008). Chinese American mothers have been

found to value the development of children's special talents and educational skills, and thus, often structure children's environment in ways that nurture these skills more than European American mothers (Chao, 1996). In order to promote their children's academic success, Chinese American parents have been found to exercise high control in this area through the use of monitoring, structuring of educational opportunities and emphasis on consistency (Chao, 1996; 2000). For instance, these mothers would plan their children's daytime schedule and restrict non-constructive extracurricular activities, such as TV viewing (Chao, 1996; Jose & Huntsinger, 2000). Moreover, Chinese American mothers were found to manage their children's education-related activities through controlling and monitoring the use of time outside of school or enrolling children in additional lessons (Chao, 2000). Chinese mothers' use of psychological control was recently found to be associated with their own perceptions of their children's academic performance (Ng, Pomerantz, & Deng, 2013), further highlighting the importance of this area of development for these mothers.

Other Confucian-rooted characteristics and qualities, such as being moral, hard-working, self-reliant, persistent and self-disciplined, have been found to be emphasized by Chinese American parents (Chao, 2000; Hulei, Zevenbergen, & Jacobs, 2006). Chinese cultural values emphasize not spoiling the child in order to raise a well-rounded and moral child (Fung, 1999; Ho, 2008). As such, these parents may view it as important to exert control in the area of moral conduct and related characteristics. For instance, parents have been found to exert control when educating their children about morality (Fung, 1999). Similarly, Chinese society also expects children to master impulsivity at a young age (Hulei et al., 2006), which may encourage parents to assist their children towards mastering impulses in areas involving moral development. Despite the study of the socialization goals of European American and Chinese American

mothers in past research, the examination of the explicit situations in which mothers engage in warmth and control that reflect such cultural priorities have not been examined until now.

Role of Acculturation and Enculturation

Acculturation and enculturation plays an important role in immigrants' adaptation to a new cultural environment. Acculturation refers to an individual's incorporation of the host or mainstream culture's values, attitudes, practices and behaviors, whereas enculturation refers to an individual's maintenance of their ethnic culture's values, attitudes, practices and behaviors (Bornstein & Lansford, 2010; Kim, 2007; Kim, Shen, Huang, Wang, & Orozco-Lapray, 2014). Chinese American mothers' parenting may be influenced by both the dominant European American culture in the U.S. and their own heritage culture. For instance, Chinese American parents have been found to adopt more European American values but still maintain some traditional Chinese values after moving to the U.S. (Lin & Fu, 1990). Chinese American mothers have expressed a desire to promote their children's development in the U.S. by becoming more flexible and warm in their parenting values and behaviors similar to their European American counterparts (Cheah et al., 2013). For instance, these mothers reported attempting to increase their use of encouragement and praise because they were aware of European American parents' higher use of these warmth practices, and believed that these practices and behaviors were important for fostering their children's self-confidence and self-esteem in the new cultural context.

Overall, Chinese Canadian parents who were more acculturated toward Western culture tended to be higher in warmth (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). However, Chinese American mothers also reported using culturally unique warmth practices (e.g., providing food and warm clothing for their children) after moving to the U.S. (Cheah et al., 2015), perhaps reflecting their

desire to maintain certain aspects and behaviors of their heritage culture. Thus, Chinese American mothers may both maintain some heritage parenting values, goals and practices *and* adopt new norms endorsed by their European American counterparts due to their acculturation and desire to socialize their children towards characteristics considered more adaptive in a bicultural context.

In terms of parental control, Chinese American mothers were found to view highly controlling practices, such as physical punishment and coercion, as less adaptive after moving to the U.S. (Cheah et al., 2013), reflecting changes in the valuing of traditionally controlling practices. Furthermore, Chinese American mothers also emphasized the importance of becoming less protective and of fostering more independence in their children after moving to the U.S. For instance, they reported allowing their children to care for themselves (e.g., getting ready and doing chores) and to develop skills to resolve interpersonal conflicts with their peers (Cheah et al., 2013). Moreover, Chinese American mothers who were more behaviorally acculturated were more likely to use inductive parenting and less likely to use punitive parenting (Kim et al., 2014). Despite becoming more acculturated towards the American culture, Chinese American mothers also emphasized the importance of fostering and maintaining certain child characteristics, such as obedience and respectfulness, traditionally desired in Chinese culture (Chen et al., 2012). Chinese American mothers who were more behaviorally enculturated reported endorsing more reasoning and negotiating with their children, showing more parental sternness and coercive control (Cheah et al., 2016). Overall, these mothers adopted some practices that are valued in the American cultural context after immigrating but still maintained several aspects of traditional Chinese parenting (Cheah et al., 2013).

Thus, acculturation and enculturation experience plays important roles in Chinese American mothers' conceptualizations of the situations in which they express parental warmth and control. Examining the association between acculturation, enculturation and the situations in which Chinese American mothers express warmth and control can potentially reveal information on how new and heritage parenting beliefs and values are negotiated within the new cultural context.

Age of Understanding

Some researchers have also discussed the need to consider the children's developmental stage in understanding the inconsistent findings regarding the use of warmth and control in Chinese American parenting. Traditionally, Chinese parents tended to be lenient and indulgent towards young children below 6 years of age because they were thought to be incapable of understanding things (Ho, 1989; 2008). Before reaching the age of understanding, Chinese mothers would assume all responsibilities for their children by caring for their physical wellbeing, such as keeping them in close proximity, feeding, clothing, and protecting them (Ho, 2008). Chinese mothers' intensive caring for these responsibilities may partially explain why they engage in higher levels of control. However, it must be noted that Chinese mothers also often engage in high warmth and indulgence with their young child (Ho, 2008). Similar to Chinese mothers, Chinese American mothers also consider young children below 6 years old to be below the age of understanding and should be treated with indulgence and leniency to foster interdependence between the parent and the child (Cheah et al., 2013).

Moreover, Chinese American parents' goals may change depending on children's age. For instance, parents of younger children primarily hold goals of providing for their children's physical needs and these children are not expected to follow rigid schedules or rules (Ho, 2008).

In contrast, parents of older children often have goals to foster maturity in their children and these children are expected to behave similarly to adults (Ho, 2008). Thus, Chinese American mothers of young children may emphasize different areas in which they express warmth and control as compared to when their children are older. However, past studies examining Chinese American families primarily focused on late-childhood to adolescence. By examining families with children ages 3 to 6, this study aimed to identify the parenting and socialization of children early in their development.

Child Gender Differences

Parents' expressions of warmth and control have been found to vary according to child gender in European American families (e.g., Cassano, Perry- Parrish, & Zeman, 2007). European American mothers were found to practice more monitoring with their daughters as compared to sons (Laird et al., 2003; Pettit et al., 2001) perhaps due to more risks associated with dating for girls. Moreover, European American mothers were found to be more supportive of girls' negative emotions (Brown, Craig & Halberstadt, 2015). Both mothers and fathers also believed that science (e.g., biology and physics) was less interesting and was more difficult for girls as compared to boys (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2003). Unfortunately, most examination of gender differences with regard to parental warmth and control included only adolescents and gender differences for preschool aged children have not been extensively studied. Overall, European American parents may infuse warmth and control in order to help their children develop in areas that are deemed desirable for boys and girls according to their gender socialization goals.

In traditional Chinese society, gender-role differentiation was imposed on children at a young age and boys and girls were expected to behave differently (Ho, 1989). However, the majority of studies interestingly have found no gender differences in parenting warmth and

control-related beliefs and behaviors regarding Chinese American young children's social and emotional development (e.g., Chao & Tseng, 2002; Cheah et al., 2009; Lu & Chang, 2013). Contemporary Chinese and Chinese American parents may emphasize gender-typed activities less than European American parents due to the One-Child Policy, which allows only one child per family in China. By limiting the number of children families may have, parents of both boys and girls may emphasize more androgynous gender role orientations in order to promote their children's success and global development, thus, encompassing other areas that are traditionally viewed as reserved for one gender (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Moreover, female departures from traditional gender-roles are often met with tolerance and admiration, perhaps due to China's long history with prominent female figures in the military (Ho, 1989). Specifically, Chinese parents were found to endorse more masculine values and behaviors (e.g., independence, self-confidence and assertiveness) towards their children regardless of child gender (Lu & Chang, 2013). However, as specific areas of socialization in these two groups have not been examined before, we explored potential gender differences in the key situations during which mothers utilize parenting warmth and control with their children.

Specific Aims and Hypotheses

The current study utilized a mixed-method approach to assess parental warmth and control among European American and Chinese American mothers of preschoolers through semi-structured interviews. This study did not examine specific warmth and controlling parenting practices. Rather, the specific *situations* in which mothers express warmth and control were examined. The specific aims were as follows:

Aim 1. To identify and compare cultural similarities and differences between European American and Chinese American mothers' report of the socialization areas and moments in which they express warmth towards their children.

Hypothesis 1. European American mothers were expected to emphasize warmth more during daily parent-child interactions that promote positive child affect and in areas involving fostering child independence. In contrast, Chinese American mothers were expected to express warmth more in areas involving education and the family.

Aim 2. To identify and compare cultural similarities and differences between European American and Chinese American mothers' report of the socialization areas and moments in which they express control towards their children.

Hypothesis 2. European American mothers were expected to emphasize control more in areas involving their children's interpersonal relations and daily life activities. In contrast, Chinese American mothers were expected to emphasize control more in areas that involve difficult or negative child behaviors and education.

Aim 3. To examine the role of Chinese American mothers' level of acculturation and enculturation in mothers' conceptualization of the areas or situations in which they express warmth with their children.

Hypothesis 3. Chinese American mothers' acculturation was expected to be positively associated with their use of warmth in situations involving daily parent-child interactions and situations pertaining to child independence. Chinese American mothers' enculturation was expected to be positively associated with their use of warmth in areas involving education and the family.

Aim 4. To examine the role of Chinese American mothers' level of acculturation and enculturation in their conceptualization of the situations in which they express control towards their children.

Hypothesis 4. Chinese American mothers' acculturation was expected to be positively associated with their use of control in situations of interpersonal relations and daily life activities. Chinese American mothers' enculturation was expected to be positively associated with their use of control in areas involving difficult or negative child behaviors and education.

