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Chinese Immigrant Parental Involvement in Children's Education: Characteristics and Challenges

By

Jing Tao

A Major Research Paper
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Faculty of Education
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Chinese Immigrant Parental Involvement in Children's Education: Characteristics and
Challenges

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December 13, 2019

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ABSTRACT

In the educational system, students who receive higher support from parents have a positive trend of performing better in school. This paper will focus on the quality and level of parental involvement in Chinese immigrant families, and the factors and challenges that exist. It will examine how language, culture, and parental educational will impact the amount that parents are involved in their children's education, and how there may be both external and internal factors that affect this. Overall, the study finds that language barriers, communication resources, cultural upbringing and beliefs, and particular school characteristics will have a big impact on parental involvement.

Specifically, factors like a school's respect for minority culture or an education system's availability of resources in other languages will present a welcoming environment or barriers to allow parents to participate in their children's education. To prove these points, this research uses literature reviews from a variety of sources in order to support the observations and will finally discuss strategies that can be taken to increase parental involvement and help improve immigrant children's learning by adding ways parents can be involved.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background Information

Parents play a vital role in the development and education of children (Guo, 2006). Parents and families, with the support of the school and the community, have the primary responsibility for the development of a child's character, academic performance, and values. Additionally, parental involvement in education can positively influence and improve children's attitudes, behaviours, and mental health to some extent (Hornby, 2011). Thus, it seems that there is a positive impact on the performance of students and their engagement in school when parents participate more. Balli, Demo, and Wedman (1998) pointed out that the types of parental involvement are diverse. For example, parents' participation in parent-teacher conferences, communication with educators, and volunteer work in schools are all integrated educational behaviours. Epstein (2018) encourages the involvement of parents in education and summarizes this relationship as a partnership between school, family, and children. Guo (2006) states that the government should constantly create opportunities for relations and cooperation between home and school, in which schools actively communicate with parents regarding their children, encourage parents to participate in school practices, and promote the flexible integration of family, school, and social education.

In order to engage more parents in children's education and enhance home-school communication, the Ontario government has introduced a “Parent Engagement Policy” for Ontario schools. The Government of Ontario, (n.d.) proposed that schools, and parents especially, should understand their own roles in children's education and development. Hand (2013) propose that parents need to examine the significance of their involvement in children's

education. It is not only the responsibility of the school to set goals and schedules for students, but also to ensure that parents are invited to participate in the educational agenda together.

Additionally, schools should recognize the advantages of and encourage all forms of parental involvement (Government of Ontario, n.d.). As Hand (2013) suggests, parental involvement can reduce the difference in students' grades since parents can provide resources for their children's education as well as feedback on their academic and behavioral performance. In order to encourage this, schools may choose to stimulate the enthusiasm of parents' participation through online (internet, media) and offline (meetings, conferences) activities.

Schools must also take into account the factors that affect parental involvement in education. The Ministry of Education (n.d. p. 6) explains that a parent's participation may be affected by many external factors, such as language barriers, education level, cultural differences, family structure, and socio-economic status. In order for parents to effectively participate in policy and cooperate with educators, schools need to actively seek to build connections with parents and to counter these barriers. To conclude, schools need to work with families in order to help them acquire the skills and knowledge they need to be engaged and involved in their children's learning.

Ontario's Ministry of Education (n.d. p.5) proposes that the purpose of Ontario's Parent Engagement Policy is "to provide the support needed to connect parents at the local level and to help ensure that they have the skills, knowledge, and tools they need to engage in their children's education and in the life of their schools." With this in mind, Ontario's government encourages schools to create a sense of connection and community with parents. Moreover, parental involvement in education not only has the potential to improve children's achievement, but also

has the ability to help government bodies make better educational regulations and provide better resources.

An increasing number of people choose to live in countries where their mother tongue is not the official language, especially when considering the Chinese population and their immigration trends. According to Batalova and Zong (2017), after Mexican immigrants, Chinese immigrants are the second largest foreign-born immigrant group in North America. Data from Statistics Canada (2019) and The Annual Report on Immigration both point out that since 2000, the United States and Canada have become the preferred destination of Asian immigrants. Census statistics show that in 2018, the number of Chinese immigrants in Canada was more than 1,324,700, which ranks as the second largest immigrant population in the country (The Annual Report on Immigration, 2018).

In addition to the social barriers accompanying migration, immigrant education is also worthy of public attention, especially since immigrant parents are typically more involved in their children's education, especially in Chinese culture. This is seen in personal account and seen through the Chinese student population at The University of Windsor. However, the cooperative relationship between parents, schools, and children has encountered a bottleneck in immigrant families. Zhou and Zhong (2011) demonstrated that because families pursue a more international approach to education, many parents (and especially those from China) will choose to emigrate to another country, despite not having any knowledge of that country's language and culture, causing a number of barriers and challenges. In other words, the educational challenges faced by immigrant families may include the collision and blending of traditional educational characteristics and new cultural educational modes.

Cheung and Pomerantz (2011) stress that most Chinese immigrant parents may be accustomed to the traditional Chinese model of education and involvement, which are contrary to Western education in that the Chinese model is more internal and focuses on the Student's individual abilities, whereas the Western model is more focused on the external environment and culture students choose to be in. So, immigrant parents face obvious barriers with schools. For example, Guo (2006) proposed the characteristic of Chinese immigrant parents in parental involvement tends to be rigorous and systematic. Some families try to explore a more democratic and open family atmosphere in education, which can replace the traditional obedience system (Hung, 2017). Therefore, when implementing education with parental involvement, the characteristics and challenges commonly faced by Chinese immigrant families should be considered and accommodated.

Aside from the characteristics of Chinese immigrant parents in parental involvement, Chen, Kim, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Wang (2013) indicate that the lack of understanding that immigrant parents have of Western culture, as well as the lack of acculturation, may cause immigrant families to face internal and external challenges. For instance, Costigan, MacDonald, & Miao (2018) stressed the biggest challenges among Chinese immigrant families in Canada include adapting to a new culture in school balancing the changes in the structure of the family, and overcoming the pressures caused by the imbalance of bicultural management (Chen et al., 2013), which is defined as the combination of “the traditional culture of the previous generation and the new culture they have lived in” (Giguere et al., 2010, p. 14).

Overall, Chinese immigrant families encounter a series of challenges with local communities, schools, and families. Therefore, exploring the challenges surrounding the relationship between immigrant students, their families, and schools is foundational to

incorporating parental involvement in schools. This is the reason I have chosen to investigate my research questions.

