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Chinese Immigrants' Parental Experiences in Norway

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Abstract

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Existing empirical studies of parents in China found that this population presents features of authoritarian parenting style: greater parental demands and control together with lower parental responsiveness. However, when the investigation conducted on Chinese immigrants, parental practice is characterized as more authoritative style, combining high levels of controlling and responsiveness. Paradoxical findings between Chinese parents and Chinese immigrant parents raised the research interest in investigating the influence of acculturation on the change of parental behavior among this particular immigrants group. In addition, although some researchers contributed their writing on Chinese immigrant parents' acculturation in North America (USA and Canada), similar detailed studies remained rare in Scandinavian countries, Norway particularly, where the Chinese immigrants are seen as one of fastest growing ethnic population. In response to existing literature gap, the current research aimed to achieve a fundamental understanding of Chinese immigrants' parental experience in Norway and its relation with individual acculturation.

Through the narrative inquiry of five Chinese immigrant parents from three individual families, this dissertation uncovered multiple realities associated with parenting experiences built via Chinese immigrant parents in their personal, contextual, and time variables. Guiding this inquiry was the Bioecological and Acculturation models, which offered the overarching theoretical frameworks to help addressing various determinants which shape the respondents' parental beliefs and behaviors. With a focus on parents' critical events related to childrearing in Norway, data was collected through the open-ended and in-depth interviews and was presented in two approaches: case-focused narrative analysis and cross-case content analysis.

The findings showed respondents' parental behavior is one of the outcomes of personal interaction with their ecological system. Participants' parental practice in Norway was gradually shaped and changed due to these people's relation to multiple factors at three main levels resided in ecological system: namely personal features (e.g. individuals' personal history, social-economic and employment status, the perception of mother role, etc); contextual factors (e.g. spouse, friends, extended family members, Norwegian school, cultural values from China and Norway); and acculturation.

Further, Chinese immigrant parents found in this dissertation facing significant parental stresses stem from contextual challenges and problems including lack of social support, downward social mobility, language barriers, downgraded social and economic status, discrimination, and expectation of children's academic achievement. The role of individual

acculturation degree was essential in selected Chinese parents' parental behavior. Greater parental acculturation tended to be more associated with healthier family relationship and positive parenting. Being acculturated allows parents to have multiple insights to examine the criterion constructed the image of good parenting within specific contexts. Social supports in this research were identified as the mediator of parental stress and the accelerator of parental acculturation. The positive relationship with, or supports from the spouse, extended family, friends, and other social networks, were essential in easing parental stress in respect of immigration, acculturation, and parenting.

The new empirical findings in this dissertation could help the social work and social policy field to build a more detailed image towards Chinese immigrants in Norway and further better identify the demand for support and services in parenting and child development for this specific ethnic population. Multiple improvements could be implemented to help relieving Chinese parental pressures, supporting them in transition of cultures, and strengthening their social support networks. Since Chinese immigrant parents' social network found sitting central position in balancing parental stress and acculturation level for promoting a better parenting practice, the author further suggested to enhance Chinese immigration parents' social network in reference of social capital theory. As the significant dimension of social capital, the social network could be expanded through bonding and bridging strategies. Practically, bonding include strategies with the aim of improving Chinese immigrants pre-existing networks with other Chinese in Norway, such as the establishment of the Chinese organization at local and national level. Bridging, however, indicates approaches that encourage the targeted immigration population to get beyond their preoccupation with common bonds and engage in cross-cultural relation building. The example of bridging capital could be the operation of an interest-oriented community/club, such as the parents' clubs, which allow Chinese immigrant parents to extend their reliance on other ethnic or native parents in Norway.

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Chapter One: Introduction

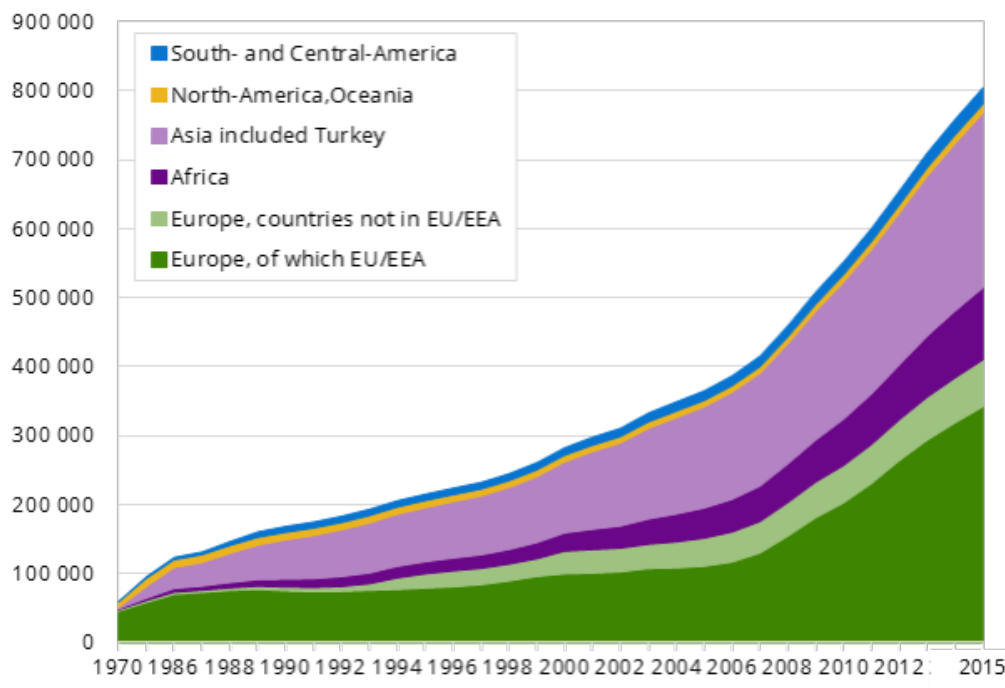
This chapter presents a *background of the research*. Further on, the author describes the *aims and research questions*; and also gives a brief discussion towards the *significance of the study*.

1.1 Background of the Research

1.1.1 Unstudied Chinese Norwegians

Norwegians of Asian origin have been one of the fastest growing minority populations in the Norway in the last decade. Based on Statistics Norway (2015a), the Asian immigrant population grew nearly by 133 percent between 2005 and 2015, and reached 253,484 at beginning of this year; which accounts for 4.8 percent of total population in the country (Figure 1.1). The Chinese form the third largest Asian subgroup in Norway, with a population figure of 9,491 which has increased by 29.6 percent in last five years (Table 1.2). The majority of Chinese in Norway are still first-generation immigrants, who according to Statistics Norway (2015b) accounts for 84 percent of the total Chinese population. These individuals originally came from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. It is known that the major reasons for their immigration include: family reunion, education, and work. Until 2014, an estimated 4,989 of Chinese immigrants, more than half of the total Chinese population in Norway were registered as employed (Statistic Norway, 2015b).

Figure 1.1: Immigrants and Norwegian-born to Immigrant Parents



Source: Statistic Norway 2015a

Table 1.1: Population of Chinese Immigrants in Norway (Persons)

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Chinese Immigrants	7326	7895	8458	9025	9491
Norwegian-born Chinese	1139	1231	1332	1467	1583

Source: Statistic Norway, 2015b

The above figures indicate that the number of Chinese immigrant families in the Norway is increasing rapidly; however, the demands of this growing group have not been well understood in the research field. Specifically, there is scarce literature documenting Chinese Norwegians, and the author was only able to find two recent academic works written in English that focus on this special immigrant group. One research conducted by the Norwegian Embassy and Consulates General (2013) stating that although Chinese immigrants constitute a rather small proportion of Norway’s immigrant population, they significantly distinguish themselves through a high level of education and low unemployment. Another work reveals Chinese immigrant parents’ opinion on Norwegian education system, and the conclusion suggests that Norwegian schools have remarkable impact on immigrant children and their parents’ social inclusion and integration in Norway (Chen 2013).

1.1.2 Chinese immigrants’ parenting becomes a heated topic

Chinese immigrant parents have recently become a focus of public discourses due to ‘Tiger Mother’ story. The tiger mother’s “strict parental style derived from her so-called Chinese upbringings have made Amy Chua, a second-generation of Chinese American, a center of attention”(Guo 2013) (Figure 1.2). Key to Chua’s account is the notion that the harsh Chinese parental practice is effective since it links with children’s academic success (Chua 2011). The heated discourses on the tiger style have obscured people’s perception towards Chinese immigrant parenting. It is more important now than ever for new research attention intended to address this subject.

Figure 1.2: Stories of Tiger Mother on Time



Source: Time 2011

Many existing studies suggest Chinese parents generally presents features of authoritarian childrearing style, i.e. greater parental demands and control together with lower parental responsiveness (Huang et al., 2003; Guo 2006; and Lin 2010). However, when investigation on Chinese immigrants, parental practice is characterized as more authoritative style, i.e. combining high levels of controlling and responsiveness (Zhai & Gao 2009; Rhee et al. 2008; and Chen, Chen & Zheng 2012). Paradoxical findings between Chinese parents and Chinese immigrant parents raise the research interest in the influence of acculturation on the transmission of parental behavior. Although prior literature has already yielded valuable insights about Chinese parenting and the impact of acculturation on immigrant parents, less is known about the acculturating effects on childrearing experience of Chinese immigrants (Chen et al. 2012).

In addition, some researchers indeed heighten interest on Chinese immigrant parents' acculturation in North America (USA and Canada); however, similar detailed studies remain rare in Scandinavian countries, Norway particularly, where the Chinese immigrants are seen as one of fastest growing ethnic group as already mentioned. Since individual acculturation strategies differ depending on the host society's attitude and policies toward immigrants (Berry 1997), it is important to differentiate the Chinese immigrant population in Norwegian context from those in other nations. Thus, in response to existing knowledge gap, the current research aims to achieve a fundamental understanding about Chinese immigrants' parental experience in Norway and its relation with individual acculturation.

1.2 Aims and Research Questions

In order to acquire research aims, the study first has to examine individual Chinese immigrants' parental beliefs and behaviors considering their given personal, historical, social, and cultural contexts. Further, multiple factors that have possibly shaped and changed Chinese's parental practices in Norway need to be identified.

A reasonable framework that allows the research to analyze the interactions between the individual and the environment is the *Bioecological Model* (Bronfenbrenner 2005). This model was applied to help examining Chinese immigrants' parental ideology and behavior as an outcome of the individual interaction with his/her characteristics, contextual factors, and the change across time referred in this dissertation as acculturation. Further, Berry's (1997) acculturation model was also adopted to support understanding how Chinese immigrants' parental acculturation is highly variable, influenced via individuals' personal features together with their contextual factors. Based on the above two theoretical frameworks and brief literature review, the following specific research questions have been developed:

- What stories do Chinese immigrants narrate concerning their parental experience in Norway?
- What do these stories reveal towards the individual and contextual factors that influence Chinese immigrants' parental beliefs and behaviors?

- What do these stories reveal towards the Chinese immigrant parents' acculturation level and its relation to their parental practices?
- What challenges and opportunities do Chinese immigrant parents perceive from the cross-cultural parenting experiences?

1.3 Significance of the Study

Research on Chinese immigrants' parental experiences in Norway could have directly implications for offering culturally sensitive and competent services for this rapidly increasing yet unstudied population. Primarily, knowledge about Chinese parents could offer service providers important information about immigrant family dynamics and the immigrant children's growing environment. Such information enables professionals to better understand individual and cultural differences via establishing on the strengths of their Chinese clients. It might also help informing social policies to enhance positive parenting and reduce parent-child conflict among this ethnic group. Further, the finding of this research might challenge the invisibility, stereotypes, and misunderstanding of Chinese immigrants. It could final help enhancing social work education through increasing students' level of cultural competence, which will better prepare them to serve this group and address their significant needs.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The aim of this chapter is to offer a knowledge base that supports understanding of the study topic. Capitalizing on relevant published academic work, the author summarizes main theoretical assumptions related to subject area, identifies gaps in the existing literature, and finally constructs the research framework. The chapter is sectioned according to three themes emanating from the prior studies, including *immigration, acculturation, and their influence on parenting*; *Chinese parental belief and behavior*; and *Chinese immigrants and Norwegian context*.

2.1 Immigration, Acculturation, and Their Influence On Parenting Behavior

2.1.1 Parenting

Parents centrally sit in their child's physical, emotional, social and intellectual development. Parenting, as existing literature suggests, significantly influences a child's self-esteem and self-confidence (DeHart, Pelham & Tennen 2006), peer relation (Sheehan & Watson 2008), academic achievement motivation (Cheung & McBride-Chang 2008), as well as social-emotional adjustment and well-being (Chen, Liu & Li, 2010). Such effects could start in a child's early life through his/her adulthood (Pardini, Fite & Burke, 2008; and Chen et al., 2010).

In the child development research, the most widely cited parenting typology is offered by Dianna Baumrind (1967, 1971, 1996), who identifies three most common parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative and permissive. Authoritarian parents usually construct specific regulation and expectations for their children but do not explain the reasoning behind their rules. They also make their children understand the consequences in the form of punishment upon violation of the regulation, hence leaving limited space for discussion and negotiation of the constructed rules (Baumrind, 1996: 127). Authoritative parents set up clear standards for their children as well; however, they allow their children to develop a sense of autonomy and participate in discussion towards discipline (Baumrind, 1996). Unlike the above two types, permissive parents usually offer fewer rules and guidance towards the children's behavior. They respect their children's desires and needs and require less in return (Baumrind, 1996). From the above three styles, Baumrind finds that only authoritative parenting significantly associates with positive child outcomes, including academic success and instrumental competence (Baumrind 1996).

Although many other empirical studies on European and American families prove the positive association between authoritative parenting and positive child outcome (Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown 1992; and Schroeder, Bulanda, Giordano & Cernkovich 2010), there is evidence

showing that Baumrind's theoretical assumption is not found in other ethnic groups (e.g. Lai, Zhang & Wang 2000). For example, in Lai et al. (2000) studies on 379 Asian families, the authoritarian parenting style is linked with positive child developmental outcomes (Lai et al. 2000). In other words, Baumrind's classification of parenting styles has the limitation, and the major criticism associated with a cultural difference (Barbour, Barbour & Scully 2005). Baumrind's studies primarily focus on white, middle-class parents; consequently, the research findings do not always translate to families from other cultures or socioeconomic status (Gonzalez-Mena 2007).

From a cross-cultural perspective, parenting behavior and its influence on child development outcomes are different across societies and cultures (Lai et al. 2000; and Gonzalez-Mena 2007). Socialization targets and processes differ from one culture to another; hence the parenting behavior in one society could be considered as inappropriate in others. In other words, culture plays an essential role in parenting, and it further impacts on the relationship between parental behavior and child development. For instance, stricter and controlling parenting, including the application of physical discipline, is less accepted via Caucasian culture. Certain evidence shows that such parenting practices negatively link with a child's development including high self-esteem, better academic achievement, social responsibility, mental health, etc. (DeHart et al. 2006; and Schroeder et al. 2010). However, studies of Asian, Caribbean and African families suggest that controlling and restrictive parenting behavior is not necessarily relevant to negative child developmental outcomes (Lai et al. 2000; and Weisz, Chaiyasit, Weiss, Eastman & Jackson 2005). Instead, in particular groups, such as Chinese, authoritarian parenting is seen as part of proper training and could bring positive outcomes, such as greater competence and high academic achievement (Chen et al. 2010).

2.1.2 Immigration, acculturation, and their influence on parenting

In contemporary society, the trend toward globalization is usually associated with migration. It is not surprising therefore that, over 200 million individuals worldwide are international migrants. While cross-cultural migration has become a common phenomenon in most countries, it becomes more important and significant for researchers to study and understand the immigrant populations. Immigrants leave their familiar circumstance and usually have to readjust and acculturate, into the culture of receiving country. In other words, immigration requires acculturation (Bornstein & Bohr 2011:2).

Acculturation, as Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936:149) define, is a phenomena which results when "groups of individuals have different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". Theoretically, the concept of acculturation is a neutral process that refers to changes in either or both cultural groups. However, in the real world of immigration, acculturation most involves the changes in the immigrants' population as a result of getting into contact with the mainstream culture of receiving countries (Barry 1997:7). Depending upon the immigrants' preference either to their home cultural beliefs or to the values of the receiving society, individuals might implement different coping strategies: integration, assimilation, separation

and marginalization (Berry 2003). Integration happens when immigrants continue to embrace their home country's cultural identity while accepting the dominant culture. Assimilation raises when people integrate with new culture without retaining their original one. Separation refers to individuals' insistence on maintaining their home cultural identity and trying to avoid contact with the culture of receiving countries. Marginalization, on the other hand, means that immigrants do not retain their original culture, and are not willing to engage with the dominant one as well (Berry 2003).

As above theoretic assumptions suggest, international migration and acculturation entails processes of cultural and psychological change. They are disorganizing and reorganizing experiences, which lead to alteration of social identity and self-image (Bornstein & Bohr 2011). Migration and acculturation could make parenting harder than before. For example, immigrant parents "bring along from their home cultural context, conceptual models of the successful parent and how to rear a child properly. When they migrate to a new culture, they might realize that the dominant culture demonstrates an entirely different image of successful parenting and different strategies for childrearing" (Bornstein & Bohr 2011:2). Immigrant parents might find their roles and relationship with their children shifting, and their parental capacity placed under significant pressures in various ways within the new environment (Chia & Costigan, 2006; Tyyska 2007; Bornstein & Bohr 2011). These parents could experience economic and social pressures since they attempt to cope with the daily life tasks without the familiar support system of family and friends and the comfort of their culture of origin (Fleck & Fleck 2013). Such issues as unemployment, language barrier, separation of household members, realignment of parental authority, interfacing with social institutions, and peers' influence on parenting are considered as common examples of additional parental stresses received due to the immigration and acculturation process (e.g. Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder 2006; Tyyska 2007; Phinney & Ong 2007; Bornstein & Bohr 2011; and Fleck & Fleck 2013).

In acculturating, immigrant parents' strategies could influence their parenting beliefs and behavior, particularly the extent to which their parenting practices reflect cultural-specific parenting constructs (Costigan & Su 2008). Empirical studies show that immigrant parents do not always readily adopt the aspects of receiving cultures on parenting, and culturally significant parenting beliefs and norms tend to resist change (Bornstein & Bohr 2011). Chinese immigrant parents in Canada, for example, opt to allow grandparents to participate in childrearing based on expectation of traditional Chinese culture, despite emotional hardship and disapproval within the receiving nation (Bohr & Tse 2009). Chinese American transnational mothers have more authoritarian attitudes and are more likely to encourage independence and demand maturity from their children (Costigan & Su 2008).

2.2 Chinese Parental Belief and Behavior

Chinese socio-cultural context remain heavily influenced via Confucianism¹. Confucian

¹ Confucianism, also known as Ruism, is an ethical and philosophical system, also described as a religion, developed from the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius (551–479 BCE). The core of Confucianism is humanistic, or, according to the Herbert Fingarette's concept of "the secular as sacred", a religion that deconstructs the sacred-profane dichotomy regarding the secular real of human action as a manifestation of the sacred.

beliefs are reflected in Chinese social values, beliefs and behavior and Confucian teachings are pervasive in schools, families, public gatherings and other social contexts (Yeh & Bedford 2003; and Guo 2006). Chinese parents' childrearing ideologies, therefore, are significantly affected and defined by Confucian tradition that has been passed on from one generation to another (Huang, Ying & Arganz 2003). In particular, Confucian values, such as hard work, discipline, filial piety, human malleability, conformity, education, etc., are evident in Chinese families resident in mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and overseas (Siu 1992; Xu, Farver, Zhang & Zeng 2005). Four main cultural values emphasized in Confucianism that affects Chinese parenting would be identified in following sub-sections. They are; *parental protection and guiding*, *reciprocal parent-child relationship*, *shaming education and human malleability*, and *gendered parental roles and family education*.

2.2.1 Parental protection and guiding

Confucianism emphasizes the importance of family and parents' responsibility for offering a safe and healthy environments for a child's growth (Wu, Robinson, Yang, Hart & Porter 2002). 'Young child', in Chinese folk psychology, is seen as *nian you wu zhi* (年幼无知 incapable of understanding), and parents therefore consider themselves as protectors who have a duty to keep the child away from dangerous circumstances which they think the child cannot recognize alone (Wu et al. 2002). In other words, Confucian value encourages Chinese children to pledge reverence to their parents, but it also requires parents to fulfill their obligation for governing, teaching and disciplining their children. Guiding is another word to describe Chinese parental duties in directing and regulating their children's behavior. Shreds of evidence show that Chinese parents are more likely to scold and criticize in an attempt to control and correct their children's behavior (Wu et al. 2002).

As Wu et al. (2002) highlights, parental protection and guiding in Chinese families has to be "tough". Confucians hold that parents must be *yan* (严厉 strict) with their children. Protection and guiding are not manifested in satisfying children's wishes as an expression of parental love, but more in directing what they should wish (Li 2010). Further, Chinese maternal restrictions of their children's activities are meant to protect and promote dominate or inhibit their children. Such parental practices refer as protective restraint via Chinese scholars (Li 2010), and as overprotective by many Western researchers (e.g. Barber, Bean & Erickson 2002).

2.2.2 Reciprocal parent-child relationship

The parent-child relationship in Chinese families is reciprocal. Children have a filial obligation toward their parents. Such an obligation is "an intricate part of the general Confucian requirement to become a virtuous person"(Lin 2010:105). The Chinese word for "filial" is *xiao* 孝. It has two components. The lower component is *zi* 子, indicating child(ren); while the upper component symbolizes the old generation including parents. The whole character, therefore, suggests that the child(ren) should support, respect, and is

subordinate to “the parents”(or the old). Filial love in China is placed above other forms of love. People will be considered as a rebel against virtue if he/she loves and respects others without doing the same to the parents (Lin 2010).