Aim 5. To explore the role of child gender in the key situations during which mothers utilize parenting warmth and control with their children.

Hypothesis 5. No specific hypotheses were proposed.

Chapter 2

Method

Participants

The participants consisted of 94 European American and 90 Chinese American mothers of children ages 3 to 6 years old (see Table 1 for all demographic information). These mothers were part of a larger sample that participated in an ongoing longitudinal research project examining the acculturation, well-being, culture-specific parenting beliefs and practices of European American and Chinese American mothers, and the socio-emotional development of their preschool-aged children (Principle Investigator: Dr. Charissa Cheah).

European American participants were introduced to the study through recruitment letters sent through the preschools, libraries and day cares by research assistants. Mothers who agreed to take part in the study gave their contact information to the researchers. Chinese American participants were recruited through Chinese churches, preschools, day cares, and community centers in Maryland. Trained research assistants introduced Chinese American participants to the study in their respective locations. Mothers who agreed to take part in the study gave their contact information to the researchers. After obtaining their contact information, interested mothers in both groups were contacted and research assistants verified that both parents were ethnically European for the European American group and ethnically Chinese for the Chinese American group, and all children were between the ages of 3 and 6 years old.

Procedures

The mothers were contacted and an interview was conducted at a place of the participant's choice. Before the interview, the research assistants reviewed the informed consent forms and procedures with the parents. Parents were read and provided with their rights as

participants and assured that their confidentiality was protected. Mothers provided signed informed consents to indicate their voluntary participation in completing the questionnaires and audiotaped interviews. For the Chinese American parents, research assistants who spoke the mothers' preferred language/dialect conducted the interviews and assessments.

The participants were interviewed for about 20 to 30 minutes in their preferred language and were compensated \$20 for their time. Participants were then debriefed and the researchers' contact information was provided. The interview was structured by an interview script containing written instructions and were audiotaped, transcribed, coded (as described in detail below) and checked for reliability by trained research assistants. Interviews in Chinese were transcribed, translated and back-translated for accuracy by trained bilingual research assistants.

Measures

The interview that was administered in the project was developed simultaneously in English and Chinese by bi-lingual researchers to ensure equivalence in meaning.

Demographic information. A modified version of the Family Demographic Measures (FDM; Bornstein, 1991) was used to obtain detailed demographic information, including maternal age, marital status, religion, child gender, child age and parental education levels, for both samples (see Appendix A). Mothers reported on the demographics information (see Table 1). Socioeconomic status (SES) was assessed using the Hollingshead Index (Bornstein, 2003). Composite scores were obtained by summing the head(s)' of household weighted education and occupation scores and dividing the sum by the number of total head(s) of household. Possible scores ranged from 8 to 66. Higher scores were associated with higher SES. The demographic variables controlled for in this study include maternal age, child age and SES.

Behavioral acculturation and enculturation: Mainstream and heritage dimensions.

Research assistants administered the *Chinese Parent Acculturation Scale* (CPAS; Chen & Lee, 1996) to assess mothers' behavioral acculturation and enculturation (see Appendix B). The scale contains 27 items and mothers rated their agreement with the statement in the item on a five-category scoring method, from 1 (Almost Never) to 5 (More than Once a Week). Examples of items include "How often do you spend time with your non-Chinese friends?", "How often do you celebrate Western festivals (e.g., Thanksgiving, Halloween, etc.)?" and "How often do you celebrate Chinese festivals (e.g., Chinese New Year, Mid-Autumn festival)?" Higher scores were associated with higher levels of acculturation and higher levels of enculturation. The Cronbach's α for behavioral acculturation and enculturation were .76 and .64, respectively.

Interview on Parenting – Parent Report. A modified version of a semi-structured open-ended interview (Koh & Chang, 2002) was administered to examine mothers' perceptions and conceptualization of their own practices of warmth and control (see Appendix C). The present study examined mothers' responses to 2 questions. Specifically, mothers were asked about the areas or situations in which they express warmth towards their child and the areas or situations in which they implement control. In order to capture parental warmth, mothers were asked, "When do you 'make your child feel loved and cared for'? Give specific examples and details." In order to capture parental control, mothers were asked, "In what situation(s) and/or area(s) are you 'strict' with your child? Give specific examples and details." Mothers were asked answer the two open-ended questions by providing specific examples of the situations in which they express warmth or control during the interview and prompted and probed when necessary. Mothers were interviewed in their language of choice (Cantonese, Mandarin, or English).

Interview Coding

Maternal expressions of warmth and strictness. The coding scheme was developed to capture mothers' responses on the situations in which they express warmth and use control. The themes mothers mentioned was quantified by a frequency count that was used in analyses. Codes were created following the procedures suggested by Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, and O'Connor (1987), which has been used in previous studies to code similar open-ended interview responses (e.g., Li, 2002, 2003). Two cultural coding teams were involved in developing the coding scheme, a European American team and a Chinese American team. The European American team coded the English interviews and the Chinese American team coded the Chinese interviews. Each coding team consisted of two coder dyads. The first dyad only had native speakers. The second dyad had one native speaker of each language (both the European American team and Chinese American team had a dyad of 1 native English speaking coder and 1 native Chinese speaking coder). The coders first coded independently and checked within their dyads. The codes between each dyad were checked. Codes were checked regularly in order to reduce coder-drift.

First, each team met several times to go through the process of establishing codes for maternal expressions of warmth and strictness for the child based on the guidelines for content analysis. Each team independently identified distinct ideas from each culture's data. The agreement on distinct ideas of the two teams was calculated separately. Next, each team independently created conceptual groupings based on similarities in meaning of the distinct ideas. Then, the two coding teams met to merge the two cultures' conceptual groupings. Overlaps in conceptual grouping between the two cultures were merged and the labels of the codes were changed to better capture the meaning of each code. Any unique groupings not

mentioned by the other culture were included in the final coding scheme in order to preserve any cultural differences. Finally, to increase content validity, the European American and Chinese American teams discussed and revised the definition of each code to better reflect its meaning. Six codes for when mothers expressed warmth to their children and 6 codes for when mothers expressed strictness to their children were revealed. The 6 themes for moments of expressing warmth included during Daily Routine and Structure, Child Facing Difficulties, Positive Child Behaviors, Physical Intimacy and Communication Moments, Activity Moments, and Educational (see Appendix D and Table 2). The 6 themes for moments of expressing strictness included Prevention of Danger, Daily Ritual and Structure, Difficult Child Behaviors, Moral Character and Virtue, Interpersonal Behaviors, and Learning (see Appendix E and Table 3).

To assess rater agreement of the coding, the coding teams coded 20% of data selected using the random number table (Shaver et al., 1987; Yamamoto & Li, 2012). All discrepancies were resolved through discussion until a consensus was reached. Cohen's Kappas for the situations in which mothers expressed warmth was .72 and .89 for the Chinese American and European American coding teams respectively. Cohen's Kappas for the situations in which mothers expressed control was .71 and .70 for the Chinese American and European American coding teams respectively.

Chapter 3

Results

The study aimed to examine cultural differences among European American and Chinese American mothers' report of *when* they express warmth and control towards their children. Thus, the proportion scores of each of the socialization moments these mothers emphasized expressing warmth and control were examined. Due to the open-ended nature of the interview questions, proportion scores allowed for the control of variability in the number of expressions that mothers provided. Mothers' responses from the interview were categorized into different themes and each participant received a frequency count for the different themes. Proportion scores were created by dividing the sum of each category by the total number of expressions of warmth or control across all categories.

Preliminary analyses. Prior to testing any of the hypotheses, a series of preliminary analyses were conducted. Descriptive statistics of all variables were examined to ensure the accuracy of entry and to detect missing data. No missing data was found for mothers' reports of the situations in which they express warmth and strictness (interview), child age and gender, behavioral acculturation and enculturation. Four mothers had missing data on their age and 7 mothers had missing data on their Hollingshead Index Score (SES). In order to avoid listwise deletions on missing data, the missing cases were replaced with the mean value of the respective variables.

Before conducting the analysis, all assumptions of multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) and multiple regression were assessed. Rather than using multiple ANCOVAs, conducting one MANCOVA protects against Type I error. Univariate and multivariate distributions of the variables were examined for normality, homoscedasticity and linearity.

Descriptive statistics of skewness and kurtosis were requested. Skewness and kurtosis revealed that behavioral acculturation and enculturation were normally distributed (see Table 4 for means and standard deviations). For the warmth variables, 3 out of 6 of the variables (i.e., Positive Child Behaviors, Physical Intimacy and Communication Moments, and Education Moments) were non-normative. For the strictness variables, 2 of 6 of the variables (i.e., Moral Character and Virtue and Learning) were non-normative. Arcsine transformation was used on these variables in order to meet the normality assumption (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). After arcsine transformations, assumptions were met for the Physical Intimacy and Communication Moments warmth variable and Moral Character and Virtue control variable. Positive Child Behavior and Educational Moments for the warmth variable and Learning for the strictness variable were moderately skewed after arcsine transformations. Assumptions of linearity were met and assumptions of homoscedasticity were violated. However, these violations (e.g., normality and homoscedasticity) are common in research utilizing proportional scores (e.g., Cheah & Park, 2006; Cheah et al., 2015; Chuang, 2006). The transformed data were used in later analyses.

Previous research has found that maternal demographics, such as maternal age and family SES, are associated with parenting beliefs, goals and behaviors (Carpiana & Kimbro, 2012; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Dush, Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2011; Mistry, Lowe, Benner & Chen, 2008; Parke et al., 2004). Moreover, children under age 6 were thought to be incapable of understanding things in Chinese and Chinese American culture (Ho, 2008) and are often treated differently than older children. Therefore, maternal age, child age and family SES were assessed as potential covariates. Correlation analyses were conducted to examine the associations between maternal age, child age and family SES and the 6 situations in which mothers express warmth and 6 situations in which mothers express control. Maternal age was significantly correlated with

mothers' expressions of control during moments of Learning, $r(184) = .25, p < .001$. Child age was significantly correlated with mothers' expressions of warmth during Physical Intimacy and Communication Moments, $r(184) = .15, p < .05$, and mothers' expressions of control during moments of Difficult Child Behaviors, $r(184) = -.22, p < .01$, and Learning, $r(184) = .18, p < .05$. Family SES was significantly correlated with mothers' expressions of control during moments of Difficult Child Behaviors, $r(184) = .17, p < .05$, and Moral Character and Virtue, $r(184) = .15, p < .05$. Therefore, maternal age, child age and family SES were included as covariates in the following analyses.