Research questions

1. What are the characteristics of traditional and contemporary parental involvement among Chinese immigrants in education?
2. What factors impact and cause challenges for Chinese immigrant parents in the communication with schools and family relations?
3. What corresponding strategies can be used to facilitate effective parental involvement in students' learning for Chinese immigrants' families in Canada?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Literature Search Method

In order to answer the above three research questions, I respectively used four search strategies: a database search, keyword search, selection criteria, and hand search to find and explore more extensive and accurate literature and research data.

Database Search

A database search is the first step in researching the exhibitions that will help researchers locate more available journal articles. First, the study was conducted via the Leddy Library's electronic database offered through the University of Windsor. Literature related to pedagogy, sociology, and psychology were searched using this database.

The following online databases were also used for literature search and retrieval: Google scholar, ProQuest Social Sciences, Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), Gale Cengage Academic OneFile, and Taylor & Francis Journals Complete. These databases provide a wide selection of scientific data and papers, fast categorization, and advanced search to enable researchers to efficiently find journal articles that match their queries.

Keywords

Keywords are core to conducting an effective search. By searching for keywords, researchers can quickly and clearly identify whether the focus of the article matches the content of the study. Eight keywords were used to enhance the diversity and professionalism of the articles searched in the research database: parent involvement, immigration education, immigrant characteristic, and migration challenges.

After the initial search, some more precise keywords about the region, specific population, and target range were added to the search. These include generational barriers, immigrant cultural adaptation, language barrier, immigrant parent-child relationships, and Chinese immigrant value.

Selection Criteria

Apart from the use of database and the positioning of keywords, in order to ensure the accuracy of research and the reliability of data, the literature must be published in English. The reason is that the globalization of English makes the articles more scientific and accessible.

Peer reviewed articles were carefully evaluated for errors and filtered to determine if the authors were credible and the analysis was high quality.

Hand Search

Finally, this study used a manual search strategy to prevent missing data. After determining the context, the data, I scanned the abstract of the article to make sure the content was consistent with the research theme. In order to make the research more authentic and scientific, the manual search included some official websites related to Canadian immigration, such as the Migration Policy Institution, Canada Statistics, and Government of Canada (Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship). After reviewing and classifying the data, it was then divided into the following topics: the involvement of immigrant parents, the characterization of Chinese immigrants in parental involvement, the conflict of immigrant education, and the parent-child relationship of immigrants.

Parental Involvement and its Impacts

Parental involvement is beneficial to children's learning, performance and growth (Dyson, 2001). As Hornby stressed, "Extensive international research support of the involvement of parents leads to improvements in children's attitudes, behaviour, and attendance at school" (p. 2). Dyson (2001) suggests that successful parental involvement can be defined as the active or sustained involvement of parents in the education of their children. Similarly, Cheung and Pomerantz (2011) claim that parents' voluntary participation in education and the recognition of their own influence are more effective than external invitation (in the school and community).

Any kind of parental involvement can affect children's life and study. In order to support children to have better performance in study, parental involvement is recommended. "Parental involvement is a multidimensional concept, and in that parents can get involved in various ways to promote academic achievement in their children" (Cai & Wang, 2015, p. 58). The way parents play their role in child rearing will affect the family environment, their children's character, and academic performance (Bost, Brown, McBride, & Shin, 2011). Chen and Fan (2001) stress in their study that outstanding performance in school and higher academic achievement are closely related to the form of parental involvement and the family environment. Therefore, parents should be motivated to support and intervene in their children's learning.

Parental involvement in education is part of the socialization process (Cheung & Pomerantz, 2012). Zhou and Zhong (2011) propose that the behaviour of individuals is influenced by society. For example, the growth of children will be influenced by society and environment, which includes the impact of school and family. Coleman (1988) states that both home and school are important for socialization because both can teach social values to children in an organized and purposeful way. Parents, for example, have a role to play in children's language,

emotions, and behaviour. When it comes to educational careers, schools should provide students with more opportunities for social interaction through communication and cooperation with parents. This is why Walker, Dallaire, Sandler, Wilkins, and Hoover-Dempsey (2005) summarize the models of parental involvement in children's education into school-based behaviours and home-based behaviours.

Based on the research of Walker et al. (2005), family-based behaviours are mainly influenced by parents' socio-economic status, education level, and energy. These factors determine whether or not parents have the ability and means to participate in their children's education. On the other hand, school-based behaviours are mainly derived from the perception of individual motivation and the willingness to collaborate within the school and community, such as school invitation or parents' own sense of responsibility.

As mentioned above, parents' beliefs are based on their role exploration, and perceptual ability to participate in their children's education. When compared with educators and teachers, parents may be regarded as lacking in professional competence (Hornby, 2011). However, the unique communication and bond between parents and children are unique within the home, and this avenue for the guidance cannot be replicated by the outside world (Bowen & Lee, 2006).

Hornby (2011) pointed out that parents should acknowledge their own value in terms of children's education. He explains that parents' responsibilities and roles are not only as nurturers but also educators, so it is imperative for them to actively participate in school-based activities. If, on the contrary, parents avoid contact with the school due to fear, children may inherently adopt this same sense of alienation and suffer negative effects surrounding their educational growth. Therefore, considering that parents have expectations for children's education, they

should cultivate self-cognition and values in parental involvement, which can help children maintain their interest and participation in learning (Cheung & Pomerantz, 2012).

In terms of home-based behaviours, Pam (1996) describes the impact of socio-economic status on parental involvement. Specifically, Pam (1996) indicates that due to work environment, working conditions and social resources, parents may be restricted in terms of money and time from being involved in their children's schooling. These barriers may lead to parental neglect of children's education because they put most of their time and energy into work, and they fail to develop cooperative relations with schools and children actively. Kim, Huang, Shen, Wang, and Orozco-Lapray (2014) agree with this view and indicate that, compared to families with sufficient social resources, families with lower economic status are less involved in their children's education.

Walker et al. (2005) suggested that parent education level may determine whether they have the knowledge, learning skills, and confidence to participate in their children's education. Bowen and Lee (2006) explained that this phenomenon is mainly due to parents' self-esteem. For example, parents with a high level of education have a certain level of educational proficiency, financial strength, and social network, which can guarantee their involvement in children's education and communication with the school. By contrast, parents who did not finish high school may be resistant to helping their children finish homework (Hornby, 2011). Additionally, parents with a low education level may not be familiar with the updated education system and resources and may become frustrated. So, parents of this type may seldom meet with teachers because they are afraid of not understanding technical terms or appearing incapable of helping their children's educations (Bowen & Lee, 2006). Bowen and Lee (2006) show that although lower socio-economic status and education level restrict parents from participating in their

children's schooling, they need to create more flexible education strategies according to their own conditions to overcome these problems.