Due to Confucian filial dutifulness, children are expected to respect and serve their parents, and in some cases, respect tends to become submissive obedience (Wu et al. 2002). As Chao (1994) argues, filial piety carries the meaning that children have to obey parents; and consequently, Chinese parental expectations are likely to be valued and shared via their children, and the children tend to behave in the ways that are consistent with the demands of their parents (Chao 1994). In ancient agricultural Chinese society, parents might be more experienced and more knowledgeable than their young children regarding conditions and sources necessary for having a stable and healthy life. Under those circumstances, it was justifiable for parents to play an essential role in participating in their children’s decision-making in marriage, work, and so on. Confucian filial dutifulness, therefore, was constructed under those circumstances in order to help individuals to maintain family harmony and achieve a better life (Lin 2010). However, in modern society, life has become much less predictable partially due to greater social mobility and pervasive social changes; which means that even experienced parents do not necessarily have a better understanding towards the complexity of life, more than their children. Those circumstantial changes have questioned the dominant values of traditional Confucian filial piety, and an increasing number of Confucian scholars indicate that a new explanation of filial dutifulness has to be constructed for responding to new society and ever-changing family relationship (Wu et al. 2002; and Lin 2010)

2.2.3 Shaming education and human malleability

Like many group-oriented cultures, Chinese culture emphasizes shame. Based on Confucian teaching, highest purpose of daily life is reaching self-perfection (Tu 1979). Confucianism conceptualizes shame as an emotion and human capacity that directs the individual inward for self-examination and motivates the people toward socially and morally desirable change (Wu & Lai 1992). Influenced by the above values, Chinese parenting is expected to help children to cultivate a sense of shame - being sensitive to the perceptions, feeling, evaluations and judgements of others - for the purpose of conducting self-examination and further becoming socially appropriate (Fung 1999). Such ‘shame’ parental education includes elements of “guilt induction, love withdrawal, explicit statement about being ashamed of child misbehavior, and guilt-laden warnings of punishment”, which are usually referred as the course of moral socialisation and parental psychological control by Western scholars (Barber 2002:31).

Confucian philosophy also emphasizes human malleability and the importance of the circumstance in shaping the human potential and further influencing the people’s achievement (Chen & Uttal, 1998). Within a critical environment, individuals could receive more reflection, evaluation, and suggestions from others, which support them for self-examination and self-improvement due to their personal shame mentioned before. Many Chinese parents thus believe that children, regardless of innate ability, could consistently improve through the

exertion of efforts and the impact of environment (Lin & Fu 1990). Such cultural beliefs motivate many Chinese parents to set up high expectations, including academic achievement towards their children. As well, they tend to be more conscious towards the circumstances where their children grow up (Lin & Fu 1990).

2.2.4 Gendered parental roles and family education

Different family members were delineated various obligations and responsibilities according to Confucian ethics (Huang, Ying & Arganza 2003). The father is a breadwinner and has the most authority; while the mother is a homemaker and has responsibilities for the childrearing. The Chinese word *qi* (妻 the wife) originally represents a female with a duster, which suggests a traditional view of a Chinese wife as the person who undertakes the cleaning or all other household chores. The word *mu* (母 the mother), initially indicates that the mother is a person who bears and rears children, and the image of a Chinese mother is caring and benevolence. Influenced by globalization, national social-economic situation, and worldwide feminist movements, an increasing number of mothers in China today are also responsible for the family's economic well-being. By 2014, there are an estimated 470 million working mothers in China, and this population is considered as the driving force of the economy and the wheels of industry (China Daily 2014). Although statistics shows that more Chinese women are employed today, they are still stereotyped as caregivers and would receive criticism from themselves, families, peers and communities if they fail to fulfill their caring 'mother roles' (Wang 1996; Huang et al. 2003; and Lin 2010). In contemporary Chinese society, many mainstream media and literature still frequently make references to the notions that young children should be their mothers' key interest and concern. A good Chinese mother should put children needs above her own, or even sacrifice her life to fulfill their children (Lin 2010).

As Xie (2013:3) concludes, the traditional Chinese family has long been featured as "patriarchal, patrimonial, patrilineal, and patrilocal, putting women at a severe social disadvantage relative to men". Therefore, there has been a substantial son-preference in Chinese families (Lin 2010). Specifically, in China, sons are permanent members of their natal family and retain lifetime financial relationships with their parents (Whyte & Xu 2003). They are expected to contribute to their parents' economic well-being even after their marriage. Hence, it is in their self-interest for Chinese parents to invest in sons since they expect reciprocal long-term returns from this investment (Whyte 2004). The preference for sons leads many Chinese parents to allocate more resources to the boys rather than daughters (Wu 2012).

Other evidence also shows that Chinese parents have a different expectation for their sons and daughters, and thus they usually adopt different parenting strategies based on sexuality (Li 2003). Specifically, parents in China use more encouraging and warmth strategies to raise daughters, and the main focus of educating girls is to improve their self-discipline, etiquette, relationship with in-laws, household management capacity, humility, and chastity. By contrast, more controlling and stricter strategies are applied to raise sons, and the principle ideology of

parenting sons is more of physical and spiritual strength, competitiveness, ambition, and responsibilities for the family's social status and economic well-being (Lin 2010).

2.3 Chinese Immigrants and Norwegian Context

2.3.1 Chinese immigrants parental experience

Considering that limited academic resource investigate Chinese in Norway, this study has benefited from an expanded literature search on other Chinese immigrant parents in European and American countries. Four themes stem from the review of those prior studies. Firstly, as a result of immigration, many Chinese parents face additional stress due to a significant decline in occupational and socioeconomic status, social networks and familial supports (Li 2001; and Ali 2009). In addition, many Chinese immigrant parents experience the risk of being misunderstood and judged for any unorthodox practice via receiving countries' educational, child welfare services, or other social institutions that are not familiar with Chinese culture (Li 2001). Some Chinese immigrant parents also perceive significant parental adaptation difficulty, lack of time with their children and language barriers destabilize parent-child relationship in Chinese immigrant families (Ali 2009).

Intergenerational differences in acculturation levels exist in Chinese immigrant families (Rick & Rorward 1992; Buki, Ma, Strom & Strom 2003; and Benner & Kim 2010). Specifically, first generation Chinese immigrant parents usually have already well developed their identity based on Chinese culture, and they tend to maintain traditions after immigration; while immigrant children are exposed to and routinely interact with host culture. As a result, they, are more likely to be assimilated into the receiving culture. Consequently, intergenerational tensions and conflicts usually arise between Chinese immigrant parents who wish to inculcate traditional beliefs in their offsprings, and Chinese children, who want to be accepted by peers in dominant culture (Benner & Kim 2010).

Various studies report that most Chinese parents who have recently immigrated view corporal punishment as acceptable, and generally Chinese immigrant families tend to have a high rate of physical discipline compared to other ethnic groups (e.g. Zhai & Gao 2009; Rhee, Chang, Weaver, and Wong 2008). However, researchers also indicate that there is a gradual change in Chinese immigrant parents' perception towards physical discipline due to acculturation to the western culture (Rhee et al. 2008). In other words, acculturation is averse to the use of corporal punishment.

Finally, Chinese immigrant parents are distinguished from other ethnic immigrant parents due to their high commitment and high educational expectations for their children (Li 2001; Huang et al. 2003). For example, significant amount of Chinese decided to migrate because the receiving countries could provide a better education and career opportunities for their children; although the immigration itself might cause the declination of individual social-economic status and social mobility (Chang 2000). After immigration, Chinese parents

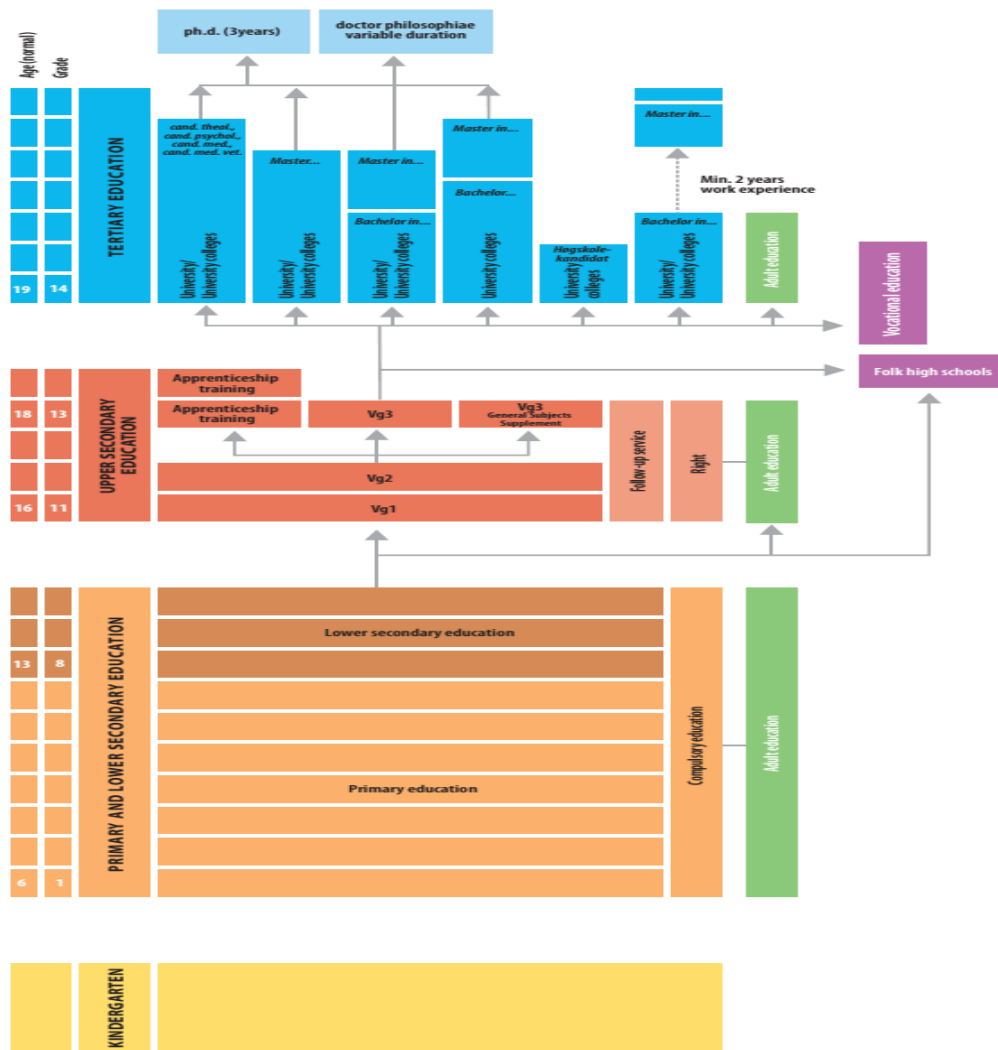
usually “evaluate more realistically a child’s academic and personality characteristic, be less satisfied with a child’s accomplishment, hold children to higher standard, and believe more in effort and less in innate ability”(Sui 1992:11).

2.3.2 Norway context

Norway is a country with a relatively recent migration history, and relatively small but increasing migrant population. Until 2014, there were approximately 759,000 immigrants and 235,000 immigrant parents. About two-thirds of the immigration population are of non-western background, and most of them live in cities including Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger, Thronheim, Drammen, Kristiansand and Fredrikstad (Statistics Norway 2015a). It was towards the end of the 1960s that the first labor migrants from third world countries came to Norway (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli 2008). Following the first oil findings in the North Sea in 1969, there was a period of improvement of the Norwegian economy. The expansion of the petroleum industry created many popular job opportunities for Norwegians, which resulted in a shortage of unskilled manual labor in low-paid jobs. The booming of the labor market in Norway started to attract immigrants; initially from European countries, later from all over the world in search of better work (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli 2008).

Nowadays, Norway is characterized as a stable, safe, wealthy, and welfare country that attracts migrants from many backgrounds. However, the rapid growth of the ethnic minority population has led to a pressing need for Norway to “strike a balance between equality and differences, between unity and diversity, as the government attempts to foster a fair and just society which includes both old and new Norwegians”(Eriksen 2013:13). Throughout Norway’s postwar history and especially under the leadership of the Labor Party, concepts of inclusion and equality have been viewed as the paramount (Horst, Carling & Ezzati 2010). One key target of the Norwegian government is to ensure diversity presuppose equal participation in shared institutions entailing the labour market and the educational system. Particularly, Norwegian Education Framework has given Norway such recognition as being ‘a multicultural society’ (The Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research 2014). It targets all children and young people regardless of where they live, gender, social and cultural background. The structure of the education system includes kindergartens, primary education (grades 1-7 and ages 6-13), lower secondary school (grades 8-10 and ages 13 - 16), upper secondary school (grades VG1-VG3 and ages 16-19), tertiary vocational education, higher education and education and training for adults(The Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research 2014)(Table 2.2). Evidence shows that Norwegian school works as mediums that accelerates both immigrant parents’ and children’s acculturation degree and gradually fulfills the immigrant-native attainment gaps (e.g. Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed 2012; Rabehanitriniony 2012; and Chen 2013).

Figure 2.1: Norwegian Education System



Source from The Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2014

However, the trust of Norwegian policies toward immigrants has nevertheless tended in the direction of equality, sometimes understood as assimilation. One reason might be that the same work, *likhet*, means both “equality” and “similarity” in Norwegian (Eriksen 2013). It means there is no terminological distinction made between equal rights and cultural similarity. Claiming equality and inclusive, hence, is an understandable and laudable thing to do in Norway; while claiming the right to difference is harder to handle ideologically. As Eriksen (2013:8) argues, this is partly a result of “history of Norwegian nationalism, dealt with above all; and partly and indirect outcome of the labour party-led construction of welfare state, where equality has always been associated with cultural homogeneity”.

In academic parlance, there is a distinction between integration and assimilation. Assimilation highlights the eventual disappearance of any difference between cultural groups, resulting one group “swallowing” another; while integration refers to the maintenance of a distinctive cultural identity while simultaneously participating as equals in greater society (Berry

1997:21). As integration in this case has been the objective of successive Norwegian governments, it has proved elusive.

As Eriksen (2013) concludes, over the past decades, although the Norwegian authority has largely succeeded in launching relevant policies to ensure equal opportunities for its growing diverse population, certain policies are not efficiently practice. There is continued evidence showing that ethnic discrimination in the labor market (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli 2008). Additionally, language policy in schools has been inconsistent as well (Baba & Dahl-Jørgensen 2013). There is no national policy concerning instruction of minority languages versus Norwegian in the first years of primary school. Finally, although Norwegian policymakers have been determined in their efforts to foster social well-being for the entire population, they have dealt with minorities' claims to the right of difference in less consistent and, arguably, less satisfactory ways (Eriksen 2013). Overall, Norwegian governments have been skilled in legislating equality, but less skilled in dealing with diversity, which might bring more difficulties and challenges to immigrants to fulfill their individual concerns and demands.

2.3.3 Immigrants' challenges in Norway

Researches show that after industrial society peaked slightly after 1969, it became more challenging for immigrant groups to be integrated into Norway (NOU 2010). The first reason could be the length of residency. As Daugstad (2008) indicates, approximately 40 percent of immigrants have lived in Norway for less than five years, 28 percent for five to 14 years, and 30 percent have stayed more than 15 years. The differences existing in the length of residency among different ethnic groups could exert significant influence on how well or how far individual immigrants could adapt and integrate into the society of host country (Berry 1997).

Living conditions among different immigrant groups in Norway is various as well. There is a distinction between immigrants who come from Asiatic countries including Turkey, Africa, South and Central America and Eastern Europe and individuals from the rest of the world (Daugstad 2008). Immigrants from above countries could have an over-representation of individuals living in households with low income, and which might rely more on social welfare programmes. Further, immigrants with low education generally face more serious obstacle to participate in knowledge-based Norwegian workplace and will further link with low economic adaptation. For example, the labour-market participation of Somali immigrants in Norway is significantly lower than the one of Tamils group due to the former's low educational background (Fuglerud & Engebriksen 2006).

Lack of efficient social network is another difficulty for immigrants (Fuglerud & Engebriksen 2006). The process of immigration could be stressful since it removes family members from many of their connections and predictable contexts including community ties, customs, and language (Saurez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco 2011). Most immigrants in Norway were found confront challenges of rebuilding networks with their new community (Ryland 2013).

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the theoretical framework of the current study. To begin with, Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 2005) *Bioecological Model*, which offers an overall structure for ecological determinants of parenting will be presented. This will be followed by Berry's (1997) *Acculturation Model* which better demonstrates the dynamics in Chinese immigrants' parenting practice within a cross-cultural context.

3.1 Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model

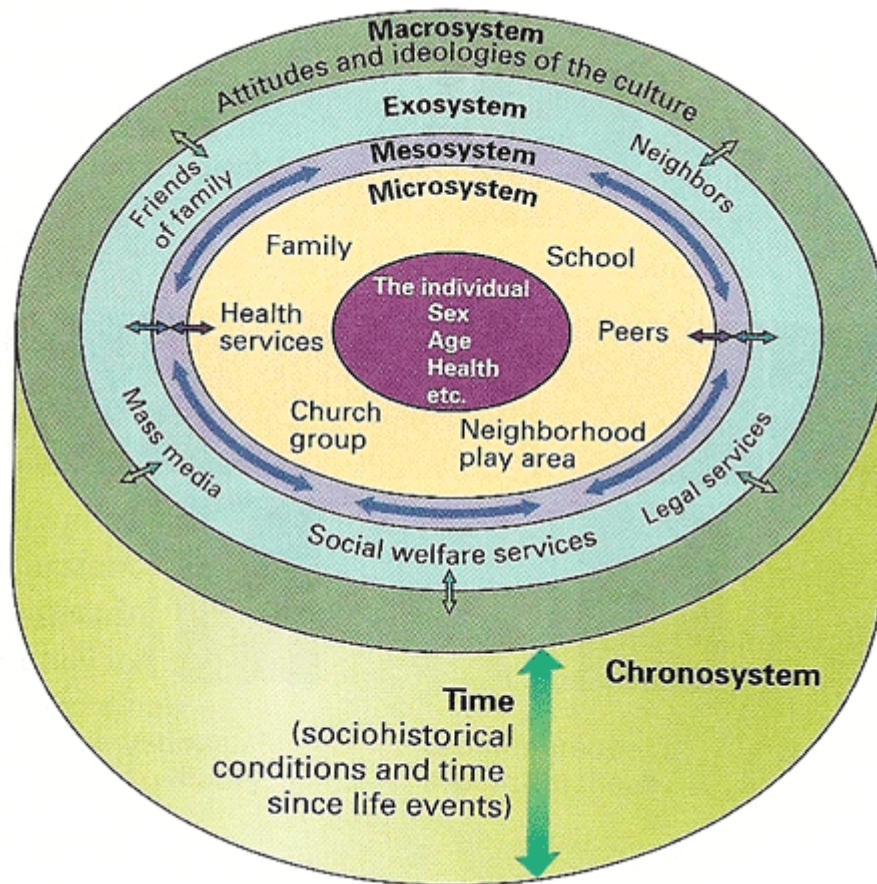
Bioecological Model (BM), referred as *Ecological Model*, was proposed by Bronfenbrenner in 1977; and identifies five environmental systems with which an individual interacts (Bronfenbrenner 1979). As Bronfenbrenner (1979) argues, to understand individual development, the entire ecological system in which growth occurs has to be considered. The current widely-used BM (see figure 3.1) posits that an individual is embedded in five nested systems, namely micro-, meso-, exo-, macro-, and chrono- systems, "each inside the other like a set of Russian dolls" (Bronfenbrenner 1979:3).

Specifically, the *microsystem* (individual-level) refers to any relation between a developing person and his/her immediate environment, including family, peers, school, and neighborhood. The *mesosystem* comes next and consists of interrelationships among two or more microsystems of the developing person, such as the relation of family experiences to their school. The social structure that influences a person but does not directly impinge on him/her is referred to as an *exosystem*. It includes the developing person's extended family members, family's social network, mass media, social services institutions, the legal system, etc. The *macrosystem* involves the larger institutional structures influencing one's culture and the nature of interactions within all other levels of the ecology (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The *chronosystem* at last refers to the pattern of the environmental events and transitions over time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris 2006)

Primarily, Bronfenbrenner's BM model is about the development of the child in a given environmental context, and the impact of the society cultures or subcultures (Bronfenbrenner 1979). It has been influential in the field of child and youth care (e.g. Chao & Tseng, 2001; and Lim & Cain, 2008). Although the BM model helps to understand the parenting practice from individual, contextual, and life event (time) perspectives (Roser-Strier & Rosenthal 2001; Fong 2004; and Gebrekidan 2010), it has seldom been used in studies focusing on parenting. Within the present study, BM helps the author to examine the Chinese immigrant parents' ecological environment that might influence this population's parental practice. In other words, BM model could be a guiding framework to help understand how Chinese immigrant parents' individual characteristics, micro-, meso-, exo-and macro-system (referred as contextual factors), and chronosystem (changes across time, referred as acculturation in this study) influence those individual's development and changes in their parental ideologies and

behavior.