European American and Chinese American families differed on child age, $t(182) = -3.12, p < .01$, religion, $\chi^2(5, N = 182) = 36.03, p < .001$, family SES, $t(182) = 5.09, p < .001$, and number of other children, $\chi^2(3, N = 184) = 14.12, p < .01$. Specifically, European American children were older, had lower family SES and more siblings than Chinese American children. European American families were more likely to be Christian than Chinese American families. In contrast, Chinese American families were more likely to have no religion than European American families. These families did not differ on marital status, $\chi^2(5, N = 184) = 5.97, p = .309$, maternal age, $t(182) = -0.98, p = .327$, or child gender, $\chi^2(1, N = 184) = 0.18, p = .669$.

Analysis 1a. To identify European American and Chinese American mothers' report of the socialization areas and moments in which they express warmth towards their children, the means and standard deviations of the proportions of the different themes of areas or situations in which mothers express warmth were reported (see Table 5). Six themes of when mothers express warmth were identified. The mean of each category was calculated by dividing the sum of each category by the total number of situations of warmth across all categories. The percentage of mothers who expressed the category at least once was also calculated (see Table 5). Ranking of

warmth categories from most endorsed to least endorsed by Chinese American mothers are as follows: (1) Child Facing Difficulties (93.3%), (2) Daily Routine and Structure (31.1%), (3) Positive Child Behaviors (20.0%), (4) Educational Moments (11.1%), (5) Activity Moments (6.7%) and (6) Physical Intimacy and Communication Moments (7.8%). Ranking of warmth categories from most endorsed to least endorsed by European American are as follows (1) Daily Routine and Structure (83.0%), (2) Child Facing Difficulties (77.7%), (3) Activity Moments (50.0%), (4) Physical Intimacy and Communication Moments (20.2%), (5) Positive Child Behaviors (18.1%) and (6) Educational Moments (17.0%).

Analysis 1b and 5. A 2 (Culture: European American and Chinese American) X 2 (Child Gender: Male and Female) MANCOVA was conducted on the 6 socialization moments in which mothers reported expressing warmth towards their children (see Table 6). Maternal age, child age and family SES were included as covariates. There was no significant effect of maternal age, Pillai's Trace = .04, $F(6, 172) = 1.31$, $p = .254$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, child age, Pillai's Trace = .04, $F(6, 172) = 1.27$, $p = .275$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, and family SES, Pillai's Trace = .05, $F(6, 172) = 1.48$, $p = .187$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. A significant overall effect of Culture was found, Pillai's Trace = .40, $F(6, 172) = 19.42$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .404$. Chinese American and European American mothers differently emphasized the importance of 4 out of the 6 situations of expressing warmth. European American mothers reported expressing warmth in situations of Daily Routine and Structure, $F(1, 177) = 48.12$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .21$, Physical Intimacy and Communication and Moments, $F(1, 177) = 4.65$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, and Activity moments, $F(1, 177) = 32.68$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .16$, more than Chinese American mothers. In contrast, Chinese American mothers reported expressing warmth in situations of Child Facing Difficulties, $F(1, 177) = 53.91$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .23$, more than European American mothers. European

American and Chinese American mothers did not differ on their report of expressing warmth during moments of Positive Child Behaviors, $F(1, 177) = 1.60, p = .208$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, and Educational Moments, $F(1, 177) = 0.35, p = .556$, partial $\eta^2 < .01$. Moreover, there was no significant main effect of Child Gender, Pillai's Trace = .02, $F(6, 172) = 0.52, p = .795$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. No significant interaction (Culture X Gender) was found, Pillai's Trace = .01, $F(6, 172) = 0.23, p = .965$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$.

Analysis 2a. To identify European American and Chinese American mothers' report of the socialization moments in which they express control towards their children, the means and standard deviations of the proportions of the different themes of situations in which mothers express control were reported (see Table 7). Six themes of when mothers express control were identified. The mean of each category was calculated by dividing the sum of each category by the total number of situations of control across all categories. The percentage of mothers who expressed the category at least once was also calculated (see Table 7). Ranking of control categories from most endorsed to least endorsed by Chinese American mothers are as follows: (1) Daily Ritual and Structure (63.3%), (2) Difficult Child Behaviors (62.2%), (3) Interpersonal Relations (60.0%), (4) Moral Character and Virtue (24.4%), (5) Prevention of Danger (23.3%) and (6) Learning (20.0%). Ranking of control categories from most endorsed to least endorsed by European American mothers are as follows: (1) Interpersonal Relations (85.1%), (2) Daily Ritual and Structure (69.1%), (3) Difficult Child Behaviors (58.5%), (4) Prevention of Danger (48.9%), (5) Learning (19.1%) and (6) Moral Character and Virtue (5.3%).

Analysis 2b and 5. A 2 (Culture; European American and Chinese American) X 2 (Child Gender; Male and Female) MANCOVA was conducted on the 6 situations in which mothers reported expressing control towards their children (see Table 8). Maternal age, child age and

family SES were included as covariates. There was no significant effect of maternal age, Pillai's Trace = .06, $F(6, 172) = 1.83$, $p = .096$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, child age, Pillai's Trace = .04, $F(6, 172) = 1.17$, $p = .321$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, and family SES, Pillai's Trace = .01, $F(6, 172) = 0.37$, $p = .900$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant overall effect of Culture, Pillai's Trace = .20, $F(6, 172) = 7.27$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .20$. Chinese American and European American mothers differently emphasized the importance of 4 out of the 6 situations of expressing strictness. European American mothers reported expressing control in situations of Prevention of Danger, $F(1, 177) = 4.65$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, and Interpersonal Behaviors, $F(1, 177) = 14.17$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, more than Chinese American mothers. In contrast, Chinese American mothers reported expressing control during moments of Difficult Child Behaviors, $F(1, 177) = 6.66$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, and Moral Character and Virtue, $F(1, 177) = 13.27$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. European American and Chinese American mothers did not differ on their report of expressing control during moments of Daily Ritual and Structure, $F(1, 177) = 0.11$, $p = .743$, partial $\eta^2 < .01$, and Learning, $F(1, 177) = 2.27$, $p = .133$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was no significant effect of Gender, Pillai's Trace = .01, $F(6, 172) = 0.24$, $p = .961$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. No significant interaction (Culture X Gender) was found, Pillai's Trace = .05, $F(6, 172) = 1.43$, $p = .209$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$.

Analysis 3. To test the hypothesis regarding the associations between maternal behavioral acculturation and enculturation and the different situations in which mothers express warmth, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES were entered in order to control for the effects of these variables. At Step 2, maternal behavioral acculturation and enculturation was entered in order to examine the

effect of maternal behavioral acculturation and enculturation on mothers' conceptualizations of the different situations in which they expressed warmth toward their children.

Analysis 3a. Separate hierarchical regressions were conducted in order to examine the effects of behavioral acculturation on the 6 situations in which mothers expressed warmth. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES was entered in order to control for the effects of these covariates. At Step 2, behavioral acculturation was entered. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES did not significantly predict mothers' expression of warmth during Daily Routines and Structure, $R^2 = .01$, $F(4, 85) = 0.28$, $p = .888$, Child in Need, $R^2 = .05$, $F(4, 85) = 1.04$, $p = .392$, Positive Child Behaviors, $R^2 = .04$, $F(4, 85) = 0.92$, $p = .457$, Physical Intimacy and Communication moments, $R^2 = .04$, $F(4, 85) = 0.98$, $p = .422$, Activities, $R^2 = .03$, $F(4, 85) = 0.66$, $p = .620$ and Educational moments, $R^2 = .04$, $F(4, 85) = 0.91$, $p = .463$. At Step 2, maternal behavioral acculturation did not significantly predict mothers' expressions of warmth during Daily Routines and Structure, $R^2 = .04$, $F(5, 84) = 0.77$, $p = .575$, Child in Need, $R^2 = .09$, $F(5, 84) = 1.64$, $p = .157$, Positive Child Behaviors, $R^2 = .08$, $F(5, 84) = 1.46$, $p = .213$, Physical Intimacy and Communication moments, $R^2 = .05$, $F(5, 84) = 0.79$, $p = .562$, Activity moments, $R^2 = .03$, $F(5, 84) = 0.57$, $p = .724$, and Educational moments, $R^2 = .05$, $F(5, 84) = 0.85$, $p = .520$.

Analysis 3b. Separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted in order to examine the effects of behavioral enculturation on the 6 different situations in which mothers express warmth toward their children. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES was entered in order to control for the effects of these covariates. At Step 2, behavioral enculturation was entered. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES did not significantly predict mothers' expression of warmth during Daily Routines and

Structure, $R^2 = .01$, $F(4, 85) = 0.28$, $p = .888$, Child Facing Difficulties, $R^2 = .05$, $F(4, 85) = 1.04$, $p = .392$, Positive Child Behaviors, $R^2 = .04$, $F(4, 85) = 0.92$, $p = .457$, Physical Intimacy and Communication moments, $R^2 = .04$, $F(4, 85) = 0.98$, $p = .422$, Activities, $R^2 = .03$, $F(4, 85) = 0.66$, $p = .620$, and Educational moments, $R^2 = .04$, $F(4, 85) = 0.91$, $p = .463$. At Step 2, maternal behavioral enculturation did not significantly predict mothers' expressions of warmth during Daily Routines and Structure, $R^2 = .04$, $F(5, 84) = 0.61$, $p = .693$, Child Facing Difficulties, $R^2 = .05$, $F(5, 84) = 0.95$, $p = .451$, Physical Intimacy and Communication moments, $R^2 = .05$, $F(5, 84) = 1.59$, $p = .173$, Activities, $R^2 = .03$, $F(5, 84) = 0.59$, $p = .705$, and Educational moments, $R^2 = .08$, $F(5, 84) = 1.40$, $p = .232$. Collectively, maternal age, child age, child gender, family SES and maternal behavioral enculturation did not significantly predict mothers' expression of warmth during Positive Child Behaviors, $R^2 = .09$, $F(5, 84) = 1.59$, $p = .173$. However, maternal behavioral enculturation was the best predictor and accounted for 5% of the variance in Positive Child Behaviors, $b = 0.03$, $t(84) = 2.03$, $p = .046$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$.