Immigrant Parental Involvement

Janzen and Ochocka (2008) stress that while child-rearing is a complex topic, it is worthier of discussion in the context of immigration. Immigrant families have the added pressures of traditional values, beliefs, language barriers, and school systems, which are all challenging traditional educational strategies for immigrants (Janzen & Ochocka, 2008). Kao and Turney (2009) suggest that although Hispanic and black immigrants also have such educational barriers, Asian immigrants face more severe challenges due to the discrepancy between language systems and social structure. Although the issue of immigrant education is complicated and minority immigrant parents are unlikely to actively establish contact with their children's schools, Bowen and Lee (2006) still encourage parents of any type to participate in education. Bowen explained that parents with different backgrounds can provide a more diverse cultural background and way of viewing things, and hence it may display different types of involvement which can help improve the overall performance of students in the classroom and multi-cultural setting.

According to the research of Zhou and Zhong (2011), immigrant parents who are involved in their children's education show a high level of interest but lack in action. Therefore, the involvement of immigrant parents is often regarded as negative by society (Pam, 1996). This inactive educational involvement is caused by immigrant parents' lack of adequate understanding of local education system and teaching structure, which causes immigrant parents to lose the initiative to grasp teaching strategies and interaction with the material.

Fuligni (2012) indicated that cultural misunderstanding is a core gap. Costigan et al. (2018) stress two common challenges among Chinese immigrant families in Canada include adapting to a new culture and stimulating parenting motivation. When parents experience stress from the community, they may not have enough cultural foundation to engage in parenting behaviour, which is needed to help build positive relationships with their children (Costigan et al., 2018).

In addition to the barriers between parents and schools, parent-child relationships within immigrant families also encounter conflicts. Rumbaut (2005) indicates that complex conflicts surrounding acculturation are often present in family relations, and may be affected by mental health. According to Do, Frese, Wang, and Zheng (2018), mental health problems can subtly affect migrant families in that both immigrant parents and children may hide their emotions and anxiety during cultural adaptation. Kim et al. (2014) explains that this psychological issue is caused by the pressure, psychological disturbance, and imbalance of bicultural management. To summarize, acculturation of immigrants and parent-child conflicts are often accompanied by psychological stress and mental health problems.

Global Context

Immigration has made Canada a culturally diverse country, contributing to the country's growth, economic prosperity, and cultural diversity (Li, 2006). With the development of diversity in the world, the public is aware of the role migration plays in connecting different countries. Such cooperation covers many factors, such as language, culture, religion, economy, society, and business (Batalova & Zong, 2017). In addition to promoting economic development, immigration enriches Canada's social and cultural life (Government Canada, 2019). Therefore, an increasing number of countries are willing to develop immigration policies and services to attract immigrants and meet their needs.

According to a global survey, Chinese immigrants are already one of the largest groups of immigrants in the world, and these Asian immigrants usually choose to live in developed countries such as Canada, United States, and Australia (Ho, 2014). However, while immigration can connect families with more advanced educational resources, a higher return on investment, better social security, and welfare, challenges and conflicts also exist (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). For example, after arriving in their new residences, immigrants tend to suffer from culture shock while trying to maintain their original, national culture.

Costigan and Dokis (2006) explain that immigration has become especially important for the recognition and self-adjustment of the boundary between culture and values. Kao and Turney (2009) found in their study that, except for Chinese immigrants, such inadaptability and barriers appeared in almost every ethnic minority immigrant group. More specifically, immigrant groups face more challenges than locals. For Chinese immigrant groups, cultural barriers are due to the collision between traditional Chinese Confucianism and Western culture (Guo, 2014). Although many Chinese families choose to live within the new host culture, a dominant percentage of the traditional culture still needs to adjust to Western customs.

So, with the large number of Chinese groups immigrating to Canada, the exploration of Chinese traditional culture is of great educational significance for immigrant education and parental involvement in Canada. More importantly, research and accommodations should be made regarding how Chinese traditional culture is reflected in the family structure and whether parental participation evolves under the change of environment.

The Characteristics of Chinese Parenting

Costigan and Koryzma (2011) proposes that when the cultural gap between societies is very large and the education system is different, the child-rearing problem of immigrants is worthy of in-depth discussion. Costigan and Koryzma (2011) explains that the Chinese education system is dominated by Chinese traditional values. More specifically, China is more introverted, while other cultural groups are extroverted. For example, Chinese education pays more attention to using the textbook to teach students how to "learn". Therefore, Chinese learning is more inclined to standardized instruction and textbook guiding, which is a more exam-oriented education. In contrast, Canadian education focuses more on stimulating children's knowledge of "external knowledge". Therefore, the basis of this paper seeks to discuss why Chinese immigrant families are different from other cultural groups, and to discuss their unique characteristics and educational concepts.

Influence of Chinese Confucianism Culture

Guo (2006) indicates that Confucianism, in guiding Chinese immigrant parents, has inevitable influences of new cultural contexts and "the implication is that children of Chinese immigrant families are raised differently from those of other cultural groups" (p. 12). He emphasizes in his research that Confucianism is based on family and collectivism. Confucianism, for example, has taught Chinese people how to learn from each other and to do work together in groups. More importantly, it taught Chinese people the importance of obeying parents and family. Therefore, as Guo concludes, the power of Confucianism in guiding Chinese immigrant parents and the new cultural backgrounds have inevitable influence, which means that the children of Chinese immigrant families are different from those of other cultural groups.

Costigan and Koryzma (2011) also indicate that there is a certain cultural distance between Chinese culture and Western culture, which is based on the influence of Confucianism. Costigan and Koryzma (2011) explain that absolute discipline, authority, morality, and harmonious family relationships are subtle influences of Confucianism on Chinese parents. Therefore, the research in this paper focuses on the fact that Chinese immigrant parents and Canadian parents have different attitudes, practices, and mindsets towards children's participation and parents' integration in essence.