Figure 3.1: Bioecological Model on Human Development



Source from Santrock 2007

Specifically, on the individual level of the ecological system, Chinese immigrant parents' characteristics, such as age, gender, education, social-economic status, residency period in Norway, are under consideration since those factors might be associated with stress related to the daily role of parenting (Huang et al. 2003; Middlemiss 2003; and Chen et al. 2012). From a contextual aspect, Chinese immigrant parents' marital situation, personal and social network resources, as well as involvement with their children's schools and other social services are examined since they sit in the person's *mesosystem* and *exosystem* that help in determining parents' ability to provide emotionally and psychically supportive home environments for children's growth (Gallagher 2002; and Lin 2010). Moreover, at the cultural level, parents' acculturation degree needs more attention because it influences individuals' preferences on specific parenting cognition and behavior (Bornstein & Bohr 2011; and Fleck & Fleck 2013).

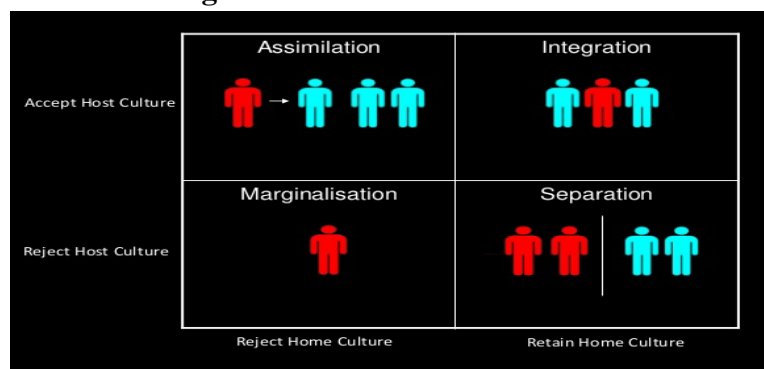
3.2 Berry's Acculturation Model

First of all, the environment of individuals' original country and the one in which they have settled should be examined focusing on: 1) the cultural differences between two environments;

2) the political, economic, and demographic conditions in the two different societies shed light on the reasons why people decide immigrate; and 3) the destination’s migration-relevant policies and attitudes encourage or constrain immigrants’ choices of acculturation strategy. The above three points have already been discussed in the literature review chapter, which also addresses the relevant first-hand information required from empirical investigation. Based on prior studies, the author assumes that Chinese immigrants might face significant challenges and difficulties to construct “mutual accommodation” with the mainstream parenting culture in Norway. Facts, for example, indicate that there is a significant cultural difference between China and Norway in respect of how to raise a child properly (Wu et al. 2002; Bornstein & Bohr 2011; and Chen et al. 2012); and Norwegian society and school featuring as assimilation supportive (Eriksen 2013), could cause more “acculturative stress” among Chinese immigrant parents.

Further, personal features existing prior to acculturation should be considered including age, gender, educational background, migration reason, cultural distance (language and religion),etc. (Berry 1997), although there is limited knowledge regarding the direct association between some of the above individual characteristics, and the acculturation process. For example, young children are more likely to be easily acculturated due to their greater exposure to socialization in school (Bornstein and Bohr 2011). A higher educational level appears mostly related to high acculturation degree, which is also associated with other protective elements including social-economic status, employment, and social network (Berry 1997). As Berry (1997) highlights, individual acculturation outcome usually is not defined via personal characteristics, but it relies more on the interaction between the person and the new culture. Various researchers, therefore, put efforts on identifying interaction determinants of individual acculturation level based on Berry’s theory (e.g. Zane & Mak 2003; Kim and Abreu 2001; Chen et al. 2012). Their conclusions indicate that individuals’ language use/preference, daily living habits, social affiliation, cultural identity/pride/knowledge, and cultural behavior are the most common elements of the acculturation process, and are consistent with established descriptions of acculturation (Berry, 2003; and Zane & Mak 2003; Chen et al. 2012). Those elements are further addressed in this research to evaluate parents’ acculturation extent and its relationship to their parental behavior.

Figure 3.2: Acculturation Model



Developed based on Berry 2003

Chapter Four: Methodology

In this chapter, the author presents a detailed examination of research methodology for this study by discussing *the study of narrative, research design, ethical considerations, as well as evaluation and limitations.*

4.1 The Study of Narrative

Methodologically, this study embraces the tradition of qualitative research of an interpretive nature. The purpose of such a process is to explore and amplify the different stands of meaning that research participants have derived out of their lived experience (Willig & Stainton-Roger, 2007). There are three primary reasons that qualify this investigation as a qualitative design: 1) the nature of the study questions aims at depth versus breadth; 2) the topic requires for in-depth exploration of psychological and social changing processes that unfold over time as part of selected Chinese immigrants' development across acculturation; and 3) the data collected may offer material for constructing an integrative framework that helps to understand the respondents' parental behavior in cross-cultural context. As Bryman (2012) highlights, qualitative research is best applied for less structured but in-depth exploration; for understanding human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior.

Within the broad methodological framework, narrative inquiry has been chosen as the particular qualitative approach to inform data collection and to guide the analysis. The practice of story-telling has a long tradition; however, the method of critically studying narratives started in the 1960s. Ever since, narrative inquiry as a research method has increasingly attracted attention among qualitative investigators in general and social scientists in particular (Elloitt 2005). The term narrative, according to the literature, refers to the telling of a story and a resulting text (Riessman 2008). Since the late 1980s, social scientist started to wonder "whether respondents, given the opportunity to present free-floating and far-reaching narratives, might conceivably structure the topic quite differently and add dimensions not anticipated by the researcher" (Sigel, McGillicuddy-DeLisi, & Goodnow 1992: xix-xx). In other words, the speakers connect events into a sequence that is consequential for later action and the meaning that they created. Events perceived by the narrator as important are "selected, organized, connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience" (Riessman 2008:3). Narratives, serve as gateways to the inner and outer world of the speaker, indicating much about his/her identity together with the cultural and historical context within which the narrative unfolds (Gergen & Gergen 2000; and Richardson 2004).

The author's choice of a narrative methodical approach within the current study is underpinned by various explanations. First, a narrative approach in social research is often fruitful for the purpose of manifesting individuals' lives (Riessman 2008). Thus within the current study, this method, could help to gain an in-depth view of Chinese immigrant parental experience in the receiving country. Holding an epistemological stance of poststructuralism,

the author envisages a closer perception about the individual differences in acculturation and in the way of raising children. Moreover, as Richardson (2004) explains, individuals narrativize their experience of the world and their own role in their stories. People, as a storytelling organism, individually and socially lead to storied lives. It means through Chinese immigrant parents' unique stories, the researcher could make contribution towards understanding their views of good parenting; and how immigration, acculturation, and other contextual factors have shaped those personal opinions.

4.2 Research Design

4.2.1 Participants

Participant selection criteria within current research followed a number of considerations. Initially, all participants belonged to the first generation of immigrants. It means they were born and grew up in China with Chinese as the mother tongue, and immigrated to Europe or Norway as adults. These individuals are parents of children who have attended or were attending Norwegian schools. The author recruited the participants through two sampling techniques: snowball sampling and purposive sampling. Snowball sampling indicates recruiting from the acquaintance (Bryman 2012). Initial participants were selected from the author's social network, and further asked these individuals to introduce more respondents who fulfilled the selection criteria from among their acquaintances. Thus, the sample group appears to increase like a rolling snowball. Since the sample builds up, enough data are available to be useful for the investigation. Additionally, with the goal of maximizing the range of participants and, to gain insights into respondents' parental experience instead of generalizing, the technique of purposive sampling was used. This sampling method encourages maximum diversity with the selection of participants (Onwuegbuzie and Collins 2007). Therefore, in this research, the author chose participants who represented as much variation as possible, considering diversity in age, gender, residential period in Norway, socioeconomic status, educational background, Norwegian language fluency, and the number of children. Those variables are helpful in building the respondents' ecological system based on BM model; and to interpret the person's acculturation extent in respect of acculturation framework.

Considering the length of time required for a narrative study, only three families and up to six participants under the consideration in the original proposal. All of the participants are heterosexual and married couples.. As Table 4.1 shows, the ages of the participants range from 32 to 53 years old. Four participants originated from Mainland China, and two from Hong Kong. The length of time the participants have lived in Norway ranges from eight to 32 years. Participants educational background varied from those above college level (PhD, Master, and Bachelor) to those below college (Vocational schools and High School). These individuals' occupation includes Engineer, Restaurant Owner, House Wife, and Musician. The data collection process lasted nearly one month from 1st March 2015 to 1st April 2015.

Table 4.1: Profile of the Participants

Name ²	Age	Home of Origin	Length of Stay in Norway(Years)	Highest Level of Education	Occupation	Spouse's Name	Number of Children	Grade Level of Children
Lin	34	SH ³	8	PhD	Engineer	Wang	2 boys	1 st & 3 rd
Wang	32	SH	8	College	House Wife	Lin	2 boys	1 st & 3 rd
Zhang	48	FJ ⁴	12	Vocational School	Restaurant Owner	Hui	2 girl & 1boy	8 th ,12 th & College
Hui	45	GZ ⁵	10	Master	Restaurant Owner	Zhang	2girl& 1boy	8 th & 12 th & College
Fan	53	HK ⁶	32	High School	Restaurant Owner	Qu	2 boys	Grown Up & 4 th
Qu	38	HK	11	College	Musician	Fan	1 boys	4 th

Notes:

1. All the names are pseudonyms.
2. Shang Hai, economic center of China
3. Fu Jian, a south city of China
4. Guang Zhou, a south city of China
5. Hong Kong, a special Economic Zone of China

Made by the author,

4.2.2 Data collection method

Data for this research was collected using open-ended, in-depth interviews with the aim of gathering respondents' detailed narratives of their parenting experience in Norway. The interview protocol, including the procedures for conducting the interview and a list of open-ended questions constructed based on BM and acculturation model and organized in the order of priority is attached as Appendix A. The author first piloted the interview with one Chinese immigrant parent who did not participate in this research. The significance of pilot study is to evaluate research feasibility, interview time, and questions quality (Kvale 2007). Based on the interview results and the participant's feedback, the author determined some limitations and weaknesses within the interview design and revised the questions to make them more understandable.

The final version of interview guide includes three sections: immigration, parenting, school and other social services, and acculturation. Guided via Berry's acculturation theory, questions in immigration section explore participants' features prior to immigration, reasons for migration, as well as critical events/challenges before and after immigration. Questions in the parenting section investigate respondents' parenting beliefs, special events related to parental experience both in home and host countries, and sources and challenges parents received in relation to parenting in Norway. The schooling and other social services section includes questions exploring selected parents' perception and experiences towards Norwegian schools and other social services associated with children and parenting. The aim of this section is to identify to which extent Norwegian school and parenting related services as principal agents of socialization influence participants' parenting behavior. Finally, the last acculturation section entails questions developed to evaluate the parents' acculturation degree and further support an analysis to identify the relationship between acculturation and parenting behavior. Those questions were developed based on acculturation framework and prior relevant studies for detecting parents' language use/preference, daily living habits, social affiliation, cultural identity/pride/knowledge, and cultural behavior (Berry, 2003; and Zane & Mak 2003; Chen et al. 2012).

4.2.3 Data collection process

The author made the initial phone call to each potential Chinese immigrant parent for a brief introduction of the project and inviting their participation in the study. upon receiving the confirmation of participation, the author made second-round email and text message contact to confirm the interview time and location based on respondents' preference. Most research participants in this study preferred interviews at their home; while only one respondent preferred the cafe shop nearby.

The whole process included two interviews, and each interview in this research lasted around one hour and a half. As existing narrative studies indicate, controlling the length of a narrative interview is important, and ninety minutes is appropriate (e.g. Wengraf 2001; Hermanowicz 2002). Therefore, during the first interview, the researcher elicited narrative by asking participants to describe stories related to immigration, parenting, school involvement, and acculturation. The second interview was conducted with three days of the first one. During the second interview, the researcher first reviewed, the topics participants described during their initial session. The researcher then asked the participant for additional anecdotes towards those topics. The main reason for conducting two interviews was to elicit more in-depth biographical narratives (Wengraf 2001). The interval after first interviews offers the participants an opportunity to recall their memory and further provide more detailed supplementary in the succeeding interview.

The following techniques were applied in each interview in order to elicit a narrative. First, the researcher formulated the "generative narrative question broadly but at the same time sufficiently specifically for the fascinating experiential domain to be taken up as a central theme" (Flick 2006: 173). For example, in order to stimulate participants to narrate their

experience of immigration, the author asked the generative question “I hope you to tell me the story of your life as an immigrant. The best way to do this would be for you to tell all the things that happened when you decided to leave China. You could take your time in doing this, and also give some details including time, place, motives, tendency and feeling”. Once the interview began with a generative question, then the researcher paid more attention to the quality of the data in narration. As existing studies suggest, any interruptions or obstructions by the interviewer could adversely influence the interview quality (Flick 2006). Thus during the interviews, the researcher tried to support and encourage the narrators to continue their stories until the end. Any interruptions with directive interventions (e.g. “could immigration have caused this problem”), and evaluation (e.g. “this seems to be a good decision”) were avoided. Finally, at the ‘natural end’ of the narrative, the researcher asked some questions to complete the gaps in the story (Martin 1996). These questions might concern events like “what happened after you make that decision...?”

All the interviews were digital-recorded, transcribed in full by the researcher in Chinese, summarized and then translated into English for data analysis. Digital-recording allows the author to pay full attention to the narrators, other than making a pause to take notes. Transcripts were formatted as dialogue, including researcher’s questions, participant responses, preverbal expressions (e.g. *hmm*), and protracted moments of silence. Basic grammar errors were corrected during the translation, without affecting the participant’s intent.

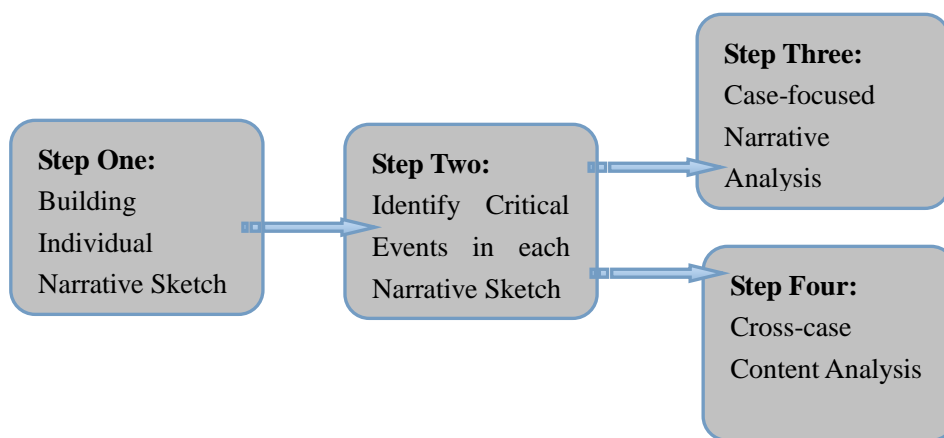
4.2.4 Data analysis

The researcher started initial data processing during the interviews through recording reflection notes and revising the improper questions. Additionally, more reflection notes were written down after each interview. The formal data analysis started once all the transcripts were available. The whole process includes several crucial stages (figure 4.1). First of all, the researcher began to review the transcript of each interview multiple times in the corresponding digital-recording. During this step, the researcher marked the observations alongside the text, then proceeded to put first impression into building a narrative sketch of each participant including events, characters and structure of the narrative (Webster & Nertova 2007). Based on initial narrative sketches, the researcher then identified the critical events of each participants’ stories. As Webster & Nertova (2007:72) highlight, when individuals tell stories, they “distil those events that are most important”. Identifying those events then is essential for the investigation, because the most impressive events the respondents remember vividly, they probably exert a profound influence on the narrators. Along with the identification of critical events, the researcher also wrote down comments and interpretations on each event to support further analysis.

Following the above stages, the author conducted case-focused narrative analysis. Through combining the husband’s and the wife’s narrative sketches, a family narrative script was constructed. In this script, the author retold stories from the parents in the form of autobiography in the narrators’ own voices. Those stories do not reflect their original narrative

completeness; instead, only relevant plots/critical events selected in order to draw a coherent image addressing the specific research questions (Elloitt 2005). Along with presenting family stories, the author also constructed each family’s ecological system based on BM framework in order to identify and categorize the essential determinants (e.g. individual characteristic, contextual factors, acculturation level) of dominant parental behavior within each selected family. Finally, the author made cross-case content analysis through comparing the individual narrative stretch, identifying the similarities and exceptions and further formulating the themes related to research questions. The term of a ‘theme’ used in this research does not represent something that is stated repeatedly but instead reflects understanding or significance (Elloitt 2005).

Figure 4.1: Analysis Process



Developed by the author

4.3 Ethical Consideration

Since it is incumbent in narrative interviews that the researchers communicate with subjects directly, ethical issues inevitably arose: on the one hand, a number of researchers emphasized that the narrative inquiry provides much more opportunities to respondents to narrate their lives and experience. During these processes, some stories may be reconstructed, and informants could be empowered through interviews (Jefferson 2000). On the other side, the narrative inquiry has been considered as “Pandora Box”, because through collecting subjects’ life stories, it is possible to evoke their painful memory and cause secondary injury to their psychology (Lieblich 1996:68). In current research, the same ethical problems also exist: how strike a balance between the demands of the pursuit of the research answers, and Chinese immigrant parents’ rights and values potentially threatened by the study. As many academics claim, researcher’s ethical antennae needs be especially sensitive in interview, because, even a word, gesture or facial expression may cause ‘harm’ (e.g. Atkinson 2002; and Bryman 2012). Consequently, in order to minimize adverse influence upon respondents as possibly as the author can, a set of guideline was been formulated in advance (table 3.3).

Another key ethical principle in this research is to preserve and respect individuals' confidentiality and anonymity (Bryman 2012). In this regard, strategies applied in this dissertation include: 1) use pseudonym instead of respondents' real name and removal of all detailed information (e.g. respondents' workplace, children's school name, etc) that could link to the participants' identity; 2) store data documents within secured location; and 3) ask participant to sign informed consent (Appendix B) before interviewing.

Table 4.2: Guideline for Interviewing Chinese Immigrant Parents

-
- Arrange interview time and place based respondents' preference. Place should be private and comfortable, to most extent protecting respondents' confidentiality. Each interview generally last ninety minutes, and inform participants' the interview length before starting (Webster & Nertova 2007);
 - Before interview, the researcher needs to simply illustrate the study's purpose and respondents' rights, ask them to sign the consent form and ask if digital-recording and written notes are acceptable (Bryman 2012);
 - Follow the narrative interview techniques. Avoid any interruptions or obstructions (Elloitt 2005);
 - Pay attentions on etiquette, including cultural sensitive (e.g. arrive earlier before interviews, hand shaking, and appreciation after interview, etc), dressing code (e.g. o mini-skirt and sleeveless cloth), respect, and so on.
-

Developed by the author

4.4 Evaluation and Limitation

4.4.1 Reliability

Reliability within the context of qualitative research differs from the one in a quantitative study. Broadly speaking, reliability indicates "dependability for consistency" for qualitative investigation (Neuman 2003: 184). It could be addressed by 'applying standardized methods to write field notes and proper transcripts in the case of interviews' (Silverman 2006: 280). In other words, methods of the qualitative strategy are as scientific as the quantitative one. The technique by which a qualitative study, therefore, could be evaluated to check whether, how, and to which extent consistent methods and procedures are used (Silveman 2006). According to Silverman (2006), qualitative researchers could improve study reliability through comparing the analysis of the same data by several observers. In this research, the author applied similar strategy named supervision and peer evaluation. This dissertation supervisor plays a principle role in supporting the researcher to develop the scientific research design and evaluating the analysis. Besides, the researcher had a support group that was made up six Master students enrolled in the same course. This support group had meetings on a week

basis in order to exchange research idea, evaluate each others' work, and offer valuable suggestions for others' issues.

4.4.2 Validity

In qualitative research, validity refers the extent to which the data is plausible, credible and trustworthy (Bryman 2012). One major validity issue related to this research is biased sampling. Snowball and purposive sampling applied in this study limit the potential for generalization of the findings (Bryman 2012). However, the main aim of this dissertation is to obtain insight rather than to generalize Chinese immigrant parents' parental experience in Norway. In other words, instead of aspiring to statistical generalizability or representativeness, this research's purpose is to reflect the diversity within a given population. Regarding this, both snowball and purposive sampling help to achieve maximum variation - finding Chinese immigrant parents with different personal characteristics, contexts, and acculturation degree in order to gain richness data and further help formulating themes (Silveman 2006). Another strategy used in this study to improve validity is respondent validation which involved cross-checking research findings with respondents (Bryman 2012). To accomplish this strategy, the researcher had constant contact with participants, discussing their perception and feelings towards the research conclusions and making necessary modification based on conversation.

Chapter Five: Research Finding

This chapter includes two main sections. The first presents the research findings from the *case-focused narrative analysis* of three individual families including five participants; while the second addresses the results from *cross-cases content analysis*. The original research plan was involve six parents from three selected families. However, one father withdrew his oral participation agreement during the interview period; consequently, the findings reported here represent data from five individual narrative stories from three families.