Analysis 4. To test the hypothesis regarding the associations between maternal behavioral acculturation and enculturation and the different situations in which mothers express control, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender, and family SES was entered in order to control for the effects of these variables. At Step 2, maternal behavioral acculturation and enculturation was entered in order to examine the effect of maternal behavioral acculturation and enculturation on mothers' conceptualizations of the different situations in which they express control toward their children.

Analysis 4a. Separate hierarchical regressions were conducted in order to examine the effects of behavioral acculturation on the 6 situations in which mothers express control. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES were entered in order to control for the

effects of these covariates. At Step 2, maternal behavioral acculturation was entered. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES did not significantly predict mothers' expression of control during Prevention of Danger, $R^2 = .01$, $F(4, 85) = 0.29$, $p = .883$, Daily Ritual and Structure, $R^2 = .02$, $F(4, 85) = 0.47$, $p = .757$, Difficult Child Behaviors, $R^2 = .08$, $F(4, 85) = 1.81$, $p = .134$, Moral Character and Virtue, $R^2 = .02$, $F(4, 85) = 0.51$, $p = .730$, and Interpersonal Behaviors, $R^2 = .01$, $F(4, 85) = 0.10$, $p = .983$. Maternal age significantly predicted mothers' expression of control during situations of Learning, $b = .05$, $t(85) = 3.80$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$. At Step 2, maternal behavioral acculturation toward the mainstream-American culture did not significantly predict mothers' expressions of control during situations of Prevention of Danger, $R^2 = .01$, $F(5, 84) = 1.04$, $p = .398$, Daily Ritual and Structure, $R^2 = .02$, $F(5, 84) = 1.64$, $p = .159$, Difficult Child Behaviors, $R^2 = .08$, $F(5, 84) = 1.43$, $p = .220$, Moral Character and Virtue, $R^2 = .02$, $F(5, 84) = 0.58$, $p = .716$, Interpersonal Behaviors, $R^2 = .01$, $F(5, 84) = 0.08$, $p = .996$, and Learning, $R^2 = .19$, $F(5, 84) = 4.40$, $p = .001$.

Analysis 4b. Separate hierarchical regressions were conducted in order to examine the effects of behavioral enculturation on the 6 situations in which mothers express control. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES were entered in order to control for the effects of these covariates. At Step 2, maternal behavioral enculturation was entered. At Step 1, maternal age, child age, child gender and family SES did not significantly predict mothers' expression of control during Prevention of Danger, $R^2 = .01$, $F(4, 85) = 0.29$, $p = .883$, Daily Ritual and Structure, $R^2 = .02$, $F(4, 85) = 0.47$, $p = .757$, Difficult Child Behaviors, $R^2 = .08$, $F(4, 85) = 1.81$, $p = .134$, Moral Character and Virtue, $R^2 = .02$, $F(4, 85) = 0.51$, $p = .730$, and Interpersonal Behaviors, $R^2 = .01$, $F(4, 85) = 0.10$, $p = .983$. Maternal age significantly predicted mothers' expression of control during situations of Learning, $b = .05$, $t(85) = 3.80$, $p < .001$,

partial $\eta^2 = .15$. At Step 2, maternal behavioral enculturation did not significantly predict mothers' expressions of control during situations Difficult Child Behaviors, $R^2 = .08$, $F(5, 84) = 1.43$, $p = .220$, Moral Character and Virtue, $R^2 = .03$, $F(5, 84) = .58$, $p = .716$, Interpersonal Behaviors, $R^2 = .01$, $F(5, 84) = 0.08$, $p = .996$, and Learning, $R^2 = .21$, $F(5, 84) = 4.40$, $p = .001$. Collectively, maternal age, child age, child gender, family SES and maternal behavioral enculturation did not significantly predict mothers' expression of warmth during Prevention of Danger, $R^2 = .06$, $F(5, 84) = 1.04$, $p = .398$. However, maternal behavioral enculturation was the best predictor and accounted for 5% of the variance in Prevention of Danger, $b = 0.01$, $t(84) = 2.02$, $p = .046$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. Maternal age, child age, child gender, family SES and maternal behavioral enculturation collectively did not significantly predict mothers' expression of warmth during Daily Ritual and Structure, $R^2 = .09$, $F(5, 84) = 1.64$, $p = .159$. However, maternal behavioral enculturation was the best predictor and accounted for 5% of the variance in Daily Ritual and Structure, $b = -0.01$, $t(84) = -2.49$, $p = .015$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$.

Chapter 4

Discussion

The present study aimed to expand our understanding of maternal warmth and control in two different cultural contexts through the utilization of semi-structured interviews. Specifically, the specific situations during which European American and Chinese American mothers reported expressing warmth and control towards their children were identified and compared. In addition, the role of Chinese American mothers' level of acculturation and enculturation and their conceptualization of the areas or situations in which they express warmth and control with their children were explored. Finally, we explored the role of child gender in these situations.

Maternal Warmth

European American mothers emphasized expressing warmth when structuring their children's daily schedules, activities and routines, while engaging in playtime activities, and during moments that pull for physical closeness, intimacy and open-communication. European American mothers' emphasis on warmth when structuring their children's daily schedules, activities and routines may reflect their goals of providing a stable and loving home for their children (Chao, 1996; Harkness et al., 2016). Specifically, European American mothers' tendency to show more warmth during child-focused activities such as playing sports and games, and riding bikes, may reflect a cultural emphasis on providing enjoyable life experiences for children in order to promote their children's positive affect (Chao, 1995). Past studies suggest that European American mothers often spend time with their children and engage in activities that stimulate and promote their children's cognitive development (Harkness et al., 2016), which may further explain their desire to express warmth during these moments. Moreover, these mothers' emphasis on expressing warmth during moments of physical closeness, intimacy and

open-communication such as while cuddling and talking, reflects European American cultural values towards open expressivity (Camras et al., 2008) and may foster children's own expressivity. European American mothers' report of expressing warmth more during moments of physical closeness, intimacy and open-communication supports previous research highlighting European American mothers' higher frequency of outward expressions of warmth such as physical and verbal expressions and affective involvement as compared to Chinese American mothers (Cheah et al., 2015).

In contrast, Chinese mothers emphasized expressing warmth more than European American mothers when their children are facing difficulties such as child emotional problems and illness, which may reflect Chinese mothers' cultural values of fostering interdependence by encouraging the child to rely on the parent during times of needs. Providing warmth and support during these difficult situations may foster emotional closeness between the parent and child (Chen, Chen & Zheng, 2012). Due to cultural values towards emotional restraint (Ho, 2008), these mothers may especially express warmth when their children experience emotional difficulties in order to also encourage and guide their children to appropriately regulate their emotions. Moreover, Chinese American mothers may view these specific situations as important socialization moments to devote warmth and care in order to build an affectional foundation on which children could be guided to be more socially competent early on in life (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Lu & Chang, 2013). Overall, Chinese American mothers may also view helping their children during child difficulties as important component of caretaking and childrearing as these mothers often take responsibility in caring for both their children's emotional needs as well as their physical needs due to their children's young age (Ho, 2008).

Importantly, European American and Chinese American mothers similarly reported expressing warmth in two situations, perhaps signifying more universal socialization priorities of expressing warmth among mothers of preschool-aged children. Specifically, European American and Chinese American mothers did not differ on their report of expressing warmth when their children engage in positive behaviors such as completing chores and being nice to others. Positive child behaviors may be universally valued, desired and viewed as an important component of child development, and mothers from both cultures may attempt to reinforce or reward such behaviors when they occur.

Moreover, Chinese American mothers and European American mothers did not differ on their reports of expressing warmth during moments of learning such as doing homework and having good grades. Other studies have found that European American mothers stress providing resources related to learning for their children, (e.g., Harkness et al., 2016). Similarly, Chinese American mothers were found to also stress the importance of education to their children from a young age (Chen et al., 2012), which may explain the lack of differences between European American and Chinese American mothers' report of expressing warmth during educational moments.

Maternal Control

European American mothers tended to be strict with their children in areas involving children's safety and interpersonal behaviors, such as having good manners, being respectful and sharing with others, which may reflect their cultural emphasis on independence and individual rights by teaching children socially competent interpersonal behaviors (Harkness et al., 2016). Specifically, European American mothers' emphasis on instilling values of respect may reflect Western values of equality and personal responsibility towards ensuring others' personal

individual rights. Additionally, European American mothers have been found to stress being polite through the use of manners and being considerate of others as important values (Chao, 1995). There is also a cultural emphasis on encouraging children to use language to verbally express themselves in order to communicate with others, rather than using negative interpersonal strategies that may result in harm to the child, such as hitting peers in order to obtain a desired object (Chao, 1995).

Moreover, European American mothers' emphasis on verbal communication may also aid children in understanding and separating their own experiences from the experiences of others, fostering individuality. European American mothers' emphasis on sharing with peers may also reflect mothers' desire to promote children's positive interpersonal skills (e.g., Hart et al., 1998). However, Cheah and Rubin (2003) found that European American mothers attributed the ability and importance of sharing to the child's developmental stage. In other words, European American mothers may emphasize the importance of sharing because they believe that it is an appropriate and necessary skill during this developmental period.

Chao (1995) found that both Chinese American and European American mothers believed that ensuring children's physical safety was an important responsibility in their role as a parent. However, in our sample, European American mothers were found to emphasize safety significantly more than Chinese American mothers. In our coding, we included mothers' mention of psychological safety as well as their physical safety, which may be more important to European American mothers. For instance, some mothers stressed the importance of creating a safe and secure environment for their children, thus allowing their children to have a sense of security and safety in their environment.