Ho (2014) elaborates that the process of acculturation is regarded as the process of changing parents' beliefs on education when Chinese immigrant parents are raising their children. In other words, although the parents of Chinese immigrants have different education and involvement patterns from Caucasians, the process of Chinese immigrants' gradual immersion in the new environment is worthy of observation and study. Guo (2014) added that no matter which country Chinese immigrants choose to live in, Chinese parents will try their best to participate in children's education with the traditional Confucianism education mode and first language that they are familiar with. For example, in areas with a high population of Chinese people, it has become the primary choice of Chinese schools for immigrant parents to help their children maintain a Chinese-speaking environment and teach them the core beliefs of Confucianism. Therefore, the characteristics of Chinese immigrant parents are that they will cultivate children's Chinese interest and learning mode with their own cultural characteristics (Nam & Park, 2014).

The Transformation of Chinese Immigrants in Parental Involvement

It is worth noting that with the development of pluralism in modern society, some families hope to filter traditional education concepts into a more flexible way of involvement (Hung, 2017). That is to say, some families try to explore a more democratic and open family

atmosphere in education, which can replace traditional obedience. Therefore, in terms of parental involvement in education, the characteristics and changes of Chinese immigrant families should be discussed and studied.

Cheung, Elphick, Kohnstamm, Slotboom, & Zhang (2002) argue that although Chinese immigrant parents maintain obvious characteristics of Chinese culture, their educational strategies are more flexible when they are exposed to a new environment. In other words, the new generation of immigrant parents can observe, learn, and develop more flexibly while participating in their children's education. Compared with older immigrants, the parents of new immigrants tend to administer an appropriate attitude towards education according to their own family situation. In addition, new immigrant parents may challenge closed education, which may ignore the important role of practical activities - and be in favour of open education, which emphasizes the training of children in practice. Therefore, different immigrants may approach education in a way that reflects their family structure (Guo, 2006).

Giguere, Lalonde, and Lou (2010) found that parents of new immigrants are smoother in cultural and identity transformation. Most new immigrant parents, for example, fit in with Asians at home and Canadians in the mainstream. Giguere et al (2010) explains that this ability to integrate could not only help avoid unnecessary cultural barriers, but also help immigrants retain their traditional life customs and culture in other countries. In other words, new immigrants do not need to abandon their own culture in order to integrate into the English-speaking society, which is not conducive to the development of Canada's diverse culture.

Ho (2014) stresses that Chinese immigrants may find unique socialized thoughts in the exploration of acculturation, which one can adapt to the new migration culture expectations and

strategies without abandoning the original traditional national culture. For instance, Chinese immigrants' families may mix the Confucianism culture and Western values. Ho (2014) 's research was based on the discussion of acculturation in the parental involvement of Chinese immigrant before 2012, of which 22 studies were selected. In discussions, which focus on acculturation and its influence on parenting beliefs, some Chinese parents are aware of cultural differences and intend to try or negotiate ethnic values and customs to fit in with their adopted culture. However, many of the studies reviewed in Ho's research may be limited by design and methods, which may impart social desirability bias and the use of a single method.

De Lardemelle, Onaga, and Suarez-Orozco (2010) claim that the identities of migrant children also become more flexible. That is, the adaptive ability of immigrant children enables them to take on traditional Asian family roles and responsibilities at home while adapting to the mainstream culture.

Although Chen and Zhou (2018) emphasize that, compared with Chinese immigrant parents, Western parents have a higher level of positive emotions, and immigrant families in Canada experience constant adjustment, conflict, development, and instability (Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom, S., 2003). Chen and Zhou (2018) state that it is likely that “parents conforming to these American norms of parental emotion in order to report more frequent expressions of positive emotions in the family context” (p. 391). Therefore, immigrant parents encounter conflicts and challenges in the pursuit of new parenting relationships, as well as in the cooperative relationship between schools.

As a result, Asian immigrant parents often support their children's education through a unique ethnic lens, which takes the place of communication and interaction with schools.

Although the cooperative relationship between the immigrant family and the school and the family in their new home may suffer adversity, the Chinese immigrant parents are willing to devote themselves to children's learning. In addition, some immigrant families will integrate into children's education based on the transformation of national culture and local educational mode in parental involvement.

The Challenges between Immigrant Parents and Schools

Immigrant parents face obvious barriers with schools. Dyson (2001) indicates that it is crucial for parents to participate in the education of children whose mother tongue is not English. Because English is not the mother tongue for immigrant children and they need to adapt to a new language and changes in environment, immigrant parents need to participate and offer support in order to ensure a successful integration into the education system (Dyson, 2001). Guo (2014) emphasizes that for Chinese immigrants “parenting is complex partially because the immigration experience widens horizons beyond parents’ cultural traditions and introduces them and their children to a range of possible other choices” (p. 307).

Therefore, with today's globalization and the increasing Chinese immigrant population, there are more educational differences, barriers, and challenges for immigrant families that need to be explored.

Language Barrier

Bhattacharya (2000) points out that “the language barrier of immigrants is one of the main reasons that hinder parents' communication and integration with the community and schools” (p. 80). Parents of immigrant children cannot successfully integrate into Canadian society or their children's education because they feel threatened by the language barrier. Nam and Park (2014)

emphasized that in the new host culture, the biggest issue caused by the language barrier is the sense of distance between immigrant families and local education systems and institutions. For example, if the parents of immigrant students are unfamiliar with the local language and culture, communication barriers and mistakes will occur when the school participates.

Similarly, Constantino, Cui, and Faltis (1995) demonstrate that the language barrier makes parents lose the initiative in school participation and communication. Constantino et al. explain that, in their study, not only immigrant parents but also teachers directly indicated that the language barrier was the biggest challenge to communication and understanding. Furthermore, this kind of language barrier is likely to cause challenges between parents, schools, and children. Therefore, language barriers are one of the important factors affecting immigrant parental involvement.

Some immigrant parents play a passive role in communication with the school (Guo, 2014). In Guo's research, interviewees indicated that due to different languages, immigrant parents believed that teachers could not really understand their needs and expectations. In this case, the parents can only blindly hope in Western education. In other words, some immigrant parents are dependent on the unfamiliar mainstream culture because they cannot clearly express their educational attitudes and expectations.

This is consistent with the findings of Bhattacharya (2000), who surveyed 75 immigrant parents about their educational involvement. In communication with schools, less than 30 percent regularly attend parent-teacher meetings. In the details, data in this research was collected from 75 parents and 75 children in separate interviews. Moreover, "most immigrant parents considered mastery of English a prerequisite for assimilation into the mainstream

culture” (p.81). So, the parents' independence with English often increased their dependence on the school for their children's academic development. Although the study revealed that parental involvement among immigrant families is threatened by language barriers, the study should be repeated with a larger sample size for more accurate results. Moreover, this study is limited to the participation of Asian immigrant families only. Further comparisons between this data and data on the participation of contemporary native-born parents in their children's education are needed.