5.1 Case-focused Narrative Analysis

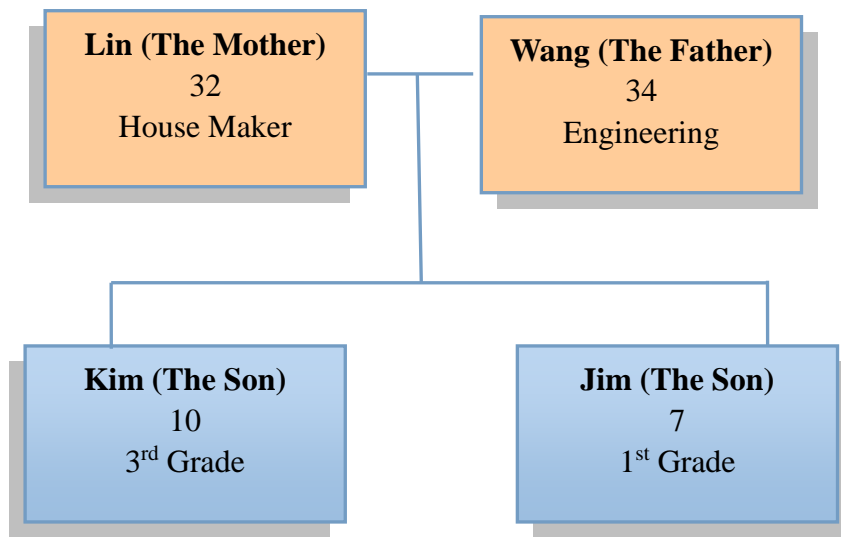
The author presented each family story briefly in this section together with necessary interpretation and discussion in line with references. Directed by the research theoretical frameworks, the author identifies the primary determinants of each case family's ecological system—entailing individual characteristic, contextual factors, and acculturation level—and their potential impact on parental behaviors. It is important to mention again that for maximum protecting respondent's confidentiality and anonymity, all information link with personal identity were removed from individual stories, such as family address, parents' workplace, the children's school, and so on.

5.1.1 Case A: Abusive behavior in Chinese immigrant families

Introduction

Case family A includes four family members: the mother Lin, the father Wang, and two boys Kim and Jim (see figure 5.1). Lin was born in Shanghai Province, China in the early 1980s. She came to Norway in 2008 with her two sons to join her husband who was pursuing a PhD in Submarine Engineering. Now the family resides in Rogaland County: Wang works as an engineer while Lin is a full-time house maker. Below is Lin's story as an immigrant mother of two children in Norway. The perspective of the father is absent since Wang was on unexpected travel during the research. Moreover, the story presented here is a summarized version, and a more detailed narrative is found in Appendix C.

Figure 5.1: Family A Diagram



Made by the author

Lin's Story

I majored in Engineering and used to have a decent job in China. In order to maintain family union I joined Wang in Norway very soon with our children although I really wanted to stay in China with my professional job. After my arrival, I enrolled for a Master degree at a local college. However, my health condition and increasing household chores eventually stopped my study and I ended up becoming a housewife. I am the only child in my original family. In my upbringing and during the pregnancy, I always received endless supports from my parents and other family members. This made me feel more difficult in Norway at beginning, where I have to be a completely independent mother with two young babies. Even worse, Wang also started criticizing me in relation to my child care, for example, I bought baby food instead of cooking, and I allowed the boys to draw on the bed. Such tiny things could significantly raise Wang's temper, and he always has pin in his eyes regards my parenting behavior. I could better accept his critiques if he expressed the issues calm and nicely; but, the fact is he always raises his voice and shouting at me sometimes.

It is challenging to take care of two children alone; especially in the first couple of years (after immigration) when I had to learn Norwegian, while Wang had to work overtime always. I had no friend here back that time. Many evenings after bedding the babies, I sat alone in the living room, crying and wondering, why I am here. I had thoughts to go back to China, leaving my children with Wang. They could receive a better education here; meanwhile, Wang probably could find them a more skilled mother if I left. However, I eventually gave up that idea. Indeed, what kind of a selfish mother could leave their children behind?

One day, Kim told me he disliked his trumpet course in school and begged me to help him shifting it to dance course. I agreed because I think it is good for respecting the child's own

interest. Wang heard our conversation and got angry because he thinks I should encourage the boy to become more perseverance rather than spoiling him by agreeing what he wants. We started to make a war, and eventually Wang became furious and he spanked me. Another time, Wang complained again that I did not pay much time to push Kim to practice trumpet. I was not in a good mood that day and tried to argue back, blaming him never spend single minute on our children's education. My words made Wang furious, then he threw a book over me, yelling "how dare you say that, did your parents ever teach you how to respect the husband and be a good mother?".

I shared this frustrating incident with my Chinese friends here. They did not feel surprise at all; both of them think I should not make a big deal. One friend also mentioned that her father in China has similar behavior as Wang does: dominant, aggressive, and even abusive in some cases. It is a common phenomenon, and all I could do is to accept Wang, tolerating his behavior and respecting his efforts on the family. They pointed out the strengths Wang has, high educated, intelligent, hard-working, honest, etc. I was quite in agreement with my friends on some points; however, I also have doubts like why I have to bear this. It is true that Chinese women have been subordinate to the men for thousands of years. But, now is in 21st century, and we live not even at China, why should I still need to be silent towards my husband's unacceptable behavior?

Wang treats the boys very strict and demanding as well, especially on Kim, the eldest who regularly receives critiques and punishments from his father's. Wang spanks Kim quite often when he misbehaved. One time Kim lied that he finished his homework which he had not. Such a little thing triggered my husband as well. He shouted at Kim so hardly and the boy could not help crying. However, Kim's tears made situation even worse because Wang always requires Kim, as a boy, to be tough enough and crying apparently is a 'girl's stuff'. I saw Wang slapping Kim's head and yelled "stop crying, you are such a useless girl!" Another time, Wang was not satisfied with Kim's performance at a school football match; he started his criticism when we all back home. Kim did not pay enough attention to his father because he was rushing to TV for the favorite cartoon show. Wang got angry due to this indifferent reaction, he brutally turned off the TV and asked Kim to stand up and repeat what Wang just said. Kim failed to recall, and started to wet his eyes because his father's overreaction. I was really wishing that Kim could learn the previous lesson and hold his tears; however, eventually, Kim cried again and my husband put him into a cold shower so he could 'cooling down'.

One morning Kim came to me with a very depressing look, saying that I have to change a new father for him otherwise he will leave home immediately. My heart was broken when I heard that. I tried my best to comfort Kim, trying to let him understand his father's love, expectation, and strictness. However, I do not think Kim could accept my explanation. I latterly received Kim's school tutor's notice that the boy became more withdraw and silent in the class. I knew the exact the reasons but I do not have any solution. I screwed up my courage and for the first time, I discussed our family issues with Kim's tutor. She took the case very seriously. She highlighted that Wang's behavior is definitely abusive and illegal, and

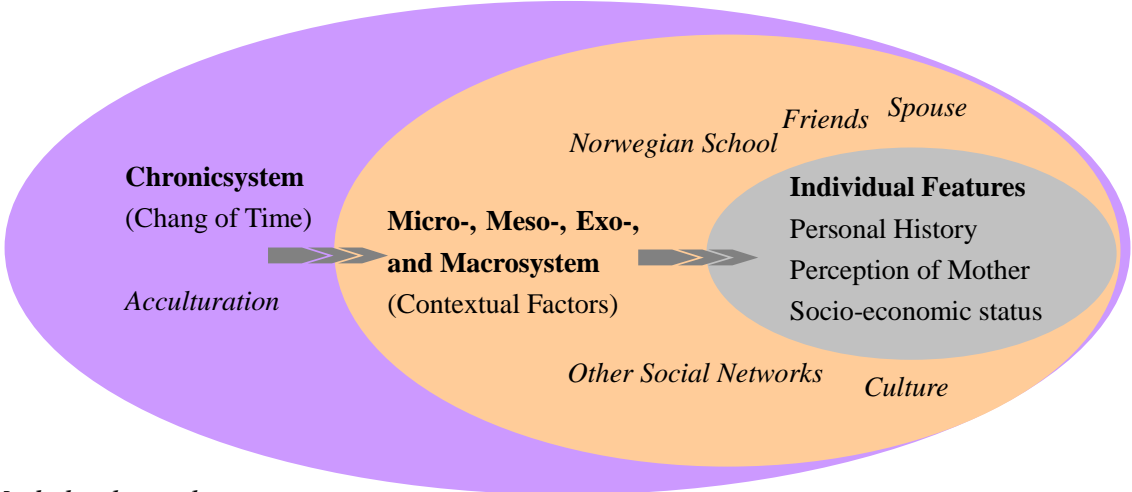
could really damage the children’s psychological well-being. According to her, I should immediately search for professional help, such as a consultation with the family lawyer and the school psychologist. Through this tutor’s help, I made contact with both professionals.

The family layer suggests that I was too submissive to Wang’s behavior, and I should consider a divorce. But he does not know my husband well, so it is easy to make such quick conclusion. I actually have strong sympathy for my husband, which is one key reason I do not want leave him. He works so hard to achieve what we have today: a nice house, a good car, and the money for our children’s future education. I knew it is not easy for him to face the life in Norway. You cannot believe how much over-time he has been working for his company but received significantly less pay accordingly. Not only that, I remembered he used to be a social person in China; however, he made no friend here at the beginning. One time he told me that nobody at his workplace wants to invite him to eat lunch together because Norwegian always hang out as a group and exclude the foreigners. I told him that he should join his colleagues for more social activities to build connections. He then replied me he does not want waste any money on going out and drinking like most his colleagues do. I also know that Wang received a lot of physical punishment from his father when he was young, which makes him believe the saying; ‘spare the rod spoil the child’. However, his behavior indeed influences Kim somehow. I was shocked one time when Kim yelled at Jim using the same words Wang uses.

Discussion

Lin’s narrative centers on several critical events which play a key role in forming her interpretation of her husband’s behavior; as well as developing her belief and countermeasures to cope with childrearing issues as an immigrant and full-time mother in Norway. Figure 5.2 describes the main determinants of Lin’s ecological system based on her story of parental experiences. This system views Lin’s parental behavior as the outcome of interaction among many factors at three main levels: personal features, contextual factors, as well as change of time (Bronfenbrenner 2005).

Figure 5.2: Ecological System of Family A



Made by the author

At the individual level, Lin's parental belief and behavior is initially shaped via her *personal history, social-economic status, the perception of mother role*, etc. Specifically, back in China, as Lin stated, she received full family support in relation with childrearing. This personal history added more challenges for Lin to become an independent mother with two young children in Norway where her personal supportive network was vanished. Additionally, the immigration resulted in the downgrade of Lin's social-economic status. Due to the language barrier and different contextual setting in Norway, Lin was no longer competitive for her original profession as a well-educated engineer; instead, she ended up becoming a full-time house maker. This change on the one side enabled Lin to dedicate more time to child care and child education; but on the other side, she received more psychological stresses in relation to sacrifice the prestige and income she had in China.

Most importantly, based on the respondent's narratives and the author's observation, Lin's parental belief is significantly connected with her perception towards the mother's role. As in most other countries, traditional China views man as a bread winner and women as simply homemakers. Thus the father's role in the family is described as dominate while the mother is more submissive. The immigration to Norway failed to change the image of a mother as a submissive house maker in Lin's case; instead, the stereotype is consistently reinforced via the daily discourses between the wife and the husband. For example, according to Lin, her husband often highlights that a good mother should be fully responsible for child care, and she also needs to have detailed knowledge to promote children's all-around development. Influenced by such daily discourse central in Lin's value, she believes that a mother should prioritize her children's needs and be competitive in childrearing. Such perception makes Lin easily raise negative emotions, such as guilt, anxiety and frustration when she accidentally neglects her children's needs, and also when she is not able to fulfill her husband's 'accepted' way to raise the children. As Butler (1999) explains, a mother's sense of guilt and anxiety is an internal barrier internalized in the daily life and arises when women pay less attention on their children as expected.

Based on Bronfenbrenner's BM model, the context closest to the individual parent is the Mesosystem (integration with Microsystem). The key determinant of Lin's Mesosystem is the interaction with *the spouse* who directly or indirectly supports the formulation and the change of Lin's parental approach in Norway. The relationship between the parents in Lin's story seems already undermined and disrupted by the couple's effective parenting practices and might lead to poor child adjustment in a long run. For example, the family child, Kim, started exhibiting aggressiveness and a changed personality from a more outgoing to withdrawn due to the influence of parents' marital discord and daily conflicts. As existing child development studies conclude, the behavior exchange between parents, is one of principle vehicles through which the immediate circumstance influences a child's behavior development (e.g. Bornstein 2001; and Bredekamp 2011).

It is understandable that, as a nuclear immigrant family, the conflict easily raises between the parents who face multiple challenges, including the downgrade of social-economic status mentioned earlier, the decline of social mobility, and the lack of social support. After

immigration, some families could make smooth transitions and adjustments whereas others might confront more significant social and economic costs. In case of Lin's husband, the daily struggle with new working environment and family financial pressure could be drivers of his aggressive attitude and abusive behavior. The stresses parents encountered might have induced family tensions; in the meanwhile, they link with psychological distress, in the form of depression and hostility, on the part of parenting practices. In other words, parental stresses have potential to cause hostility, low warmth and arbitrary parenting (Bronstein & Bradley 2014). This might help to understand Lin's husband abusive behavior in the family although more information from Wang himself would be needed to make further conclusion. However, according to prior empirical evidences among immigrant parents, significant parental stress is the main indicator of disciplinary parenting alongside with physical punishments rather than reasoning ones (Bornstein & Bradley, 2014).

Lin's Macrosystem indicates the cultural environment in which the individual's parenting resides, which includes main agents such as *culture from both host and home country, friends and other social networks, and Norwegian school*. The major content of Lin's narratives is about how she formulated meaning of 'abuse' while caught up between Chinese and Norwegian cultures. Wang's dominant, aggressive, and even abusive behavior is normal and acceptable in traditional Chinese families; however, such behavior in Norway is against the law and cannot be tolerated. Struggling within two cultures, Lin frequently felt frustrated and unsure to make the most appropriate decision for herself and her children.

Further, culture consistently excises its power on Lin through her interaction with other actors within the ecological system. The involvement of friends, for example, made Lin's relationship with her husband become more complex. The values that Lin's friends delivered to her, act as a double-edge sword which could both enhance and disable Lin's power to cope with her issues (Lee et al., 2009). On the one hand, Lin's Chinese friends in Norway contributed their valuable supports tangibly and intangibly to support her adaptation in new environment. On the other hand, some of them continuously encouraged Lin to accept her submissive role to her husband through emphasizing that Wang's aggressive behavior is a normal phenomenon in China. Likewise, the interaction with children's school plays a protective role in promoting an appropriate parenting behavior within Norwegian context. It helped Lin to increase her knowledge and awareness of social resources and the usage of public assistance (Bornstein & Bohr 2011). However, lack of cultural awareness, the parental behavior of Lin and her husband might be easily misunderstood and judged via professions from educational system or other services. This added additional acculturative pressures for Lin to make significant change in satisfying Norwegian standards to deal with family relationship and childrearing issues.

The last point addressed in Lin's story is how acculturation level, as an influencing factor in her Chronicsystem, helps changing the mother's decision related to parenting practice. When Lin consistently receives impact from Norwegian socialization agents, entailing Norwegian friends and parents, school tutors, Norwegian family lawyer and psychologist, etc., she has been constructing a new image and interpretation towards Wang's abusive behavior and trying

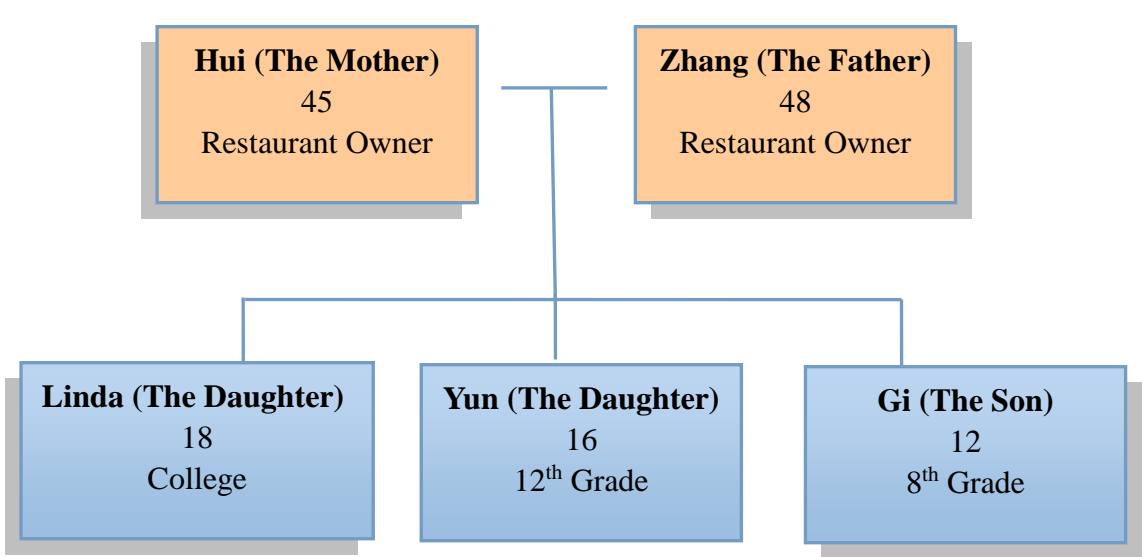
to mitigate its adverse influence on her children through seeking more advice from relevant professionals. In acculturating, Lin has to decide which values and practices have to retain from her indigenous culture, which to modify, and which new ones have to be adopted (Bornstein & Bohr 2011). However, as mentioned before, the acculturation process imposes extra challenges on Lin who is constrained within two cultural cognition and fears to take any rash decision which might be detrimental on her family.

5.1.2 Case B: The role of grandparents in Chinese immigrant families

Introduction

Family B includes five family members: the mother Hui, the father Zhang, two daughters, Linda and Yun, and one son Gi (figure 5.3). Hui was born and raised in Guangzhou Province, China. She took undergraduate education in China and then went to UK under scholarship to study a Master in her early 20s. Hui met Zhang in UK, himself originally born at Fujian Province, China and immigrated to UK with his family when he was teenager. Zhang ran a small restaurant at the time when the young couple married. In order to help the husband’s business, Hui abandoned her career in her profession after graduation with a Masters and became the manager and accountant of Zhang’s restaurant. In 2005, the couple closed their business in UK, and emigrated to Norway with their three children. The family now owns two restaurants and three takeaway stores in Rogland, Norway. Linda enrolled University of Oslo last year for Bachelor, while other two are 8th and 12th grade in local school.

Figure 4.3: Family B Diagram



Made by the author

Hui’s Story

My first girl, Linda, was not expected after marriage, because I was quite insecure during that

time. I had just graduated from my Master degree in tourism and already received one position offer from a luxury hotel in Newcastle. After marriage, however, my husband's parents persuaded me just to stay in London at my husband's restaurant, to help with his business. Once I knew I was carrying Linda, I made a quick decision to turn down my job offer because it was more important to raise my baby girl with my husband and his family in London. Maybe in today's society, many people judge my decision then. Honestly, I never regret. Now I have a really great family, lovely husband and children; also, our restaurant business goes quite well as you could see, although I do sometimes imagine what would be different in my life if I could continue my job in hotel.

When I carried Linda, I was totally not ready to be a mother, lacking both the knowledge and confidence. The lucky part was my parents-in-law live quite close with us, and they offered me a lot supports I needed. However, my husband and my in-laws are quite traditional Chinese, and they all wished that I could carry a boy. Therefore, when Linda was born, my in-laws especially my husband's father was quit disappointed. My mother-in-law then encouraged me to be pregnant soon again and she even bought some Chinese medicine which could help me to carry a son according to the local Chinese quack. Such reaction and behavior were quite ridiculous in my view, and I complained often to Zhang. He also thought his parents' behavior was quite cross-the-line; however, he still suggested I should be submissive - at least pretending acceptance in front of the elder - that is what a good daughter-in-law should do.

I got pregnant again and gave a birth to Yun, my second girl. My father-in-law was totally disappointed, and my mother-in-law still had hope and encouraged me to keep trying. I got angry this time, and I made a serious conversation with my husband, telling him that I am not going to be pregnant anymore; and I will not accept his parents' behavior treating me like "a means of production". My husband eventually stood on my side and suggested his parents to respect my decision and gave us more autonomy. In order to completely stop my in-laws to interfere my life, I refused to receive any help from my mother-in-law in taking care of my daughters.

After four years, I got accidentally pregnant again, and this time we got our son, Gi. My in-laws were extremely excited and started interfering our life again. They always bought super expensive gifts for baby Gi which I thought it is quite unnecessary. They started regularly blaming me that I should not go to work too often and better to be a full-time mother in order to provide better care for Gi. They required to see Gi almost every day. Even some time we were not available to visit them, they could just show up in front of our door in the evening without any notice in advance. They insisted that I should breast feed Gi, and we should not speak English in front of him because bilingual would confuse the baby's brain. My father-in-law even made a future plan for Gi: inheriting family business, marrying a Chinese girl, and keeping the family's name. More than once I argued that we, especially Gi, should have an independent life, choose and make decisions based on our own interests. My parents-in-law got angry upon hearing that. My husband's father even told me that Gi belongs to the Zhang family, and if I cannot accept that, I could leave the family alone.

I then started thinking to move away from my husband family, London at least. Finally in 2002, with our friends' help, we got a good opportunity to invest a restaurant business in Norway. Three years later, we decided to sell our business in London and all move to the new country to start our new life. Of course, we had a huge problem to let my husband's parents accept the truth that we were leaving. His father even told Zhang that if he moves to Norway, he will never receive any family possession. Zhang was actually already tired of hidden fight between his siblings for the family business; and also tired of his father's interference on his restaurant management. As a result, we finally left UK.

The life in Norway is not easy as we thought. My three children came to this country without a single word of Norwegian. Back that time, there was no English-speaking international school in the local community, therefore, my children had a hard time to adapt life in Norwegian schools. Luckily the school teachers are really nice, and they always encourage them to actively join every activity with other kids. Besides, I hired private Norwegian tutors for my daughters and myself. I always want to be the model of my children. I then studied really hard, which in a way also encouraged my children to learn positively. Back in UK, Linda actually already enrolled in 4th grade and Yun was in 2nd grade. However, in order to help them to better adjust to the education system here, I received the school teacher's advice, put Yun back in 1st grade again and Linda also restarted her 4th grade. Meanwhile, in order to give my children a better care, I hired two babysitters.