In contrast, Chinese American mothers tended to be strict with their children in areas involving difficult child behaviors such as not following parents' instructions and acting out in public places, and moral conduct such as lying and committing transgressions. These findings aligned with Chinese American mothers' Confucian-based valuing of obedience, impulse control, family interdependence, respect for elders and unselfishness (e.g., Ho, 2008; Cheah et al., 2013). Chinese American mothers may emphasize expressing control when children fail to behave appropriately in order to foster child obedience and establish relational hierarchy. Moreover, mothers' emphasis on moral issues, such as not lying and being honest, promotes the cultural importance of harmonious relationships and trust between family members (Chao, 1995).

European American and Chinese American mothers equally emphasized expressing control in situations of learning and daily structure. These mothers' similar reports of exerting control when structuring their children's daily schedules, activities and routines such as keeping a morning and bedtime routine, and learning such as doing poorly in school and finishing homework, may reflect universal socialization priorities of preparing their young children for future self-care and education outside of the home environment as children may be preparing for kindergarten and formal school experiences.

Maternal Acculturation and Enculturation

Our hypotheses regarding the effects of maternal acculturation and enculturation on the situations in which mothers express warmth and control were largely not supported. However, Chinese American mothers' higher levels of enculturation was associated with higher levels of expressions of warmth during moments of positive child behaviors. Chinese American mothers' emphasis on expressing warmth towards their children when they engaged in desired behaviors

may serve to foster such behaviors and lead to child obedience, reflecting traditional Confucian ideologies regarding the importance of child obedience.

Moreover, maternal enculturation positively predicted mothers' use of control in situations of child danger and negatively predicted mothers' use of control in children's daily schedules. Mothers who participate more in their heritage culture may view the larger mainstream environment to be more unfamiliar and dangerous, and use greater control in order to protect their children from these perceived dangers. Moreover, Chinese American mothers who maintain more heritage cultural values have been reported to emphasize the importance of providing a safe and secure childrearing environment (Cheah et al., 2016). Chinese American mothers who were more behaviorally enculturated were less likely to exert control when structuring their children's daily schedules, activities and routines in order to foster self-care behaviors. These behaviors may reflect traditional Chinese values towards teaching their children to be more self-reliant and regulated (Chao, 1995). Moreover, previous studies found that Chinese American parents were more likely to monitor their children's daytime schedules involving extracurricular and education-related activities as compared to European American parents (Chao, 1996; 2000; Jose & Huntsinger, 2000). Chinese American mothers may be less strict in children's schedules pertaining to morning time and bedtime routines.

Past research on the association between acculturation and parenting has yielded inconsistent findings (e.g., Costigan & Koryzma, 2011; Hulei et al., 2006), which may explain the lack of significant findings in this present study. Moreover, the present study assessed parents' general acculturation and enculturation. Thus, parents' levels of general acculturation and enculturation may be a poor match with the *specific* areas and situations of parenting socialization (Cheah et al., 2013). Furthermore, there was also little variability in mothers'

responses on acculturation and enculturation, perhaps due to these Chinese mothers' immigration and generational status. Specifically, all mothers were 1st generation immigrants in our sample. The limited variability in this study may have reduced the power to detect associations between acculturation and enculturation and the situations in which mothers express warmth and control with their children.

Child Gender

European American and Chinese American mothers' expressions of warmth and control in different situations did not differ between mothers of girls versus boys. However, these findings were consistent with meta-analyses that revealed few gender differences in areas of maternal socialization (Leaper, 2015; Lytton & Romney, 1991). Moreover, European American mothers may not differently emphasize warmth or control towards their children due to larger current societal shifts in values towards viewing gender as a social construct and accepting nontraditional gender behaviors and roles (Leaper, 2015). Although a traditionally patriarchal society, Chinese American parents may have reduced gender differential parenting and socialization perhaps due to the one-child policy in China (Fong, 2002; Lu & Chang, 2013). Moreover, after moving to the U.S., these mothers may also similarly adopt less traditional and rigid values towards gender.

Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations of this proposed study should be noted. First, this study only examined mothers' conceptualization of key socialization moments. Thus, it neglected the role of fathers. Fathers have been found to play a key role in providing both warmth and control to their children (Coley, 1998; Deater-Deckard et al., 2011). Traditionally, Chinese fathers are viewed as the disciplinarian whereas mothers are the nurturer (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Ho, 1989, 2008).

However, after immigrating to Western contexts, the family system shifts as fathers and mothers share more equal responsibilities in the home and with childcare (Qin, 2005). In addition to maternal warmth, paternal warmth and positive control have been associated with positive child outcomes in European American and Chinese American families (Jose & Huntsinger, 2009). Future examinations of the role of fathers in the family are therefore, warranted.

A second limitation is that this study only focused on middle-class samples of mothers. Parental beliefs regarding childrearing may largely differ depending on SES (Carpiana & Kimbro, 2012; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Dush, Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2011; Mistry, Lowe, Benner & Chen, 2008; Parke et al., 2004; Qin, 2005). Parents of lower-SES spend longer hours working in order to provide necessities for their families and may have less time to interact with their young children (Qin, 2005). Thus, the situations in which parents of lower-SES emphasize expressing warmth and control may be different compared to their higher-SES peers. An examination of the role of SES will elucidate parenting priorities for children across multiple contexts.

Third, the present study used a cross-sectional design and cannot imply a casual relation between acculturation, enculturation and maternal use of warmth and control in different situations. A longitudinal design examining maternal acculturation, enculturation and conceptualizations of the situations in which they express warmth and control with their children throughout multiple time-points will elucidate the bidirectional effects and causality between these variables. A longitudinal design can potentially illustrate if mothers change when they express warmth and control depending on their children's age. Moreover, this study only included children from ages 3 to 6 years. Thus, the findings from this study may only be generalizable to children within this age range. As children develop beyond 6 years of age,

mothers may emphasize different situations in which they express warmth and control with their children. For instance, the situations in which Chinese American mothers express warmth and control may change as mothers gain additional experience with age, and after children enter the age of understanding (Ho, 2008) and begin formal schooling.

Implications and Conclusions

Despite these limitations, this study advances our knowledge of parental warmth and control in different cultural contexts by identifying culturally-specific socialization moments during which mothers emphasize the use of warmth to support, or control to regulate, their children's behaviors and experiences. By using a mixed-method approach, this proposed study highlighted important socialization priorities parents from European American and Chinese American cultures hold that have not been captured by previous theoretical frameworks and empirical studies. The information from this study provided further insight on how parenting might reflect the cultural context.

Existing measures of parental warmth and control generally do not include cultural-specific and indigenous parenting constructs. The findings from this study can inform future development of culturally-derived measurements of parental warmth and control. These findings can also potentially contribute to culturally-sensitive intervention programs, that work with families to identify *when* and *where* various expressions of warmth and control may be most effective. By doing so, these parenting intervention programs can demonstrate, coach and guide parents on the most effective ways to express warmth and control with their young children during these specific and important moments.

Finally, this study examined families with preschool age children. The majority of examinations of parenting comparing European American and Chinese American families have

focused on children during early and late adolescence. Identifying parenting constructs relevant for younger children may help provide an opportunity for early intervention. Overall, this study was important because it enriched our understanding of both shared and culturally-unique parenting beliefs regarding parental warmth and control in across two different cultural contexts, towards the development of more universally applicable parenting theories and programs.

Table 1

Demographic Information for Chinese American and European American Families

		Chinese American (<i>n</i> = 90)	European American (<i>n</i> = 94)
Marital Status			
	Single	0%	2.1%
	Married	97.8%	90.4%
	Married, Separate	1.1%	3.2%
	Divorced	0%	1.1%
	Remarried	1.1%	1.1%
	In a relationship	0%	2.1%
Child Age		4.35 (0.87)	4.76 (0.93)
Parent Age		37.55 (4.63)	38.22 (4.47)
Length of Stay			
	Minimum	3 months	
	Maximum	35 years	
	Mean (<i>SD</i>)	9.66 years (5.84)	
Religion			
	Buddhist	4.5%	3.2%
	Christian	47.7%	76.6%
	Jewish	0%	4.3%
	Muslim	0%	1.1%
	None	46.6%	9.6%
	Other	1.1%	5.3%
Country of origin			
	China	75.6%	US 94.7%
	Taiwan	17.8%	
	Hong Kong	5.6%	
	Other	1.1%	Other 5.3%
Child gender			
	Male	51.1%	54.3%
	Female	48.9%	45.7%
Hollingshead Index Score			
	Minimum	35	35
	Maximum	66	66
	Mean (<i>SD</i>)	61.00 (6.46)	55.57 (7.53)
Number of other children			
	0	41.1%	18.1%
	1	45.6%	56.4%
	2	12.2%	19.1%
	3	1.1%	6.4%

Table 2

Situations of Parental Warmth Coding Categories, Definitions, and Direct Quotes

Coding Category	Definition	Direct Quote
Daily Routine and Structure	Maintaining structured daily life and schedule.	<p><i>"In the morning when I bring her to school here. I take her to her cubby and I get her all situated and we say goodbye to each other with lots of hugs and kisses."</i></p> <p><i>"The time before bed is really special to us because that's sort of when we both check in."</i></p>
Child Facing Difficulties	Physical, emotional, and/or social difficulties the child may face.	<i>"Especially when they have an argument or disagreement with their classmates."</i>
Positive Child Behaviors	Child behavior that parents perceive to be desired.	<i>"When he is well-behaved, like when he's being polite or showing good manners, I'll usually praise him for that."</i>
Physical Intimacy Moments and Communication	Moments of engaging in communication and physical intimacy with the child.	<i>"When we sit down together or sitting on the couch or when we're reading books together, we always kind of snuggle up and we cuddle up to each other and hug each other."</i>
Activity Moments	Moments of doing activities with the child.	<i>"I just always make sure that we have mommy-daughter time where it's just us for at least one of the nights that we have together where we watch a movie or do a craft or something."</i>
Educational Moment	Moments of guiding or teaching the child.	<i>"She is learning to read, those light bulbs are going off and it's really important, especially with my younger one that we're talking about, that she gets the praise for those accomplishments."</i>

Table 3

Situations of Parental Control Coding Categories, Definitions, and Direct Quotes

Coding category	Definition	Direct quote
Daily Ritual and Structure	Maintaining structured daily life and daily habits.	<i>"It's more of just day to day activities. Waking up, getting dressed, brushing teeth, brushing our hair, putting our toys away."</i>
Difficult Child Behavior	Disobedience and unreasonable child behavior.	<i>"When she doesn't listen to what I'm saying."</i>
Interpersonal Relations	Child interactions with other people.	<i>"I am very strict about making sure that she apologizes for her part of role in whatever transpired."</i>
Moral Character/Virtue	Universal morality issues.	<i>"She must not lie."</i>
Prevention of Danger	Prevention of harm to the child.	<i>"I'm pretty strict with her in regards to her safety around pools right now because I always get concerned that she might fall into the pool."</i>
Learning	Moments of guiding or teaching the child.	<i>"We are pretty strict about school. There is structured time to get work done, structured time for reading, for math."</i>

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics of Acculturation and Enculturation Variables for Chinese American Mothers

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Behavioral Acculturation	13.66	1.94	8.67-17.67
Behavioral Enculturation	11.10	2.32	5.67-16.67

Note: n = 90

Table 5

Rank and Endorsement of the Situations in Which Mothers Express Warmth

	Chinese Immigrant		European American	
	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage
Daily Routine and Structure	2	31.1	1	83.0
Child Facing Difficulties	1	93.3	2	77.7
Positive Child Behaviors	3	20.0	5	18.1
Communication and Physical Intimacy Moments	5	7.8	4	20.2
Activity Moments	6	6.7	3	50.0
Educational Moments	4	11.1	6	17.0

Note: Percentages reflect mothers' endorsement of the category.