At the same time, immigrant parents say the difficulty in English communication has increased the sense of dependence of parents on schools. When Sohn and Wang (2006) investigated the views of Korean immigrant parents on participating schools, some immigrant parents indicated that “limited English proficiency is the most significant barrier for Korean mothers to build effective partnerships with teachers” (p. 131). More specifically, some Asian immigrants say that despite getting some English proficiency, they are still troubled by the slang and educational terms used in communication. Therefore, as Zhou and Zhong (2011) summarize, although migrant parents want to follow up on their children's learning process in school, they are too shy to participate in school activities or communicate with teachers because they lack English skills.

Costigan et al. (2018) express that language barriers may bring about higher acculturation pressure, while most Asian ethnic groups are loyal to their mother tongue (Rumbaut, 1994). Slaughter-Defoe and Zhang (2009) explain that Chinese immigrant parents attach great importance to heritage, culture, and language because immigrant parents believe that their mother tongue is a family cohesion and is representative of identity. Therefore, most Chinese immigrant parents are insistent to engrain their mother tongue in their children's education.

Kao and Turney (2009) point out that while Chinese people's sense of national identity may be stronger than their English language ability and adaptability, families with English proficiency are likely to benefit from Western education systems. After all, faster acculturation helps immigrant parents integrate into local communities and schools. Therefore, Janzen and Ochocka (2008) suggest that immigrant parents should communicate more often with local people in the new host country. While expanding their social circle, immigrant parents' can also come to better understand Western education and participation models, which can help them to participate in schools more flexibly.

Lack of Communication Resources

With the language barrier comes a shortage of communication resources. In general, the normal method for parental involvement in schools is to supervise homework and to participate in school seminars and parent-teachers conferences (Hornby, 2011). However, due to communication barriers, these traditional methods of participation are implausible. For example, Kao and Turney (2009) found that immigrant parents felt isolated because school meetings were conducted only in English. In Dyson's 2001 study, participants indicated that due to the language barrier, parents had to hire interpreters to help parents interact and communicate with the school. However, immigrant parents say it has long been a waste of energy, time, and money. Similarly, Sohn and Wang (2006) found that the parents of Korean immigrants were frustrated that the school did not provide interpretation services and believed that the school did not appreciate their involvement. Sohn and Wang (2006) concluded that schools and immigrant parents should explore more diverse ways of communication and involvement.

For example, Sohn and Wang (2006) suggest that in order to more actively grasp the initiative of children's education, immigrant families can use the internet translation tools more

frequently in the parental involvement. On this basis, Nam and Park (2014) suggest that “before a school offers programs or services for immigrant parents, the schools need to examine carefully what types of services or programs would be acceptable to the parents depending on their ethnic backgrounds, language used at home, and educational levels, as well as the child’s school levels” (p. 325).

Zhou and Zhong (2011) suggested that translation services offered by schools could also foster the active participation of immigrant parents. Furthermore, in order to realize the potential of diversity, Gonzalez and Karoly (2011) encourage schools to employ staff from all over the world who could act as intermediary members between parents and the school. In this way, schools and immigrant parents can avoid the embarrassment and challenges caused by language barriers. Language barriers will reduce the happiness of immigrant parents (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). If schools provide immigrant parents with more communication modes and options, it may offset the challenges of language barriers.

Different Cultural Value

Cultural roles, expectations, and values of different parents each play a key role in parental involvement (Hornby, 2011). Every country and education system should understand the cultural background and values of ethnic minorities in order to effectively reduce the cultural friction of immigrant parents' involvement. Constantino et al. (1995) suggest that, in addition to language barriers, cultural and value differences between the country of birth and the new host country can be challenges that affect parent-school partnerships.

Since Canada is a cosmopolitan country of immigrants, full of new immigrants of different races, parenting values are indeed dynamic (Janzen & Ochocka, 2008). As Janzen and Ochocka

state, “the new host country context is an intervention, or filter, potentially impacting the parenting orientations and parenting styles of newcomers” (p. 95). So, culture is fluid.

Cheung and Pomerantz (2011) state that white parents may be more lenient in terms of parental involvement in education, while Chinese parents may have absolute control and right to participate. Secondly, Zhou and Zhong (2011) found that parents of Chinese immigrants want to follow up on the dynamics and learning process of the school in real time. The difference is that if the student is doing well in school, in the new culture, the teacher thinks interviews are unnecessary.

Zhou and Zhong (2011) point out that some immigrant parents are not familiar with the new culture and are afraid that their behaviour or language expression would offend the teachers, so most of them choose to listen and keep silent. Compared with the values of Chinese immigrant parents, Dyson (2001) points out that non-immigrant parents tend to pay attention to extracurricular activities, such as sports events and volunteer activities. In contrast, Chinese immigrant parents seem more concerned with improving their children’s academic performance by combatting the language barrier and the challenges to their values.

A study conducted by Zhou and Zhong (2011) found that if the school did not actively invite or make an appointment, Chinese immigrant parents would not participate in school activities. Similarly, Costigan et al. (2018) investigated the cultural adaptability of 182 Canadian immigrant families of teenagers and children. They found “the spillover of stress from both outside and within families on Chinese immigrants’ parenting behaviours” (p. 196). As a result, education for immigrant families has become more challenging.

Although most minority parents have different cultural values (Guo, 2014), all parents have the same educational expectations of schools (Bhattacharya, 2000). Accordingly, Guo (2014) emphasized that Chinese parents' focus on their children's learning attitude, learning enthusiasm, and performance should not be ignored. De Lardemelle et al. (2010) elaborates that immigrant parents may need to adjust their own values and educational expectations in order to better educate the next generation. Some immigrant parents do not trust educators who place all focus on Western culture and values (Sohn & Wang, 2006). However, Bowen, and Lee (2006) demonstrate that immigrant parents should try to integrate into the local cultural backgrounds and parenting concepts, which can help them learn more flexible parenting skills.