Most of time I still spend with my children, but I also promised myself that I should have my private life. I am active with family business, gym and church every week. My husband likes to spend more time with his children as well. In UK before, he always stayed at restaurant over the day because his father pushed him to do that. But here, he followed his friend's recommendation to hire an experienced manager for taking care of daily business and eventually wining more time to the family.

Zhang's Story

My wife is a really smart lady and she contributes remarkable efforts on raising and educating our children. My job, actually, is helping her to ease the nerve and try to be a funny dad. I have to admit that at beginning upon arriving in Norway, our children's performance at school was not so good. The new environment and language barrier made them feel difficult to acquire new friends and catch teachers' points in class. In order to encourage them to learn Norwegian fast, the school teachers actually refused to speak English to them, which I thought it is quite unnecessary and made them feel even more nervous and less confident. Later we decided to hire a private tutor for my two daughters and my wife. After several months efforts, three of them could speak quite acceptable Norwegian. I and my wife always never hesitate to invest on our children, for example, we bought a quite expensive house in a nice neighborhood which has the best school and kindergarten that my children could attend.

Back in UK, the school in which my daughters enrolled usually offers students a lot of optional activities after class. However, here, the children have to go home after classes. My

two daughters then always complained that it was so boring after the school hours. Many Chinese friends here always sent their children to different kinds of courses, such as piano, drawing, dancing, etc. I was not sure with that at beginning because I want my children have enough time for playing around. However, we also realized that our children need to attend more social activities, because only playing with us is not enough at all. In the end, we helped them to enroll some hobbies classes. Linda went to ballet while Yun joined an acting training because she said she wants to be an actor.

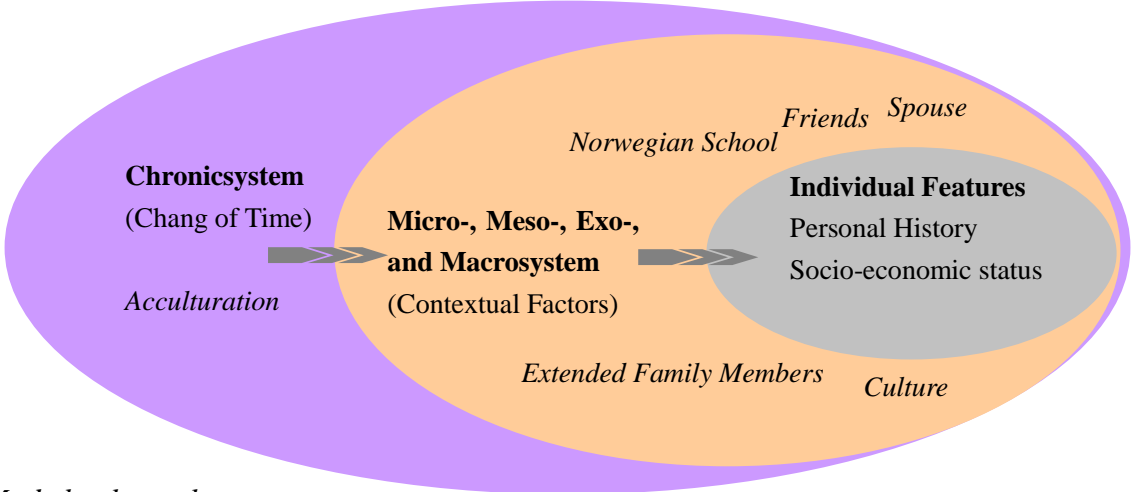
My three children all have quite good school performance in primary school, and they showed talent in mathematics, reading and science. After graduation from primary school, I and my wife decided put all of them in a private secondary school for a better education. Linda always behaved well during those years till she went to college, however, our second daughter, Yun, started her teenage rebel period around age 14. She crazily felt in love with deep music, tattoo, piercing, and even once we found out she was smoking marijuana. She also started to go back home late and went to adult parties without notifying us. I always agree with my wife that our family should be more respectful, and treat our children as equal as possible. But, I could understand that Yun's behavior really shocked my wife, and she could not help criticizing Yun. She first started regular grounding Yun, which was quite useless and made the girl behavior even worse. Then Hui made a big fight with Yun because she thought Yun dressed like a prostitute. Yun was so furious and secretly left home in that evening with a note telling us that she is going to search her own freedom. Even though we found her at her friend's home one day later, but Yun's behavior still hurt my wife's heart. I talked to my wife seriously and tried to let her realize what she did on Yun now is exactly what my parents tried to do before. Hui gradually got my point, but I have to admit, it is hard for a person to change immediately.

Discussion

Hui and Zhang's narratives offer the researcher a clear family sketch with several critical events that indicate their parental experience as immigrants. Similar as Case A, the second family's parental behavior also resides in a nested ecological system with main determinants from individual, contextual, and time perspectives (figure 5.4). The role of *extended family members*, as well as *acculturation* are more outstanding in association with parental behavior found both in the Hui and Zhang's narratives. Specifically, Hui's story centers on how she and her partner reacted and responded towards grandparents' increasing interference on the couple's parenting. As many prior studies indicate, extended family members, especially grandparents, are essential in relation to the Chinese immigrants' parental experience (e.g. Liu & Li, 2006; and Respler-Herma et al., 2012). In the process of migration, parents usually confront transformational difficulties, and extended family close by could indeed offer emotional and physical support to help those parents coping with the daily challenges of parenting. In cases of Hui and Zhang, they were beneficial to be closer to the husband's parents. Firstly, the grandparents took partial responsibility of child care when the couple was occupied with work and other errands. Moreover, the grandparents contributed time and patience than the couple to teach the children with their rich life experience. However, the redundant involvement of grandparents on parenting related issues in case of family B also

significantly raised parents' pressures; simultaneously, it disempowered these individuals' autonomy and capacity to solve their problems appearing in childrearing (Liu & Li, 2006).

Figure 5.4: Ecological System of Family B



Made by the author

The main reason that grandparents could immoderately exercise their influence on the couple's decision on parenting is the Confucian value impact of filial piety. As discussed in section 2.2.2, filial piety is a dominant cultural element in China and is also widely practiced among Chinese immigrants overseas (Lin 2010). Children, according to filial teaching, should always respect both their parents and parents-in-law, love them, and obey them (Wu et al. 2012). Zhang's parents in the story seem to have over exercised the power of filial value to facilitate the couple's submissive behavior towards the elders' opinion. They regularly applied particular Confucian filial discourses in the daily interaction with the couple, such as *xian fu jiao zi* (相夫教子 the main responsibility of a woman is support husband and raise the children) and *bu xiao you san, wu hou wei da* (不孝有三,无后为大 the most unfilial thing is do not deliver a grandson). Through using those discourses, the grandparents in the case family have consistently reinforced their filial power in a prejudiced approach on the couple's decision towards career choice, pregnancy, and other childrearing issues.

The conflicts between the grandparents and the couple in the story also reflect the connection between people's acculturation level and their parental practice. Peers and Western school education might exert more socializing effects on Hui and Zhang, which resulted in the couple's better acculturation than Zhang's parents, who are of an older generation and immigrated in their later adulthood. In other words, intergenerational gap in acculturation could induce tension and conflict between the grandparents, who are heavily influenced via traditional Chinese values and do not readily adopt cognition of the receiving culture; and the young couple, who are more adhering to Western individualist culture and insist to use their own approach to face daily issues.

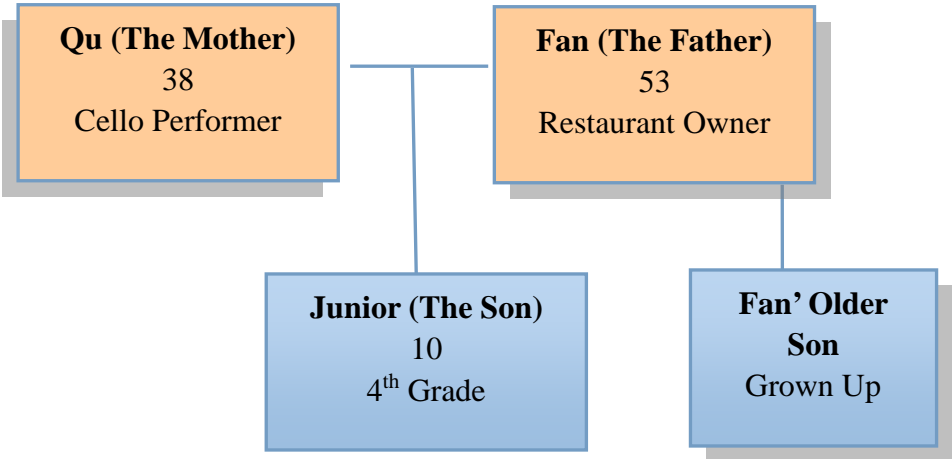
5.1.3 Case C: Chinese immigrant parents develop a hybrid parenting style

Introduction

The final family C has four main members, the mother Qu, the father Fan, the son Junior who enrolled the 4th grade, and Fan's eldest son who now resides in U.S. (Figure 5.5). Fan was born in the early 1960s in Hong Kong, China and migrated to Norway with his brother in his 20s. He found a chief position in a Chinese restaurant in Oslo, Norway. After, he worked there for five years, he married the restaurant owner's daughter and together they got a son. The relation with the first wife, however, last only six years due to personality clash according to Fan. After divorce, Fan left Oslo and went to Bergen to start his new life, and his son chose to stay Oslo with his mother.

Qu was born in Hong Kong, China as well, and graduated from top music college as cello performer. She used to work for a famous Symphony Orchestra in China, and attended many performances with the band over the world. She met Fan when she attended performance trip in Europe, and later they fell in love and married. Afterwards, Qu quit her job and immigrate to Norway for family union. Right now Qu is employed as a cello performer in a Norwegian Symphony Orchestra, while Fan runs a restaurant business.

Figure 5.5: Family C Diagram



Made by the author

Qu's Story

Most of my friends and family members were against my decision of marriage and migration to Norway to live with my husband. I had doubts before, but they disappeared immediately when I started my new life here. One of Fan's friend here introduced me to the executive manager of a local Orchestra, and I eventually got a position with higher pay after four

months arriving Norway. My working environment is incredible employee friendly. As many international musicians work there, I found myself easily building connections with others because of our immigrant background.

I got pregnant one year after the marriage, and started to feel a bit nervous when I carried our son, Junior. For my husband, this was not the first time to be a father, thus he offered me endless support and advice. I am a quite proud and independent woman, who does not want count on my husband for everything. I thus always insisted to go to check-up or do other stuffs alone at beginning. I remembered that one time, on the 12th week gynecological check-up for Junior, I received a paper from the nurse with full page of questions that I could not understand completely. I felt so helpless, and eventually called Fan for help. I cried later for my helplessness i.e. living here more than one year and still could not understand Norwegian well. Fan comforted me and decided to follow me for every check-up.

Beside my husband, my doctor and my boss at work also offered me great support. My doctor always comforted me during my regular pregnancy checks, making jokes all the time to ease my anxiety. My boss/manager of Orchestra is also really nice guy. I remember that I failed to submit my parental leave application on time, but in the end I still received the leave on the date I required although we needed to perform during that period.

After giving birth, I returned to my busy working life immediately. Sometimes we have to travel a lot, and my husband thus takes the more responsibilities of child care. I felt guilty most of times since I am not a 'good mother' according to many of my Chinese friends' view. I could not cook for my son, teach him nothing besides classic music, and I even fail to contribute more time to him because I need to practice my cello a lot even during the spare time. I remember one time, both Fan and Junior got sick, and I could not stay at home to take care of them because I had two performances in a row. Although in the end my doctor helped me out, I felt extreme guilty inside. I started thinking of quitting my job, and I actually tried to take several days off and spend the time with Junior at home. But, being honest, the life without performance was killing me, and I soon became depressive because of staying home. Consequently, I returned to my work, even with terrible guilty in my heart.

We have some Chinese friends with children here, and sometimes we gather together so our kids could play with each other. Chinese parents are more likely to compare with each other. Several friends have kids as my son's age, and every time when we are together, they would love to talk how much effort and time they contribute to their children, and how great their children are. They also like to make judgment, such as "why you do not teach your son the cello, come on, you are a musician". I dislike such judgments from these Chinese and would love to stay away from them. But I also know some of those friends are really good or important in Fan's life, I then persuaded myself to be more social with them.

Unlike Fan and me, my little boy started showing great interest on skating when he was four, probably influenced via Scandinavian culture. I and my husband decided to fully support him although many other Chinese families here think learning skating is too much. Fan and me,

however, did not care about the money spending on Junior at all. Fan even hired a previous national staking medal winner to be my son's private tutor. I think I agree with the Norwegian way to raise the child, caring, encouraging, and unconditional acceptance even Junior is not perfect. In some perspective, however, I think it is also good to be stricter on educating a boy than a girl, and of course in an acceptable range. For example, when Junior fell, my husband always went to hug him and comfort him. But for me, I always want him to stand up by himself and then I would comfort him.

When Junior was in kindergarten, he deliberately cut a girl's hair because that girl refused to share a pencil with him. The school teacher told this to us, and we gave a serious talk to Junior when we was walking back home with him. However, when we tried to talk gently about the issue, Junior just covered his ears without looking at us at all. I got so pissed, and spank his butt directly. Junior got shocked and started to cry. Fan got shocked as well, and stared at me with angry. Later I also realized, I was totally overreacting. Despite thinking that Junior deserved a lesson, I still do not need to use violent.

Fan's Story

My first marriage in Norway lasted only six years, and I left my ex-wife and six years old son. My ex-wife is a nice, traditional, and typical Chinese lady. We actually love and respect each other, but, we eventually could not live together because we own different values and life goals. She is barely social, and loves to spend time only with family members, Chinese of course. I am, by contrast, more open, energetic, adventurous, and enjoying parties and friends with different ethnic background.

My ex-wife got married one year after divorce, and they have a quite good life in Oslo now. My son has a really nice stepfather who sees him as his own. After divorce, I still kept a good relationship with my ex-wife and my son, and I always return to Oslo once a while to visit them. But around two years later, my ex-father-in-law gave me a very serious and private conversation, requiring that I should stay away from his daughter, grandson and their new family. He said Chinese from the same community judged a lot because my regular visit to my ex-wife. Also, he is afraid that my appearance, as a biological father, might exert adverse influence on the relationship between my son and his new father. My ex-father-in-law highlighted that if I want my ex-wife and son to move on and have a better future, I should never go back.

I indeed believe what my ex-father-in-law said, and I eventually decided to follow his request after several weeks' of consideration. I stopped to visit my son in Oslo anymore, decreased the phone call, or played ice-cold when they contacted me. My ex-wife and my son have no idea of the truth, and they eventually stopped contacting me anymore probably thinking I am the worst husband and father forever. I always hated what I did, and the feeling of missing my son was killing me every day for so many years. I felt so terrible and desperate during a long time, and so many nights I drunk at local bar, letting the sorrow and guiltiness drown me. When my son reached his 16s, my ex-father-in-law died. One year later, my ex-wife contacted

me through a common friend, saying that she wants me to see the son who always has childhood memory about the time he spent with his biological father. The more he grows up, the more he wants to know about his father. Besides, from my ex-mother-in-law, my ex-wife and my son already knew what happened behind my 'disappearance' back that time.

I finally saw my son but my feeling was complicated and I could never describe it with specific words. He grew so much more than I could image, becoming a handsome man with a good manner. He was doing very well in high school so in the end received a scholarship and soon would go to U.S. for Bachelor. As a father, I know I always love and be proud of my son. But, every time I saw the interaction between him and his stepfather, I felt quit envious or even jealous. That is the real father-and-son relationship which I missed for almost eight years.

The marriage with Qu and the birth of Junior is the best gift I received after so many depressive years. My wife has a quite unusual working hour, which means I have to take the main responsibility of childrearing, feeding him, putting him in the bed, and playing with him. When Junior was a baby, I used to drive him to different nature parks and zoos. After he grew a bit, I started to do some sports with him, including skating, swimming, climbing, fishing, camping, etc. My wife has a lot of opportunities to travel around in Europe for performing. I then carried Junior to join her to each city. Qu usually needs spending some daytime at hotel for practicing, I then bring Junior out to the new city's parks, museums, and other nature sights. During the evening, we gather together at a local nice restaurant and enjoy the nice family dinner. Those are the most beautiful time in my life.

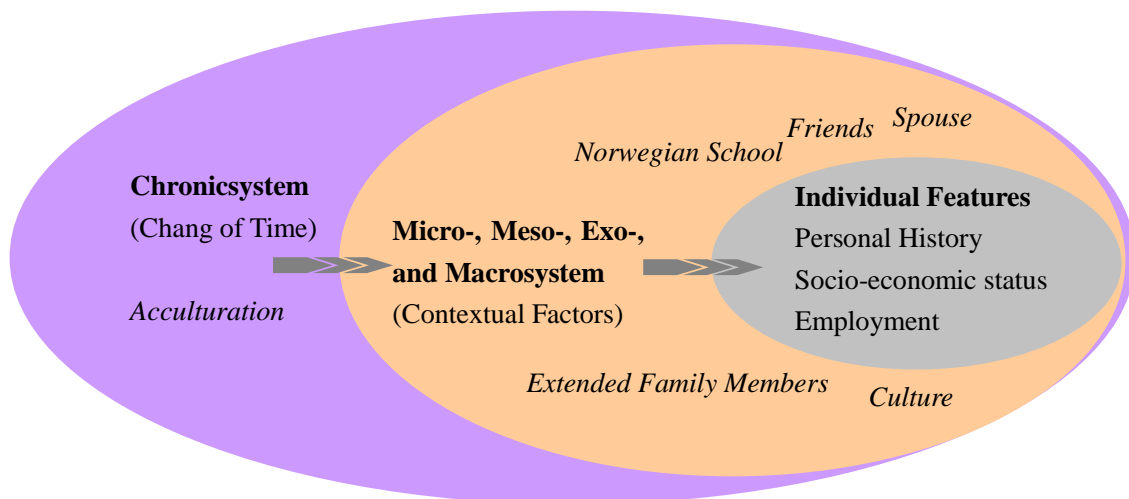
Regarding the child raising issue, my wife always wants to let our son do things independently at an early age. She always expects Junior to put on skates on his own and did his own shoe tie when he was only three years old. At beginning I could not stand for that and though she was too harsh on the little baby. But, gradually I think she is probably right that I am a little bit over protective of my son and this mollycoddling could come with adverse outcome later. I then just stay away and let my wife to educate Junior in her way. Due to a lot of traveling, Qu uses an intimate way to greeting people and express love, like hugs and kisses. She kisses little Junior all the time and tells him she loves him so much. I, by contrast, influenced by my own parents, who seldom openly express love to each other. I consequently felt a little bit weird at beginning to offer kisses and hugs to Junior. But latter I realized my foolishness and started to share intimacy with my son through kissing him, wishing him good night every day and hugging him every time when I felt for that.

Discussion

Family C sits in the similar ecological system as other two families discussed before (figure 5.6); although the couple in the story seems more acculturated to Western culture and receives broader social support from agents such as friends, work colleagues, and other social network. By growing up in Hong Kong, which used to be British colony, both Qu and Fan might feel easier to navigate Western culture. For over 50 years British governed Hong Kong had a

significant different political, economic and cultural manifestation than other places in China. The culture of Hong Kong is more “occidentalized” and Confucius traditions found are more dominant in Mainland China than Hong Kong (Lin & Ho 2009). Growing up and being educated within Western cognition offers the couple in the story a better position to acculturate into the Norwegian culture which shares the similarities with British ones. Further, fluency in English in some extent helps the couple expanding their network with others who have diverse ethnic background rather than Chinese. Being in interaction with friends with multicultural background provides the couple greater chances to realize the cultural gap between the home and host countries, equipping them with broader insights to evaluate cultural difference and eventually develop their personalized coping strategies to acculturation challenges (Levitt et al. 2005).

Figure 5.6: Ecological System of Family C



Made by the author

Qu is the only immigrant mother in the research that continues her professional career after immigration and has full-time employment. The reasons that Qu could easily participate in Norwegian’s labour market might be because she used to work in a diverse environment and had abundant traveling experience which offers her a higher ability for adaptation. Employment status helps Qu to decrease the chance of experiencing psychological distress with financial hardship and individual fulfillment which might predict parenting problems (Lin 2010). Importantly, employment also expands Qu’s social network, bringing extended social support to the family ecology and accelerating the speed of acculturation in Norwegian system.

Great acculturation does not mean assimilation. The couple in the story manifested the feature of bi-cultural: adopting Norwegian parental belief and practice while simultaneously retaining some parental behavior dominated in Chinese culture. For example, like other Norwegian parents, Qu encourages a more intimate relationship with the child than other Chinese parents, through expressing love for her son often and openly. However, she also maintains certain

parental beliefs emphasized via traditional Chinese culture, like boys need to be governed and trained more harshly than girls, and punishment sometimes is necessary if the child shows gross behaviors (Chen et al. 2012). Although Qu gradually dropped off the idea and the practice of physical punishment, she still insists on strict parenting in enhancing her son's capacity and diligence.