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics and MANCOVA of Cultural Group on Warmth Situations

	Chinese Immigrant		European American		$F(1, 177)$	Partial η^2
	M	SD	M	SD		
Daily Routine and Structure	.11	.19	.32	.23	48.12***	.21
Child Facing Difficulties	.71	.30	.37	.27	53.91***	.23
Positive Child Behaviors	.09	.21	.05	.12	1.60	.01
Physical Intimacy and Communication Moments	.02	.07	.06	.13	4.65*	.03
Activity Moments	.02	.10	.18	.22	32.68***	.16
Educational Moments	.05	.16	.03	.07	0.35	.00

Note: For ease of interpretation, means and standard deviations for non-transformed variables were reported. *** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Table 7

Rank and Endorsement of the Situations in Which Mothers Express Control

	Chinese Immigrant		European American	
	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage
Prevention of Danger	5	23.3	4	48.9
Daily Ritual and Structure	1	63.3	2	69.1
Difficult Child Behaviors	2	62.2	3	58.5
Moral Character and Virtue	4	24.4	6	5.3
Interpersonal Relations	3	60.0	1	85.1
Learning	6	20.0	5	19.1

Note: Percentages reflect mothers' endorsement of the category.

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics and MANCOVA of Cultural Group on Control Situations

	Chinese Immigrant		European American		$F(1, 177)$	Partial η^2
	M	SD	M	SD		
Prevention of Danger	.08	.17	.14	.17	4.65*	.03
Daily Ritual and Structure	.27	.25	.29	.25	0.11	.00
Difficult Child Behaviors	.26	.25	.14	.14	6.66*	.04
Moral Character and Virtue	.08	.16	.01	.04	13.27***	.07
Interpersonal Relations	.25	.23	.39	.26	14.17***	.07
Learning	.06	.15	.04	.09	2.27	.01

Note: For ease of interpretation, means and standard deviations for non-transformed variables were reported. *** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Appendix A

Family Demographic Measures

This information will assist us in describing the sample of families in this study. All information is strictly confidential and will be reported in group form only.

Person completing this questionnaire: Mother [] Father []

PART I: MY CHILD'S FAMILY

1. What is your marital status?

1. Single
2. Married
3. Married, separated
4. Divorced
5. Remarried
6. Widowed
7. In a relationship

What is your country of origin? _____

Did you live in a rural (outside of city) or urban (in the city) area? Please circle: Rural / Urban.

What is your spouse's country of origin? _____

Did he/she live in a rural (outside of city) or urban (in the city) area? Please circle: Rural / Urban.

2. What is your religious/spiritual affiliation?

1. Buddhist
2. Christian, Catholic, Protestant, etc.
3. Hindu
4. Jewish
5. Muslim
6. Sikh
7. None
8. Other (specify): _____

3. What is your spouse' religious/spiritual affiliation?

1. Buddhist
2. Christian, Catholic, Protestant, etc.
3. Hindu
4. Jewish
5. Muslim
6. Sikh
6. None
7. Other (specify): _____

4. Do you have any children other than the one in this study, either by birth, adoption, or by marriage?

1. No
2. Yes (Please give details:)

Child's Name	Sex	Birth date	Child by Birth (B) /Adoption (A) or Marriage (M)?

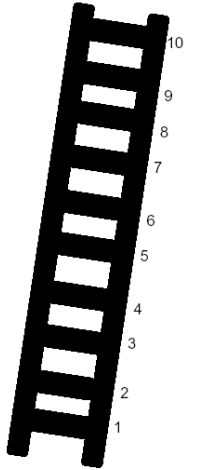
5. FOR MOTHERS ONLY: Are you currently pregnant (circle the one that best applies)?
1. No
 2. Yes: If yes, please specify:
 - (a) First Trimester – 12 weeks or less
 - (b) Second Trimester – 13 to 27 weeks
 - (c) Third Trimester – 28 weeks or more
6. In what type of residence do you live?
1. Apartment/flat, rented
 2. Apartment/flat, owned
 3. House, rented
 4. House, owned
 5. Someone else's residence
- Please explain: _____

7. Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in the United States.

At the **top** of the ladder are the people who are the best off – those who have the most money, the most education and the most respected jobs. At the **bottom** are the people who are the worst off – who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. The higher up you are on the ladder, the closer you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.

What is the number to the right of the rung where you think you stand at this time in your life, relative to other people in the United States?

NUMBER _____

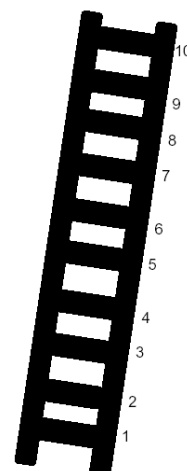


8. Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in their communities.

People define community in different ways; please define it in whatever way is most meaningful for you. At the top of the ladder are the people who have the highest standing in their community. At the bottom are the people who have the lowest standing in their community.

What is the number to the right of the rung where you think you stand at this time in your life, relative to other people in your community?

NUMBER _____



9. For your household, please list each person who lives there on a regular basis, including yourself, and provide the following information for each.

Name	Relation to Child	Date of Birth	Sex (M or F)	Education (*Use 7-point scale below)	Highest Academic Degree Received
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					

* Education Scale: Please assign the number of the highest level of education that the person has completed:

1. Less than 7th grade
2. 7th, 8th, or 9th grade
3. 10th or 11th grade
4. High school graduate or GED
5. Partial college (at least 1 year completed); or has completed specialized training
6. Standard college or university graduate (BA, BS)
7. Graduate/professional degree (MA, MS, MSW, PhD, MD, LLB, JD)

For #10 – #13, list each adult member of the household described above, including yourself, and provide the following information for each (Use the back of this page if more than 4 adult members):

- (a) Title of job
- (b) A description of the specific duties of the job
- (c) Number of hours worked per week at the present time
- (d) Whether the person owns a business and its' value
- (e) Whether the person contributes to rent and other household expenses

10. Household Member: _____

a) Job Title: _____

b) Description of

Duties: _____

c) Hours/week worked: _____

d) Own a business? No ____ Yes ____ (Value: \$ _____)

e) Pays rent or contributes to household expenses? No ____ Yes ____

11. Household Member: _____

a) Job Title: _____

b) Description of

Duties: _____

c) Hours/week worked: _____

d) Own a business? No ____ Yes ____ (Value: \$ _____)

e) Pays rent or contributes to household expenses? No ____ Yes ____

12. Household Member: _____

a) Job Title: _____

b) Description of

Duties: _____

- c) Hours/week worked: _____
- d) Own a business? No _____ Yes _____ (Value: \$ _____)
- e) Pays rent or contributes to household expenses? No _____ Yes _____

13. Household Member: _____

a) Job Title: _____

b) Description of

Duties: _____

—

c) Hours/week worked: _____

d) Own a business? No _____ Yes _____ (Value: \$ _____)

e) Pays rent or contributes to household expenses? No _____ Yes _____

PART II: MY CHILD (CHILD IN THE STUDY)

1. Child's name: _____ Date of birth: -

2. Country of birth of the child: _____

3. Gender of the child: Male [] Female []

4. Has the child experienced any serious illnesses or problems in development (i.e., diagnosed congenital conditions; or medical issues requiring hospitalization, outpatient emergency room treatment, consultation with a specialist, frequent monitoring by your own doctor, or developmental or learning disability)?

1. No

2. Yes (Please complete information below:)

Nature of Problem	Child's Age at Start of Problem	Type of Help (if any)

6. Does your child have any diagnosed problems with sight or hearing?
1. No
 2. Yes (Please explain:)_____

PART III: PARENTHOOD

1. Have you taken a formal class or course dealing with parenting issues and skills?
 1. No
 2. Yes (Explain:)_____
2. Have you received informal training in parenting issue and skills?
 1. No
 2. Yes (Explain:)_____

3. List the most frequently used language/dialect you speak with your spouse.

4. List the most frequently-used language/dialect your child speaks with you and your spouse. _____
5. List the most frequently-used language/dialect you and your spouse speak with your child. _____
6. List the most frequently-used language/dialect your child speaks with other children in the household. _____

Appendix B

In this questionnaire, we want to know about your experiences living in America. Please circle only one answer which best describes you in each question.