School Characteristics

Generally speaking, schools and communities attach great importance to the learning progress and mental health of immigrant children, but immigrant parents are often faced with challenges that are ignored by schools (Nam & Park, 2014). Fenta, Hamilton, Marshall, Rummens, and Simich (2011) argue that parental perception of school environment may be of particular importance to immigrants because schools are such an important aspect of family adaptation. Fenta et al. (2011) explain that when immigrant parents can feel the school's respect for minority culture, they will be more confident and actively participate in school activities and improve cooperative relations. It is clear that the role of the new host school is a key point in shaping the parenting direction and style of immigrants (Janzen & Ochocka, 2008). Epstein (2018) emphasize that cultural diversity within a community and students' backgrounds and learning experiences should be valued by every community and school. Epstein (2018) explains that a school's understanding and inclusion of diverse cultures can promote the enrollment rate and success rate of immigrant children. Moreover, Epstein concludes that

“family backgrounds, the dreams parents have for their children, and communication with parents using different technologies and approaches are all factors that future schools and teachers should consider” (p. 403). Schools and teachers should decide whether accommodations are needed according to the situation of different immigrant families, such as interpreters or ways to promote the contact between immigrant families and local culture.

Gonzalez and Karoly (2011) report that most schools do not seem to be culturally sensitive to immigrant children and immigrant parents. For example, when immigrant parents are confused about school activities and culture, the school does not seek other communication methods to solve this obstacle. Therefore, immigrant parents may feel unwelcome because of the inaction of the school. Dyson (2001) found that more than half of immigrant parents claim their children’s school did not realize the importance of multiculturalism, so the school did not invest in cultural diversity courses. For example, in Dyson's (2001) study, a participant said that “immigrant children never talked at home about any multicultural curriculum and activities at school” (p. 468). Therefore, immigrant parents believe that schools do not pay attention to immigrant groups. Some participants indicated that the communication and activities of the school were in favour of European and American cultures, and there was little cultural communication about Asia (Dyson, 2001). Bhattacharya (2000) states that from the perspective of migrant children, teachers do not balance the needs and progress of every student in the class. For example, some immigrant students may experience a learning adaptation period of foreign culture because of the destruction of learning plans and habits, which needs the patient explanation and help from teachers. It is clear that some teachers lack cultural diversity training (Bhattacharya, 2000).

Similarly, although some immigrant parents actively participate in school activities and establish cooperative relationships with teachers, teachers still cannot understand or appreciate cultural values, which increase the invisible pressure on immigrant parents (Sohn & Wang, 2006). For example, teachers can allocate more time for conversation or private conversation according to the background and needs of immigrant parents. It can be seen that schools lack understanding and strategies in the spread and emphasis of diverse culture. Zhou and Zhong (2011) suggest that teachers should understand the essence of different cultural values in the process of educating children so that they can communicate with immigrant parents more effectively and actively.

Conflicts between Parents and Children

In addition to the barriers between parents and schools, the parent-child interaction within immigrant families also encounters conflicts. Rumbaut (2005) indicates that complex conflicts in acculturation activities are often presented in family relations.

Intergenerational Cultural Dissonance

Bowen and Lee (2006) point out that parental participation in education is not only required to establish communication between parents and schools, but also to help parents cultivate good parent-child relationships and build family cohesion. However, the intergenerational cultural differences directly affect parental involvement in education. The first conflict of immigrant family education is acculturation to the new environment (Ho, 2014), and the other is the cultural barrier between generations (Hua, Costigan, & Su, 2009). For example, Hua et al. (2009) found that while the descendants of immigrants are more likely to contact and integrate into the community and environment dominated by the new culture, which is dominated by the ideas of

freedom, democracy, and equality, immigrant parents still adhere to the traditional cultural education.

Therefore, while the parents of immigrants fail to adapt to the new host culture, their children may successfully integrate into the new country. Such intergenerational cultural differences can strain the parent-child relationship and deprive the descendants of immigrants of the opportunity to learn about their heritage. Telzer (2010) found in his study that immigrant children were more adapted to local culture than their parents. Therefore, as Hua et al. (2009) conclude, the social influence of host culture has an indelible influence on the cultural values, language choice, identity, and behaviours of immigrants' descendants.

Ho (2014) points out that the intergenerational cultural differences of immigrant families can lead to conflicts in family relationship and affect the immigrant parents' enthusiasm to participate in their children's schooling because they could not understand and adapt to the cultural gap. In other words, when "viewed in the context of parent-child relationships, acculturation discrepancies between parents and children generate conflict within the family" (Ho, 2014, p. 156).

Chen et al. (2013) stress that when immigrant parents do not have cultural sensitivity and flexibility, they cannot understand the challenges faced by immigrant offspring in the mainstream culture. In other words, the concept of education of Chinese immigrant parents' is generally family-oriented, and assumes that consultation with parents can lead to better results. The descendants of immigrants, however, may be more tolerant of democratic ideas. Therefore, when an immigrant family encounters the collision of two mainstream values, thoughts, and

acculturation, there will be conflicts in parent-child relationships and parental involvement in education.

Fung and Lau (2010) propose that Chinese immigrant parents' implementation of traditional Confucianism and collectivism constitute as one of the biggest differences in parenting and involvement in the education of their offspring. The research results of Lee, Tsai, and Ying (2007) indicate that as the cultural adaptation period of immigrants' offspring in the new host becomes longer, children's thoughts, values, and personalized development tend to become more similar to other teenagers who live in Western culture. Fung and Lau (2010) explain that when immigrant children adapt to dominant Chinese culture, internalization symptoms are minimal. This indicates that immigrant children who are still guided by Chinese traditional culture, do not transform the external cultural tendency into the internal subject consciousness. When asked about the perception of the acculturation gap among children of immigrants, 90 percent said “they would not confide in their conservative parents and were more likely to share their experiences with peers or others” (p. 324).

It is worth mentioning that Costigan et al. (2018) refute that parent-child conflict and intergenerational cultural differences in immigrant families can also increase parental ability and participation to some extent. Costigan et al. (2018) demonstrate that from the child's point of view, more intense conflicts may actually reflect well on the parent when stating “even if the parents are stressed about these conflicts, children are seeing parents' willingness to engage in conflict discussions as a positive thing” (p. 196).

Although Chen et al. (2013) claim that intergenerational cultural differences in immigrant families are regarded as a risk factor for children's poor performance in school and poor mental

health, Costigan et al. (2018) emphasize that some immigrant children consider such conflicts and differences as one of the preconditions for family relationship coordination. Costigan et al. (2018) explain that when the immigrant family is dominated by the closed family environment of absolute obedience and compromise, immigrant children may be unwilling to reveal their true feelings to their parents. However, when there are conflicts and cultural barriers within immigrant families, it means parents are willing to listen and communicate with children. Therefore, some descendants of immigrants believe that intergenerational cultural differences are positive manifestations of family relations.