The term integration could better describe the case family's acculturation level, which suggests that the couple learn from both home and host cultures (Berry 1997). Being exposed to broader Norwegian systems, Qu and Fan have an opportunity to re-evaluate their understanding of good parenting. Their parenting behavior consistently changed due to their self-evaluation on cultural cognition related to childrearing. It seems impossible that the couple could completely assimilate or head back to original cultural ideology. Consistent with what is portrayed via existing studies stating that Chinese parents are featured with harshness, controlling and strictness; the couple in the study also manifested a trend to support their child's development of both autonomy and relatedness which are not common in Chinese families (Chua 2011; and Juang, Syed, Cookston, Wang & Kim 2012). Overall, integration supports Qu and Fan develop a hybrid parenting style that combines both regulation and the providing of autonomy.

5.2 Cross-cases Content Analysis

Cross-case analysis in this research aims to mobilize knowledge from individual case studies. Specifically, through comparing narratives among respondents, the author is able to identify the similarities and exceptions and further formulate the themes. The term 'theme' as used in this research does not represent something that is stated repeatedly but instead reflects understanding or significance. Prevalent themes in participants' stories could be sorted into following three sections.

5.2.1 Chinese immigrants' parental stress in Norway and its adverse impact on parent belief and behavior

Generally, the participants in this study decided to immigrate to Norway for many different reasons, including family reunion, career advancement, and a better environment for living. Some families made smooth transitions and adjustments, while the other might face various contextual challenges which influence their parenting approaches. Parental stress among our immigrant parents could stem from problems including *lack of social support, downward social mobility when the individuals' training and education are devalued, language barriers, downgraded social and economic statues, discrimination, high expectation on children's academic achievement* and so the forth. Based on previous studies, parental stress might contribute to less positive parenting behaviors, like low nurturance, inconsistent discipline, high control, as well as low parental warmth (Chan 1994; and Fagan, Bernd, & Whiteman 2007).

Case family A in this dissertation offers an extreme example on how parental stress might negatively influence on the children's growth. The immigration to Norway at beginning resulted in the downgrade of family A's social and economic status, when the mother lost her decent job in China and was forced to become a full-time house maker and the high-educated father received less competitive payment compared to high Norwegian living cost. The financial pressure became one of the drivers of family tension and to some extent facilitated the wife's depression and the husband's abusive behavior on their children. As Bornstein and Bradley (2014) highlight, economic pressure usually significantly links with psychological distress, in the form of depression and hostility, on the part of the parenting. Such psychological distress could further bring hostility, low warmth and arbitrary discipline toward the children.

When the Chinese immigrant parents struggled with the stress imposed via immigration and acculturation, their children's needs were not always a top priority (Liu 2014). In this research, when families immigrated to Norway, the children were forced to exposure to a totally new environment: new language, new school, separation from extended family members and friends in China, etc., all of which raise the difficulties and pressures for them to adapt. In case family B, for example, children found challenges to make new friends and adhere to the teachers' instructions in the class. Although Chinese immigrant parents desire to satisfy their children's needs, they might experience significant loss in their effectiveness—as a consequence of systemic constrains on their capacity to affect their new environment on behalf of their children—for example when negotiating an unfamiliar educational system. All parents in this research presented their concerns and frustrating experiences in relation with Norwegian schooling. Hui from family B shared her story that she tried to apply a volunteering position at her daughter's classroom at first year of the family arriving Norway. She was rejected by the school teachers with the reason of poor Norwegian language competence that might result in inefficient communication with other volunteers. Hui conducted a formal complaint to the school top management on the ground of race discrimination; however, the final decision was still negative. Similarly, Lin from family A also shared one unpleasant experience of negotiating with her son's school in Norway:

I persuaded my husband to get involved into Kim's school activity because I believed that could increase my son's confidence, and at same time to build a close relation with school teachers in order to obtain more information about our son's school life. My husband agreed and signed up as a volunteer helper for school football activity, and according to the school coach, this activity just requires helpers to play with children. Then after he enrolled, he realized that all the other helpers were quite professional with football, and they all played well and they could teach the kids a lot towards techniques, strategies and rules. My husband is really not fan of football, and he experienced difficulties to explain sport-related things in Norwegian since he used to speak English at workplace and Chinese at home. As a result, he withdrew the volunteering role after a while (Lin).

As the above narrative indicate, although Chinese immigrant parents have high aspirations for their children's school life, little cultural education or low language proficiency put them in a lower position to support children with school activities, deal with educational authority figures, and hence negotiate with school educators and administrators effectively. Another source of stress among most Chinese immigrant families concerns the importance placed on children's academic achievement. Due to the changes in the education system experienced upon immigrating, some Chinese immigrants in the current study felt significant pressure in regard to their children's academic study. For example the mothers from family A and family B both expressed concerns about the Norwegian school's indifference on mathematics and sciences education. They therefore believe it is necessary to work extra with their children at home to keep them at least at the same level with children of the same age in China.

Previous studies on Chinese immigrant families suggest that parents' educational background usually positively links with their expectation on their children's education level (e.g. Hwang et al., 2010). However, parental education background in this dissertation was found not significantly necessary to their high expectation on their children's academic achievement. Four parents with different educational background all mentioned that they expect their children to receive higher education in future. As Fan, a father who was not able to attend college himself, stated in the interview:

Although I always want to be a Western father who supports their children to choose what they want to do, letting them to be themselves. I still believe, or I will also always tell my son, how important it is to receive a college education. I did not have the opportunities before for higher education since I had to immediately find a job and generate an income. But, I think I am able to both emotionally and psychically support my children's further education. I think it is not always about a well-paying job you could get through university, of course it is a possible reason, but, opportunities also mean that the environment of college broadens personal knowledge in specific area, making you become the expert in that field. People could gain plenty valuable resource through their college life, both academically and personally. You have better chance to see this world differently, keep in touch with people have various background, and gain a new insight about the life, what you really want and what the meaning of life is (Fan).

Likewise, Lin from family A highlighted that higher education is precondition for achieving the "Norwegian (Western) dream", which links with high social status and better financial situation in the host country. Lin's husband contributed significant financial support towards their children's education although he received economic pressure and workload stress. Additionally, beside the financial gain and improving social status, Lin also believes that higher education in Norway could enable her children to achieve a better adaptation, becoming as competitive as other Norwegian children and receiving equal treatment in future workplace.

Finally, when examining the parental stress among Chinese immigrant parents, there is a growing understanding of additional challenges that the mothers in the families confront. The ideology that a mother serves as a family's primary caregiver is rooted in Chinese cultural traditions (Huang et al., 2003). Although more Chinese women are employed today, they are still stereotyped as caregiver and would receive criticism from themselves, families, peers and communities if they failed to fulfill their defined 'mother roles'. The immigration and acculturation process brought less change towards the traditional belief of mother role, for example, in family C, while the father shares the most child caring responsibilities, the mother indulges herself in self-criticism and guilty.

5.2.2 Chinese immigrants' parental acculturation and its impact on parental belief and behavior

Immigration requires acculturation (Bornstein & Bohr 2011). Acculturation includes processes of both cultural and psychological shifts—for instance in customs, language, values, and behavior—that take place as a result of contact between two cultural groups (Chai & Costigan 2006). Immigration and acculturation in this dissertation are seen as disorganizing and reorganizing experiences, necessitating alteration of participants' social identity and self-image. Chinese immigrant parents have to negotiate new cultures and learn to navigate multiple new and different systems. In other words, acculturation requires adjusting responses of engrained life scripts to compensate for cultural differences and disruption of familiar family roles (Buki et al 2003).

Five immigrant parents in investigation bring with them on their journey from their original cultural context with defined ideology about how to rear a child appropriately. When they migrate to a new culture, they find that socialization agents in the receiving culture, such as school teachers, other Norwegian parents, friends and professionals, etc. introduce and promote a different image of successful parenting. Such socialization facilitates immigrant parents to become bi-cultural in some extent, referred as integration in Berry's acculturation theory, i.e. combining parental beliefs and practices dominated in Chinese and Norwegian cultures. In acculturating, Chinese immigrant parents must evaluate cultural difference and gap, and then decide which cognition or practices to retain from their indigenous culture, which to modify, and which new ones to adopt (Bornstein & Bohr 2011). Some parents tend to develop a hybrid parenting style that combines strict regulation with reasoning and the supports for developing autonomy and individuality.

The role of immigrants' acculturation therefore is essential in parenting behaviors among Chinese immigrant parents. In case families, greater parental acculturation tends to be more associated with healthier family relationship and positive parenting because the parents are offered multiple insights to examine the criterion constructed through the image of good parenting within specific contexts. For example, in family A, being acculturating enabled the mother to realize the negative outcome of her husband's aggressive and abusive behavior on their children's physical and psychological growth. In family C, increase acculturation degree

enabled the father to feel less difficulty communicating with his son and experience less uncertainty and more satisfaction in his parenting role.

Language skill is first essential indicator of acculturation level (Berry, 1995). Highlighted by most parents in this research, Norwegian proficiency significantly affects the parenting. With little knowledge of Norwegian, many participants experienced discrimination and frustration in contacting with Norwegian school and other social systems. Language barrier decreases parents' abilities and confidence to support their children involve the school activities; as well, it declines the efficiency and parental power in negotiating with school teachers, administrators, and other important authority figures (Bornstein & Bohr 2011). Additionally, language skills also decide parents' performance in labor market and the scope of these people's social network. For example, Lin in family A experienced unemployment and social network dwindling partially due to language problem. Such situation further increases the respondent's parental stress which segregate her attention on her children's actual needs. Below is an example indicating the importance of Norwegian proficiency on helping the parent to achieve a better understanding towards their children's need in school:

Many Chinese parents here sometimes have a misunderstanding that Norwegian schools generally have low academic inspiration for students. They are definitely wrong. The reason which causes this misunderstanding and stereotype is that the parents barely go to school to do their own participation and observation due to their limited language skill and cannot have an efficient communication with school staffs. I, actually, volunteered a lot at my daughter's school and got many opportunities to look closer at what actually happens in a Norwegian classroom. Teachers here usually are willing to use multiple approaches, such as drawing, role playing, singing, etc, to teach the students basic knowledge. Those colorful pedagogic methods cultivate the students' creativity and inspire their interest to learn more (Hui).

The second indicator of acculturation found in this study is *cultural knowledge*, which refers to knowledge of cultural referents. Cultural knowledge is indicative of cultural capacity which ensure the individual function in a certain cultural context (Berry 2005). Among five respondents, Fan the father from family C, is considered as highly acculturated in respect of their Norwegian cultural knowledge. Specifically, Fan is familiar with Norwegian heroes and current political leaders. The knowledge about the receiving country's history and current political situation, as Berry (2005) suggests, defines immigrants' socialization and adaptation level to the dominant host nation's culture. Besides, Fan is also familiar with Norwegian television shows and other printed media in the dominant or heritage culture. Such understanding might better support the respondent to positively participate in conversations with his acculturated children; as well, increase his effectiveness and confidence to the child with school work and deal with the school authority figures. Finally cultural knowledge might also allow the parent to recognize popular references with community or workplace, and may thereby allow for the creation of an enlarged social support network (Stephenson 2000).

Cultural reflection and evaluation is the last important indicator of acculturation (Stephenson 2000). Behavior could often tell more about the individuals' level of acculturation than simply asking questions devoted to preference. However, reporting on behavior requires long-term observation and interaction with the respondents, which is limited in this research capacity. The author therefore could only make initial comments based on reflection and information the participants offered during the interview. One sign of parental acculturation in parents' narration is that they started to question or compare their previous way of childrearing with the dominant approach in Norwegian culture. Personal reflection usually results in behavior change that is considered as the transmission of culture. For example, Fan at beginning solemnly showed his affection to his son through words and hugs due to the implicit feature of Chinese culture; however, being acculturated, this father gradually started expressing his love openly and trying to construct a more intimate relation with the child.

Parents' previous experience/contact with Western culture and the preference and efforts in building network with people from receiving country could be seen as predictors of increasing cultural knowledge. Family C is an example of how growing up in a Western colony and experience of working with international people better prepared the couple to adapt to Norwegian system with their previous knowledge/contact with Western cognition (Lin & Ho 2009). As proved in existing literature, length of residency in the receiving country seems not necessary associate with the individual acculturation level (Barry 2005; and Chen et al 2012). Immigrant grandparents mentioned via both family B and family C found that it was more difficult to be acculturated due to the less exposure to socialization in Western education system and social networks although they have the longest residency period in the host country.

On the whole, before the parents came to Norway, they learned about the receiving country's culture through media, friends, as well as other resources, which was considered as the first experience of acculturation. Along with the pre-assumption towards Norwegian society, the immigrant parents arrived in the country and started their first-hand contact with new cultural ideology and behavior. Linguistic, cultural, and educational differences indeed created tension and pressure in the respondents' acculturation process; simultaneously, cross-cultural experiences also encouraged parents to question parental belief and behavior generated in both home and host countries. This self-reflection and re-evaluation of two cultures expands the meaning of acculturation (Barry 1997). Great acculturation in this research, therefore, is more refereed as a long-period cultural learning and evaluation. The experience of living in Norway offer Chinese immigrants a chance to observe both Chinese and Norwegian parenting from both inside out and the outside in. Acculturation process allows the immigrants to wear a critical lens to re-evaluate their home culture in order to construct a new perception towards the new culture. It seems impossible to Chinese immigrant parents to completely stay with their heritage culture (separation) or new receiving country's culture (assimilation). Instead, their dominant parental belief and behavior will be constantly shifting between two cultural domains.

5.2.3 Individual and social supports serve as the moderator of parental stress and the accelerator of acculturation

During immigration and acculturation process, Chinese immigrant parents usually receive support from their Microsystem and Exosystem, including the agents such as spouses, extended family, friends, school teachers, the community, social services, and so the forth. Prior research shows that individual and social supports could be seen as a significant protective factor in relation to parenting behaviors (Levitt et al. 2005; and Zhai & Gao 2009). As Zhai & Gao (2009) argue, support offer resources for coping with parental stress faced during immigration and acculturation. They also increase the immigrant parents' knowledge and awareness of social resources and use of public assistance, which in return may promote more positive parenting (Xu et al. 2005).

The finding generated from this research, indeed, only partially support existing literature. Based on the immigrant parents' narratives, *individual and social supports serve as the moderator of parental stress and the accelerator of acculturation*. Specifically, *support from the spouse* is found as the most important role in easing individual parental stress in new country environment. Less support received from spouses could link with marriage discord and negative outcome of parenting and children behavior. Family A for example is an extreme case of how the absence of father's involvement in childrearing leads to family conflicts that undermine and disrupt effective parenting. By contrast, mutual support between husbands and wives in relation with childrearing results in healthier family relationships and positive parenting. As Qu stated in the interview, her husband's endless support for her professional career and childrearing ensures a harmony and loving family environment for their child's growth.

I felt guilty sometimes because I might not be a good mother according to many of my Chinese friends. I couldn't cook for my son, and I couldn't teach him anything besides classic music. I even could not contribute more time with him because I need to practice my cello a lot even during the spare time. My husband never complains towards the above issues; instead, he is always joking around that I am the princess he married. He is the chef so of course he has responsibility to cook and feed us, as well, he has been father before, and so he could better take care of our son (Qu).

Besides the spouses, *extended family members* also play an essential role in offering both emotional and physical supports that enable the immigrant parents to better address their daily challenges and acculturation stresses. For example, according to the father from family B, there is significant good sides of keeping closer with his immigrant grandparents because, firstly, the elders could take a partial responsibilities of childrearing; and additionally, grandparents could contribute more time and patience than the couple to share the children with their rich life experience.

Immigrant parents' personal connection with *friends and neighbors* could also enhance the families' strength in dealing with their parental stress and acculturation challenges. For

example, with friends support, the couple from family B could successfully start their restaurant business in Norway and ease the family's economic pressure. Likewise, through personal contact, the mother from family C participated in labor market easily after immigration; as well, her supportive and emotionally satisfying relationship with a network of friends and work colleagues help her to decrease the chance of acculturative conflicts in Norway (Zhai & Gao, 2009).

Norwegian school, as the last but crucial influencing agent, directly shapes Chinese immigrants' parental practice in line with Norwegian-approved standards. Active parental involvement in the children's schooling allows the immigrant parents to rapidly acquire insider knowledge towards Norwegian educational system, school practice and policies, and avenues for better satisfying the children's interests and ever-changing needs. Compared with Chinese school education system which is exemplified as examination-oriented and over emphasize the value of academic achievement, Norwegian schools focus more on quality-oriented education that ensures the students' overall development in moral, intellectual, physical, aesthetic, and creative aspect. Below two examples illustrate how immigrant parents perceive Norwegian schooling, and how they are gradually acculturated during the participation into their children's school activities:

I have been to my three children's classroom many times as a volunteer to help out for their group activities. Both I and my children are excited when I was participate. For them, it is quite proud to see their mom at school, and sometimes I also bought some small gifts for other children in the class and make those kids like me and further like my children (...) For me, I could have more opportunities to observe my children's teachers (through those activities) and acquire more information towards my children's behavior and performance at school (Hui).

I started to hate traditional Chinese way of teaching in the school. Unreasonable strictness deprives children of their confidence. In Norway, the teachers and parents must cultivate confidence in our children. When we look around in school activities, it's easy for us to see a Norwegian kid joking and running around while many immigrant Asian kids just standing or sitting conservatively with dodging eyes. I believe this is the result of improper old-fashioned schooling and parenting. Living in Norway, we don't want to be 'Norwegianized', but we definitely should learn their good aspects, such as their democratic education (Qu).

The above cases highlight the role of individual and social supports in relieving parental stress and facilitating acculturation. However, this research finding also identifies the negative impact from excessive involvement of social actors on the parents' parenting. For example, the interference from grandparents on childrearing issues could rise respondents' parental stress. Due to acculturation gap, immigrant Chinese grandparents in this study, who value strict authority, responded with significant dismay to their more acculturated children's bids for autonomy on parenting grandchildren. Tension and conflicts then escalate as presses for autonomy are met through growing interference. Such interference and controlling brought

significant negative outcome based on the respondents' stories. While the couple in family B decided to migrate again to escape away from the grandparents' controlling, the father in family C was forced via the father-in-law to cease the relationship with his ex-wife and son.

Similarly as grandparents, the respondents' friends, either from the home country or the host country, could constantly propagandize or reinforce their cultural believes on the individuals' parental practice. Those cultural values might be a double-edge sword, exerting both positive and adverse influence on the parents' parenting. The couple from family B, for example, complained that their Chinese immigrant friends constantly reinforce the value of gender discrimination and inequality through pursuing the wife to cease her professional career and making fun of the family that cannot deliver a boy. Likewise, the mother from family C regularly receives criticism on her parenting style:

We have some Chinese friends with children here, and sometimes we spend time together and let my son play with other kids. Chinese parents are easy to compare with each other. Several friends have kids as my son's age, and every time when we are together, they would love to talk how much effort and time they contribute on their children and how great their children are. They also like to make judgment, such as "why you don't teach your son cello, come on you are a musician". I hate all their comparison and judgment, because I receive a lot negative energy and pressure through those conversations (Qu).

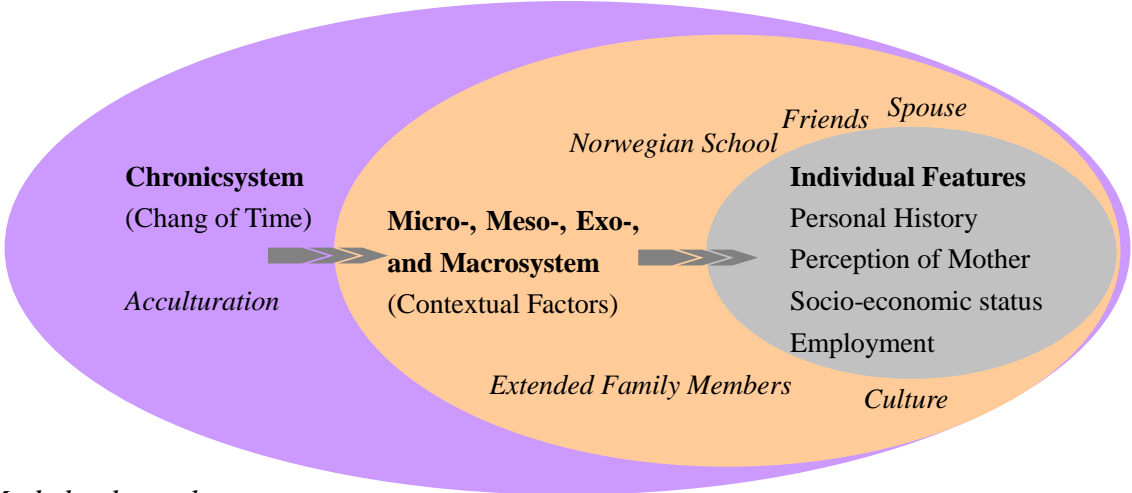
The reason that Chinese friends are more likely to interfere in others' personal life, according to one scholar, is because China is historically featured as a collective country and most population generally lack of the concept of 'self-identify' compared with western majority (Hofstede 2010). Specifically, the conception of self in the modern West encompasses certain specific values which include, primarily, the notion of the individual as a locus of dignity and respect. With the development of post-Romantic notion of individual difference, the respect for human dignity expands to the demand that giving people the freedom to develop their personality in their own way. It is the idea that each person is called upon to live his or her own life in particular way and no limitation of someone else's. However, this notion is lacking in Chinese culture and traditional Chinese society. Lack of the self concept, Chinese is consequently used to build conception of the good and pursue it based on others comments and suggestions. The practice that gives a rise of autonomy and the principle of respecting others' choice in terms of individual rights are significantly missing in majority of Chinese population (Wu et al. 2002; and Lin 2011).