1. When you feel happy or proud, how often do you share this with your Non-Chinese friends?

Almost Never	Once a month	Twice a month	Once a week	More than once a week
-----------------	--------------	---------------	-------------	--------------------------

2. When you feel happy or proud, how often do you share this with your Chinese friends?

Almost Never	Once a month	Twice a month	Once a week	More than once a week
-----------------	--------------	---------------	-------------	--------------------------

3. When you feel sad or bad, how often do you share this with your Non-Chinese friends?

Almost Never	Once a month	Twice a month	Once a week	More than once a week
-----------------	--------------	---------------	-------------	--------------------------

4. When you feel sad or bad, how often do you share this with your Chinese friends?

Almost Never	Once a month	Twice a month	Once a week	More than once a week
-----------------	--------------	---------------	-------------	--------------------------

5. How often do you spend time with your Non-Chinese friends?

Almost Never	Once a month	Twice a month	Once a week	More than once a week
-----------------	--------------	---------------	-------------	--------------------------

6. How often do you spend time with your Chinese friends?

Almost Never	Once a month	Twice a month	Once a week	More than once a week
-----------------	--------------	---------------	-------------	--------------------------

7. How well do you speak in English?

Extremely poor	Poor	Average	Good	Extremely well
----------------	------	---------	------	-------------------

8. How well do you read in English?

Extremely poor	Poor	Average	Good	Extremely well
----------------	------	---------	------	-------------------

9. How well do you write in English?

- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------|---------|------|----------------|
| | Extremely poor | Poor | Average | Good | Extremely well |
|--|----------------|------|---------|------|----------------|
10. How well do you speak in Chinese?
- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------|---------|------|----------------|
| | Extremely poor | Poor | Average | Good | Extremely well |
|--|----------------|------|---------|------|----------------|
11. How well do you read in Chinese?
- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------|---------|------|----------------|
| | Extremely poor | Poor | Average | Good | Extremely well |
|--|----------------|------|---------|------|----------------|
12. How well do you write in Chinese?
- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|------|---------|------|----------------|
| | Extremely poor | Poor | Average | Good | Extremely well |
|--|----------------|------|---------|------|----------------|
13. How often do you read English novels or magazines (西方圖書和雜誌)?
- | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | Almost never | Once or twice a month | Once a week | 2 to 4 times a week | Almost Everyday |
|--|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|
14. How often do you read Chinese novels or magazines (中文圖書和雜誌)?
- | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | Almost never | Once or twice a month | Once a week | 2 to 4 times a week | Almost Everyday |
|--|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|
15. How much do you like the Chinese culture (中國文化)?
- | | | | | | |
|--|------------|----------|----------|-------|-----------|
| | Not at all | A little | Somewhat | A lot | Very much |
|--|------------|----------|----------|-------|-----------|
16. How often do you watch TV in Chinese?
- | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | Almost never | Once or twice a month | Once a week | 2 to 4 times a week | Almost Everyday |
|--|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|
17. How often do you watch TV in English?
- | | | | | | |
|--|------------|----------|----------|-------|-----------|
| | Not at all | A little | Somewhat | A lot | Very much |
|--|------------|----------|----------|-------|-----------|
18. How often do you listen to Western music (西方音樂)?

Almost never	Once or twice a month	Once a week	2 to 4 times a week	Almost Everyday
--------------	-----------------------	-------------	---------------------	-----------------

19. How often do you listen to Chinese music (中文音樂)?

Almost never	Once or twice a month	Once a week	2 to 4 times a week	Almost Everyday
--------------	-----------------------	-------------	---------------------	-----------------

20. Do you like Western food (西方食品)?

Not at all	A little	Neutral	A lot	Very much
------------	----------	---------	-------	-----------

21. Do you like Chinese food (中國食品)?

Not at all	A little	Neutral	A lot	Very much
------------	----------	---------	-------	-----------

22. Are you proud of the Chinese culture (中國文化)?

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Much	Very Much
------------	----------	----------	------	-----------

23. How often do you celebrate Western festivals (e.g. Thanksgiving, Halloween etc.)?

Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Almost all the time
-------	-------------	-----------	-------	---------------------

24. Do you celebrate Chinese festivals (e.g. Chinese New Year, Mid-Autumn Festival etc.)?

Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Almost all the time
-------	-------------	-----------	-------	---------------------

25. Do you think you are ... (chosed the one you feel describes you best)

Chinese	Asian	Chinese-American	Asian-American	American
---------	-------	------------------	----------------	----------

26. Are you happy to be a Chinese?

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Much	Very Much
------------	----------	----------	------	-----------

27. In general, do you feel you can count on most people to help you when you are having a bad time?

Yes, definitely	Yes, usually	I can't say	Not usually	Definitely not
-----------------	--------------	-------------	-------------	----------------

Appendix C

Parent's perception of parental warmth and control

We are interested in your thoughts and feelings about your child. Remember that no one will see your answers, so please answer honestly. There are no right or wrong answers; we are just interested in what you think.

1. When do you “make you child feel loved and cared for”? Give specific examples and details.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

2. In what situation(s) and/or area(s) are you “strict” with your child? Give specific examples and details.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Appendix D

Maternal Expressions of Love Coding Scheme

III. 8 Codes for WHEN Responses:

IIIA: ROUTINE/ RITUAL (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) [**WHENTG**]

IIIA1.Mealtime [**WHENTGMEALTM**]

Membership examples: Sit down dinners every night all together; always eat *dinner* together; have *breakfast* together, meal times; dinner time; (*Eating dinner together everyday*)

IIIA2. Bedtime [**TGBEDTIM**]

Membership examples: *During bedtime at night, I help him take off his clothes, cover him with the quilt, and sit beside him to hug him; goodnight kiss; Every night I tell him that I love him and give him a goodnight kiss.*

IIIA3. Bath time [**TGBATHTIME**]

Membership examples: NEED TO BE ADDED.

IIIA4. Morning time [**TGMORNING**]

Membership examples: *Routinely, in the morning I start the day with kissing; when getting her up in the morning*

IIIB. CHILD IN NEED (a higher-order code with 5 subcodes) [**CMTHELP**]

IIIB1. When child is physically hurt [**CMTHURT**]

Membership examples: *Comfort him when he is suffering pain physically; Rub him when he falls down; Hug him after he falls down; When they get hurt*

IIIB2. When child is ill [**CMTILL**]

Membership examples: *Show care to her when she is sick; Take good care of her when she is sick*

IIIB3. When child experiences emotional difficulties (情绪困难) [**CMTEMOTN**]

Membership examples: *When I'm paying attention to her baby sister; especially when doing things that make her unhappy; when they feel scared; anytime she seems to be feeling sad; when she cries; after a meltdown; Help him when he gets emotional; Talk to him when he is upset; Take good care of her when she feels wronged; When feel wronged; Let him know that mom loves him when he is afraid*

IIIB4. When child experiences problems with social relations [**CMTSOCIAL**]

Membership examples: *When we are out, sometimes he/she get unpleasant with other children; When it is helpful for his social contacts/interactions; Especially when the child has argument or disagreement with his/her classmate*

IIIB5. When child faces difficulties/setbacks [**CMTSTBCK**]

Membership examples: *When she is having a difficult time; when we discipline her; when I'm challenging him to try something that intimidates him; when they feel hurt; after a disagreement; when I'm challenging him to try something new; When he realizes that he is doing something wrong; Let him know that mom still loves him; Care about her when she is feeling wronged; Encourage during failure; Help him face difficulties and solve problems together; Help him when he cannot complete something; If they are doing something new or going to a new situation.*

IIIB6. Separation and reunion [**CMTSEPART**]

Membership examples: *After a period of separation; after a sleep over at grandma's house; before going to work, before sending the child to daycare, and when picking up the child from daycare*

IIIC. POSITIVE CHILD BEHAVIOR [PSTVCHBH]

Membership examples: *Cleaned his room; vacuumed the rugs; when he has acted on his own and been helpful; when they show consideration for another person*

IIID. PHYSICAL INTIMACY MOMENT [INTIMACY]

Membership examples: *Seating together; napping; lying down together; time alone with the child; when we are alone with her*

IIIE. COMMUNICATION MOMENT [COMMOMNT]

Membership examples: *When we are talking, chatting, sharing.*

IIIF. ACTIVITIES [ACTIVITIES]

Membership examples: *When we are playing; when we are going out; when we are going to get groceries; when we are cooking together.*

IIIG. EDUCATIONAL MOMENTS [EDUCMOMNT]

Membership examples: *Teaching, guidance, setting up rules, doing homework*

Appendix E

Maternal Expressions of Strictness Coding Scheme

III. 8 Codes for WHEN/IN WHAT SITUATION(S) Responses:

IIIA: PREVENTION OF DANGER/HARM [PVDANGER]

Membership examples: *Being safe; where she is in danger; anytime she is doing something dangerous; safety (crossing street w/out looking or spraying bug spray in the car); in dangerous situations; anytime she is endangering herself; when out and need to play safe; near stove; on stairs; on street; jumping on furniture or on bed; helping him know he's safe; no going outside without a grownup; near baby; where she needs to comply for her own good; point out to the child dangerous activities and how they can harm themselves and others; dangerous activities, such as playing with fire, playing ball in the middle of the street; playing with kitchen appliances (such as stove); tell the child how dangerous it is; if they don't put the seatbelt on, the policeman will take them away; dangerous behaviors (touch electrical equipment/appliances); stay close, beside adults, when going out to prevent danger; Safety issues, like, I totally don't tolerate hurting people or animals.* Note: If mother provides “hurting others” as an example of a safety issue, her response should be coded as IIIA (safety issue). However, if the mother just mentioned “hurting others” without first saying that she considers this to be an example of the more general category of safety issue, we should code “hurting others” as IIIF4-2-a (negative interpersonal behaviors).