Overall, the intergenerational cultural differences in immigrant families make the parent-child relationship difficult, in that parents do not actively ask and children do not actively report and communicate. The two generations choose different cultures and values. To conclude, intergenerational cultural differences can lead to negative emotions in family relationships, but studies have proved that appropriate conflicts and differences can promote the closeness of immigrant parent-child relationship (Fung and Lau, 2010).

Identity of Immigrant Children

One characteristic of the descendants of immigrants is bicultural identity, as defined on page 6. Giguere et al. (2010) state that there are two ways for immigrants' descendants to acquire culture. The first comes from life factors such as language habits of the previous generation in the family. For example, most Chinese immigrant families maintain traditional Chinese festivals and customs. The second is from the mainstream culture that children have learned while socializing with peers, and interacting within the community and school (Yau, 2016). Therefore, Giguere et al. (2010) summarize that the children represent a middle ground between their new host culture and their traditional Chinese culture. The descendants of immigrants do not directly

acquire the influence of their heritage and apart from family influence, the spread of minority culture is limited.

Choi and Harachi (2007) indicate that parent-child conflicts within these families weaken the closeness between family members and affect the way immigrant parents participate in the education and cultivation of their children. In other words, when children's emotional connection with their parents is negatively affected, their academic performance will be reduced to some extent. On this basis, Choi and Harachi (2007) propose that if immigrant parents blindly restrict the integration of mainstream culture, it will not only aggravate family tension but also increase a resistance to heritage culture among immigrant children. Lee et al. (2007) suggest that local friends of immigrant teenagers will gradually replace their parents' role as confidants because the identity of immigrants' descendants is more consistent with that of local people.

Chan and Tam (2016) investigated the internalization of values by immigrant families in Hong Kong and found that “Parents want to transmit to their children not only their own values but also values that are normative in relevant societies” (p. 47). Therefore, immigrant parents should not take their children's unique self-identity as the center of family conflicts, but should adjust their expectations and help their offspring adapt to the combination of cultural heritage and the new society. Each family has a special bond that binds them together to form family cohesion, among which there is the sense of identity among family members (Chan & Tam, 2016; Chao & Tseng, 2002). Compared with immigrant youth, traditional Chinese students are more introverted and unwilling to express their feelings; however, the identities of the descendants of immigrants’ changes (Josefowitz & Wolfgang, 1978).

Costigan et al. (2018) understand this phenomenon as a symptom of acculturation pressure among children. They argue that the implicit acculturation pressure experienced by immigrant children not only delays learning, but also challenges parents to engage in parent-child relationships and learning. The identity of immigrant children is related to social media. Dreby and Foner (2011) indicate that the frequent use of English social media and high social skills can indirectly affect children's acculturation ability. Chen et al. (2013) point out “children’s higher English proficiency, greater English media use, and greater association with Caucasian American friends were directly related to their higher social competence” (p. 198).

Similarly, Liu (2015) found that the descendants of immigrants were more adaptable, leading to their ability to socialize with classmates from different backgrounds and languages, and to understand the values and learning attitudes of other countries. On this basis, immigrant children also explore their own identity in the conflict between cultures. Costigan and Dokis (2006) suggest that the offspring of immigrants can adapt their behaviour according to different environments, making them more flexible than their parents.

Costigan and Dokis (2006) suggest that if immigrant parents want to participate in the education of immigrant children more smoothly, they should immerse their children in Chinese media and culture. Costigan et al. (2018) illustrate that immigrant children may experience isolation and exclusion, which leads to higher expectations of integration into the local society.

Chapter 3: Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusion

The partnership model, which is based on equal and open communication and interaction between schools, parents, and children, is regarded as an effective model for parental involvement. However, previous literatures and studies have suggested that such cooperative relationship will become more complex in the context of immigration because the role of parents has long been seen as lacking insight and sensitivity to parenting. So, as Hornby (2011) states, immigrants' parents are used to obeying the school's educational responsibilities and participating passively. Although the involvement of immigrant parents is a challenge for all three parties, research shows that from the perspective of children, all parental education and participation is valuable, because children think parents are good leaders.

Walker et al. (2005) summarize the model of parental involvement, and state that parents' education level and socioeconomic status are two factors that affect parental involvement. Many immigrant parents lack the vocabulary necessary to communicate with the school, and cannot help their children complete homework. Additionally, parents may be too pressured by their own work responsibilities to invest much time or energy in their children's education.

Along with the factors affecting Chinese immigrants' involvement in their children's education, Chinese immigrants may experience conflicts when maintaining their cultural traditions in a new host cultural society. In other words, Chinese immigrant parents hope to integrate into the new host culture without abandoning their traditional Chinese culture. Thus, Janzen and Ochocka (2008) argue that some Chinese immigrant parents may change their parenting style while adapting themselves to the development of the new society. Moreover, this

updated educational attitude should be integrated into the mainstream culture, accompanied by the guidance of schools.

Parental involvement in education has unique barriers among families from different cultural backgrounds. The language habits and slang, cultural values, and parenting styles of local people exist as barriers for immigrant parents as they attempt to cooperate with their children's education. For example, due to different languages, even Chinese immigrants with a certain foundation in the local language can hardly understand the slang and professional vocabulary of local communities. This may cause Chinese immigrants' parents to rely on schools and to lose the initiative to participate in education.

In terms of the challenges and barriers of immigrant parental involvement, language barriers and colliding cultural values are the two biggest barriers for parents attempting to participate in schools; however, immigrants' offspring have more resilient acculturation ability. Chen et al. (2013) argue that this means that the children of immigrants will have a higher level of English education than their parents; however, this may in turn lead to Chinese immigrants families encountering the internal conflicts. In addition, the social skills, learning abilities, and individual abilities of Chinese immigrants are not under the control of traditional Chinese culture.

Overall, Chinese immigrant parents should pay attention to the balance of the three parties when participating in education. Building family cohesion and spreading traditional culture are suggested to assist in establishing a good cooperative relationship with the school and a stable development within the family. In the context of globalization and the challenges faced by immigrant families and schools, the conflicts within immigrant families and their influencing factors and resolution strategies are worthy of study and discussion.

The Characteristics of Chinese Immigrants in Parenting

The characteristics and main ideas of Chinese immigrant families in parental participation are centered on Confucianism. Costigan and Koryzma (2011) concludes that this characteristic can be found in the traditional Chinese family's dependence on school education and emphasis on family collectivism. For example, Chinese family education tends to be introverted, while Western education is more democratic and open. Therefore, if Chinese immigrant parents still insist on the educational participation method of exam-oriented education and examination, it may increase psychological stress and pressure on their children.