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1 Summery of Findings

The principle aim of this research is to gain an understanding towards the Chinese immigrant parental experience in Norway through examining their parental beliefs and practices underlying their personal, historical, social, cultural and acculturation contexts. Through case-focused narrative analysis of five Chinese immigrant parents from three individual families, the finding suggests that respondents’ parental behavior is one of outcomes of personal interaction with their ecological system. In other words, participants’ parental practice in Norway is gradually shaped and changed due to the parents’ relation with multiple factors at three main levels resident in ecological system: namely personal features, contextual factors, and change of time (Bronfenbrenner 2005).

Figure 6.1: Ecological System of Case Families



Made by the author

At the individual level, Chinese immigrants’ parental beliefs and behaviors initially interact with these individuals’ *personal history, social-economic and employment status, the perception of mother role*, etc. This is followed by the daily association with the key determinants of individual micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-systems directly or indirectly support the formulation and the change of respondents’ parental approach in Norway. Those determinants identified in this dissertation include *spouse, friends, extended family members, Norwegian school, cultural values* from China and Norway. Finally, *acculturation* degree serves as the main agent in individual Chronicsystem that further affects respondents’ decisions on parenting through the other socializing determinants mentioned above.

Bronfenbrenner's BM model helps the researcher to view Chinese immigrants' parental behavior in a nested structure. Individual differences existing in the interaction with factors defined in the family's ecological system could lead to the variety of parental practice. This means Chinese immigrants' parental experience in Norway is multiply determined—it needs to be understood through a combination of several determinants other than considering each factor singly. In family A's story, the respondent highlighted the complexities of navigating the value systems between Chinese and Norwegian cultures, and how this further caused constrained choices and additional parental stress. Lack of spouse and other social supports, the Chinese mother in family A confronts difficulties in conducting efficient and appropriate decision in response for her husband's abusive behavior and its negative outcome on her son's development.

In family B, respondents described a contradictory role of extended family members together with other individual and social network in relationship with parental practice in immigrated country. Those factors on the one hand found offering emotional and physical supports to immigrant parents in dealing with daily difficulties of childrearing. The extensive involvement of those agents; however, also challenged the respondents' autonomy in parenting and increased acculturative conflicts. The last family C offered a vivid image about how immigrants' parental acculturation could be beneficial to their parenting. Luxuriant personal prior experience with Western cultures enabled the couple in family C to better identify the cultural gap in relation with Chinese and Norwegian parenting. Through consistent cultural evaluation, the parents developed a hybrid parenting that combines facets from two cultural domains.

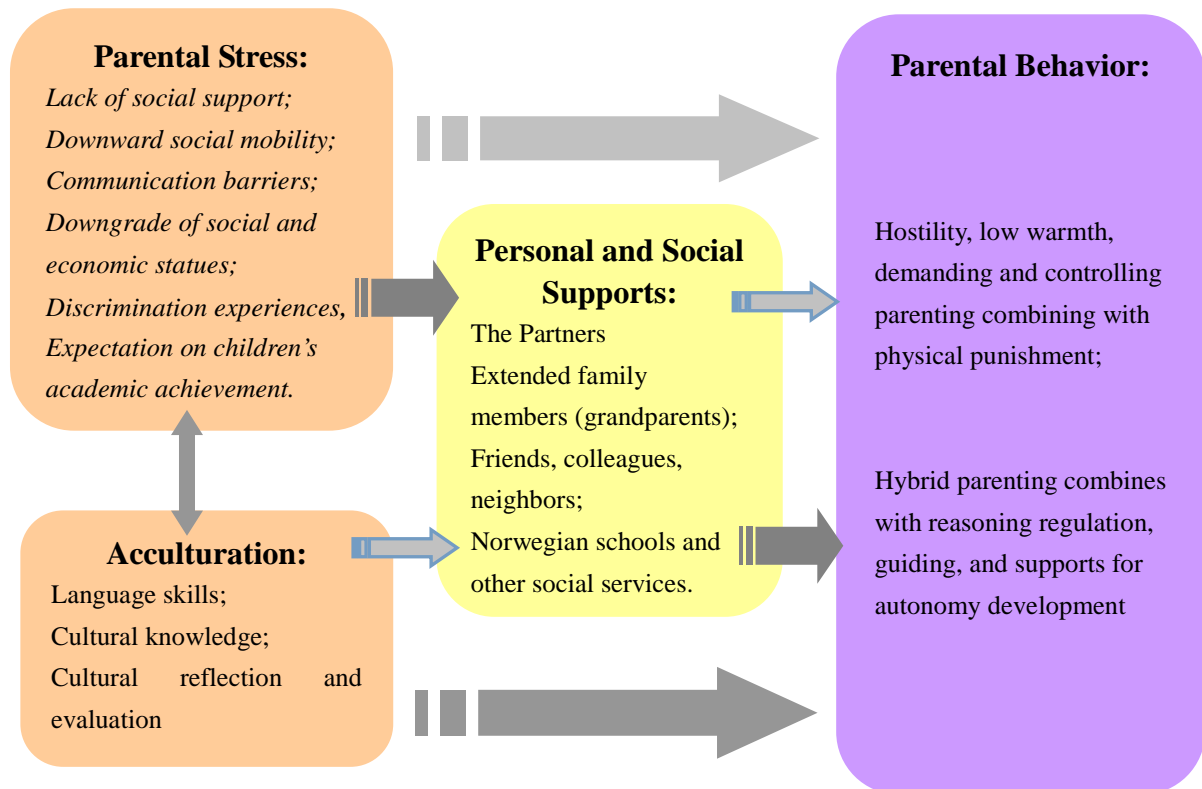
Through comparing the similarities and expectations among three different families and five individual parents, three further conclusions are generated to offer a detailed description of Chinese immigrant parents' experience in Norway. To begin with, Chinese immigrant parents in this dissertation face significant parental stress stemming from contextual challenges and problems including *lack of social support, downward social mobility when the individuals' training and education are devalued, communication barriers, downgrade of social and economic statuses, discrimination experiences, expectation on children's academic achievement* and so the forth. When selected Chinese respondents struggled with pressures imposed via immigration and acculturation, it becomes challenge for them to place their children's needs as a top priority. Although Chinese immigrant parents desire to satisfy their children's need, they might experience significant loss in their effectiveness—as a consequence of systemic constrains on their capacity to affect their new environment on behalf of their children—for example when negotiating an unfamiliar educational system.

The role of Chinese immigrants' acculturation degree is essential in these people's parental behavior. In case families, greater parental acculturation tends to be more associated with healthier family relationship and positive parenting because the parents are offered multiple insights to examine the criterion for constructing the image of good parenting within specific contexts. *Language skill, cultural behavior, and cultural knowledge* are the main indicators of acculturation in this study. With little knowledge of Norwegian, many participants

experienced discrimination and frustration in contacting with Norwegian school and other social systems. Language barrier decreases parents' abilities and confidence to support their children and involve the school activities; as well, it declines the efficiency and parental power in negotiating with school teachers, administrators, and other important authority figures. Cultural knowledge refers to individual cultural competence or the capacity to function successfully as parents in Norwegian context; while cultural reflection indicates the process that immigrant parents involve to question or compare their previous way of childrearing with the approach pervasive in new culture. Increasing cultural knowledge and regular cultural reflection could enable the change of parental behavior; while, those two factors are decided via personal previous experience/contact with Western cognition and efforts/preference in building relation with Norwegian culture.

Finally, *social support in this research are identified as the mediator of parental stress and the accelerator of parental acculturation*. The positive relationship with, or supports from the spouse, extended family, friends, and other social networks, are essential in easing parental stress in respect of immigration, acculturation, and parenting. However, lack of Western self-concept and individualistic value, respondents more easily receive interference and negative comments from their Chinese grandparents, friends, and neighbors in relation with their parenting behaviors. Such passive influence violated Chinese parents' autonomy on parenting and further exacerbated their pressures. Likewise, respondents highlighted that they sometimes are misunderstood and judged for their unorthodox practices via Norwegian school, other social systems, or friends. Such situation imposed on the respondents a more disempowering circumstance in which parents' have been losing their effectiveness on parenting.

Figure 6.2: Relationship Between Parental Stress, Acculturation, Social Supports and Parental Behavior among Selected Chinese Immigrant Parents in Norway



Made by the author

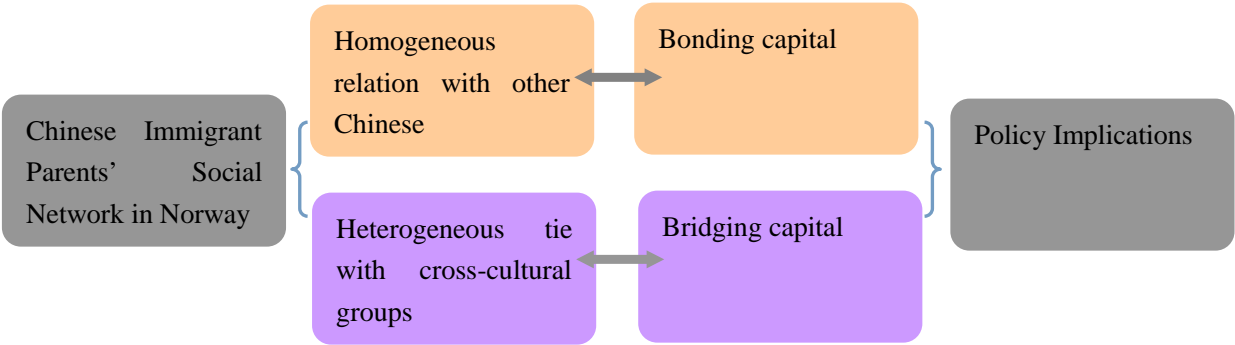
6.2 Policy and Social Work Implications

The new empirical findings in this dissertation could help the social work and social policy fields to build a more detailed image towards Chinese immigrants in Norway and better identify the demand for support and services in parenting and child development for this specific ethnic population. Multiple improvements could be implemented to help in relieving Chinese parental pressures, support them through their process of acculturation, and strengthen their social support networks. As suggested in figure 6.2, Chinese immigrant parents' social network assume a central position in balancing parental stress and acculturation level for promoting a better parenting practice. As the significant dimension of social capital, social network has been proved to offer potential solutions for improving immigrants' economic and social well-being, which in turn benefits society as a collective. In the following first section, therefore, from a social capital perspective, the author would like to address implications for policy and community level on strengthening Chinese immigration parents' social network in order to promote a better social integration in Norway.

6.2.1 Strengthen Chinese or other immigrant parents’ social network for promoting a better social integration in Norway

Drawing largely from Robert Putnam’s work, there is a growing understanding that social integration of immigrants requires the constant maintenance and regeneration of social capital; social networks in particular (Putnam 1995; 2000). Along with existing social capital researches, this dissertation’s finding also suggest that Chinese immigrants’ social network has quantifiable influence on multiple aspects of their life in the community and goes well beyond community (e.g. Putnam 1995; and Walseth 2007). As Putnam (2000) highlight, social capital could be described into two dimensions: homogeneous, i.e. relations/ties among individuals with similar background or interest; and heterogeneous, i.e. relation/ties that cross boundaries of ethnicities, class, minority status. The social network of Chinese immigrant parents in this research, based on Putnam’s explanation of social capital, could also be divided into two forces: relations with other Chinese (homogeneous) in Norway; and ties with cross-cultural groups (heterogeneous). In order to support expanding social network with the purpose of better social integration, Putman (1995) proposed the concepts of bonding capital targeted on homogeneous ties and bridging capital in respect of heterogeneous relation. Specifically, bonding capital in this dissertation refers to implications that strengthen Chinese immigrants pre-existing networks with other Chinese in Norway, while the bridging capital indicate strategies which encourage the targeted immigration population to get beyond their preoccupation with common bonds and engage in cross-cultural relation building (figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Strengthening Chinese Immigrant Parents’ Social Network in Norway



Developed by the author,

Research on immigration suggests that ethnic communities play a critical role in bounding capital through providing social supports to newly arrived immigrants who are unfamiliar with language and culture of the host society (Takenoshita 2015). In this case, it would be beneficial for Chinese immigrants in Norway if Norwegian authorities could launch relevant policies both on local and national level to support the establishment and operation of Chinese communities/organizations. Such ethnic organizations where a number of Chinese entrepreneurs should be concentrated could enable new immigrants lacking fluency in Norwegian to obtain access to employment. Besides, new Chinese immigrants could also

receive other instrumental supports, such as child day care or psychological counseling, derived from the bonding with ethnic entrepreneurship and other organizational members. As Takenoshita (2015) highlighted immigrants' social and psychological well-being seem to be common across receiving states with differing institutional arrangements. To share a common language among individuals is an essential prerequisite for offering individuals emotional support. Through Chinese communities/organizations, new arrived immigrants who are not familiar with Norwegian culture and knowledge could gain easy access to both the instrumental and emotional support offered via other co-ethnic members (Zhang & Ta 2009).

In the perspective of bridging capital of immigrants, this goal could be addressed in institutional arrangements in the receiving societies, including welfare regimes, citizenship and integration policy, labour market structure, and so the forth (Portes, Patricia & William 2005). The way in which social capital works differs, relying on the type of outcomes (Lin, Ye & Walter 1999). Practically, in a local community- or school- level, an interest-oriented community/club could be an example of bridging capital among Chinese with other ethnic groups or natives. As Walseth (2007) finds, sport clubs in Norway effectively lead to accumulation of social capital, both bonding and bridging, for young women with an immigrant background. Inspired, it could be a good idea to construct a local parents club where Chinese immigrant parents could strengthen their reliance upon social support from other ethnic or native parents.

6.2.2 Working efficiently with Chinese immigrant parents

The individual parental stories revealed in this dissertation provide social workers, educators, and other professionals rich concrete examples of Chinese immigrant families living in the Norway. With the knowledge generated from this investigation, practitioners could validate the positive perspective of raising the children constructed within Chinese culture, while supporting immigrant families to identify potential difficulties and challenges in relation with childrearing in Norwegian culture. Practitioners have to pay more attention to Chinese parents who have experienced life stress from socio-economic hardship and acculturation-relevant stresses presented in the new circumstance.

One possible recommendation could be the increasing investments on parental education which helps Chinese immigrants to improve the transmission of intergenerational acculturation socialization and further decrease the likelihood of intergenerational conflict between immigrant parents and children. Culturally relevant parental education programs could also address the issue of increasing Chinese parents' paternal warmth, such as how to express affection toward their children, given that some Chinese respondents in this study find it is challenging to show behavioral and verbal affection (Zhai & Gao 2009). Finally, through educational programme, social workers could guide immigrant parents in identifying and reaching the social support they demand. This process could help achieving the purposes of both bonding and bridging Chinese immigrant parents' capital mentioned in previous section.

Trained culturally competent practitioners are necessary, such as bilingual social workers and teachers, who could conduct an effective communication with immigrant with specific ethnic

background. However, practitioners should also realize that cultural ideology and behavior, as this research findings suggests, are dynamic and constantly change as an outcome of social events and other contextual influence. Professionals, therefore, have to be more conscious and careful not to hold a ethnic biases or stereotypes towards their immigrant clients. Instead of focusing on cultural difference, it would be more helpful that practitioners could address on clients' individual differences. In other word, to better and efficient meet an Chinese immigrant parent's demands, practitioners have to start with the individual rather than ethnic, racial, or cultural variables (Wardle 2011).

6.2.3 Implication for research on immigrants

This dissertation presents an example for research on immigrant families through retelling their parental stories within their personal and socio-cultural contexts where the parenting happens. The findings of the study first help improve social work education on the needs of and services for Chinese immigrants in Norway by increasing social work students' level of cultural competence awareness and knowledge, which would better prepare them to serve this ethnic group. Further, this thesis places academic attention to the implicit and complicated acculturation experiences of Chinese immigrant parents in Norway where there is a significant lack of literature resources that addresses the similar research issue. Finally, through revealing such a marginalized cultural group a voice, this research helps disrupting the inequitable power relations between Norwegian population and the racialized immigrants and their families (Ali 2008).

6.3 Limitation and Recommendation

Considering the current methodology, the sample size was fairly small which cannot be representative and the findings consequently cannot necessarily be generalized to the wider population. The small sample size precluded the identification of subtle differences within whole Chinese immigrant group, therefore, future studies involving larger and more demographically diverse samples are needed for drawing a boarder conclusion. Secondly, during narrative interviews, the researcher tended to let the participants talk freely and unfold their narratives. The problem links with this strategy is that information collected were decentralized, disorganized, and lack of in-depth on any specific perspective. Additionally, regarding the presentation of the data, the author found big challenge in presenting narrative stories in a holistic and concise approach without losing valuable contexts. Finally, being a full-time student studying social work with previous work experience with families, it is unavoidable for the researcher to carry some prejudgment while designing the investigation and later, processing the findings of the study.

Overall, to better interrupt the parental experience of Chinese immigrant groups, more studies are demanded. For example, given the essential role of the diversity in the home of origin and within group differences, more comparative investigation might be helpful in identifying the differences in parental approaches among sub-cultural groups in the Chinese immigrant population. Simiarly, given the crucial position that grandparents and family friends play in

helping selected respondents to maintain relationship with their home culture, more further researches involve those agents are necessary. Finally, future works should include more theoretical frameworks, such as social capital theory, to better characterize the demographic composition and human capital of Chinese immigrants.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Theme one: Immigration

- I hope you to tell me how the story of your life occurred as an immigrant. The best way to do this would be for you to tell all the things that happen when you decided to leave China. You could take your time in doing this, and also give some details including time, place, motivates, tendency and feeling.
- Could you tell me more about challenges and opportunities you receive related to immigration?

Theme Two: Parenting in Norway

- I expect you to tell me some stories you think it is unforgettable related to be the parents in Norway.
- What your roles and your spouse roles in childrearing?
- Could you explain a bit how you define the term of good parenting, what criteria in you mind, and how do you define success for you children.
- Could you also tell me what are major resources for you to support your parenting in Norway; and what are major challenges in childrearing.

Theme Three: Schooling and Social Services

- I hope you could tell me some stories you think it is unforgettable related to your interaction with your child(ren)'s school. What role do you think schools play in your child(ren)'s growth? What your feelings, opinions, and comments towards Norwegian schools, and how would you compare school here with the ones back China?
- What other social services you think it is important in supporting your parenting in Norway.

Theme Four: Acculturation

- In the last part, I hope you could discuss a bit more about your feelings towards Chinese parenting and Norwegian parenting. What differences you perceive between two cultures' parenting ideology and practice. Could you simply describe the advantages and disadvantages in both Chinese and Norwegian parenting? Have any of your personal parenting beliefs and behavior changed since you have migrated?
- How is your Norwegian level right now. In your opinion, what role you think language skill plays in your parenting or your general life here? Do you like watch Norwegian TV, magazines, newspaper, or other media; or do you have knowledge towards Norwegian histories, current political situation, and so on? Why?
- Do you teach Chinese at home or send your child(ren) to Chinese schools? Why? Do you

highlight maintaining a Chinese identity or being acculturated to the Norwegian culture, or both? How?

Appendix B: Consent Form



Consent Form (English)

Dear Sir/Madam,

You are being invited to participate in a Erasmus Mundus Master dissertation research project about *Chinese immigrants' parenting experience in Norway and its relation with parental acculturation*. You have been chosen as the possible participant since you are the first generation Chinese immigrant with school-aged child(ren). You would be asked some questions related to your immigration process, parental experience, involvement with your child(ren)'s school, and acculturation level. The below information is offered to inform you the basic idea of research project and your rights and responsibilities as a participant. Please read this form carefully and feel free to ask any question you might generate about this project. Once you agree to participate, please sign in the end together with the date and the place. You would be given a coupe of this consent form for your records and future reference.

1. Research Purpose

The aim of this research is to study Chinese immigrants' parenting experience in Norway and its relation with parental acculturation. Through lessening the parents' own life stories, this research could draw a fundamental understanding towards Chinese immigrant parental beliefs and behaves before and after immigration, and identify possible individual and contextual factors that help shaping and changing parents' parental approach.

Through this project, the researcher expect the silenced voice of Chinese immigrant parents could be heard. The finding of this research could generate primary and rich information of social workers, educators, social service providers, and other family-related professionals to be more knowledgeable and sensitive to Chinese immigrant parents' and children's social well-being.

2. Research Procedures

Once you agree to be part of this research, you would be expected to engage into two

face-to-face in-depth interviews last around 90 minutes each. The interview would occur at a place most convenient and comfortable for you.

The interview will be tape-recorded with your permission, but you have right to request stop recording at any time if you do not feel comfortable. The interview would be transcribed via the researcher afterwards and the transcripts would be shared with you through emails for accuracy check.

3. Risks Related to Participation

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, the things you will be doing in this research have no identified risks. However, if you do feel uncomfortable with questions asked in the interview, you have right to refuse to answer that or withdrew your participation.

4. Benefits Related to Participation

You would receive the research findings after the project is finished.

5. Payments and Costs

You would not need to pay for the participation; as well; the cost of participation would only be your time.

6. Confidentiality

The researcher would use pseudonym in the project instead of your real name. Besides, all detailed information about your workplace, and other necessary approaches to dis-link identifying information to your response would be removed. Research records would be kept in a locked file and a security place. All electronic information would be coded and secured using a password protected file. Access to the records would be limited to the research herself, the dissertation supervisor, Dr. Åse Elisabeth Vagli, and dissertation committee of University of Stavanger. The findings of this research might be presented at meetings or in published articles.

7. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

It is voluntary for participation. Once you agree to participation, you would be free to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason. There would be no penalty or loss of benefits for ceasing your participation.