IIIB: DAILY BEHAVIOR (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) [DAILYBH]

IIIB1. Structured daily life (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) [DBSTRUCT]

IIIB1-1) Schedule– Schedule that is on a regular basis [DBSSCHED]

Membership examples: *Keeping a schedule and [keeping] things pretty regular; by having set routines; when we are on a time schedule (need to be at a specific time); life needs structure; plan a time schedule; [the child] needs to catch the shuttle in the morning*

IIIB1-2) Timed activities – Tasks that need to be done or have deadlines [DBTIMED]

Membership examples: *When things need to get done; when we need to get things done; when we need to get ready to go out somewhere; where she needs to comply for household functioning*

IIIB2. Habit (higher-order code with 6 subcodes) [DBHABIT]

IIIB2-1) General [DBHGENER]

Membership examples: *life habit; do your chores; watching TV; Technology (e.g., iPad, iPod)*

IIIB2-2) Meals/food – Mealtime and eating habits [DBHMEAL]

Membership examples: *Dinner time; finish his/her food in a timely manner; point it out when he does not eat properly; no ice cream until s/he finishes his/her dinner; during mealtime, [the child] cannot play while eating; don't throw food on the floor; do not eat properly; when he/she is being slow during mealtime); when [the child] cannot finish his/her food in a designated time frame, [we will] take away his/her food. Procrastinating is not allowed [at the dining table]); supervise him while he takes the dirty dishes to the sink; food must be eaten at the dining table in the kitchen); they cannot eat in bedrooms; [they are encouraged to] eat more food; finish all food—do not be wasteful; [the child] must finish his/her food before having another kind [of food]; s/he is not allowed to play until s/he finishes his/her food; should not waste food; the child shouldn't use a straw to blow his/her milk because he/she is supposed to drink [with]it; s/he is not allowed to play until s/he finishes his/her foods*

IIIB2-3) Health/healthy food– Focus on food [DBHFOOD]

Membership examples: *Eating healthy food; she has to eat healthy food first before dessert; keeping his body healthy; having a balanced diet and providing that (not fast food); lots of exercise; controlling his sugar intake; making sure he makes good food choices*

IIIB2-4) Bedtime/sleep [DBHSLEEP]

Membership examples: *Getting ready for bed at night; staying in bed at night; bedtime; sticking with our bedtime routine; go to bed; s/he must go to bed when it's bedtime; when he does not go to bed; if s/e doesn't listen, and wouldn't go to bed when it's bedtime; if s/he still doesn't go to bed after I count to three, then I will [forcefully] take him/her to bed; when s/he doesn't take his/her afternoon nap during nap time; when the child does not want to go to bed early; he/she must sleep in his/her own room; they should not sleep on the sofa*

IIIB2-5) Hygiene [DBHYGIEN]

Membership examples: *needs to brush teeth and wash face; when he doesn't want to brush teeth and take a bath; need to brush teeth after meals; reminder of washing hands after bathroom; need to use soap to wash hands after eating fruit*

IIIB2-6) Keep living space tidied [DBHTIDY]

Membership examples: *Clean up; keeping room clean; [the child] must clean his/her room every week; put away dirty clothes in the dresser; put away shoes on the shoe rack; clear up toys, and put them in the box; clear up toys and scrap paper before going to bed; Clean up your room/table*

IIIC: DIFFICULT CHILD BEHAVIOR (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) [DIFFBEHA]

IIIC1. Do not listen to parents' guidance – Child shows difficult behavior in response to parents' request (defiance, not following rules, not complying) [DTNOLIST]

Membership examples: *Following directions; when she doesn't listen to what I'm saying; not listening; listening regarding TV time and computer time; not listening; not follow parents' instructions; he won't listen to what I say; do not listen; not following what adults told him; do not listen; if they do not listen; do not behave as told; speak when he is told not to; he won't listen to what I said; he did not greet [people], he did not follow what adults told him to do; and he speaks when he is told not to; defiance; when she "pushes it"; when she is doing something wrong that she has recently been told not to do; any time she is not following the rules I have set up; when she doesn't want to leave a place; no disruptive behavior; when we are out at a store, especially Home Depot or Lowe's; acting out in public places; must follow rules in the public setting; throwing a tantrum; don't do as requested; do things that he/she shouldn't; defy US laws*

IIIC2. [Child] being unreasonable – Child-initiated [UNREASON]

Membership examples: *when the child asks for something unreasonable, like buying candy or a toy, or when the child asks to wear something unsuitable for the weather (this is not perceived by the mother to be a real matter of safety or health, just unreasonableness on the child's part); When the child acts as a spoiled child or makes a scene (NOTE: Unless this behavior is in response to something that parents requested, then it is IIIC1.)*

IIID: MORAL CHARACTER/VIRTUE (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) [MORLVIRT]

IIID1. Moral character – Knowing right from wrong/Life and death (universal morality issues) [MVCHARCT]

Membership examples: *morality; when she commits clear transgressions; when kids won't correct their mistakes; instruct them on how to be a good person); must not lie; when wetting his pants and then lying about it; tell him that mommy doesn't like a lying child; when he lies; when he cheats; physical aggression is a non-moral behavior*

IIID2. Virtue– Qualities/Characteristics and Religious beliefs/rules/faith [MVVIRTUE]

Membership examples: *do what he is supposed to do; must persist when he begins a task; not be lazy, should be hardworking; when my child loses patience, shouting*

IIIE: VANDALISM/WASTEFUL BEHAVIOR [VANWASTE]

Membership examples: *should teach them how to value goods; throwing things randomly; break things on purpose; protect others' property; value their own possessions; respect public goods; we will confiscate when they break things on purpose; when they destroy toys on purpose; child banged the toy on the floor, making a dent*

IIIF: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (a higher-order code with 4 subcodes) [INTERPES]

IIIF1. Manners/ritual propriety or language (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes). IIIF1 is a proactive social behavior that parents use across situations during which they proactively socialize their children, such as while greeting elders, yielding their seat to them, pouring tea, waiting for the elders to begin eating before grabbing food, etc. Violations of IIIF1 include being rude, using dirty words, being inconsiderate, being loud in a library, cutting lines, etc. Just because someone may violate IIIF1 does not mean that that person necessarily violates IIIF3

[IPMANNER]

IIIF1-1) Toward everyone [IPMEALL]

Membership examples: *Using manners; manners—try to insist that she use table manners at meals; need to be polite to/to honor others; need to be polite; shouting loudly; speak nicely to others; emphasize the importance of please and thank you and other manners—we do not settle for less; rudeness; fresh mouth; no fresh words; no whining; talking back; no fresh talking; when she whines because she wants something; when noticing that [child's] tone of voice is high; saying mean things like “I hate you”; use words; tell him he must say “excuse me” before he wants to speak; talk in a polite way; don't use demanding tone of voice or words; no profane language; strictly told him that mom will be upset if he used profane language; do not allow him to use profane language; strictly told him that it is impolite to use profane language; when he learned some bad language from school; must let him know that it's improper language [and he shouldn't use it]; [watch the] language [the child uses]; greet people when acquainted*

IIIF1-2) Toward older generations or elders [IPMELDER]

Membership examples: *needs to show respect for elders; when mothers are talking to other friends, he would suddenly shout loudly, disturbing adult talking*

IIIF2. Love others (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) – Focus on loving component or benevolent love [IPLOVE]

IIIF2-1) Toward everyone [IPLOVALL]

Membership examples: *Love others as love self; tell kids that we are all one big family; need to help and love each other*

IIIF2-2) Toward peers and younger siblings [IPLOVSIB]

Membership examples: *protect younger peers; love younger brothers and sisters*

IIIF3. Respect others IIIF3 is a “self-sanction,” that is NOT DO, such as to impose, to bully, to dismiss others, etc. One should leave others alone for their own preferences, styles, food, etc.

This is the Western notion of respect toward anyone (the idea of respect is not necessarily social grammar, but rather like granting people their right to receive respect; the violation would be dismissing their rights, imposing one's own values onto others, bullying other, etc. The key idea is that people should be respected because everyone has the right to be respected and to live as they choose. Note that this idea of respect is similar to “XXX is an equal employer who does not discriminate anyone for their color of skin, original of country, culture, ethnicity, sexual

orientation...", which is very different from the Chinese/East Asian notion of 礼 or 礼貌. The latter is the social grammar for East Asians and emphasis respect to maintain social order and hierarchy. **[IPRESPECT]**

Membership examples: *Respect others; respecting other people; expect her to be polite and respectful; treating people the way they would want to be treated; being nice to others (kids/adults); making sure they play "nice" with friends; When she gets tired and cranky; no bad attitude that's bratty or offensive; how she treats others/we do not tolerate her being "fresh"; when child] does not respect others; respect others; respect and be friendly to other people; children must respect each other*

IIIF4. Behavior (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) **[IPBEHAVE]**

IIIF4-1) Positive interpersonal behaviors (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) – The difference between this code and IIID- moral character/virtue is that this code for positive behavior is when mothers specifically talk about child's interpersonal relationship with others versus a general characteristic. **[IPPOSBEH]**

IIIF4-1-a. Toward everyone **[IPPBHALL]**

Membership examples: *In dealing with others; be generous when treating friends; must follow rules when playing with peers; help other kids at daycare; I will tell him to share things*

IIIF4-1-b. Toward elders **[IPPBHOLD]**

IIIF4-2) Negative interpersonal behaviors (a higher-order code with 2 subcodes) **[IPNEGBEH]**

IIIF4-2-a. Toward everyone **[IPNBHALL]**

Membership examples: *Yelling at each other; kids fight with each other, but are not willing to apologize; when he bullies his older brother; when he grabs things from his sister; fight with her brother; don't fight with other kids at school; fight for toys; shouldn't fight for toys and food; Do not hit; hitting someone; kicking someone; hurting someone; where she has hurt someone; behavior and hitting; no physical aggression; no hitting, kicking, pinching allowed; rough play with friends and family; if he hits/kicks his sister or parents; fighting (yelling or hitting) with sibling; where she has hurt their feelings*

IIIF4-2-b. Toward elders **[IPNBHOLD]**

Membership examples: *Can't hit parents when angry*

IIIG: Filial piety and/or respect towards elders **[IPLOVOLD]**

Membership examples: *Show filial piety to elder generations and parents; Calling her but she doesn't respond (NOTE: when the child does not respond out of not being respectful or filial, not because s/he is disobedient); Mom, I don't want you*

IIIH: LEARNING **[LEARNING]**

Membership examples: *In learning; when doing poor homework; in learning; make them overcome difficulties; needs to go to the library to read outside school books; let them know that we are unhappy when they don't make an effort to learn; if they put their heart into their learning; must finish homework and practice; must go to school when they need to; when they do homework while watching TV [not good]; strict in their learning; outside school reading; when asking teachers about their behavior in school; finish homework; talk about what they do at school; if they listen to teachers in class; learning words; drawing; reading; weekend learning; when she is not learning; needs to finish classes chosen, can't quit whenever child wants, can't miss classes; can't go on vacation if child won't read; must finish homework before playing*

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