Most Chinese immigrant parents respect Confucianism. The main concepts of Confucianism include collectivism, obedience, and respect for educators and families. Therefore, there is a certain essential gap between the parenting attitudes in Chinese parenting and Western parenting, since Western countries tend to cultivate children's personal development. Therefore, the intervention of Confucianism is also a main reason as to why Chinese immigrant families and Western parents have different attitudes, thoughts, and behaviours surrounding their involvement in their children's education.

The Challenges of Parental Involvement among Chinese Immigrants

The main challenges for Chinese immigrant families in Canadian education arise from the inability to cooperate with schools and conflicts within the family.

Challenge with Schools

The language barrier is one of the biggest challenges for immigrant parents when communicating with the school because the language is not familiar and causes new immigrants to avoid talking with teachers out of fear of embarrassment. Although most parents understand that participation in their children's education is beneficial to parent-child relationships, the language barrier is limiting in terms of enthusiasm and self-efficacy. Zhou and Zhong (2011) state that language barriers directly affect the participation of Chinese immigrants.

Another problem caused by the language barriers is the restriction of the medium of communication between schools and immigrant parents. The traditional parental involvement model can no longer meet the specific needs of immigrant families (Kao & Turney, 2009). For example, typical methods for parental participation are parent-teacher meetings, volunteer activities, or appointments with teachers. However, research indicates that immigrant parents feel communication barriers render face-to-face meetings inefficient, which suggests that schools should consider hiring interpreters or use media and other communication modes with translation software to invite immigrant parents to participate.

Third, differences in cultural values and school priorities affect the participation of immigrant parents in school. Some schools fail to acknowledge the academic expectations of Chinese immigrant parents for their children. For example, immigrant parents may not be satisfied with their children's performance reflected in schools because schools may focus on children's creativity and personalized development, which may appear to ignore the academic progress that Chinese parents attach importance to. Hence, some immigrant parents are frustrated and worried that schools do not understand their unique values and expectations (Dyson, 2001).

More importantly, many schools do not seem to have the benefit or cultural sensitivity of cultural diversity because Western education focuses on the European and North American canons. As mentioned above, Chinese immigrant parents maintain traditional culture and heritage language. For this reason, schools should understand the importance of cultural diversity and prioritize widening their curricula to be more inclusive.

Parent-Child Relations Conflicts

The division between parents' and children's acculturation levels may expose migrant children to adverse developmental consequences. Immigrant children are faster to learn the language, values, behaviours, and thinking patterns of the new cultural background and successfully integrate into the mainstream culture, while many of their parents are still advocating traditional education. This contradiction also impedes immigrant parents' involvement in the education of their offspring. Therefore, Hua et al. (2009) stresses that the acculturation pressures of immigrant parents and the imbalance of parent-child acculturation reflects the emergence of internalized contradictions in immigrant children's identities and driving the conflict between home and Western education.

Strategies for Chinese Immigrants in Parental Involvement

In order to help overcome the challenges involving immigrant parents in their children's education, the joint efforts of the community, schools, families, and students are indispensable. First of all, the government should implement some policies and changes to benefit immigrant

families, such as a government hotline, so that immigrants can get help quickly when seeking services. In this way, under the leadership of the government, communities and schools can cooperate in building a multicultural social environment.

Secondly, when the school invites parents to participate in the school, they must consider the psychological conditions, language habits, and values of the parents, and make appropriate adjustments according to different immigrant families. As for family, although schools can promote minority culture, parents are still the first resource for immigrant children to understand their heritage culture. Therefore, immigrant parents can consider educational participation and innovation according to local culture, so as to seek a neutral education method suitable for both cultures.

Recommendations

Community and Government Support

The community and government can provide services to help immigrant families. Other than special hotline services for immigrants, the government can create more diverse immigration services, such as a website. Internal contradictions within the families may require mental health services. Immigrant parents can access the professional website to obtain resources and information. In addition, the Canadian government could provide programs that support additional jobs for immigrants (such as immigrants helping others come into the country), which would enable immigrant families to gain more economic resources and expand the social circle and help improve their cultural adaptability. Ideally, the government and the community should help provide immigrants with an understanding of the culture, educational assistance, and active communication (Janzen and Ochocka, 2008).

School and Teacher Support

Cultural sensitivity and identification of differences are crucial for schools. On that basis, schools should evaluate immigrant families. Parents' academic expectations, cultural values, language familiarity, and children's cultural fitness should be assessed. In this way, teachers can plan different educational and parental cooperation models according to the differences of families. For example, for immigrant families whose acculturation is below average, schools may consider offering after-school tutoring or language intensive classes, which can help children improve academically and maintain self-esteem. Epstein (2018) states that schools should train teachers' response degree and emergency response ability to different situations, such as family background and family needs.

Zhou and Zhong (2011) introduce the need for more communication methods between schools and parents. In addition to traditional communication methods, schools can hire translators or staff that are familiar with minority cultures to help immigrant families participate. This way, parents can be involved in education through email, internet, and other easily translated methods.

Immigrant Family Support

Parent-oriented learning can play a unique role in education because children internalize their parents' values and goals. Such internalization of values can help immigrant families survive the new cultural intervention period more smoothly and cultivate the internal motivation of immigrant children. Sometimes, immigrant parents feel betrayed by the acculturation of immigrant children. More specifically, since children are more adaptable than adults, immigrant children are more likely to adapt to local ideas and behaviours, which may resemble abandoning traditional cultural learning. Therefore, in order to preserve and develop the world's diverse

cultures, Chinese immigrant parents should provide adequate Chinese resources, such as books, music, movies, and other media, so that immigrant children can still retain a certain foundation of their mother tongue. In time, immigrant parents will need to adapt to changing roles.

Family discussions that involve all caregivers could reduce differences in family values, since the frequency of communication between immigrant parents and children is lower than that of local parents (Dyson, 2001). Immigrant parents should consider the gradual transformation of the education strategies, from standardized education to a more democratic and personalized education model, in order to reduce the intergenerational cultural conflict. An example would be discussing children's hobbies and taking part in sporting events. Therefore, from the perspective of family, immigrant parents should identify as learners who are equal to immigrant children, because both sides need to learn how to survive in their new environment. In this way, while immigrant parents reduce their levels of authority and control, the commitment to communication will make their involvement more relaxed and positive.

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