8. Further Contacts and Questions

The researcher conducting this project are Hong (Ada) Zhu. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact her at (0074) 45679051, or

hoohkostwon@gmail.com. If you believe you may have suffered a research related injury, contact the faculty adviser, Dr. Åse Elisabeth Vagli at aase.vagli@uis.no, who will give you further instructions.

9. Statement of Consent

I have read carefully the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name): _____

Principal Investigator Signature: _____ Date: _____



Appendix C: Summary of Family Stories

Family A

Lin's Story

I majored in Engineering and used to have a decent job in China. I was carrying Jim when Wang left home and went to Norway for study. In order to maintain family union I joined Wang in Norway very soon with our children although I really want to stay at China with my professional job. After my arrival, I enrolled a Master degree at a local college; however, my health condition and increasing household chores eventually stopped my study and I ended to become a housewife. I am the only child in my original family. In my growing and during the pregnancy, I always received endless supports from my parents and other family members. This makes me feel more difficult in Norway at beginning, where I have to be completely independent mother with two young babies. Even worse, Wang also started to criticized me in relation to my child care, for example, I bought baby food instead of cooking and I allowed the boys to draw on the bed. Such tiny things could significantly rise Wang's temper, and he always has pin in his eyes regards my parenting behavior. I could better accept his critiques if he expresses the issues calm and nicely; but, the fact is he always rises his voice and shouting at me sometime. It is difficult to take care of two children alone; especially in first couple years (after immigration) when I had to learn Norwegian while Wang had to work overtime always. I asked for a babysitter, but Wang disagreed with that because he feels insecure to allow an outsider of the family taking care of the children. I had no friend here back that time. Many evenings after bedding the babies, I sat along in the living room, crying and wondering, why I am here. I had thoughts to back China, leaving my children with Wang. They could receive a better education here; meanwhile, Wang probably could find them a more skilled mother if I leave. However, I eventually gave up that idea. Indeed, what kind of a selfish mother could leave their children behind?

Gradually I became more tolerant towards Wang's bad temper; however, the fights between us are still unavoidable. One day, I was encouraging Kim to practice his trumpet, telling him that even a five-minute practice per day could make a significant difference in a long way. Wang misunderstood my meaning and thought I asked Kim to only practice five minutes. He started to make a war, complaining that Kim's trumpet course cost a lot and apparently we wasted the money he earned. I was not in a good mood that day and started to argue back, blaming him never spend single minute on our children's education. My words made Wang furious, and he first time threw a book over me, yelling "how dare you say that, did your parents ever teach you how to respect the husband and be a good mother?". Kim told me he disliked his trumpet course in school and begged me to help him shifting it to dance course. I agreed because I think it is good for respecting the child's own interest. Wang heard our conversation and got angry because he thinks I should encourage the boy to become more perseverance rather than spoiling him by agreeing what he wants. We started to make a war, and eventually Wang became furious and he spanked me.

I shared this frustrated incident with my Chinese friends here. They did not feel surprise at all; both of them think I should not make a big deal. One friend also mentioned that her father in China has the similar behavior as Wang does: dominant, aggressive, and even abusive in some cases. It is common phenomenon, and all I could do is to accept Wang, tolerating his behavior and respecting his efforts on the family. They pointed out the strengths Wang has, high educated, intelligent, hard-working, honest, etc. I was quite agree with my friends in some points; however, I also have doubts like why I have to bear this. It is true that Chinese women has been subordinate to the men for thousands of years. But, now is in 21st century, and we live not even at China, why I still need to be silent towards my husband's unacceptable behavior?

Wang treats the boys very strict and demanding as well, especially on Kim, the elderly one who regularly receives his father's critiques and punishments. Wang spans Kim quite often when he is misbehavior. One time Kim lied that he finished the homework which he did not. Such little thing triggered my husband as well. He shouted Kim so hardly and the boy cannot help crying. However, Kim's tear made situation even worse because Wang always requires Kim, as a boy, to be tough enough and crying apparently is a 'girl stuff'. I saw Wang slapping Kim's head and yelled "stop crying, you are such a useless girl!". Another time, Wang did not satisfy Kim's performance at a school football match, he started his criticism again when we all back home. Kim did not pay enough attention to his father because he was rushing to TV for the favorite cartoon show. Wang got angry due to this indifferent reaction, he brutally turned off the TV and asked Kim to stand up and repeat what Wang just said. Kim failed to recall, and wet his eyes because his father's overreaction. I was really wishing that Kim could learn the lesson happen previously and hold his tears; however, the story ended up Kim cried again and my husband eventually put him into a cold shower for 'cooling down'.

One morning Kim came to me with very depressing look, saying that I have to change a new father for him otherwise he will leave home immediately. My heart was broken when I heard that. I tried my best to comforted Kim, trying to let him understand his father's love, expectation, and strictness. However, I do not think Kim could accept my explanation. I latterly received Kim's school tutor's notice that the boy became more withdraw and silent in the class. I knew the exactly the reasons but I do not have any solution. I screwed up my courage and and first time discuss our family issues with Kim's tutor. She took the case very seriously. She highlighted that Wang's behavior is definitely abusive and illegally, and could really damage the children's psychological well-being. According to her, I should immediately search for professional help, such as a consultation with the family lawyer and the school psychologist. Through this tutor's help, I made contact with both professionals.

The family layer suggests that I was too submissive to Wang's behavior and I should consider a divorce. But he does not know my husband well, so it is easy to make a quick conclusion. I actually have strong sympathy to my husband, which is one key reason I do not want leave him. He works so hard to achieve what we have today: a nice house, a good car, and the money for our children's future education. I knew it is not easy for him to face the life in

Norway. You cannot believe how much over-time he has been worked for his company but received significantly less accordingly. Not only that, I remembered he used to be a social person in China; however, he made no friend here at beginning. One time he told me that nobody at his workplace wants to invite him to eat lunch together because Norwegian always hang out as a group and exclude the foreigners. I told him that he should join his colleagues for more social activities to build connections. He then replied me he do not want waste any money on going out and drinking like most his colleagues do. I also know that Wang received a lot of physical punishment from his father when he was young, which makes he believe that 'spare the rod spoil the child'. However, his behaviors indeed influence Kim somehow. I was shocked one time when Kim yelled at me using the same words Wang uses.

Family B

Hui's Story

My first girl, Linda, was not expected after marriage, so I was quite insecure during that time. I just graduated from my master degree in tourism and already received one position offer from a luxury hotel in Newcastle. After marriage, however, my family in China and my husband's parents all persuaded me just stay at London, my husband's restaurant, to help the family business. After I knew I carried Linda, I made the decision to give up my career, and I think it is more important to stay with my husband, my baby girl and my husband's family in London. Maybe in today's society, many people might judge my decision then. I also sometime image what my life would look like if I went to Newcastle. But, honestly, I never regret. Now I have a really great family, lovely husband and children; also, our restaurant business goes quite well as you could see.

When I carried Linda, I was totally not ready to be a mother, lacking of knowledge and confidence as well. The lucky part is my parents-in-law live quite close with us, so they offered me a lot support I needed. However, influenced via Chinese traditional culture, my husband and my parents-in-law all want I could carry a boy. Therefore, when Linda is born, my parents-in-law especially my husband's father was quit disappointed. My mother-in-law then encouraged me to be pregnant soon and she even bought some Chinese medicine which could help me to carry a son according to the quack. All those reaction and behavior were quite ridiculous in my view, and I complained a lot to my husband, Zhang. He initially suggested me just pretending open towards his parents' behavior and suggestions because that is what a good daughter-in-law should do, respecting the elders and following their orders. But, he also asked me to throw the Chinese medicine away behind his mother back if I dislike it.

I got pregnant again and gave a birth of second girl. My father-in-law was totally disappointed, and my mother-in-law still has hope and encouraged me to keep trying. I got angry this time, and I made a serious conversation with my husband, telling him that I am not going to carry more child anymore because I am not a 'machine'; instead, I am a educated wife, I deserve to have my own life. I am glad that my husband finally stood on my side back that time and he

made a formal conversation with his parents, asking them to respect my decision. In order to completely stop my parents-in-law to interfere my life, I also refused to receive any help from my mother-in-law in taking care of my daughters.

After four years, I accidentally pregnant again, and this time we got our son, Gi. My parents-in-law were super excited this time and started interfering our life again. They always bought super expensive gifts for Gi which I thought it is quite unnecessary and inappropriate. Then they started to blame me that I should not go to work too often and better to be a full-time mother in order to provide a better care for Gi. They required to see Gi almost every day, and even some time we were not available to visit them, they could just show up during in front of our door in the evening without any notice in advance. They insisted that I should breast milk Gi, and we should not speak English in front of him because they thought bilingual would confuse the baby's brain. My father-in-law even made a future plan for Gi, inheriting family business, marrying a Chinese girl, and keeping the family's name. More than once I argued that we, especially Gi, should have an independent life, choose and make decisions based on our own interest. My parents-in-law got angry by hearing that. My husband father even told me that Gi is belonging to the Zhang family, and if I cannot accept that, I could leave the family alone.

I then started thinking to move away from my husband family, London. Finally in 2002, with my husband's friends' help, we got a good opportunity to invest a restaurant business in Norway. Three years later, we decided to sell our business in London and all move to Stavanger, Norway, to start our new life. Of course, we had a huge problem to let my husband's parents accept the truth that we were leaving. His father even told my husband that if he moves to Norway, he will never receive any family possession. Zhang actually already tired of hidden fight between his siblings for family procession; and also tired of his father's interference on his business. As a result, we ultimately migrated again, from UK to a new foreigner country.

The life in Norway is not easy as we thought. My three children came to this country without a single word of Norwegian. Back that time, there is no local English speaking international school, therefore in the end I have to enroll my two daughters into local Norwegian school. They had a hard time to adapt themselves into new environment, but thank the school teachers who always try to include them into every activity with other kids. Also, I hired private Norwegian tutors for my daughters and myself. I always want to be the model of my children, so I study really hard, which in a way also encourages my children to adapt our new life positively. Back UK, Linda actually already enrolled 4th grade and Yun is 2nd grade. However, in order to help them to better adjust education system here, I received the school teacher's advice, put Yun back 1st grade again and Linda also restarted her 4th grade. Meanwhile, in order to give my children a better care, I hired two babysitters.

I of course most of time still spend with my children, but I also promise myself that I should have my private life. So, I usually spend 2 hours per day to study Norwegian, 2 to 3 hours to help my husband with new start restaurants, and 1 to 2 hour per day in gym or church. My

husband actually likes to spend more time with his children. Back to UK, he stayed at restaurant all the time because his father asked him to do that. But here, as his Norwegian friends suggest, he hired a manager to take care of business and win a more time to spend with family. Gradually we all adapt and enjoy Scandinavian life. We bought holiday cabinet in Lufuten and south of Spain. Every summer and winter holiday we bring the children to travel and embrace the nature. We believe that traveling with parents around the world is the best education to expand the children's knowledge border and open their mind.

Zhang's Story

My wife is a really smart lady and she contributes remarkable efforts on raising and educating our children. My job, actually, is helping her to ease the nerve and try to be a funny dad. Have to admit that at beginning of arriving Norway, our children's performance at school was not so positive. New environment and language barrier make them feel difficult to acquire new friends and catch teaches' points in schools. In order to encourage them to learn Norwegian fast, the school teachers actually refused to speak English to them, which I thought it is quite unnecessary and made them feel even more nervous and less confident. Later we decided to hire a private tutor for my two daughters and my wife. After three months efforts, three of them could speak quite good Norwegian. I and my wife always never hesitate to invest on our children, for example, we bought a quite expensive house in a nice neighborhood where has the best school and kindergarten that my children could attend.

Back UK, the school my daughters enrolled usually offers student a lot of optional activities after class. However, here, after the school time, the children have to go home. So, at beginning, my two daughters always complained that it was so boring after school. Many Chinese friends here always sent their children to different kinds of courses, such as piano, drawing, dancing, etc. I am not sure with that because I want my children have enough time for playing with other kids. But, in Norway situation, we know our children need to attend more social activities, because only playing with us is not helping for their new environment adaptation. In the end, we decided to enroll some hobbit courses for them based on their interest. Linda eventually went to ballet while Yun selected an acting course because she said she wants to be an actor.

My two daughters all have quite good school performance in primary school, and they both showed talent in math, reading and science. After graduated from 7th grade, I and my wife decided put both of them in a private secondary school for a better education. Linda always behavior well during those years till she went to college, however, our second daughter, Yun, started her teenage rebel period around her 14. She crazy felt in love with heavy deep music, tattoo, piercing, and even smoking marijuana once we found out. She also started to go back home later and went to adult party without noticing us. I always agree with my wife that our family should be more respectful, and treat our children as equal as possible. But, I could understand that Yun's behavior really shocked my wife, and she couldn't help to criticizing Yun. She first started to regular ground Yun, which of course useless and made the girl behavior even worse. Followed, Hui made a big fight with Yun, and the latter left home in that evening with a note saying that she is going to search her own freedom.

Even though we found her at her friend's home one day after, Yun's behavior still hurt my wife's heart. I talked to my wife seriously and tried to let her realize what she did on Yun now is exactly what my parents tried to do before. Hui gradually got my point, but have to admit, it is hard for a person to change immediately. I do however admire her efforts. Hui decided to spend more time at restaurants to take care of business, and invest more on her own interest, yoga for example. After one or two years, Yun finally passed her rebel period, and back to be our lovely daughter.

Family C

Qu's Story

Most my friends and family members are against my decision of marriage and came to Norway for my husband. I had doubts before, but they disappeared immediately when I started my new life here. My husband is caring and understating, and he prepared me everything which I need to adjust my new life, such as new house, nice food, and new friends. His friend here introduced me to the executive manager of local Symphony Orchestra, and I eventually got a position with higher pay after arriving Norway for four months. My working environment is employee friendly. As many international artists work there, I found myself are easier to build connection with others because most of us has immigrant background.

I got pregnant one year after marriage, and started to feel a bit nerves when I carried our son, Junior. My husband is not the first time to be a father, thus he offered me endless supports and advice. However, I am a quite proud and independent woman, who does not want account on my husband for everything. So I always insist to go to check-up or do other stuffs alone. I remembered that one time, on the 6-week check-up for Junior, I received a document from nurse with full page of questions which make me totally confused and helpless. Finally I had to call my husband and started to cry because of my useless. My husband came to save me and later he decided to follow me for every check-up.

Beside my husband, my doctor and my boss at work also offered me great support. My doctor always comforts me that my babe loves me just like you love him during the pregnancy in order to ease my mood. Also, latterly when Junior grew up and got sick, the doctor always voluntarily came to our house to check on him. In the end, we became quite good friend in private life. My boss of Orchestra is also really nice guy. I remember I didn't submit my parental leave application on time, but I still got permission on the date I required although we need to perform during that period. He also led me many days off after my parental leave over.

After giving the birth, I back to my busy working life. Sometimes we have to travel a lot, and my husband thus takes the responsibility of caring our little son. I felt guilty sometimes because I might not be a good mother to many of my Chinese friends' view. I could not cook for my son, and I could not teach him anything besides classic music. I even could not contribute more times with him because I need to practice my cello a lot even during the spare time. My husband never complaint towards above issues, instead, he always joking around

that I am the princess he married. He is the chief so of course he has responsibility to cook and feed us; as well, he has been father before, so he could better take care of our son. However, I remember one time, both my husband and my son got sick, and I could not stay at home to take care of them because I had two performances in a row. Although in the end, my doctor helped me to take care of them, but I felt really guilty inside. I started to think of quitting my job, and I actually tried to take several days off to stay at home. But, being honest, the life without performance was killing me, and I got a depression because of staying home. So, in the end, I back to my work, even with terrible guilty in my heart.

We have some Chinese friends with children here, and sometimes we gather together so our kids could play with each others. Chinese parents are easy to compare with each other. Several friends have kids as my son's age, and every time when we together, they would love to talk how much efforts and time they contribute on their children and how great their children are. They also like to make judgment, such as "why you don't teach your son cello, come on you are a musician". I hate all these comparison and judgments, since I receive a lot negative energy and pressure through the conversation. I discussed this with my husband, and he told me that if I feel uncomfortable I could just stay away from these friends. In my heart, I would like to just hang out with my international colleagues who respect my life and judge less; however, I know some of those Chinese are really good or important for my husband's business so in the end I persuaded myself to be more social with them. But, I still feel uncomfortable every time when they tried to compare children with each other.

Unlike me and my husband, my little boy started show great interest on skating when he was four, probably influenced via Norwegian culture. I and my husband decided to fully support him, even many other Chinese families here think learning skating is money consuming and Asian can never skating as good as other Scandinavian kids. My husband said if Junior likes, he would like to pay no matter it costs. He even hired a national staking metal winner to be my son's private tutor. For me, I just want my son to cultivate his own interest which could make him feel happy.

I think I agree with the Norwegian way to raise the child, caring, encouraging, and unconditional acceptance even my son did something wrong. But, in some perspective, I think it is good to be stricter on educating a boy than a girl, and of course in an acceptable range. For example, when Junior fell, my husband always went to hug him and comfort him. But for me, I always want him to stand up by himself, and if Junior started to cry, I would directly stop him. When Junior was in Kindergarten, he deliberately cut a girl's hair because that girl does not want share a pencil with him. The school teacher told this to us, and we gave a serious talk to Junior when we was walking back home with him. However, when we tried to talk gently about the issue, Junior just covered his ears without looking at us at all. I got so pissed, and spank his butt directly. Junior got shocked and started to cry. My husband got shocked too, and stared at me with angry. Later I also realized, I was totally over react. Despite I think my son deserved a lesson, I still do not need to use violent. I promised my husband that I would never do that again, and so far I kept my words.

Fan's Story

My first marriage in Norway lasts only six years, and I left my ex-wife and six years old son. My ex-wife is a nice, traditional, and typical Chinese lady. We actually love and respect each other, but, we eventually could not live together because we own different values and life goals. She is barely social, and love to spend time only with family, Chinese of course. I am, by contrast, more open, energetic, adventurous, and enjoying parties and friends with different ethnic background.

I think it is really good to divorce when our boy was still quite young, so his mother could easily find another suitable guy and reconstruct their new family. My ex-wife actually got marry one year after divorce, and they have a quite good life in Oslo now. My son has a really nice step father who sees him as his own. After divorce, I still kept a good relationship with my ex-wife and my so, so I always back Oslo once a while to visit them. But around two years later, my ex-father-in-law gave me a very serious and private conversation, requiring I stay away from his daughter, grandson and their new family. He said Chinese from same community would judge if I regular visit my ex-wife and my son. Additionally, my appearance, as a biological father, might exert adverse influence on the relationship between my son and his new father. My ex-father-in-law highlighted if I want my ex-wife and son move on and have a better future, I should never go back.

I indeed believe what my ex-father-in-law said, and I eventually decided to follow his request after several weeks' consideration. I stopped to visit my son in Oslo anymore, decreased the phone call, or played ice-cold when they contacted me. My ex-wife and my son have no idea towards the truth, so they eventually stopped contacting me anymore and probably thought I am the worst husband and father forever. However, I always hated what I did and the feeling of missing my son was killing me every day before. I felt so terrible and desperate during that time, but, I always told myself that I did the right thing to my ex-wife and son. I contributed all my time on my restaurant business, but for so many nights I drunk at local bar, letting the sorrow and guiltiness drawn me.

All those years, I tried to use my way to stay close to my son. I even faked a Facebook profile and add him as a friend in order to see his recent updates. My ex-father-in-law dead when my son reached his 16s. One year later, my ex-wife contacted me through old common friend, saying that she want me to see the son because he always has childhood precious memory about the time he spent with his biological father. The more he grows up, the more he wants to know about his father. Besides, my ex-wife and my son already knew all the truth from my ex-mother-in-law after her husband death.

I finally saw my son but my feeling was complicated and I could never describe it with specific words. He grew so much more than I could image, becoming a handsome man with a good manner. He was doing very well in high school so in the end received a scholarship study of in US for bachelor. As a father, I know I always love and proud of my son. But, every time I saw the interaction between him and his stepfather, I felt quit envy or even joules. That

is the real father-and-son relationship which I missed for almost eight years. I afterwards keep regular contact with my son till now. He already graduated from college and decided to settle down in US. So we still do not really have time to be with each other.

The marriage with Qu and the birth of Junior is the best gift I received after so many depressive years. My wife has a quite unusual working hour, which means I have to take the main responsibility of childrearing, feeding him, putting him in the bed, and playing with him. When Junior was a babe, I used to drive him to different nature parks and zoos. After he grew a bit, I started to do some sports with him, such as skating, swimming, climbing, finishing, camping, etc. My wife has a lot of opportunity to travel around in Europe for performing. I then carry Junior to join her to each city. Qu usually needs to spend some daytime at hotel for practicing; I then bring Junior out to new city's parks, museums, and other nature sights. During the evening, we gather together at a local nice restaurant and enjoy the nice family dinner. Those are the most beautiful time in my life.

Regarding the child raising issue, my wife always wants to let our son do things independently at an early age. She always expect Junior to put on skates on his own and did his own shoe tie when he only three years old. At beginning I could not stand for that and think she was too harsh on little baby. But, gradually I think she is probably right that I am a little bit over protect my son and mollycoddled could come with adverse outcome later. So in the end I just stay away and let my wife to educate Junior in her way. Due to a lot of traveling, Qu used to apply an intimate way to greeting people and express love, like hugs and kisses. So, she kisses little Junior all the time and tells him she loves him so much. I, by contrast, influenced by my own parents, who seldom openly express love to each other, so I felt a little bit weird at beginning to offer kisses and hugs to Junior. But latterly I realized my foolish and started to share intimacy with my son through kissing him good night every day and hugging him every time when I felt for that.